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An interactional analysis of support and 'self-work' during interventions for children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties

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REPOSITORY RECORD

Bradley, Louise. 2019. "An Interactional Analysis of Support and 'self-work' During Interventions for Children with Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties". figshare. https://hdl.handle.net/2134/18122.

'An interactional analysis of support and 'self-work' during interventions for children with social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties'

by

Louise Bradley

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

June 2015

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Abstract

This thesis examines interactions between professionals and children who have been identified as having social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties (SEBD). More specifically, this thesis examines video-recorded interactions that take place during the delivery of two interventions: one-to-one pastoral care within a primary school, and group coaching for children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Using conversation analysis (CA) and discursive psychology (DP) these data were analysed to identify the ways in which professionals package and deliver their support, and manage psychological notions to do with the self, or what I call 'self-work' - moments within the interactions when children are supported to talk about their emotions, feelings, and behaviour in order to help them make sense of the difficulties they are experiencing; and moments within the interaction when children are given the skills and knowledge they need to manage, change, or overcome those difficulties.

The main findings from this thesis are that support and 'self-work' are not taken-for-granted outcomes simply achieved because children attend intervention programmes. Instead, support and 'self-work' are packaged and delivered through ordinary conversational practices. Chapter 4 shows how encouraging *self-assessment* supports a child's agency and participation to construct a more positive version of their self. Chapter 5 respecifies *reassurance* as an interactional practice to show how it works to prevent the emotional affect of a child's personal troubles becoming internalised and self-imposed. Chapter 6 shows how *questions* promote the

collaborative building of knowledge, and how *person references* normalise and unpathologise emotions often bound to ADHD constructs.

The findings from this thesis demonstrate applicability to both research and practice by offering a unique insight into the interactional environments of pastoral care and coaching. Firstly, by examining the interactional landscapes of these two interventions Chapter 3 provides a rich overview of pastoral care and coaching activities to show how these interventions are accomplished as real life activities. Secondly, by examining the conversational practices through which pastoral care and coaching are delivered this thesis respecifies everyday notions of support and 'self-work' as members' situated actions, and in so doing furthers our knowledge and understanding of these somewhat abstract notions.

Such findings are valuable because interventions are informed by theoretical guidelines that recommend children experiencing difficulty can be helped if they are supported to understand their difficulties and to develop a more positive sense of self. However, such guidelines offer little in terms of *how* such recommendations should be put into practice by the professionals working with children. This research uncovers some of the ways in which theoretical recommendations are delivered via interactional practices, to make visible members' methods for delivering support and managing 'self-work'. The need for this work to be done is that support and 'self-work' are performed as much through the ways in which professionals deliver their interventions, as it is through the content of those interventions.

Acknowledgments

Sitting here writing my acknowledgments is really quite surreal because it means I have come to the end. My PhD journey started as I finished writing my undergraduate dissertation, when my supervisor Carly Butler enthusiastically announced, this would be a great PhD topic. I had no idea what a PhD was, but I still remember Carly's enthusiasm and her words, 'it's fun, you get to write a book'. So first and foremost, I would like to thank Carly for believing that I could, and would, get to the end even when there were times that I didn't believe it myself. You have guided me, supported me, and encouraged me throughout this whole experience, and your wise words and highly valued contributions can most certainly be seen throughout these pages. So thank you Carly, this 'book' would not have been written without you, and yes you were right...it was fun...most of the time!

I would also like to thank all the members of staff at Loughborough, past and present, who have helped me along the way by generously giving their advice in and out of data sessions. In particular I would like to thank Charles Antaki for his thoughtful words and gentle challenges throughout the last three years, which have undoubtedly strengthen this thesis. Particular thanks also go to Paul Drew, John Heritage, and Chris Elsey for their helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of the reassurance chapter. Of course I would also like to thank my fellow PhDers, again past and present, for all your contributions and for being part of my PhD experience. Thank you also to the Loughborough Graduate School for liking my proposal enough to fund my research.

My biggest thanks go to the children who I have been so very privileged to know because of this research. You trusted me beyond expectation, to hear some very intimate and difficult conversations, and your honesty and braveness has amazed me. It has been a very humbling experience, and although I have only known you briefly I think of you all often and hope you are doing well. And Miss, everyone should have a Miss in their lives to make this world a better place, so my thanks to you are for just being you, and for touching so many with your endless care. And Maureen (not her real name, but you know who you are), your passion and belief in the children you help is truly inspiring, you are one of life's wonderful advocates and so many are bless because of the work that you do. So to all of you, a massive thank you for being part of my research because without you also, this book would not be here.

My final and loving thanks go to all my wonderful family and friends, most especially Rhys, Harry and Finn who are my constant inspiration and motivation, and to James who has made it all possible. You have tirelessly listened to what must have seemed at times intelligible waffle and allowed me to lock myself away in the final stages to write. So thank you, because without your continued support none of this would have been possible. I know I am biased, but I really do have the best family and friends in the world and I love you all.

Material based on the research undertaken for this thesis has been published in part as:

Bradley, L. & Butler, C.W. (In press, 2015). Managing and normalising emotions and behaviour: A conversation analytic study of ADHD coaching. In M. O'Reilly & J. Lester (Eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of Child Mental Health*.

Contents

Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
Contents	
Tables, figures and extracts	
Introduction	
Chapter 1: A review of the relevant literature	
What are social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties	
Management and impact	
Parent-child-teacher relationship	
The long-term impact	
Interventions for improving social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties	
Interventions for parents	
Interventions for schools	
Pastoral care for children	
Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy programmes for children with ADHD	
Developing children's emotional literacy	
Self-concept	
Self-esteem	
Resilience	
An interactional approach to 'self-work'	
An applied basis	
Summary	
Chapter 2: Method	
False starts	
Pastoral care data	
The pastoral care role	
Collecting the pastoral care data	
The coaching data	
The ADHD Coaching role	
Collecting the coaching data	
The RAPID training programme	
Theoretical and analytical framework	
Conversation analysis	
Discursive Psychology	
Core assumptions within CA and DP	
Participant orientations	
The use of 'naturalistic' data	
Transcription	
Summary	
Chantar 3. The interactional landscapes of nectoral care and coaching	
Chapter 3: The interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching	
The favores box'	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

The traffic light system	
Coaching practices	
Thinking Tools	
The 'SARA' Thinking Tool	
The Body Language Thinking Tool	1
Discussion	1
	-
Chapter 4: Searching for the good in the bad	1
Challenge the bad to find the good	1
A search for love	1
Finding internal qualities to enhance well-being.	1
Discussion	1
Discussion	1
Chapter 5: Reassurance.	1
Reassurance as a situated action	1
	1
Interactionally-generated reassurance	
The case of 'Doesn't matter'	1
Speaker-generated reassurance]
Discussion	1
	_
Chapter 6: Managing emotions and normalising anger	1
Co-producing emotional knowledge as ordinary	1
Normalising anger	1
Using metaphors to construct experiential aspects of anger	1
Recognising anger in other people	1
Self-talk Thinking Tool.	1
Discussion	1
Chapter 7: Discussion	1
Overview of chapters and implications of research findings	2
Chapter 3: Supportive themes and practices within pastoral care and coaching	2
Chapter 4: Searching for the good in the bad	2
Chapter 5. Pagggyrance	7
1	
Chapter 6: Managing emotions and normalising ADHD	2
Difficulties and further implications	2
Directions for future research	2
Future evidence-based training	2
Defenence	,
References	2
Appendices contents	2
	4

Tables:

Table 2.2: Summary of coaching data	Chapter 2:	
Figure 2.1: The camera view of Miss in the pastoral care		50
Chapter 2 Figure 2.1: The camera view of Miss in the pastoral care. 52 Figure 2.2: The camera view of Morgan in the pastoral care data. 52 Figure 2.3: Room layout and the positioning of cameras in coaching data. 59 Figure 2.4: View of group one in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.5: View of group two in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.6: View of Maurcen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 Figure 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4:13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA 98 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2:a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Table 2.2: Summary of coaching data	58
Chapter 2 Figure 2.1: The camera view of Miss in the pastoral care. 52 Figure 2.2: The camera view of Morgan in the pastoral care data. 52 Figure 2.3: Room layout and the positioning of cameras in coaching data. 59 Figure 2.4: View of group one in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.5: View of group two in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 Figure 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.1: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2:a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		
Figure 2.1: The camera view of Miss in the pastoral care	Figures:	
Figure 2.1: The camera view of Miss in the pastoral care	Chapter 2	
Figure 2.2: The camera view of Morgan in the pastoral care data. 52 Figure 2.3: Room layout and the positioning of cameras in coaching data. 59 Figure 2.5: View of group one in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.6: View of group two in the coaching data. 61 Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 Figure 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.1: Week 2:Ic:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.1: Week 2:Ic:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 104 Extract 3.10: Week 2:Ic:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 105 Extract 3.11: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2:4:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 112 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	•	52
Figure 2.3: Room layout and the positioning of cameras in coaching data. 59 Figure 2.4: View of group one in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.5: View of group two in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 Stigure 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 100 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2:a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 6:2:7 47 – Who		52
Figure 2.4: View of group one in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.5: View of group two in the coaching data. 60 Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 80 Figure 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131 <		59
Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 80 Extract 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		60
Figure 2.6: View of Maureen in the coaching data. 62 Chapter 3 80 Extract 3.1: Morgan's worry box. 80 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Figure 2.5: View of group two in the coaching data	60
Extracts: Chapter 3 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan 131		62
Extracts: Chapter 3 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry	Chapter 3	
Chapter 3 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Figure 3.1: Morgan's worry box	80
Chapter 3 Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		
Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extracts:	
Extract 3.1: School 3:1a:11 04 – Miss I got a worry. 81 Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Chapter 3	
Extract 3.2: School 1:2:19 42 – What shall we do with this worry. 83 Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system. 89 Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you. 90 Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		81
Extract 3.4: School 2:8 00 – How's it working for you		83
Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extract 3.3: School 1:4 13 – The traffic light system.	89
Extract 3.5: School 5:1:9 09 – I didn't do anything back. 92 Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system. 94 Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		90
Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA. 98 Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem. 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it. 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake. 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		92
Extract 3.8: Week 2:A:39 19 – If you don't know you've got a problem 100 Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it 103 Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake 106 Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan 131	Extract 3.6: School 5:1:9 09 – That's why we've got the traffic light system	94
Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it	Extract 3.7: Week 2:A:37 35 – We're going to teach you SARA	98
Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake		100
Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt. 108 Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extract 3.9: Week 2:1c:0 40 – When could you use it	103
Extract 3.12: Week 3:1a:29 22 – How do we show people that you're angry. 111 Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extract 3.10: Week 2:1c:3 28 – Learn from you mistake.	106
Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry. 114 Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extract 3.11: Week 2:U:21 06 – Carry on doing the things you've learnt	108
Chapter 4 Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131		111
Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Extract 3.13: Week 2a:40 56 – How would you know if somebody was angry	114
Extract 4.1: School 4a:1a:21 42 – M'dad didn't care. 121 Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	Chapter 4	
Extract 4.2a: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 128 Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan. 131	<u>-</u>	121
Extract 4.2b: School 6:2:7 47 – Who loves Morgan.		
	e	
	<u> </u>	

Chapter 5	
Extract 5.1: School 4:1b:15 00 – Roll it up and start again	146
Extract 5.2: School 1:2:8 00 – She's going to be thrilled it's come from you	148
Extract 5.3: School 4:2a:3 37 – Just means it's a beautiful recipe	149
Extract 5.4: School 4:1b:3 00 – Won't hurt anything.	149
Extract 5.5: School 5:2:29 26 – What are you shocked about sweetheart	152
Extract 5.6: School 1:2:16 23 – It's not your fault	158
Extract 5.7: School 1:8 00 – I'm here to help you.	162
Chapter 6	
Extract 6.1 – What does tone of voice mean.	170
Extract 6.2 – We need to control our feelings.	173
Extract 6.3 – We all feel angry	176
Extract 6.4 – Isn't bad	178
Extract 6.5 – It's a natural feeling.	179
Extract 6.6 – What do volcanoes do	182
Extract 6.7 –How did you know Maddie was angry	185
Extract 6.8 – What was Lucy's tone of voice	188
Extract 6.9 – Does anybody know what self-talk is	190
Extract 6.10 – How could you use self-talk	193
Extract 6.11 – Lots of self-talk phrases	194

Introduction:

Much of the theory that informs professional practice treats 'support' as an intuitive activity, and the 'self' as something that is enhanced as a natural outcome of attending intervention. Yet, the social interactions that take place during intervention remain largely unstudied, and so *how* supportive activities and self-development are addressed within actual interaction remains unknown. However, this is the focus of this research, to look at *how* during the delivery of intervention professionals actively engage in providing support, and how they manage work to do with the self – 'self-work'. That being, moments within interaction when children are supported to talk about their emotions, feelings, and behaviour in order to help them make sense of the difficulties they are experiencing; and moments within interaction when children are given the skills and knowledge they need in order to manage, change, or overcome their difficulties

This thesis will show that support and 'self-work' can be examined within interaction. For example, the way a professional *praises* a child for telling the truth to encourage this behaviour is a visible and noticeable thing, as is the way a professional constructs a different version of events by delicately *questioning* the truth in a statement. In other words, this research will show that professionals engage in support and 'self-work' through everyday and ordinary, yet visible, conversational practices such as praise and questioning; and so this is *how* we can approach a study interested in examining support and the 'self' from an interactional perspective.

The aim of this thesis then, is to identify the ordinary ways in which professionals and children engage in support and 'self-work', by examining the

moments within interaction when they themselves make support and 'self-work' noticeable and visible actions that are being managed in and through their talk. Therefore, this thesis has three aims, to identify and examine the methods and practices being used by professionals during the delivery of intervention to 1) support children talk about and makes sense of their difficulties, 2) support children to develop a more positive sense of self, and 3) bring to life psychological notions to do with the self.

The analysis is framed by an ethnomethodological approach, in that it is an examination of how 'members' methods' (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342) provide support and manage 'self-work'. As such, it is concerned with revealing how support and 'self-work' become displayed as 'observable-reportable' (ibid., p.343) phenomenon that are accomplished within the interaction by the members' themselves. Therefore, the analysis follows what Garfinkel and Sacks refer to as a procedural policy of 'ethnomethodological indifference', in that phenomenon are examined as they are performed '...while abstaining from judgements of their adequacy, value, importance, necessity, practical success, or consequentiality' (ibid., p. 344). For these reasons, the analysis does not set out to assess or judge the members' methods, it is instead concerned with observing the production and display of support and 'self-work', and on reporting these as they occur.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 1 will provide a review of the existing literature that is relevant to this thesis. It will discuss the group of children that are the focus of this research, those who have been identified as having social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties. It will also discuss the impact and management of these difficulties and consider interventions that are designed to improve these difficulties. The chapter will then consider why an interactional

approach is needed to identify and examine the everyday conversational practices being used by professionals within their delivery of intervention.

The second chapter in this thesis is the method chapter, which will describe the theoretical and analytic approaches of conversation analysis and discursive psychology in detail, to enable a greater understanding of these methods. The method chapter will also describe the data collection process, some important ethical considerations for those conducting research with children; and it will provide more details about the interventions being delivered, the transcription and analytic process.

The third chapter is the first of four analytic chapters. It is a rich descriptive account of the interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching. The reasoning for this chapter is that pastoral care and coaching activities enable the supportive work being undertaken to be effectively engaged with. It is through this engagement that 'self-work' is managed, and so this chapter begins to address an aim of the thesis regarding how professionals bring to life abstract recommendations and theoretical concepts to do with support and the self. In detailing the interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching this chapter serves two purposes: 1) to provide the reader a descriptive account of the supportive work being done within these interactions, and 2) to prepare the reader for the more detailed CA/DP analytic chapters that follow by describing the application of some specific methods being used by professionals to engage the children. These issues will be advanced in the three remaining analytic chapters which use CA and DP to examine the ordinary ways in which professionals provides support and manage 'self-work'.

The fourth chapter is the first analytic chapter that uses CA and DP to examine an identified, and specific supportive practice found within the pastoral care interactions. The analysis of this data revealed a 'searching' activity that occurred

when the pastoral carer initiated a series of turns that were designed to find positive outcomes from a child's real life struggles. I refer to this searching activity as the 'good in bad' search, not to assess or evaluate the work being done, but as an idiomatic description that helpfully captures and reflects the contrastive action being performed in these sequences. There are two key findings from this chapter, 1) while the 'good in bad' search acknowledges real life difficulties the interactional stance taken is optimistic, and 2) the 'good in bad' search makes visible positive qualities and attributes from within a child. It is in this sense, then, that the analyses reveals the 'self-work' being managed within the pastoral care interactions to prevent a child from internalising the emotional affect of the difficulties being experienced.

The fifth chapter focuses on the practice of giving reassurance, and it was also identified from the pastoral care data. This chapter addresses once more abstract recommendations made within the literature in terms of how professionals go about reassuring children who experience difficulty. As has been discussed already, such supportive notions are unclear in terms of how professionals actually do reassurance in practice because it is assumed that this is already known or is intuitively understood. This chapter examines the interactional features of reassurance to identify two types of reassurance that are then discussed in detail. The key findings from this analysis are that reassurance is generated within the interaction to perform two different actions: 1) to support progressivity when 'interactionally-generated reassurance' counters some observable trouble that interrupts the on-going activity within the interaction, and 2) when 'speaker-generated reassurance' counters some educed, but already known, trouble to manage the 'self-work' that protects a child from internalising their experience, which could otherwise be potentially damaging.

The sixth chapter is the final analytic chapter. It uses the data from the delivery of the RAPID programme, to identify the ways in which knowledge and understandings of emotions are collaboratively produced between an ADHD Specialist Coach and a group of children who have a diagnosis of ADHD. The analysis of the coaching data will draw on the literature that recommends the need for children to develop self-awareness, self-control, self-regulation, as a way to enhance their behaviour, social and emotional well-being. This chapter will look at the ways in which cognitive tools are used to help children recognise the emotion of anger, identify angry triggers, and consider the consequences of angry behaviour. The aim of these cognitive tools is to help the children manage and control their emotions and behaviour more effectively in the future. A key finding from this chapter is that 'self-work' is managed within the interactions through the use of person references, to 'unpathologise' emotions (in particular anger) in order to offer an alternative construct to the 'disordered' construct that is so often bound to children with a diagnosis of ADHD.

The final chapter will be a discussion of the main findings of this thesis and the analytic chapters within. It will also discuss the implications of the research findings, possible directions for future research, and the limitations of the present study.

Chapter 1:

A review of the relevant literature

This chapter will provide a review of the literature that is relevant to this thesis to set the context for the chapters that follow. It is divided into three related sections to discuss: a group of children identified as having social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties; why issues relating to emotional literacy, and more specifically, self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience, are important for this group of children; and why an interactional approach is needed to identify and examine the everyday supportive practices that are being used by professionals within the delivery of their interventions. To begin, I will introduce the children that are the focus of this research, those that have been identified as having social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties; the reasons why they are perceived in this way; and why their difficulties are problematic. This section will then consider the impact and management of the children's difficulties, before discussing interventions that are designed to improve behaviour, social and emotional well-being.

The chapter will then consider the relationship between emotional literacy and self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience. To consider why these characteristics are such an important part of a child's healthy development, especially children with social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties. This section will begin with a discussion about the importance of emotional literacy; a concept that refers to the ways in which children develop emotional expertise so that they are more able to manage the difficulties they are experiencing. The relationship between emotional

literacy and self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience will then be discussed because of the implications these have for professional practice, as the enhancement of these qualities are often a focus of many intervention programmes. To end, the final section of this chapter will consider why an interactional approach to examine the practices that support children's behaviour, and social and emotional well-being is needed. I will review some of the existing interactional research to show how this approach can be used to identify supportive practices, and I will consider the applicability of such research for professional practice.

What are social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties?

The term social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) is used to describe the issues faced by a group of children at risk of being excluded from school, and/or society, because of difficulties to do with truancy, aggression, violence, substance misuse, anxiety, depression, eating disorders, or because they have been clinically diagnosed with a psychosocial disorder such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (Cole, Daniels & Visser, 2012; Rutter & Smith, 1995). The broad range of troubles included within the SEBD category has led to criticism that its inclusivity has made it difficult to define. Adding to this definitional struggle is the various arrangements used by practitioners and researchers in the field, for example, the terms Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD), or Behaviour, Emotional and Social Difficulties (BESD), or Social, Emotional, and Behavioural *Differences* (SEBD, see Holt, Bowlby & Lea, 2013¹) are also used to describe the same group of children.

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¹ Holt, Bowlby and Lea (2013) use the term social, emotional, and behavioural *differences* to argue that the otherwise named 'difficulties' should be seen as being partly created by changing social norms and expectations about appropriate behaviour.

For the purposes of this thesis the term Social, Emotional, and Behavioural Difficulties will be used. The reason for this choice is that I believe the term 'difficulty' rather than 'differences' is more reflective of the fact that the children's experiences are impacting on their well-being, which can be seen in the way the children talk about their experiences. The term 'social' has been included because it allows the children's difficulties to be construed in individual, social, and/or interactional terms (Bilton & Cooper, 2012), depending on the nature of the difficulties being experienced. As such, it helpfully allows difficulties to be positioned outside of the child (without neglecting that they can also be positioned within), so their difficulties can be placed within social and environmental contexts, such as the family, school, or society (Bilton & Cooper, 2012). This allows SEBD to be approached through improving the children's environment and support systems, and places an emphasis on the need and value of interventions.

In regard to the emotional and behavioural components of the SEBD term, there is a body of literature that has demonstrated a link between emotional expression and challenging behaviour amongst children (Caspi, Henry, McGee, Moffitt & Silva, 1995; McCarty & Weisz, 2002; Weigel, Langdon, Collins & O'Brien, 2006). Children who have difficulty in regulating or expressing their emotions can develop externalising (and internalising) behaviours that lead to them being characterised as having SEBD. These externalising behaviours capture a range of difficulties from attentional problems, being hyperactive, argumentative, defiant, aggressive, and participating in antisocial acts such as truancy, drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism, and theft (Barkley, 1997; Jensen, Martin, & Cantwell, 1997). It is the externalising behaviours of children with SEBD that are a focus of this thesis, although children who have difficulty expressing their emotions may also develop

internalising problems such as withdrawal, depression, and anxiety (see Eisenberg et al., 2001 for a discussion).

Externally expressed behaviours can be extremely disruptive and so children who externalise are often described as 'challenging' or 'hard-to-manage', and their behaviours labelled 'pervasive' (Cooper, 1993; Farrell, 1995). This is because traits typically associated with toddlerhood (such as defiance, aggression towards siblings and peers, difficulty controlling anger) continue to present throughout childhood, and for some adulthood (Moffitt, 1993b). The behaviours of toddlerhood reflect the ways in which children develop autonomy, master environmental constraints, and practice their social skills (Campbell, Shaw & Gilliom, 2000; Crockenberg & Litman, 1990; Kopp, 1989; Shantz, 1987). However, when these behaviours continue past their age-appropriate time, they can interfere with the development of that child and lead to long-term problems (Campbell et al., 2000; Caspi et al., 1995; Kazdin, 1987; Moffit, 1993b; Moffitt, Caspi, Dickson, Silva & Stanton, 1996).

A longitudinal follow-up study conducted by Campbell (1995), found that children who display persistent behavioural problems (from ages 3-9), continue to experience difficulties throughout adolescence. Therefore, behavioural problems that are identified in early childhood may not just be temporary developmental difficulties, but precursors for later psychosocial disorders such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD), and Conduct Disorder (CD) (Campbell 1995; Campbell et al., 2000; Carlson, Jacobvitz, & Sroufe, 1995; Crowther, Bond, & Rolf, 1981).

ADHD is one of the most widely recognised psychosocial disorders falling within the SEBD category, and is a focus within this thesis. ADHD has a worldwide prevalence estimated around 5 per cent (Polanczyk et al, 2007). It is a chronic

disorder that persists into adulthood (Whalen, 2004), diagnosed by psychiatrists or paediatricians using The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5, 2013). Those that are given a diagnosis of ADHD present SEBD through externalising behaviours such as hyperactivity, attentional problems, poor emotional regulation, and have a greater excessive emotional expression, especially for anger and aggression (Wehmeier, Schacht, & Barkley, 2010).

These difficulties impact on a child's self-esteem and self-concept, although this impact has rarely been addressed in research (Ryan & McDougall, 2009; Wehmeier et al., 2010). Likewise, the labels that are attached to children with a diagnosis of ADHD, and the social and psychological impact of the SEBD that they experience in their everyday lives, have also been largely ignored (Bradley & Butler, forthcoming). Instead, research has focused on assessment, diagnosis, and treatment (Barkley, 2006), or behaviour management for parents or carers to reduce and manage undesirable behaviour (Gavita & Joyce, 2008). However, as Young (2012) notes, most behaviour management programmes have been devised for children with conduct difficulties as opposed to ADHD (see also Sanders, Mazzucchelli & Studman, 2004; Webster-Stratton, 1981), and so some of the difficulties specifically associated with ADHD are not being addressed in these programmes.

So far the definitional problems surrounding SEBD have been discussed, and like other researchers who have overcome these difficulties, I have described the children themselves who are perceived as having SEBD, and a particular group of children within that group who have a diagnosis of ADHD. The following section will consider the impact of SEBD, the effect these difficulties have on relationships at home and at school, and the way difficulties are managed through specially designed intervention programmes.

Management and impact

It seems unlikely that the 'true' cause of a child's SEBD can ever be determined due to the complex interplay that takes place between genes and environment. However, it is important to highlight the 'blame' reaction that is so often found, in terms of who, or what, is responsible for the difficulties being experienced across a number of social domains. As such, the interplay between child, parent, and teacher must be considered as this plays an important role in both the management and impact of SEBD. The following section will consider the impact of the parent-child-teacher relationship, and the way the education system manages SEBD, as these have been found to both positively and negatively affect later outcomes, which has important implications for interventions (Hamre & Pianta, 2001).

Parent-child-teacher relationship

The parent-child relationship is fundamental for the well-being of children, and difficulties within this relationship can affect a child's early emotional and social development (Webster-Stratton, Reid, & Stoolmiller, 2008). In particular, the lack of a warm positive relationship, insecure attachment, harsh or inconsistent discipline, or parental mental health difficulties can increase the risk of a child developing behavioural and emotional problems (Sanders, 1999; see also Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl & Moylan, 2008; Kendall-Tackett, Williams & Finkelhor, 1993; Vissing, Straus, Gelles & Harrop, 1991).

Although it may seem easy to view parents as the main cause of SEBD, it is important to consider that some parents have difficulties themselves that prevent them from being effective parents (Farrell, 1995). For example, postnatal depression or

postpartum psychosis can impact a child's emotional development as a mother has difficulty responding to her baby in social interactions because of her illness (Murray, Cooper & Hipwell, 2003). Other factors facing parents include family stress, such as unemployment and economic hardship (McLoyd, 1990), a lack of social support, (Crnic, Greenberg, Ragozin & Robinson, 1983), or marital conflict or divorce (Amato, 2000; Webster-Stratton, 1990).

In addition, the child's temperament and characteristics need to be taken into account as these also contribute to early parent-child relationships (Clark, Kochanska & Ready, 2000). A child's behaviour can affect how parents parent. For example, hyperactivity is a widely studied cause of parental strain and a major source of stress in families (Anastopoulos, Guevremont, Shelton & DuPaul, 1992; Fischer, 1990; Mash & Johnston, 1990; Podolski & Nigg, 2001). There are many familial stressors that can disrupt parenting practices and create negative parent-child interactions. Therefore recognising early emotional and behavioural difficulties within this relationship allows interventions to be delivered to those parents, children, and families most at risk, to support their long-term outcomes.

The parent-child relationship has been shown to affect a child's 'readiness' for school (Webster-Stratton, et al., 2008). If young children with SEBD are unprepared for the classroom they can lack the skills and attributes needed to succeed both academically and socially (Raver & Knitze, 2002), which risks the development of a positive relationship with their teacher. The quality of the teacher-child relationship is a major influence on a child's future outcomes, and Rutter (1983) refers to schools and teachers as 'protective' factors. Teachers play a vital role not only in a child's academic achievement, but also in protecting them from the effects of a difficult parent-child relationship, as well as other life adversities (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1992).

On the one hand, teachers can be powerful influences that nurture positive development in children in spite of their earlier experiences (McLaughlin, 2008). On the other hand, teacher-child conflict can lead to school avoidance and a general dislike towards school, which has a negative effect on the child's attitude and cooperative behaviours (Birch & Ladd, 1997).

Farrell (1995) and Visser, Daniels and Cole (2012) propose that teachers often 'blame' parents and children themselves for the problems they experience in school. Parents are blamed because a child's early experiences shape the way they adjust to the school experience (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Webster-Stratton et al., 2008). While children may be blamed because teachers feel exhausted and deskilled, as they are not prepared for the emotional effect that teaching this group of children has (Mowat, 2012). It has been noted that blame leads teachers to withdraw from the child and classify them as 'bad' (chooses to behave in this way), 'mad' (due to a biology), or 'sad' (social inequality), and that these classifications determine where blame is placed and whether the child is offered concession or punishment (Mowat, 2012). When teachers perceive parents or children to be responsible they can offer little help or sympathy, which has been marked contrastively to the way that schools treat children with physical difficulties, autism, or Down's syndrome (Farrell, 1995).

A possible reason for some teachers' negative perceptions is that teacher training is based on behaviourist principles, and so teachers are required to change the child and their behaviour through a system of discipline and control (Wright, 2009). The problem is that these principles do not encourage the teacher to understand the child or the behaviour, so when neither the child nor their behaviour changes, the relationship deteriorates further. Wright (2009) argues that this pattern is avoidable if teachers modify the child's conduct through developing their social and emotional

skills and knowledge. This is echoed in Mowat's (2012) argument that children need to be given the knowledge and skills to reflect on their behaviour and its effect on others. They can then themselves choose to change their behaviour based on their own moral judgments, which will reduce the need for teachers to enforce discipline and sanctions, and in so doing will promote more positive relations, agency and self-control in children.

The literature shows that alongside child 'readiness' for school, there is also a need for teachers to better understand this group of children so that they are also 'ready' for school. This is ever more salient as a major focus within the educational literature is on the inclusion of children with SEBD within mainstream schools (Farrell & Polat, 2003). However, inclusion has created its own set of problems. Mainstream schools and teachers are not equipped to manage challenging SEBD and so a child's behaviour can escalate, resulting in them being excluded and having to enter specialist schools. Farrell & Polat (2003) found pupils attending a specialist school after mainstream exclusion were able to improve their behavior, and emotional well-being with the support of teachers skilled in promoting self-respect, self-confidence and self-esteem. This approach allowed the children to develop the ability to calm themselves down, control their temper, increase their attention span, and establish better relationships. These findings support the need to improve training for mainstream teachers as proposed by Wright (2009) and Mowat (2012).

Despite the benefits for children with SEBD being educated at specialist schools, it is important to note the negative impact of attending, and the label it attracts (Polat & Farrell, 2002). This label isolates, and leads to difficulties adjusting to adult life because young people lack continued support to secure employment, which in turn increases their risk of engaging in criminal activities. Therefore, young

people with SEBD not only face an uncertain future within education, they also present an on-going challenge to society (Farrell & Polat, 2003). The term 'school-to-prison pipeline' has been used to describe the trajectory of this particular group of children and young people as many are pushed out of the classroom and into the court (Christie, Jolivette & Nelson, 2005; Wald & Losen, 2003). Again, this literature supports the need to recognise problems early on to ensure intervention programmes can be delivered to ensure more positive outcomes can be achieved.

The long-term impact

The long-term impact of SEBD has been touched on so far but not explicated fully. Children with more difficult temperaments, or because of environmental stressors, have difficulty in managing their anger, regulating their emotions, and learning social and relationship skills (Webster-Stratton & Reid, 2003). Therefore, children who experience SEBD are less able to learn the strategies that help them interact successfully with others, as part of their everyday learning experiences (Webster-Stratton & Reid, 2003). Emotional and behavioural problems are often fairly stable, so without intervention they are unlikely to greatly improve, leading to the potential for criminal behaviour, the diagnosis of a psychiatric disorder, substance misuse, poor educational attainment, poor occupational adjustment, and social and relationship disruption (Campbell, 1995; Cooper, 1993; Farrell, 1995; Gross & Muñoz, 1995; Kazdin, 1995; Park, 2004; Walker, Kavanagh, Still, Gooly, Severson & Feil, 1998; Webster-Stratton & Taylor, 2001). The psychological and social cost to these individuals, their families, and potentially their future children because a SEBD cycle is put into motion; as well as the impact of antisocial behaviours on others, and the

financial cost to society are too great to ignore (Campbell et al., 2000; Kazdin, 1995; Whitfield, 1999). Again, the need for early recognition and intervention to prevent the serious long-term effects of SEBD is vital.

Interventions for improving social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties

The literature discussed so far has emphasised the need for early recognition and intervention to prevent children being put at risk of more serious problems later on. There are different methods of intervention for SEBD. I will briefly discuss some parenting and school programmes before focusing on interventions that are of particular interest to this thesis, those that take place through pastoral care and coaching.

Interventions for parents

Positive parenting is considered to be one of the most effective ways to reduce problem behaviours in young children (Kumpfer & Alvarado, 2003), and so parenting-skills training is widely used to help parents manage their children's behaviours (McMahon, 1999). One such training approach is Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (PCIT), in which therapists covertly coach parents during their interactions with their child to help strengthen their attachments and enhance their relationship. This strengthened relationship then becomes the basis for a structured and consistent approach to discipline to be applied (Herschell, Calzada, Eyberg & McNeil, 2003; McNeil & Hembree-Kigin, 2010). The efficacy of PCIT has been demonstrated through measured improvements in a child's behaviour, both at home and at school,

as a result of changing the parent-child interactions (Chaffin et al., 2004; Eyberg, Funderbunk, Hembree-Kigin, McNeil, Querido & Hood, 2001; Herschell et al., 2003; Thomas & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007).

A further parenting intervention is the Triple-P programme, designed for children of all ages (0-16) (Sanders, 1999). It is an intervention that is tiered depending on the severity of difficulties being experienced, each level provides a more prescriptive intervention to meet individual families' needs. The programme is designed to provide parents effective strategies to reduce SEBD in children through individual, group, telephone, and self-directed programmes (Sanders, 1999). de Graff and colleagues (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of 48 effect studies to report a significant reduction in the children's disruptive behaviours which was maintained over time. At long-term follow up further improvements were reported.

Interventions for schools

Within UK schools, Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) is part of the national curriculum, not as a taught subject but as a whole-school approach to promote and develop the social and emotional skills needed by children to succeed (DfES, 2007a). The Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007), believes that social and emotional skills are the foundation for effective learning, promoting positive behaviour, regular attendance, and emotional well-being. SEAL is delivered as a three-wave intervention. The first wave involves a whole-school approach to create an environment that promotes social and emotional skills, the second wave engages children in need of support through targeted group work, while the third

wave provides one-to one intervention with individual children (Humphrey et al., 2008).

The benefits of SEAL have been demonstrated in review and meta-analytic studies that have reported improvements in the personal, social, and academic lives of children. The programme has been found to reduce anti-social behaviours, aggression, and emotional distress; and enhance social-emotional skills, attitudes towards self, and positive relationships (Durlak, Weissberg & Pachan, 2010; Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011; Zins, Weissberg, Wang & Wahlberg, 2004). One way of delivering SEAL in schools is through the provision of pastoral care.

Pastoral care for children

Pastoral care is a child-focused intervention that falls under the umbrella concept of 'guidance and counselling', and applies to the supportive work that is undertaken within schools². Although both 'pastoral' and 'care' are difficult concepts to define (see Calvert, 2009), in their classic paper Best, Jarvis and Ribbens (1977) define pastoral care quite simply as 'the form guidance and counselling takes when it is provided by school-teachers within a particular institutional setting' (p. 126). The concept is distinctly British, rooted in the teachings of the Christian Church, entering the education system through the formation of Church Schools in the nineteenth century (Best, 2000). The provision of pastoral care is now mandated in the school curriculum and the Department of Education and Science advises that, 'pastoral care is concerned with promoting pupils' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes...it offers support for the learning, behaviour and welfare of all

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² Pastoral care is also practiced in the Christian Church, see Lester (1985) for pastoral care with children in religious settings.

pupils, and addresses the particular difficulties some individual pupils may be experiencing...' (DES, 1989, p. 3).

In the past, provision of pastoral care has typically fallen within the teachers' role as form tutor (Best et al, 1977; Reid, 2005). However, the amount of time teachers allocate to its provision (either in terms of a whole-school approach, group, and/or individual delivery) varies from school to school and teacher priority (Wortley & Harrison, 2008). This inconsistency has allowed pastoral care to be reallocated in some schools from teachers to support staff, allowing schools the freedom to employ separate pastoral carers, and the ability to determine their own provision depending on the needs of their children (Davies, 2010). This move has been supported because pastoral care predominately relates to notions of 'care', and as such a teaching background is no longer deemed necessary (Davies, 2010). In practice, those providing pastoral care consider their 'caring' role to be bound to both the actual pastoral practices and the way in which those practices are performed (Best, 2000). It is in this sense, then, that 'pastoral' and 'care' become practical activities that are interactionally achieved, rather than a concept that is often invisible and taken for granted (Eldén, 2012, also see Calvert, 2009).

The 'pastoral tasks' model that was developed by Best (2002) details different aspects of pastoral provision, with one aspect being 'reactive' pastoral care, which takes place on a one-to-one basis 'in response to the needs of a child who presents with a problem of a personal, social, emotional or behavioural nature' (Best, 2002, p. 13). Best conducted a review of the pastoral care literature to report that when schools provide 'reactive' intervention there is a significant reduction in the number of exclusions and referrals for children receiving support to improve their relationships and social behaviour.

This section has discussed interventions available for children experiencing SEBD within school. However, children who experience SEBD are also supported outside of the school environment through organisations or services that provide therapy based interventions. The following section will discuss the use of child-focused cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) for children, before discussing a particular programme of interest to this thesis.

Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy programmes for children with ADHD

To begin more generally, CBT as originally proposed by Beck in the 1960s, is a form of psychotherapy that is used to treat emotional and behavioural problems by reversing dysfunctional cognitions, emotions, and behaviours (Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979; Hazlett-Stevens & Craske, 2005). The basic premise of CBT is that the individual is responsible for their thoughts and behaviours, and so treatment involves helping individuals recognise and change maladaptive processes, by developing adaptive processes such as rational thinking and problem-solving (Wright, Basco & Thase, 2006). CBT-based interventions for children with SEBD have been found to effectively enhance or develop social competence and to control reactive behaviours such as anger or aggression (Cole, Treadwell, Dosani & Frederickson, 2012; Sukhodolsky, Kassinove & Gorman, 2004; Toplak, Connors, Shuster, Knezevic & Parks, 2008).

A particular CBT-based programme of interest to this thesis is 'RAPID'³, a group intervention designed by Young (2009; 2012) for children diagnosed with

³ RAPID stands for Reasoning And Problem-solving for Inattentive Detectives as it is based on a detective theme, designed around the policing skills used by UK detectives at New Scotland Yard (Young, 2012).

ADHD, or those who present with attentional difficulties. The programme teaches children cognitive, social, and emotional skills and moral values to enhance and develop social skills, attention and listening skills, emotional control, and problem-solving in order to help increase academic achievement and reduce problem behaviours (Young, 2012). The programme is delivered through group and individual coaching. Firstly, 'direct intervention', which is group-based coaching, is delivered outside of the home environment (for example, in school or support group) by a professional who has been trained to deliver RAPID. The direct intervention is delivered via a structured manualised guide to ensure consistency, and involves teaching the children the necessary skills outlined within that manual to improve their attention and behaviour (Young, 2009; 2012).

Secondly, the programme is delivered through 'indirect intervention', which is provided by parents or teachers, or what the programme calls 'Coaches'. The role of the Coach is to encourage and support the children, to complement the learning that takes place in between the group sessions. The Coaches are not expected to have an in-depth knowledge of the learning that takes place within the sessions; instead their role is to talk to the children about what they have learnt and encourage them to practise their newly learnt skills to deal with real life difficulties. The Coaches attend three training sessions throughout the duration of the programme and are given a manualised guide to help them support the children. The purpose of the Coach is to ensure the children get the long-term support they need to transfer and practice their newly learnt skills long after the intervention has been delivered (Young, 2009; 2012).

In line with the cognitive-behavioural principles that are a feature of the programme, children are taught self-regulation skills through enhancing their

awareness of how their thoughts, feelings, and emotions affect their behaviour. The aim is that these skills will allow them to recognise and monitor their thoughts, feelings, and emotions so they can make informed choices about how to react, and how to modify their behaviour to the social and emotional situations they encounter. By separating the behaviour from the emotion, triggers can be identified, strategies can be explored, and skills can be put into place to regulate emotional responses and change behaviours.

Young (2012) conducted an acceptability and reliability study to examine the effectiveness of RAPID. Acceptability was assessed by drop out rate (8%, 4 children) and semi-structured interviews with the children and parents. The qualitative feedback was positive and both the parent/carers and children enjoyed and valued the programme. Reliability was measured using the RATE-C Questionnaire to evaluate attention, emotional control, social functioning, and conduct. Young used self-report (RATE-CS) and informant (RATE-CI) questionnaires to score pre- and post ratings, which were found to be significant in improving attention, emotion, and conduct with medium to large effect. Young conducted the study with children who were not identified as having any problems that needed intervention. However, she concluded that RAPID is an effective intervention for improving attention, emotional control, and conduct, and suggests that the programme would have even greater benefits for children with attentional difficulties.

Interventions such as RAPID, among others that teach emotional awareness, control, and regulation, help promote what has been termed 'emotional literacy' (Steiner, 1996). Emotional literacy refers to the ability to understand your emotions, the ability to recognise others emotions, and the ability to express emotions appropriately (Steiner, 1996). The following section will discuss how the concept of

emotional literacy is relevant in understanding SEBD, before focusing on three specific features of emotional literacy that are targeted in many intervention programmes: the promotion of self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience.

Developing children's emotional literacy

Emotional literacy is described as an individual's ability to regulate their emotional expression by recognising and locating emotions in their body, labelling them appropriately, and expressing them in appropriate ways (Pearson and Wilson, 2008; Steiner, 1996; Steiner & Perry, 1997). Steiner and Perry (1997) wrote,

To be emotionally literate is to be able to handle emotions in a way that improves your personal power and improves the quality of life around you. Emotional literacy improves relationships, creates loving possibilities between people, makes cooperative work possible, and facilitates the feelings of community (p. 11).

There is a preference to use the word 'literacy' rather than 'intelligence' because intelligence has been viewed over the years as being fixed or stable, rather than as something that can be learnt and developed (Rae, 2012). Other terms have been used to describe the same ways in which individuals regulate their emotions, for example, 'emotional competency' (Saarni, 1999), 'social intelligence' (Mayer & Salovey, 1993), 'emotional growth' (Greenhalgh, 1994), and 'emotional well-being' (McLaughlin, 2008).

Emotional literacy is mostly defined by a set of competencies that enable individuals to recognise their own, and other people's emotions. This matters because people need to be able to recognise, name, and understand how they are feeling in order to manage their emotions (Cherniss, Extein, Goleman & Weissberg, 2006; Rae, 2012; Sharp 2001; Weare, 2003). A key aspect of emotional literacy then is self-awareness. Weare (2004) describes self-awareness as a child's ability to recognise the cause of their emotions so they can manage their response, process their experiences and build resilience. It is argued that this in turn will support children develop an accurate, optimistic, and positive view of themselves.

An emotionally literate child then, is better able to understand, accept or change the difficulties they are experiencing because of a deeper understanding and ability to manage their emotional responses to difficulties. This highlights the important relationship between emotional literacy and a child's well-being. The following section will consider this relationship further by looking at three core components that are relevant to the enhancement of emotional literacy: self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience.

Self-concept

Generally speaking, self-concept is defined as a person's perception of him or herself, which is shaped by their experiences and interpretations of their environment, and influenced by the evaluations of significant others and attributions of their own behaviour (Marsh & Shavelson, 1985; Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976; Shavelson & Bolus, 1981). The self is both descriptive and evaluative (Shavelson et al., 1976); it is both a cognitive and social construct (Harter, 2012), therefore our

thoughts and experiences contribute to its development. Despite there being no formal definition, Shavelson et al.'s (1976) model of self-concept as a multidimensional hierarchical construct, is now largely accepted as the established framework from which much self-concept research has developed (Craven & Marsh, 2008). Shavelson et al. wrote,

...we do not claim an entity within a person called "self-concept". Rather, we claim that the construct is potentially useful in explaining and predicting how one acts. One's perceptions of himself are thought to influence the ways in which he acts, and his acts in turn influence the ways in which he perceives himself (p. 411).

This conceptualisation highlights the subjective nature of self-concept, but more importantly in terms of this research, it highlights the interaction that occurs between thought, feeling, and behaviour. This interaction is especially significant to this research because practitioners treat the relationship between self-concept and SEBD as core in supporting children manage, overcome, or change their difficulties. For Craven and Marsh (2008), interventions that foster self-concept also foster well-being, as one's sense of self is considered to be a mediating factor that underpins every individuals' potential. Conversely, influences that undermine self-concept are likely to have negative effects on an individual's potential. Therefore, enhancing self-concept is vital for achieving a healthy well-being as it impacts on a wide range of critical outcomes (Craven & Marsh, 2008).

The relationship between self-concept and self-esteem is interlinked because self-esteem is considered to be the evaluative part of a person's self-concept (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991). So, if self-concept relates to how a person describes him or herself, then self-esteem is the evaluation of that description. The value of self-esteem was noted by Maslow (1943), who included it as a human need in his hierarchy, describing it as the need for the respect and admiration of others, the need for self-regard, and the need to find achievement, recognition, importance, and respect.

The study of self-esteem has been strongly influenced by the early work of Coopersmith (1967), who devised the widely used 'self-esteem inventory' to measure self-esteem in children. Coopersmith set out to measure self-esteem in order to uncover its causes by assessing children's attitudes towards themselves. He defined it as: 'a *personal* judgment of worthiness' (p. 5). This definition was based on his research findings that children form 'personal judgements' through their social interactions, private reactions, and competency in dealing with life events. Therefore, for Coopersmith a child's 'self' develops as they internalise attributes and experiences, informed by the way they evaluate themselves according to how competent they are at meeting society's expectations, how they experience love and acceptance, and how much control they exert.

Through his work, Coopersmith (1967) highlights the relationship between self-esteem and achievement: children feel good about themselves when they feel valued and have a sense of efficacy. However since Coopersmith, although self-esteem research has engaged in developing the feeling good aspect, it has somewhat neglected the focus on efficacy. The assumption of much research that followed was that people seek to maintain self-esteem because of an innate need to feel good (see

Leary, 1999). This led to a further assumption, that by making a person feel good about themselves an array of social, emotional, and behavioural problems could be addressed (Leary, Tambor, Terdal & Downs, 1995). However, as Coopersmith's research originally proposed, helping a person to feel good without helping them to develop efficacy is not sufficient, as the absence of social and emotional skills and knowledge is not addressed by simply helping someone to feel good (see also Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger & Vohs, 2003; Seligman, Reivich, Jaycox & Gillham, 2007).

According to Leary et al. (1995) a further problem of past research is that it has not investigated the function of self-esteem. Therefore, Leary et al. developed the 'sociometer' model based on the fundamental assumption that an individual's self-esteem is tied to how others evaluate them. In other words, the perceptions of others shape the perceptions of one's self. This model sets in motion the belief, healthy self-esteem functions to maintain social acceptance, so individuals that are 'not adequately valued and accepted by other people lower self-esteem and behaviours' (Leary, 1999, p. 32). Therefore, the 'sociometer' is a method that humans use to maintain significant interpersonal relationships, as they 'continuously monitor the social environment for cues regarding the degree to which the individual is being accepted versus rejected by other people' (Leary, 1999, p. 33).

In order to maintain a healthy self-esteem, Leary suggests that people actively minimise the likelihood of being rejected to improve their chances of being socially accepted. This approach bears relevance to the original work of Coopersmith (1967), as it brings into focus once more the importance of being socially effective, which had somewhat lacked attention in the intervening years. So, in line with Leary and Coopersmith, if a child feels devalued and rejected because they lack the social skills

and knowledge needed to effectively manage the difficulties they are experiencing, their self-esteem and self-concept will be affected. A fundamental aim of intervention programmes for those experiencing SEBD, then, is to change individuals' views about how socially valued and accepted they are through the enhancement of social skills, problem-solving, and increasing self-control (Leary, 1999). The effect of developing a stronger self-esteem, self-concept, and social and emotional skills, is that a person builds resilience and is better able to cope with life's difficulties (see Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990).

Resilience

Resiliency refers to the process, and capacity, to positively adapt despite significant adversity (Garmezy, 1983; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2001; Rutter, 1983)⁴. It is a developmental process that is behavioural by nature, 'usually defined in terms of internal states of well-being or effective functioning in the environment or both' (Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990, p. 426)⁵. Children who positively adapt are often referred to as resilient, not because they possess a particular personality trait but because they experience two coexisting conditions as they develop: the presence of threat to well-being, and positive adaptation despite encountering adversity (Luther, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000).

Learning to cope with stressful events successfully is an important part of a child's development, as stressful events are an inevitable part of human life.

⁴ Resiliency has been narrowed down further by some researchers who specifically refer to 'social-emotional resilience' (Kline & Short, 1991), and 'behavioural resiliency' (Carpentieri, Mulhern, Douglas, Hanna & Fairdough, 1993), to describe particular adaptive changes made by children as a result of overcoming their SEBD.

⁵ It is important to note that some resilience researchers do not consider adaptive development to only be in terms of positive behaviours. Ungar (2008) argues that for many children 'patterns of deviance are healthy adaptations that permit them to survive unhealthy circumstances' (Ungar, 2008, p. 6).

Resilience research has explored the factors that not only put children at risk, but factors that enable children to cope adaptively. Although early research centred on the protective factors that were considered to be attributable traits within the child, for example, high self-esteem and a positive sense of self (see Masten, 2001), researchers now acknowledge that external factors, such as a child's family or their wider social environment, can also support a resilient trajectory (see Luther et al., 2000; Masten & Coastworth, 1998; Masten, 2001; Werner, 1996).

This was a crucial shift, because 'children who experience chronic adversity fare better or recover more successfully when they have a positive relationship with a competent adult, they are good learners and problem-solvers, they are engaging to other people, and they have areas of competence and perceived efficacy valued by self or society' (Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990, p. 425). The importance of having close relationships with supportive adults, effective schools, positive peers relationships, and of being connected to pro-social adults within the wider community, have been constant factors of agreement across resilience studies (Luther et al., 2000). This suggests that children are most resilient when they are supported in all areas of their life, which in turn suggests that if a child is experiencing difficulty in one or more areas, others can compensate.

The role of individual and internal protective factors to mitigate risk factors has been a focus for both research and practice (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008; Stouthamer-Loeber, Loeber, Wei, Farrington & Wikström, 2002). Guerra & Bradshaw's (2008) review article identifies five core competencies for the promotion of social and emotional development and prevention of risk: (1) positive sense of self (self-awareness, agency, and self-esteem), (2) self-control, (3) decision-making skills, (4) a moral system of belief, and (5) pro-social connectedness (Guerra & Bradshaw,

2008, p. 6). The first core competency, 'positive sense of self', is made up of three components, *self-awareness, agency, and self-esteem*, which emerge throughout a child's early development and becomes influential during their transition to adulthood. The authors propose that *self-awareness* allows children to assess their physical, psychological, and behavioural attributes, laying the groundwork for their future – 'who I am' and 'who I could become' – to provide a sense of hope, direction, and purpose (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 7). The second component of a positive sense of self was *agency*, described as: 'a sense of volition over self-generated acts...the motor for action' (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 7). A critical part of a child's development is their realisation that they are active and independent agents in their own lives, and it is this realisation that helps shape a positive sense of self. The third component is *self-esteem*, which they describe as the developmental characteristic that is based on evaluations of self.

The second core competency that was proposed for positive adjustment is, 'self-control': a child's ability to regulate and manage their affect and behaviour. Self-control is evident when a child follows the 'rules they might rather disobey; inhibit their desire for immediate gratification, particularly in the presence of a tempting reward; and modulate responses in accordance with age-graded standards' (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 8). The third competency, 'decision-making skills', is important for children because many of their decisions will affect their current and potential well-being (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 9). The fourth competency, 'a moral system of belief', is an internalised belief about how people should behave in relation to one another, these 'moral' judgements shape a child's moral identity (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 11). The final core competency, 'pro-social connectedness', refers to a child's sense of belonging and feeling cared for within their social communities

(Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008, p. 12). To conclude, Guerra & Bradshaw propose that the five competencies identified provide a framework for the promotion of positive and healthy development and risk prevention.

Resilience research takes a problem-focus approach in identifying risk factors, and a solution-focused approach in identifying protective factors. The solution-focused approach has argued that human strength protects our well-being, and so interventions that adopt a solution-focused approach will foster skills and qualities that become self-fulfilling, or what is sometimes called 'learned optimism' (Seligman, 2002, p. 5). As such, many intervention programmes are designed to help children master new skills, develop qualities such as self-esteem, a more positive self-concept, and build resilience, in order to manage, change, or overcome difficulty. The premise being that if a child, for example, has a diagnosis of ADHD they can be helped not by trying to 'get rid' of their ADHD but in strengthening the qualities they already have to counteract and manage the difficulties they face. The focus then is not on the problem but on the solution in trying to help and support children.

This section has discussed the importance of supporting a child become more emotionally literate to help them make sense of their SEBD, and to provide them the social and emotional skills and knowledge they need to manage, change, or overcome the difficulties they are experiencing. In light of this, three related qualities have been discussed: self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience, as these components of emotional literacy underpin many of the theories and practices that are applied in interventions designed to support children enhance their well-being.

However, as has been discussed already much of the theory that informs professional practice treats the 'self' as something that can be naturally enhanced by simply attending intervention. Yet, the actual delivery of these intervention

programmes remains largely unstudied. This research argues that, 'self-work' is not necessarily something that is strategically and explicitly managed within the interaction, instead it can be managed by the subtle and ordinary kinds of things that people do in their daily encounters. What we need now, then, is to understand what 'self-work' looks like, in order to reveal *how* 'self-work' is managed in everyday interactions. As such, the aim of this thesis is to identify the ordinary ways in which the professionals and children engage in 'self-work', by examining the moments within interaction when they themselves make 'self-work' a noticeable and visible action that is managed in and through their interactions. As this thesis develops these issues will be explored in more detail.

The following section will discuss how an interactional approach can be used to uncover the structure and organisation of 'self-work'.

An interactional approach to 'self-work'

To summarise what has been discussed in this chapter so far, interventions for SEBD are typically based on theories and models that have been developed from understandings about the causes of SEBD, and studied by measuring effectiveness and outcomes. Although accompanying manuals and handbooks offer practical guidelines and recommendations for professionals delivering interventions, they do not show what the delivery of those interventions should look like in real life, and so handbooks can be interactionally unhelpful (see Hutchby, 2007). What is missing from both the training resources, and the academic research, are real life studies of social interaction within the delivery of interventions.

Interactional researchers explore what is 'actually done in the therapeutic interview' (Labove & Fanshel, 1977, p. 3). Studies that have examined, what could be characterised for the purposes of this thesis as supportive institutional interactions, is a growing field. For example, researchers have examined interactions that take place within AIDS counselling (Perakyla, 1995; Silverman, 1997), psychotherapy (Antaki, Barnes & Leudar, 2005; Madill, Widdicombe & Barkham, 2001; Perakyla, Antaki, Vehviläinen & Leudar, 2008; Vehviläinen, 2003), support groups (Arminen, 2004), child counselling (Butler et al, 2010; Butler, Danby & Emmison, 2011; Danby, Butler & Emmison, 2011; Emmison, Butler & Danby, 2011; Hutchby, 2007), family therapy (Hutchby & O'Reilly, 2010; O'Reilly, 2006 2007, 2008), mediation (Stokoe, 2011; 2013; 2013; 2013; 2014), and helplines (Hepburn & Potter, 2007; 2010; 2011; 2011; 2013; Hepburn & Wiggins, 2005; Hepburn, Wilkinson & Butler, 2014; Kitzinger, 2011; Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012; Wilkinson, 2011; 2011).

These studies draw on the analytic methods of conversation analysis (CA), and discursive psychology (DP) to examine interactions as they unfold, to identify the conversational practices that topicalise and bring to life theoretical notions (see method chapter for a detailed discussion of CA and DP). Although a detailed description of CA takes place in the following chapter, it is important to say here that this method allows for an analysis of the workings of an institutional service, because it involves the microscopic inspection of the ordinary practices that people use as they conduct their business (Antaki, 2011). The importance of this being that by first identifying the ordinary practices that allow the institutional business to be accomplished, findings can be shared and then applied by professionals within their actual practice (Stokoe, 2011; 2014).

For example, Hepburn and Potter (2007) examined calls to the NSPCC⁶ helpline because child protection officers had identified a problem within their institutional practice. That problem being, when callers reported a case of maltreatment they often get upset which made these calls difficult to manage. This was problematic for the protection officers because they did not always know how to manage the upset effectively, which would result in the callers terminating the call. Protection officers needed to collect evidence to ensure a referral could be made, but that evidence could only be collected if the caller stayed on the line. By examining the calls, Hepburn and Potter were able to identify different conversational trajectories based on the way that the protection officers managed the callers' upset. These findings were shared within the organisation so protection officers could fine-tune their practice to better manage moments when crying became an interactional concern.

Practitioners themselves are often unaware of the range, or detail, of the interactional skills they offer in delivering their practice. However, Seligman (2002) argues that the 'tactics' of effective therapy (such as paying attention, building rapport, and gaining trust) are not mysterious, unknown practices, because effective therapists use them all the time. Yet research rarely studies these practices precisely because they are fuzzy concepts. But, this is where interactional methods show their strength, as they can be used to study fuzzy concepts empirically and robustly.

In research that examined investigative interviewing of children about alleged sexual abuse, Fogarty, Augoustinos and Kettler (2013), identified the ways in which the building of rapport was achieved as an interactional accomplishment. In order to maintain rapport while the child disclosed the full extent of their experience,

⁶ National Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Children.

professionals used drawings to lessen the intensity of eye-gaze to facilitate this traumatic telling. Drawings gave a legitimate reason not to engage in eye contact as they give the interactants a third object of focus to sensitively manage the interaction. Similarly, Butler, Danby and Emmison (2011) found that when counsellors take an opposing stance to the child they are counselling they use the child's name to manage rapport building and maintain the counselling relationship. Such findings offer insights into the ways practitioners actively manage moments of discomfort to achieve their interactional aims.

In contribution to these research findings, this thesis will show how an interactional examination of intervention delivery across both datasets, can identify the ways in which fuzzy concepts such as emotional literacy, self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience, are made live in and through the interaction by the professionals and children themselves. By examining the ways in which 'self-work' is actually managed, an interactional approach can identify the ordinary methods and practices being used by professionals in their delivery to support a child's well-being. For example, in Chapter 5, an analysis of what becomes characterised as 'reassurance', shows how 'self-work' is managed through the ordinary practices of asking questions, inviting self-assessment, and managing subject-object relations.

As well as identifying practices that enable theoretical concepts to be studied, an interactional approach can reveal underlying conflict that exists between theory and practice, and the ways in which such conflict can be managed. In their study of a telephone counselling service, Butler, Potter, Danby, Emmison and Hepburn (2010) examined interactions in which counsellors were institutionally mandated not to give advice, because it violated principles of child empowerment and child-centeredness. However, in practice children often called the helpline precisely because they wanted

advice, and so this created the possibility for conflict between the counsellors aims and the children's reasons for calling the helpline.

Butler et al, (2010) found that counsellors managed this conflict through the use of 'advice-implicative interrogatives', questions that inquire into a child's capacity to undertake a particular course of future action. The questions were packaged as 'suggestions', which allowed the counsellors to actively engage in the child's want, and need for help, without offering explicit advice and displaying authority over the children's lives. However, the conflict between theory and practice was two-fold, in that outside of the organisations mandate to not give advice, counsellors are more generally advised to minimise their use of questions, particularly closed questions, as these limit a child's response, control the conversation, and prevent a child from speaking freely (Butler et al., 2010; Geldard, Geldard & Foo, 2013). In practice, Butler et al. found that the use of advice-implicative interrogatives overcame a more imperative interactional conflict - not giving advice when it was asked for – and so the action-focused questions were actually found to be particularly useful, in contrast to the more general counselling guidelines.

In contribution to these research findings, this thesis will examine intervention delivery across both datasets to bridge the gap between theory and practice, in terms of how issues relating to emotional literacy, self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience are made live and managed in actual interactions. By examining *how* pastoral care and the RAPID programme interventions are delivered, this thesis will reveal the ordinary and often intuitive ways in which the professional's engage in and manage 'self-work' to provide support for the children they counsel. The pastoral care and RAPID guidelines and recommendations are scripted through handbooks, manuals, and other forms of written instruction, so these scripts need to be converted into actual

talk (see Maynard & Schaeffer, 2005). The ways in which this is done will show the variance in methods available, and so delivery of the interventions becomes as much about identifying the 'seen but unnoticed' (Garfinkel, 1964) ordinary methods being used by the professionals, as it is about the content of those interventions.

In pursuing such findings, the need to examine real life interactions is ever more salient, as it is through examining social interaction that studies can become interactionally useful. For example, an interactional approach can reveal how practices relating to 'pastoral' and 'care' become activities that are interactionally achieved, rather than concepts that are often invisible and taken for granted (see Calvert, 2009 and Eldén, 2012). In addition, interactional practices used to engage in and manage 'self-work', can be uncovered, studied, and made available for both researchers and practitioners. In so doing, valuable understandings about theory and practice can be found in terms of how ordinary practices are used to support a child's behaviour, and their social and emotional well-being, understandings that have been more broadly born out of theoretical recommendations.

An example of this can be found in Chapter 6. The analysis of the delivery of a RAPID session on recognising and controlling anger reveals how collective person references are used to normalise and untie anger as being dispositional of children with a diagnosis of ADHD. This practice is in preparation to the teaching of a specific anger management technique. By first normalising anger the teaching that takes place occurs within a positive and future-focused environment, which is theoretically bound to the practice of coaching and the delivery of the programme. Such ordinary but effective ways of delivering intervention in accordance to theory driven guidelines are not included within the manualised handbook. Therefore, such findings are valuable for those delivering the programme (and others that support children) to recognise,

share, and practice in the future. This in turn will be valuable for the children being supported and their future outcomes.

An applied basis

An interactional approach to the study of intervention delivery has been discussed, to show how it can identify and make available, to both researchers and practitioners, the ordinary practices that are skilfully used by professionals in order to carry out their work effectively. The research findings from this thesis will build on this work and sit within an applied conversation analytic research framework. Within this applied field, interactional researchers have already uncovered valuable insights for those wanting to further understand the work that they do, to inform future training needs. Although the applied basis of interactional approaches was touched on in the previous section, the following will review in more detail some of the pioneering work that is currently taking place.

A general theme that can be found within the studies discussed so far, is that there is an emphasis placed on the need to examine practices and phenomenon in the real life setting of the very 'thing' that is of research interest. Stokoe (2013) studied the authenticity of simulated (role-play) interaction by comparing it to its naturally occurring counterpart, to see if there were any observable differences. Role-play interactions assume real life talk can be simulated on the basis of our normative understandings of any given situation or event. However, Stokoe argues that this assumption has not been challenged, and so training organisations accept that simulated situations will sufficiently train and assess people for real life encounters.

In reality, Stokoe (2013) found a number of differences in the way actions were accomplished when comparing matched simulated data to naturally occurring data. For example, in simulations, actions were more elaborate, exaggerated, or explicit, as participants made their actions interactionally visible for the purpose of being assessed, and to display competency. These findings have implications for training, as research can now show that simulated role-play does not sufficiently mimic the real life events that individuals are being trained in. Stokoe (2011; 2014) developed the Conversation Analytic Role-Play Method (CARM), using real life encounters as data for 'naturally-occurring experiments'. The research findings become evidenced-based training materials that allow people doing the jobs they do, see how they, and their colleagues, go about delivering their services through talk (Stokoe, 2014).

This method of training professionals is used instead of the more traditional role-play methods. CARM uses recordings of actual interactions between service providers and users, to look at how these interactions unfold in practice on a turn-by-turn basis. Traditional role-play methods assume that people already know 'how talk works' (Stokoe, 2014, p. 119), but CARM slows down real life interactions so that participants can watch or listen to live conversations, so they can evaluate, assess and see alternative ways of dealing with situations. Stokoe (2014) concludes that the feedback from individuals attending CARM workshops is very positive, as the workshops provide a unique opportunity for individuals to examine their daily work through the recordings of live cases.

In introducing a collection of studies that sit within an 'applied' framework, Antaki (2011) describes six kinds of research. Two of these are of particular interest to this research, the first being what Antaki refers to as 'institutional applied CA: an

illumination of routine institutional work' (p. 6). This kind of research is interested in how an institution manages the work it undertakes successfully, and how it solves the everyday difficulties encountered in the course of delivering their service. Within every study of this kind Antaki notes that the researcher identifies a practice that might seem significant, and further examines that practice to see how it happens, and how it affects what happens next.

This thesis fits within this kind of applied research, as it identifies how ordinary practices are used within the delivery of interventions deigned to help children with SEBD overcome their difficulties. The analytic chapters that follow discuss in turn how ordinary practices such as questions, self-assessments, and person references are used to engage in and manage 'self-work' within the interaction. These findings will add to the growing range of methods that have already been identified as being helpful to practice, for example, Butler et al's. (2010) findings on how advicegiving is managed, and Hepburn & Potter's (2007) findings on how to manage upset and crying.

The second kind of study within Antaki's 'applied' framework that is of particular interest to this research is 'interventionist applied CA: solving pre-existing problems collaboratively' (p. 10). The work of Stokoe and the development of CARM is an example of this kind. Research findings inform training materials that are presented as live role-play, which allows professionals 'to engage authentically, without simulation, with their everyday professional practice' (p. 139). There is the potential for the research findings from this thesis to become future training materials for professionals delivering interventions for children experiencing SEBD. Training on how to engage in and manage 'self-work' in practice is a clearly 'trainable' thing as the research findings can show how professionals go about performing this in

practice. For example, how a 'good in bad' search is initiated within the pastoral care data to protect how a child feels about themselves as a result of the difficulties they are experiencing in their everyday life (see Chapter 4).

Such research findings will highlight the ordinary ways in which intervention is delivered successfully. These findings can be used to inform live role-play workshops based on real life practice for professionals working with children, and inform the development and delivery of further programmes for those who support children experiencing SEBD. This is a much needed area of research because successful intervention determines how well children develop the skills and knowledge they need to be able to change, manage, or overcome their difficulties. This in turn is much needed, as the development of children's social and emotional skills and knowledge is what will ensure their futures are more successful than previous research has predicted.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the academic and practical context for this research by reviewing the literature that surrounds SEBD, and theories that inform intervention programmes. In so doing, this chapter has examined the impact of SEBD on a child's present and future outcomes, and discussed how the concept of emotional literacy features in interventions aimed at helping children enhance their self-concept, their self-esteem, and build resilience. By detailing what is already known, this chapter has identified what is missing; the need for an interactional approach to analyse the everyday conversational practices being used by those supporting children to engage in and manage 'self-work', as such work seemingly goes hand in hand with these kind

of interactions. The analytic chapters that follow will examine the datasets in detail to identify the everyday ordinary practices that have been touched on so far. Those that are used by professionals during the delivery of interventions to support and promote children's behaviour, and emotional and social well-being.

Chapter 2:

Method

This chapter will provide a detailed description of how the research was carried out. First, I will describe the data collection process, which will include a discussion about the challenges of doing research with vulnerable children, some false starts, some ethical considerations, the recruitment process, and the research participants themselves. I will then describe the analytic methods that inform the chapters within, explain why these methods have a preference for collecting 'naturalistic' data, and end with a note on transcription.

Data collection

The overall aim of my research was to identify and examine the everyday methods being used by professionals during the delivery of intervention to: support children talk about and makes sense of their difficulties, and support children develop a more positive sense of self. Therefore, I wanted to collect recordings of interactions between children experiencing difficulty in their lives, and the professionals who support those children to talk about, and make sense of their difficulties. The need for sensitive research to be carried out with vulnerable children is well recognised within the social sciences, but in practice gaining access can be a real challenge (McNab, Visser & Daniels, 2007). I knew conducting research with this group of children would be extremely difficult as parents and/or professionals quite rightly act as

gatekeepers to safeguard children's well-being. However, gaining access was not just about reassuring the gatekeepers that the children would be caused no harm, as the professionals themselves may feel that by putting their practice under scrutiny they could open themselves up to criticism. Therefore, as a researcher I needed to reassure any potential participant that no harm would be caused to either the children or the professionals.

False starts

The previous chapter discussed the pastoral care and coaching interactions that were collected for this thesis. However, before these data were collected I pursued, but failed to secure, the participation of two other organisations for reasons that will be discussed here. The first organisation I approached was a child counselling charity. I met with the counselling manager to discuss my research, and the practical and ethical considerations that would need to be considered to ensure the children's (and counsellors) rights and anonymity would be fully protected. After our initial meeting the manager agreed that the project was feasible and valuable, and she agreed to take part. I submitted a full ethical application to the University, and once approval had been obtained the manager invited me to speak with the counsellors about my research at their monthly meeting. I went and explained that my research wanted to identify the ways in which the children were being supported within the counselling relationship. The focus was to make visible the methods and practices being used, sometimes intuitively, during the delivery of support. I explained that such findings would be valuable for the counsellors themselves in identifying their own practices, and for sharing with others who also work in a supportive role with children.

After I answered the counsellors' concerns, which were mainly about protecting the children's anonymity and confidentiality, they agreed the research findings would be valuable for their own work and for sharing with others. A handful expressed interest in participating in the study, and I confirmed with the manager that I would be in touch to collect the details of those who wanted to participate. However, despite their apparent interest in the study the manager later advised me that none of the counsellors had agreed to take part. This was largely because they felt recording their time with the children would be too intrusive for both them and the children in view of the counselling philosophy they worked by.

Once discussions with the counselling charity came to an end I decided to contact organisations that I had a relationship with outside of the research. I felt this was the way forward to assure future gatekeepers of my integrity and that the participants' well-being was a central concern for the research. My involvement with the counselling charity had highlighted the fact that I was asking individuals to entrust a huge amount of faith in me as a researcher. As such I felt that approaching organisations I already knew, compared with organisations that only knew me as a 'researcher' might prove more successful.

The company I approached next was a privately owned children's residential care home that provided placements for children and young people who are 'looked after' by the local authority⁷. I was an occasional support worker for the children in the care homes and so was a known and trusted employee of the company. I discussed my research with the Company Director and Clinical Psychologist, and after several

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⁷ In the UK children can either be placed into care by their parents if they are struggling to look after them, or they can be removed by Government run children's services if they are believed to be at risk. When a child is placed into care they become the responsibility of the local authority (local providers of Government services within a specific area) in terms of who funds their care. The child is either placed in a local authority children's home or in a privately owned children's home.

communications I got permission to collect recordings from two residential homes. I was then asked to arrange meetings with the two homes managers and support staff to discuss my research, and identify which aspects of life in the homes they would be happy for me to record. The first step was to get consent from the persons who were legally responsible for the children, as the children should only be contacted once consent for them to take part had been given. The contacting of those who had legal responsibility was to be made via the home managers due to data protection. It was this process that proved to be most difficult, as legal responsibility for looked after children can be with parents, carers, or social workers (and these can frequently change) depending on the care order given by the court, and reasons why the child has been placed in care.

As I did not have the contact details of the persons who had legal responsibility for the children I was reliant on the home's managers to contact them and obtain consent on my behalf. The problem that arose was that the managers did not have the time, or the commitment to do this. Their focus was to oversee the daily running of the homes, which was naturally a very demanding and unpredictable job, and the individual needs of the children in their care were understandably their primary concern. However, time was a major issue for me, as I needed to collect my data within a specific time frame to complete my PhD. It was agreed that we would conclude our collaboration at this time with the hope that we might be able to work on another project at some point in the future.

Despite my initial challenges I successfully went on to collect recordings of pastoral care and group coaching interactions. I had a prior connection to the professionals in both of these contexts, which is what I believe helped me navigate the professional and personal barriers that could have otherwise prevented me from

gaining access. The 'pastoral care data' came from a primary school that employed a full-time pastoral member of staff to look after the social and emotional needs of the children that attend. The data was recordings of interactions between the school pastoral carer and a child who had been identified as needing additional help and support. The 'coaching data' came from a charity organisation that employs ADHD Specialist Coaches to support children with a diagnosis of ADHD. The data was recordings of interactions during the delivery of a training programme designed to teach cognitive, social, and emotional skills and moral values to children with ADHD or attentional difficulties.

The data for my research came from two different settings, and the interventions being provided within these settings were also different. Also, the pastoral care data involved one-to-one interactions, while the coaching data involved group interactions. However, what tied these two sets of data together was that I was interested in identifying and examining the ways in which professionals package and deliver support; as well as the ways in which ordinary methods and practices are used by professional and children to engage in and manage the 'self-work' that is such an integral part of these types of interactions. Therefore, the data became ideal settings for this type of enquiry. The collection process of both the pastoral care and coaching data will now be discussed respectively in the following sections.

Pastoral care data

The pastoral care role

At the time of recording Morgan⁸ was in Year 4, so aged between 8 and 9 years old. He had been identified by his teachers as needing regular pastoral care because of friendship troubles. However, as time went on it became clear that he also needed support because of difficulties being experienced in his home life. The role of the pastoral carer, 'Miss'⁹, within the school was to spend time with the children who had been identified as needing additional care and support. This role was quite different to that of a teaching assistant as Miss was not based in the classroom and the support she offers is emotional rather than educational. There is a separate office that Miss uses to meet with the children, so they can talk privately about their problems and concerns in a safe and supportive environment. Her role is quite unique to this particular school as it is not mandatory for all schools to provide this level of care. It is more common for schoolteachers to provide pastoral care as part of their role within the school curriculum, but as the majority of their time is spent teaching, most pastoral care provision is quite different to that which is described here (see Best et al., 1977; Reid, 2005; Wortley & Harrison, 2008).

The pastoral care data was fitting for the research interests of this thesis as the main concern for those providing pastoral care is to support the learning, behaviour, and well-being of all children within school (DES, 1989). Therefore, pastoral care

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⁸ Morgan is a pseudonym to protect his identity.

⁹ This was Morgan's chosen address term for the pastoral carer, which is used because it is already anonymised.

interactions are an ideal setting to identify the delivery of support and the 'self-work' that allows this intervention to take place.

Collecting the pastoral care data

I made contact with Miss through a friend and met with her to explain my research. After we met she spoke with her Head Teacher and later confirmed that they were both keen to take part in the research. The school was very proud of the quality of care they provided for their children as they felt that all schools should be able to fund and provide full time pastoral care for all children, and so the research was welcomed. With their agreement to take part I submitted a full ethics application to the University that adhered to the British Psychological Society's ethical guidelines. This included a detailed description of how the psychological well-being and rights of the children would be a research priority. The application also included information sheets and consents/assent forms for all those participating in the study (see appendices 1-3, p. 235), along with confirmation that I had undergone a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check that cleared me to work with children.

It is important to note at this point that children can only give 'assent' to their parents/carers 'consent'. This means children can only take part in any research if their parents/carers have given their consent as legal guardians. It was for this reason that Miss first approached Morgan's father about the research to give him the detailed information sheet explaining the study, its aims, and means of dissemination. As he was happy for Morgan to participate he was asked to sign an informed consent form showing that he had read the information sheet and understood the study. Once parental consent had been collected Morgan was approached. Miss explained the

study to him and gave him an age appropriate information sheet to ensure he also understood why the research was being done, what would be expected of him, and what would happen with the recordings after they were collected. Morgan was happy to take part and so he signed a willingness to participate form in order to give his assent. A further information sheet and consent form was included for Miss.

Of paramount concern for the research was to protect the welfare and anonymity of all the participants. Therefore, all the information sheets and consent/assent forms explained how anonymity would be protected. Although any identifying features within the transcript would be changed as standard practice, the participants could choose to whom, and how, I could show the video clips (faces shown or obscured) from the actual recordings when disseminating my findings. There was a separate section on the consent and assent forms to ensure the participants understood all the possible ways in which the research could be disseminated. Each eventuality allowed the participants to either tick a 'yes' or 'no' box to give their permission to each (see consent/assent forms appendices 2 and 3, p. 238).

Once ethical approval was obtained I arranged a meeting with Miss. It was agreed that I would video record six sessions (approximately 3.5 hours in total) over three weeks. The following table provides a summary of the pastoral care data.

Table 2.1: Summary of pastoral care data

Session	Total hours
1	26 minutes
2	23 minutes

	3	37 minutes
	4	53 minutes
	5	37 minutes
	6	29 minutes
Total		3 hours, 25 minutes

During that meeting I gave Miss the information sheets, consent and assent forms for herself, Morgan and his father. Miss arranged to meet with them both separately to explain the research, give them the information sheets, and get their consent and assent. The information sheets included my contact details, and my supervisors, in case either Morgan or his father had any concerns or questions that they needed answering before, during, or after the recording began. Within the information and consent/assent process it was made clear to all concerned that they could stop recording at any time during, or after collection had taken place and they would not be asked to give reasons why. Again, contact details were provided on the information sheets for all the participants to keep so this could be arranged if required.

I arranged another meeting with Miss to collect the consent and assent forms for all the participants and to schedule a time to start the recordings. It was agreed that I would set up two cameras in the room where Morgan and Miss met so that I could capture all aspects of the interaction.

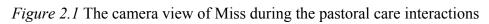




Figure 2.2 The camera view of Morgan during the pastoral care interactions



To cause the least disruption for Morgan I would go into the school and set up the two video recorders in Miss's office before each of their sessions, and collect them again after each session had finished when Morgan had returned to his classroom. Miss would begin recording before she left her office to collect Morgan so that when they arrived back their time together would be as usual as possible. Likewise at the end of their session Miss would take Morgan back to his classroom and then stop the recording when she arrived back in her office. The recorders were visible at all times so Morgan was aware that they were there, and on occasion showed interest and spoke about them to Miss. This orientation will be discussed in the 'use of 'naturalistic' data' section later in this chapter.

After each session I transferred the recordings onto my laptop and organised the files by the session number (for example, session 1) and camera number (for example, camera 1). I then transcribed each of the sessions in the order they were collected and started to highlight moments of interest. These moments of interests grew into a collection of 'positive assessments', which was then divided into three sub-collections that described the type of assessments being performed, 'compliments', 'praise', and what I called 'feel good' moments. From this collection I began to identify specific interactional practices (such as reassurance) that were being performed by Miss to support Morgan during their discussions. It was from these collections that the analytic chapters in this thesis were informed.

During one of their sessions Morgan asked about me and where I was, as he had expected me to be present during their time together. Miss asked Morgan if he would like to meet me, which he did, and so I met with him at the end of the three weeks when recording had finished. The meeting allowed me to say thank you to Morgan for letting me record his time with Miss, and it was felt appropriate that I

would give him a present as a token of my appreciation. He enjoyed art and making things in his time with Miss so I bought him a collection of arts and craft material. At the end of their last session I arrived as they finished to say thank you and to give him his present.

The coaching data

The ADHD coaching role

Any coaching model is based on a positive and future-focused approach that seeks to help individuals in need through facilitating change (see Biswas-Diener, 2009; Hart, Blattner & Leipsic, 2001). There are some fundamental assumptions shared among practicing Coaches: individuals are able to grow and develop; the coaching relationship is collaborative; questions are used to raise awareness; cognitive tools reframe negative interpretations and self-talk; and an emphasis is place on accountability for both success and failure (Biswas-Diener, 2009). Although coaching has traditionally been associated with non-clinical populations, such as sport and business, it has been influenced by the therapeutic and personal development approaches (Biswas-Biener, 2009; Ives, 2008). This has broadened the practice of coaching which is now used by child practitioners as an anger management approach (Whitfield, 1999), to promote healthy development in young children (Rush & Shelden, 2011), and to support children with ADHD (Young, 2013).

ADHD coaching offers a specialised form of coaching because Coaches have extensive knowledge and experience of ADHD. Therefore, an ADHD Coach understands the difficulties facing those with a diagnosis and so can help individuals develop strategies to discover their full potential by maximising their talents and

managing the difficulties that interfere with their everyday life (see Ratey, 2002). A local charity organisation that specialises in providing ADHD coaching supports hundreds of children, young people and adults affected by ADHD and their families¹⁰. The charity is based in a community centre and employs a team of ADHD Coaches and Assistant Coaches to provide their families regular support and access to training programmes (one of which is RAPID), one-to-one support, monthly support groups, and social events for their children throughout each year¹¹.

The coaching data is fitting for the research interests of this thesis as the charity supports children to develop their social, emotional, and behavioural skills, to discover their full potential and manage the difficulties they face. Therefore, analysing the way ADHD coaching is provided, in this instance, through the delivery of the RAPID programme, will enable me to identify and examine the ordinary methods and practices that are being used to support children and engage them in 'self-work'.

Collecting the coaching data

I already knew Maureen¹², the ADHD charity founder and Director, so I arranged to meet with her so I could discuss my research in the hope that she would be willing to take part. As well as being the Director, Maureen is an ADHD Specialist Coach and as part of that role she is trained to deliver training programmes to both children and parents. In our meeting I explained my research and that I was interested in looking at

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¹⁰ Alongside their home support the charity also offers support to schools to help teachers gain an insight and understanding of ADHD, as well as providing practical strategies and techniques to help teachers manage the social, emotional, educational, and behavioural needs of the children they teach.

¹¹ The charity has approximately 2000 families across the County that receives their monthly newsletter, and therefore access to their support and services at any time, if and when they need it.

¹² Maureen is a pseudonym to protect her identity.

the way professionals support children experiencing difficulty in their lives and Maureen described the RAPID programme as possible data. She explained that it was designed to teach children social and emotional skills to help them manage difficulties associated with a diagnosis of ADHD. Although the charity was not due to run another RAPID at the time of our meeting, Maureen suggested that she would run one in partnership with my research if I was interested and would take the volunteer role of assisting her during the delivery. Although I questioned being a participant in my own research, I decided my involvement would allow me to observe the sessions as a participant rather than simply an observer¹³. This would in turn allow for a rich ethnographic understanding of the programmes aims and objectives that would be helpful during the analytic process, and so I agreed (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

I submitted a full ethical application to the University to obtain consent to collect the coaching data. During this time the charity advertised the RAPID programme to the families who were supported by them via their monthly newsletter. The fact that the programme would be run in partnership with my research project was included in that advertisement. Maureen organised a meeting between both of us and approximately ten sets of parents who had expressed an interest in their children attending the RAPID programme. The meeting would discuss the aims and objectives of the programme, my research, and answer any questions that arose. During the meeting it was explained to parents that if they wanted their children to take part in RAPID, but did not want them to take part in the research project, they would be reserved a place on the next scheduled programme. They were made aware that the

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¹³ See Butler (2008) for a discussion about the potential conflict between being a researcher and being a 'helper'.

programme about to be delivered was in addition to the charity's usual provision. So, if parents did not want their children to be involved in my project they would not disadvantage their child by choosing to take part in a future RAPID.

The parents who attended the meeting were all happy to take part at that time and they were given information sheets and consent/assent forms to take home for them and their children (see appendix 4-6, p. 242). They were asked to discuss the research with their children, as it would be more comfortable for the children to say no to their parents rather than to a researcher. They were asked to bring their completed consent/assent forms to the first scheduled RAPID session. The information sheets had mine, and my supervisors, contact details if they had any questions or concerns that arose. There were no questions or concerns reported back from the children via their parents, and when I spoke with the children as they arrived in their first week of RAPID (before any recording started) they were aware that they were taking part in a research project and were happy to be doing so.

I did have correspondence from one of the parents regarding the research after that meeting however. Their concern was to ensure their son's anonymity would be protected and that I would adhere to their wishes once the recordings had been collected. I assured the parents that they and their son would determine the level of anonymity that they were comfortable with on the consent and assent forms. These were similar to the forms used in collecting the pastoral care data, as they offered the parents and children a range of options in terms of to whom, and how, I could show the recordings. I confirmed that these forms would be ethically and legally binding. This meant I could be held accountable if I did not treat the recordings in accordance to their documented wishes, and this would continue to be the case for the entirety of

my using the data. The parents were reassured and consent, and assent, was given for their child to take part in the research.

The recordings began, and continued, for the next nine weeks of the programme. In the tenth week of the programme the group went bowling as a reward for completing the programme but this was not recorded. The nine video-recorded sessions (approximately 14.5 hours) were attended by up to ten children aged between 11 and 14, and each had a diagnosis of ADHD. After week 1, one child decided they did not want to continue the programme and so for the remaining eight weeks there were nine children, except for the occasional absence due to illness. The following table provides a summary of the coaching data that was collected.

Table 2.2: Summary of coaching data

	Session	Number of children	Number of adults	Total Hours
	1	10	2	1 hour, 36 minutes
	2	9	2	1 hour, 52 minutes
	3	9	2	1 hour, 3 minutes
	4	9	2	1 hour, 24 minutes
	5	8	2	1 hour, 28 minutes
	6	9	2	1 hour, 38 minutes
	7	9	4	1 hour, 39 minutes
	8	9	4	1 hour, 38 minutes
	9	8	4	1 hour, 41 minutes
Totals				14 hours, 39 minutes

The RAPID programme was run on consecutive Saturday mornings between 10am and 11.30am at the community centre where the charity is based. In the first two weeks RAPID was delivered in the main hall of the community centre, but this proved to be too noisy at times as the room echoed and so Maureen decided to move the group in the following weeks to the lounge. The children were organised into two groups and sat around two tables, so three cameras were set up in the room, one to record each table and one to record Maureen delivering the session.

Figure 2.3 Room layout and positioning of cameras during the coaching interactions

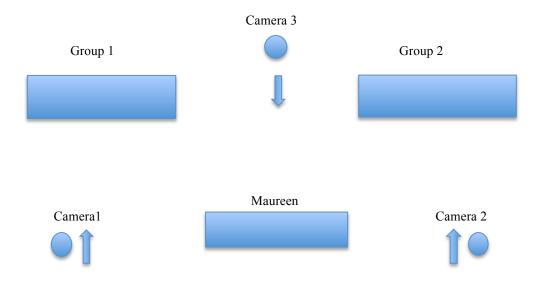


Figure 2.4 View of group one in the coaching interactions.



Figure 2.5 View of group two in the coaching interactions

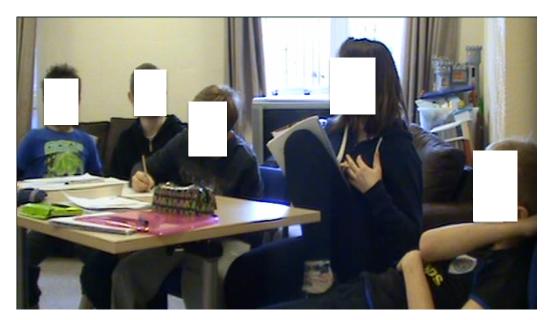


Figure 2.6 View of Maureen in the coaching interactions



When I viewed the video-recordings after the first week, I discovered that the table discussions were not audible from the three camera microphones. In the following weeks I placed an audio recorder on each of the two tables where the children sat in their groups so that their discussions could be captured.

After each of the sessions was recorded I saved the files from all three cameras and audio recorders onto my laptop, organising the files by week and camera/audio recorder number. During the collection process in weeks 1-3, I spent the time in between the sessions transcribing the recordings in the hope that by the following session the previous week would be fully transcribed. Unfortunately, this proved to be unachievable due to the length of each session and the fact that they involved multi-party interactions. So, instead I began to make detailed notes and summaries of what was happening in the sessions. These allowed me to locate moments of interest across the dataset when I came to work with the data, which could then be transcribed for analysis. I began to collect interactions that involved the

introduction, description, and assessment of cognitive aids that helped the children remember the skills and methods being taught. I also became interested in any bits of talk about emotions and started to build a collection from these moments. Both of these collections are drawn on in the analytic chapters that follow.

The RAPID training programme

The coaching data came from recordings of Maureen delivering the RAPID programme, a cognitive-behavioural psychoeducational group programme for children diagnosed with ADHD, or those who present attentional difficulties (Young, 2012). The name RAPID stands for Reasoning And Problem-solving for Inattentive Detectives as the programme is based on a detective theme, designed around the policing skills used by UK detectives at New Scotland Yard. The RAPID programme is delivered in two parts: 1) *direct intervention* is delivered on a weekly basis by someone who has been RAPID trained, in this instance Maureen, a Specialist ADHD Coach; 2) *indirect intervention* is delivered by someone who is involved in the child's care, usually a parent or teacher, who is trained to become the child's individual Coach outside of the programme. The aim of the parent or teacher is to reinforce and encourage the children to practice the skills they have learnt in the group sessions. This is to help them transfer their knowledge and skills into their everyday lives to overcome the difficulties that they encounter.

The RAPID programme is run regularly by the charity and consists of nine weekly sessions. Each session targets common difficulties experienced by children with a diagnosis of ADHD, for example, paying attention, understanding emotions, controlling anger and anxiety. Maureen has been specially trained to deliver RAPID

and uses a manualised handbook each time to ensure consistency and full delivery. There are three fundamental components of the programme that run throughout the sessions: the toolbox of 'Thinking Tools', the RAPID reward system, and the children's individual Coach. The toolbox is built week-by-week as newly taught skills are introduced through a variety of Thinking Tools, such as 'self-talk' and 'stop and think'. The tools are cognitive aids that work to support the children implement particular cognitive processes and strategies, both in the sessions and in their everyday life to help them inhibit impulsive behaviour, pay attention, control their emotions, and problem-solve¹⁴.

The RAPID reward system consisted of both individual and group rewards. In keeping with the programme's detective theme, a Captain's badge represented the individual reward. It was awarded to a child each week to recognise that they had positively engaged and participated, or helped others in their group, and so on. Part of their reward meant that in the following week's session the child given the badge can choose to write the answers given in the group discussions on a flip chart, or assist Maureen whenever the opportunity arises. The badge was awarded to all of the children throughout the programme, in each of the weeks that it was awarded varying reasons were given. So although all the children had the opportunity to wear the badge, it is awarded for individual qualities.

In addition to the individual reward there were two types of group reward, both of which are represented by stars. In the first week the children were divided into two groups, each group sat around a rectangular table so they could work together for certain group exercises for the duration of the programme. A central aim of the

¹⁴ See chapter 3 and 6 for an interactional analysis of some of the Thinking Tools that are introduced to the children

programme is that when children engage and participate with the programme or display pro-social behaviours, they are rewarded and given a paper star for their table. This not only promotes cooperative behaviour, it also enables the children to win an award each week. The individual stars accumulated within each group throughout the session and are added up at the end. Whichever group was rewarded the most stars each week gets a go in the 'lucky dip' box that contains prizes such as pencils, rubbers, and stress balls.

Alongside the paper stars, there was a laminated A4 star sign that was held up to the group by Maureen as a prompt for them to reward themselves and each other. In the first week Maureen asked the children to choose their group reward. After a discussion it was agreed that when the star sign was held up they would all clap to reward their good work. The star sign was used after a discussion or exercise had ended so allowed for a natural break and provided a space for the children to be loud and energetic, in contrast to the more focused required teaching aspects of the session.

The third feature of RAPID was that outside of the nine sessions (and on a long term basis) the children were allocated a personal Coach, for most this was a parent, except for one child whose Coach was his teacher as agreed by Maureen and his father. The children meet with their personal Coach between their weekly sessions to complete homework tasks, discuss what they had learnt, and receive on-going encouragement and support to transfer their newly learnt skills into their everyday life at home and at school. The children's Coaches were invited to meet with Maureen half way through the course to discuss the children's progress, how they were managing the homework tasks, and how the children were implementing their newly learnt tools. This was an opportunity for them to enhance their own skills and

knowledge and receive advice to overcome any problems that were being experienced as the programme progressed.

This section has detailed the data collection process of the pastoral care and coaching data, which has included details about ethical considerations and recruitment, and a description of the interventions aims and objectives. The following section will describe the methods used to analysis the two sets of data, and the framework within which these sit.

Theoretical and analytic framework

This research is situated within the theoretical framework of ethnomethodology (hereafter EM) and its related methodologies, conversation analysis (hereafter CA), and discursive psychology (hereafter DP), each of which will be discussed in turn. EM was a radically new approach to sociology developed in the 1960s by Harold Garfinkel that treated activities found in daily life as phenomena worthy of study in their own right. This approach explores the known-in-common and often taken-forgranted methods that people use to make sense of their social worlds. Garfinkel's classic 'Studies in Ethnomethodology' (1967) investigated the 'observable-and-reportable' (p. 1) accounts of everyday experiences to make visible the invisible social order that exists in all societies. He argued that it is through our taken for granted understandings that social and moral norms are created, produced, and reproduced. It is important to note that for EM social and moral order does not simply exist, but is created by individuals in the course of their everyday interactions (Wieder, 1974).

Conversation Analysis

Harvey Sacks took the 'observable-and-reportable' principles of EM and developed CA in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. For conversation analysts, individuals construct and maintain their social worlds mainly through the conversational practices that are shared among society's members, suggesting that 'our relationship with one another, and our sense of who we are to one another, is generated, manifest, maintained, and managed in and through our conversations' (Drew 2005, p. 74). Through close and detailed analysis of the ordinary practices through which conversation is produced, Sacks' work initiated a 'science of social action' (Drew, 2005, p. 73), that offers rigorous accounts of how ordinary social lives are produced and managed in social interaction.

The most basic assumption within CA is that talk is orderly, and so a key concern for researchers is to find the ways that people organize and manage their interactions (Silverman, 1998). To do this conversation analysts identify patterns, practices, and meaning through a turn-by-turn investigation of conversational exchanges, analysing both what is said and how it is said. The purpose of a turn-by-turn analysis is to find the action(s) being performed in the talk based on how the conversational turns are initiated and responded to in the unfolding interaction. CA has become the primary method to study talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 2007), and it is a well-developed tradition that has a distinct methodological and analytic procedure that is supported by a large body of research findings (Sidnell, 2013).

Drew (2005) identifies four basic concepts that analysts explore in the study of conversation: turn-taking, turn design, social action, and sequence organisation. *Turn-taking* refers to the general rule that people take turns at talk and each speaker has the right to one turn before another speaker may take theirs. Within CA this is the most

basic organization of conversation. Each speaker's turn is constructed of components or units known as turn construction units (TCUs), which can be single words, clauses or full sentences (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Speakers regulate the turn-taking rule by attending to the transition relevance places (TRPs), the point in a turn when a speaker has possibly completed, or is about to complete, their utterance. It is through turn-taking that speakers produce and continually display their mutual understandings based on what each speaker has said and done (Schegloff, 2007).

The interest in *turn design* rests on the notion that speakers design their turns of talk to perform certain actions: to invite, complain, assess and so on. The design of a turn can depend on what a speaker wants to do with that talk, and so speakers draw on a variety of resources when constructing their turns. For example, word choice, grammatical design, timing, prosody, gesture, and eye gaze are available resources that design a turn in a specific way to perform a social action. Turn design intersects with social action (the accountability of a turn's design) as the same action can be performed in different ways depending on the design of a turn (Drew, 2013). The ability for speakers to design a turn of talk that is dependent on what they want that turn to achieve is a key concern for CA research.

The notion of *social action* captures that when people talk they are doing things with their talk. They are constructing their turns to perform and to achieve certain social actions. Action is identified in talk through the way speakers themselves display their understanding of what each other is doing through talk. Utterances do not occur in isolation but within the on-going context of the interaction, so talk is both context-shaped and context-renewing (Drew & Heritage, 1992). It is 'doubly contextual' in that a turn is produced within an existing context, but in its own right shapes a new context for the next action to follow' (Heritage, 1984b, p. 242). Social

actors understand more than just a strip of talk; they understand the common sense frameworks within which that strip of talk occurred. Therefore, CA studies more than just the language used in an utterance; it studies an utterance within a context (Goodwin, 1990). In this sense, then, social action cannot be identified on the basis of a single utterance alone, but on the conversational and broader context in which it occurs.

The fourth key concern is *sequence organization*. The concepts so far are connected because of the sequentially organised patterns, structures, and practices that are found within talk-in-interaction. If one speaker initiates an action it is expected that a second speaker will respond with a fitted action, for example, a greeting will receive a return greeting. Pairs of turns like this are referred to as adjacency pairs in CA (Schegloff, 2007). When an initiating first pair part (such as a first greeting) is produced, a second pair part (such as a return greeting) becomes conditionally relevant. In other words, a response is expected, and there is a preference that the response is fitted to the initiating action (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Intersubjective understanding is continually checked, and demonstrated, through the way utterances are heard and understood. Therefore understandings emerge, and are publicly displayed, in the course of interaction based on the context and content in which they occur. These displays of hearing and understanding are available to both speakers and analysts alike (see Heritage, 2008).

Discursive Psychology

The principles and concepts described here form the basis of all CA research. The focus on studying 'talk as action' is a key concern shared within contemporary DP

which uses CA as a method to re-specify standard psychological topics such as, memory, casual attribution, and script knowledge, as discursive practices (Edwards & Potter, 2005). It is important to clarify that DP is not concerned in the psychology of language as a topic, instead it focuses on the way psychological language is used by ordinary people as a practice in the domain of action, understanding, and intersubjectivity (Wiggins & Potter, 2008). DP examines how everyday activities are constructed, attended to, and understood in interaction, using material from the real world to investigate the ways people report and explain actions and events, and how they use and manage psychological concepts when they talk to each other (Edwards & Potter, 1992; 2005). The concern for DP is that psychological concepts are treated as common sense matters and not as representations of people's inner minds, their expressions of thought, intent or cognition.

So, DP treats psychological issues, such as talk about emotions, as a feature of the talk's business that is being managed, made relevant, and produced in the talk by speakers to perform certain actions for any given situation (Edwards, 1997). It is in this sense, then, that for discursive psychologists talk is both constructive and performative. An example of this can be characterised by the way a speaker shows that they are not prejudiced when they describe an ethnic group in a certain way, or how blame is managed during a relationship counselling session (Wiggins & Potter, 2008). These are the kinds of topics explored within DP to help understand the kinds of things that are made 'psychological' by people in their talk.

DP also looks at the way the common sense psychological lexicon (for example words such as, know, believe, feel, prejudice, angry and jealous) are situated, occasioned, and rhetorically used in everyday conversation. Edwards and Potter (2005) refer to common sense lexicon as the 'psychological thesaurus' (Edwards &

Potter, 2005, p. 241), to convey the range that is available to members as interactional and rhetorical alternatives when talking about actions and events. The use of the psychological thesaurus is directly tied to the way people 'manage psychological implications' (Edwards &Potter, 2005, p. 242), and the psychological themes that are handled and managed implicitly in talk. For example, issues of mental states: agency, intent, and belief are built and made available (or countered) through participants' descriptions of actions, events, objects and people, but these are implicitly, rather than explicitly, talked about as is sometimes assumed (Edwards & Potter, 2005).

The methods of CA and DP will be used in the analytic chapters that follow to identify and examine the delivery of support, and the way professionals engage in and manage 'self-work' in pastoral care and coaching. These methods allow the 'observable-and-reportable' practices, that are used intuitively in daily life, to reveal the ways in which Maureen and Miss support the children's social and emotional well-being. CA provides the methodological tools to uncover how support is delivered on a turn-by-turn basis, and DP informs the exploration of psychological topics and phenomena to do with the self as situated practices.

Core assumptions within CA and DP

Participant orientations

An important methodological parallel between CA and DP is that they are inductive methods of analysis. This is distinct from the more traditional deductive psychological methods that impose concepts and relationships onto the data through the testing of hypotheses. In a CA/DP study the analyst does not approach the data with a hypothesis hoping to find specific concepts, relationships and practices, but

instead allows these to emerge from the data through the process of analysis (although it is expected that some basic practices will be present because of the structure of conversation, such as the turn-taking practices already mentioned). For Sacks, any analysis starts as an 'unmotivated' inductive discovery. Therefore, when using these methods any analytic claims must be grounded in the data rather than be imposed by the analysis. Such claims must be made relevant and attended to by the persons involved in the interaction, made visible by the interactants themselves in their talk through their orientations. Sacks also stressed the importance of working with naturally occurring recorded instances of talk rather than 'hypothetical, or hypothetical-typical versions of the world' (1989, p. 25). This is because live conversations allow researchers to study real interactions as they unfold, so analysts can study what is actually happening in interaction.

The use of 'naturalistic' data

The preference to study naturalistic or naturally occurring data, means data is produced independently of the researcher and not contrived for research purposes, through interviews or focus groups that rely on researcher involvement to occur (Potter, 2002)¹⁵. When using CA and DP, Potter (2002) argues that researchers should endeavour to use data that occurs naturally outside of the research setting, so it is not flooded by the researcher's own categories or inferences. As such, naturally occurring

.

¹⁵ Potter (2002) makes a distinction between naturalistic and contrived data using the 'dead scientist test' which questions whether the data would be the same, or be there at all, if the researcher got run over on the way to work? If the answer to this question is yes, the data is naturalistic. For example, a counseling session would take place regardless of whether the researcher turned up to record it. The same could not be said of interview or focus group data, although Speer (2002) argues that any data can be described as naturalistic depending on what the researcher seeks to find out. However, Potter goes on to note that method is not the same as topic - see Discourse Studies (2002, Vol. 4) for full debate.

data allows for a rich record of how people live their lives which opens up a variety of novel issues and concerns outside of any prior expectation (Potter, 2002)

The term naturally occurring is used instead of 'natural' to acknowledge the limits of collecting this type of data. With any recording participants are aware of the research project, because they need to provide informed consent, and as such may modify their actions in some way (Potter, 2002). Drew (1989) argues that although cameras may affect people's behaviour, the possible effect of cameras is not a problem if the analysis is not focused on,

...the frequency of some activity but on the details of its management and accomplishment – then any possible disturbance caused by participants' knowledge of their being filmed becomes unimportant. People cannot think about or control their behaviour at the level of details for which the systematics of the organisation of action (verbal or non-verbal) are being investigated in conversation analysis' (Drew, 1989, p. 100).

In other words, it is not about coding how many times a person, for example, tells a joke, or about trying to see that joke telling as the 'real thing' that has now somehow been contaminated because of the cameras being there. Instead, it is about capturing how that person told the joke and how the conversation unfolded within the interaction because of that joke. According to Drew, any orientations to the camera during these encounters will not affect this kind of investigation¹⁶.

as a phenomenon in its own right to see how it is oriented to within the interaction. As did Butler

72

¹⁶ Hutchby (2007) argues that rather than seeing the presence of a camera as either 'unimportant' (Drew, 1989, p. 100) for the research aims, or as contaminating the data, it could instead be examined

If the children in my data oriented to the cameras, which they did on several occasions, it was very explicit and distinct from the interactional features that were of interest to me: Morgan would be curious about the workings of the camera, or simply smile at them, or ask if the cameras were on. The children in the coaching data would sing, dance, pull faces, and be generally playful when they noticed the recording equipment, and this was more often when they were wandering around the room before or after a break from the coaching work being done. I felt happy that the children were aware of the cameras because it allowed them to keep in mind that they were part of a research project, which is particularly important as in the past children's wishes and needs have often been ignored (see James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). In line with the argument offered by Drew (2005), I was not counting the frequency or 'realness' of the supportive interactions that I was collecting. I was examining the way in which those interactions could be identified as being supportive, and so the cameras, and their affect, were not a concern as long as the participants were happy for them to be there.

Transcription

The practice of recording interaction is integral to CA as analysis relies on being able to attend in fine detail to the actual interactions. Recordings allow for interactions to be watched and/or listened to repeatedly, in order to examine that fine detail. Part of the analytic process involves producing a transcription that represents a 'good enough' record of what is happening that can be agreed, or disagreed, with by other researchers (Sacks, 1989, p. 26). One of the strengths of CA is that the transcript

(2008), when she examined times when the children in her data oriented to the recording equipment at particular moments in their interaction to manage and perform specific social actions.

represents the actual occurrence, in its actual sequence (Sacks, 1989), which is presented with any analysis so the reader can see how claims are grounded in the data.

In order to capture the fine details of talk, Gail Jefferson (2004) developed a set of conventions that would allow the timing and placement of speech (overlaps, pauses, and silences), speech quality (emphasis, loudness, pitch change, and stretching), and other features such as in-breathes, laughter, cut-offs, and the like to be transcribed (see appendix 7, p. 249). When transcribing, the analyst needs to capture not only the spoken words, but also how and when those words are spoken (Drew, 2005). The reason for this level of detail is to preserve the features of talk that people attend to in conversation, as it is at this level that individuals actually communicate (Jefferson, 2004).

Having said that, a detailed transcript is somewhere to begin, as it can never completely capture all the detail within any recorded interaction. The transcript is a representation of an interaction, while the recording remains the actual data and should be continually used during analysis alongside any transcription (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). It is accepted within the CA community that no transcription is ever 'right' but a record of what the analyst is attending to (Jefferson, 1985). Neither can the transcript be a neutral representation of the data, as producing it is a selective process dependent on the theoretical goals of the analyst representing an analytic phenomena (Ochs, 1979).

In producing my own transcripts there were some practical decisions that needed to be made. First I had to anonymise the participants' identities and I chose pseudonyms, rather than letters (A, B, C) or category identifiers (child, adult). This was because the participants themselves would be interacting amongst knowledge of gender, age, or any number of categorising characteristics that could be taken into

account during their interactions. By using A, B, or C the transcripts seemed too detached from the actual interactions, while category identifiers seemed too wide to choose from, and so my preference was to use matched pseudonyms. However, there was one exception to this as has been noted already with the case of the pastoral carer, 'Miss'. The decision to call her 'Miss' in the transcripts was taken because it was Morgan's way of addressing her and as it was already anonymised I decided to use this as her reference term. For the other participants pseudonyms were chosen that would match the natural stress and number of syllables found in their real names. When those names could be shortened so too could the pseudonym so their natural prosodic features were retained in the transcription.

A further transcription decision to be made was in terms of the non-verbal communications that I had available to me because of the video recordings. As humans we use non-verbal and non-vocal resources, such as gaze and gesture (see Goodwin, 1979), and without video recordings such vital communications are missed. The communicative gestures that members perform, and attend to, can at times be as important as the spoken word in order to make for a robust analysis. For example, eye gaze and the movement of the eyes are important to communicate and establish joint attention, display emotion, and compose facial expressions (Rossano, 2013). Therefore, the relationship between non-verbal communication and social action is necessary to fully understand what is being conveyed, and attended to, within interaction.

When starting the analysis and transcription I found myself adding lots of the participants embodied actions to help me make sense of the interactions. This was especially true during periods of silence because the recordings allowed me access to non-verbal communications. For instance, a head nod or head shake instead of a

verbal 'yes' or 'no' would allow for some important analytic points to be made which had they not been available would have resulted in ambiguous analysis. This also highlights the importance on not relying on the transcript alone, which should instead be used as a tool for both the analyst and reader as a reference for the analytic points being made.

In the transcriptions included in this thesis I have decided to include only the embodied actions that are relevant for the analytic points being discussed, so not to confuse the transcript and keep it as readable and clear as possible. It is not that some gestures or facial expressions are not important, as Sacks (1989) made clear nothing within interaction is irrelevant, but the decision to include embodied actions that help the reader access the data, while not confuse the transcript, was the balance I was trying to achieve. I have differentiated the talk from the embodied actions by providing a description of what can be seen in the video in italicised parenthesis. Either in overlap to the talk:

```
1 Morg: >I forgot to [bring m- my wor- worry box.]
2 Morg: [((Sits [up, looks up at Miss))]
3 Miss: [((Miss stops, looks at Morgan
4 with a concerned expression, eyes wide, head tilted))
```

Or on the same line as the talk, or on a separate line during a conversational gap:

```
1 Miss: It's over there, ((turn and points to bin))
2 (0.8) ((Morgan throws it in the bin))
```

A final note on my transcription choices is that in the multiparty coaching interactions there could be many conversations taking place at any one time. Some of those conversations were relevant to the main discussion underway, others were separate and between peers. As the children were grouped and seated around two separate

tables there were often quiet conversations going on within the sessions amongst the main discussion that was underway. In order to again keep the transcriptions readable and clear, I decided if background conversations were not relevant to the main conversation taking place, I would not include them in the transcript. There were also times in the discussions when the group became momentarily distracted and some unrelated talk was made live. This talk is again not included in the transcript, but it is identified as being omitted by the number of lines of such talk that have been removed

Summary

In this chapter I have described the data collection process: the difficulties in gaining access to vulnerable children, my initial challenges in collecting such data, how I recruited participants from the pastoral care and coaching settings, and how the recordings of these interactions took place. I have also described the analytic methods of CA and DP within the theoretical framework of EM, discussed the need to collect naturally occurring data, explained the transcription process and shared my transcription choices for this research. This chapter and its content inform the analytic chapters within. The following chapter is a descriptive overview of the pastoral care and coaching landscapes. The aim of this chapter is to describe some of the therapeutic tools being used to support children, some of which will become the focus of the more detailed interactional analytic chapters that follow on.

The interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching

This chapter will provide a descriptive account of the pastoral care and coaching landscapes, to reveal the tools being used by the professionals in these settings to support children. By identifying these methods and tools, this chapter seeks to reveal the ways in which the children are supported within these settings to 'feel comfortable, safe, valued, respected and free to tell their story' (Geldard, Geldard & Foo, 2013, p. 16). The aims of this chapter are twofold: to examine how these settings can be seen and characterised as being 'supportive', a necessary feature of these interactions if the children are to engage; and to identify and describe some of the tools being used that frame the very practice of pastoral care and coaching.

Drawing on the work of Whalen and Zimmerman (1987), this chapter will consider the relationship between 'talk and the setting' (p. 172), the relationship between the types of conversations that take place, and the settings within which those conversations take place. The purpose of this type of investigation is that, 'the setting is used by the participants as an essential resource for constructing their interaction moment-by-moment' (ibid., p. 172). Therefore, the need to create a supportive environment is integral to the kinds of conversations that are encouraged to take place in these settings and the therapeutic work that needs to be done.

The descriptive account that follows will serve two purposes. Firstly, it will identify three features of the pastoral care and coaching landscapes, which help create an environment in which the children feel safe enough to engage and share their experiences, which in turn frames the therapeutic work being done. These three

features show: 1) how a supportive environment (positive and future-focused) is created; 2) the ways in which the children's agency and participation is supported in practice; and 3) how the professionals and children engage in, and manage, the 'self-work' that goes hand in hand with these kinds of interactions. These three features seem to be central concerns for anyone working with children - the need to create a supportive environment and support a child's agency and participation is necessary for the success of any intervention to encourage engagement; and 'self-work' is an interactional means by which professionals bring to life theories and concepts that inform interventions about how to develop emotional literacy, enhance self-concept and self-esteem, and build resilience.

The second purpose of this chapter is to identify and describe some of the tools being used within the interactions to help the children talk about and make sense of the difficulties they are experiencing, so they can then manage, change or overcome their difficulties. By describing these tools, this chapter will also put into context some of the activities that will be discussed throughout the other analytic chapters. The chapter will start with the pastoral care interactions, and then the coaching interactions, to describe the interactional landscapes of these two settings.

The pastoral care landscape

Pastoral care describes the practice of looking after a child's well-being, giving support and guidance for problems to do with health, social, and moral education, as well as behaviour management and emotional support (see Best, 2000). Although much of the literature provides a description of *what* pastoral care is, what is missing is a sense of *how* pastoral care is done in practice. Therefore, the following sections

will look at the ways in which Miss does pastoral care, focusing in turn on two specific tools that are used by Miss to support Morgan manage his difficulties: the 'worry box' and the 'traffic light system'. The discussions will show that the provision of the worry box and traffic light system is framed by the three identified features that shape the pastoral care landscape: how a supportive environment (positive and future-focused) is created, how the children's agency and participation is supported in practice, and how Morgan and Miss engage in, and manage, the 'self-work' that goes hand in hand with kinds of interaction.

The 'worry box'

A regular feature in Morgan and Miss's sessions is the 'worry box', which quite simply is a box for Morgan to store his worries. It is made from an empty A4 box and lid that Morgan has colourfully decorated with paper and paint to make it unique and his own.

Figure 3.1 Morgan's worry box



The worry box allows Morgan to recognise, express, share, and contain his worries with the help and support of Miss. When a worry arises Morgan writes it on a piece of paper and then places it into his worry box for safekeeping, where it remains available for discussion if and when he wishes¹⁷. The box is kept in Miss's office between sessions, except for one time during a half term school break when Morgan took his box home so he could continue to use it. The box is available in every session and can be made interactionally relevant, by either Morgan or Miss, at any point during their time together without it being interruptive or in need of explanation. This can be seen in the following extract when Morgan announces he has a worry while he is silently cutting out a drawing he has done of his sister.

(3.1)

School 3:1a:11.04 'Miss I got a worry'

```
((Morgan is cutting out his drawing))
1
            (2.6)
2
   Morg:
           >Miss I got a worry.
3
            (0.2)
   Miss:
           You've got a wo:rry,
5
   Morg: Yeah.
6
   Miss: Write it do:wn then. ((finds piece of paper))
7
   Morg: .H it ( ).
   Miss:
           There we go.
9
            (33.9)
                     ((Morgan writes his worry down, goes to
10
                       put it in the worry but stops))
11
   Miss:
           >That's it.
12 Morg:
           Cut it and cut it. ((Starts to cut it out))
13
           Yea:h you can cut that.
   Miss:
14
           (2.4)
                    ((Morgan cuts his worry smaller))
15
   Miss:
           Is it something you want to re:ad to me
16
            later or >you just want to put it in the
```

¹⁷ In a similar way, Stallard (2002) recommends a 'worry safe' for children to lock away their worries after writing them down on some paper.

```
17 worry box<.
18 Morg: Read to ya.
19 Miss: Okay that's lovely.</pre>
```

The extract shows how Morgan makes his worry interactionally relevant whilst being engaged in another task by announcing, 'Miss I got a worry' (line 2). Miss tells him to write it down while she finds him some paper. As Morgan writes he can be seen to place his hand in front of the paper so Miss cannot read it, looking up now and then as he writes to check Miss is not looking, while Miss keeps her gaze averted. Morgan's actions are light-hearted as he can be seen smiling in the recording. This shows the positive, relaxed, and playful side of the relationship that has been collaboratively formed between them during their time together. Morgan goes to place his worry into the box, which Miss encourages, 'that's it' (line 11), but instead he retracts and cuts the worry out from the sheet of paper to make it smaller, which he explains on line 12.

Miss asks Morgan if he would like to read his worry to her later or if he just wants to put it into the box, presumably because of Morgan's playful attempts to hide it from her while he wrote it down. This shows another positive aspect of Morgan and Miss's interactions and the way his agency is supported. The sessions are not rigidly structured or lead by Miss. Although she organises an activity for the beginning of each session, the sessions have a relaxed agenda in that they are flexible and inclusive of whatever is happening in Morgan's life, or what he wants to do or discuss.

The worry box allows Morgan to suddenly announce that he has a worry without it becoming a major event, and it seems this would not usually be possible without such a tool. The worry box also allows Morgan to decide how he shares his worries, because the box allows him to manage how much time and attention his worries are given. As the extract shows, it is Morgan who decides when and how to

express and share his worry with Miss, and the way in which this is done. Therefore Morgan is displaying personal agency through the way he is able to select, construct and regulate the worry telling. It is Morgan who controls the interactional course of action. Agency is essential for developing decision-making skills (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008), which Miss supports by asking Morgan if he wants to read it to her later (line 15-17).

Morgan uses the box to keep safe two different types of worries. The first are his 'big' worries that are constant and cannot be fixed by Morgan or Miss: 'I want my mummy to live with me'. The second are more transient, fixable worries that arise within his everyday life: 'Bradley was hitting my worry box'. The worry box serves two functions then; to keep safe the constant worries in Morgan's life, and to contain his everyday worries until they are no longer troubling him. In the following extract Miss initiates a review of Morgan's worries so he can decide what he wants to do with them

(3.2)

School 1:2:19.42 'What shall we do with this worry'

```
1
   Miss: Is there anything sweetheart that
2
           you want to put in your worry box:=
3
           =No.
   Morg:
4
           (0.9)
5
   Miss: Not to:day,
6
           (1.2)
7
   Miss:
           What did we have in our worry box= We
8
            had two things: ((takes worries out))
9
            (0.6)
10
   Miss:
           One was,
11
           (2.0) ((shows Morgan the first))
           I want my mum to: live with me.
12
   Morg:
13
            (0.8)
```

```
14 Miss: And the second wa:s,
           (0.7) ((shows Morgan the second))
15
           Bradley wa:s hitting my $worry box$ and the
16
   Morg:
17
           other one was,
18
           (1.6) ((Morgan picks up and looks in the worry box))
19
  Miss:
           Th[at's ri:ght.
20 Morg:
            [That's (probably) where oth[er gone.
21 Miss:
                                          [>That's right<.
22 Miss:
           >So what should we do with t[his one.
23 Morg:
                                        [What (.) what
           towe 18 is it. ((Morgan is distracted for a moment
24 Morg:
25
                           and reads from an exercise sheet))
           (0.7)
26 Morg:
           What time (0.4) is (0.6) is it. ((Looks\ at\ Miss))
27 Miss: Yes.= So what shall we do with this worry.
28
           (1.2)
29 Morg:
           Tell him (.) to stop it.
           >Tell him to stop it<. Did this happen a
30
   Miss:
31
           little while ago does it- is it d- is it
32
           still worrying you though Morgan. Or are
           you not worried about it anymore.
33
34
           (0.2)
35
   Morg:
           Not worried about it anymore.
36 Miss: >↑Not worr[ied about it?<
37 Morg:
                     [Circle this: ((circles round worry))
38
   Miss:
           Yep.
           (0.4)
39
           That's ri:ght.
40
   Miss:
                   ((Morgan puts a cross through it))
41
           (1.7)
42
   Miss:
           That's right.
43
           (5.4)
                   ((Morgan scrunches it up))
44
  Miss:
           Go:od bo:y.
           Do you want to throw it a: way or put it back
45 Miss:
           in there, have you finished with it=
46
           =Yeah where's bin.
47
  Morg:
           (0.3)
48
49 Miss: The bin is over here=
50 Miss: =Let me throw i[t away ((holds hand out))
51 Morg:
                          [>Over where.
```

¹⁸ This is Morgan's first attempt at reading 'time', which he goes on to repair on line 26.

```
Miss: It's over there, ((turn and points to bin))
52
                         ((Morgan throws it in the bin))
53
            (0.8)
54
   Miss:
            Good throwin:g (.) fantastic.
55
            (0.3)
56
   Miss:
           What about this one.
57
            (0.6)
                            ((Morgan silently reads it))
58
   Miss:
            >Shall we still put that back in the worry
59
            box (0.2) >till we know (0.9) >about mummy
60
            sa:[ys,
61
               [I'll put this [(0.5)] IN
   Morq:
62
                              [((Morgan takes worry, puts it in box))
63 Miss:
            The worry box (.) fantastic.
```

Following her enquiry, Morgan informs Miss that he doesn't have anything to put in the worry box today (line 3). Miss then initiates a review of the worries already in his box (line 7-8) using the collective references 'we' and 'our' to display their togetherness in the upcoming task (see Chapter 6 for collective reference practices and Bradley & Butler, forthcoming). Miss holds up the first worry and Morgan reads it out, 'I want my mum to live with me' (line 12), and then the second, 'Bradley was hitting my worry box' (line 16). Miss asks Morgan what they should do with his second worry and Morgan offers a way to fix the problem 'tell him to stop it' (line 29). It is agreed that this incident happened a while ago and that it is no longer a worry for Morgan, so he draws a circle around it, puts a cross through it, and writes something on it before scrunching it up.

There is something quite therapeutic and liberating about the way the worry box helps Morgan deal with his worries. In the case of Bradley hitting his box, the worry is treated objectively by writing it on a piece of paper to externalise Morgan's emotions about this troubling situation. His subsequent act of discarding the worry, the highlighting (circling), erasing (crossing out and writing on it) and dismissal of it

(scrunching it up), enacts that he is now free of it. Of further significance is that when Morgan first told Miss that Bradley was hitting his box, it was because he was able to recognise and express his worry about the situation, and after talking with Miss find the solution (tell him to stop it). He took charge of what might seem like a minor transgression to some, but for Morgan who started to see Miss because of his angry ways of dealing with friendship troubles this is a great achievement. Miss recognises this and encourages his actions ('yep', 'that's right'), enthusiastically praising him 'Go:od bo:y' (line 44). She then asks Morgan if he wants to throw the worry away or put it back into the box (lines 45-46). Morgan confirms he wants to throw it away with, 'Yeah where's bin' (line 47).

Morgan rejects Miss's offer to throw it away for him by asking her again where the bin is so he can throw it himself. This shows how Morgan's agency is supported once more, as an active participant he can determine the interactional course of action. It again shows the relaxed and playful atmosphere that has been collaboratively formed between Morgan and Miss as he throws the paper across the room into the bin. This would seem inappropriate in the more formal setting of a classroom where control is actively maintained by the teacher to keep order. Here, Morgan is much freer and 'agentic' in his relationship with Miss. He manages to throw his worry in the bin and Miss congratulates him, 'Good throwin:g (.) fantastic' (line 54), to allow his playful act.

Miss then asks Morgan about his other worry, 'I want mum to live with me' and while he reads it to himself Miss suggests he put it back into the box (lines 58-60) ¹⁹. Despite Miss suggesting what Morgan might do, Morgan takes control once more

-

¹⁹ Earlier in the session Morgan wrote his mum a letter to tell her that he wanted her to come back and live in the family home. The letter was a way of expressing and making sense of his 'worry'. He is

with his assertive, 'I'll put this IN' (lines 61-63), and his taking of the worry from Miss to put it into the box himself. Morgan's agency continues to be supported because his response is more than an agreement of Miss's suggestion; it takes control of the decision as the 'I'll' determines this as a personal course of action. Miss supports this move and collaborates by completing his turn (Lerner, 2004) with, 'the worry box', before praising him once more, 'fantastic' (line 64), for his actions. The use of the worry box has been framed by the supportive environment and allowed Morgan's agency to be supported through promoting his decision-making skills: Morgan himself knows how to deal with his worries.

The two examples so far have shown that the worry box is a tool that helps Morgan recognise, express, share, and contain his worries, which is a valuable resource in itself. However, through looking at the ways in which the worry box has been used within the interaction not only have the theoretical underpinnings of this tool been explored, a number of other affordances have been identified. The worry box allows Morgan to deal with his worries, but through its very practice and within the supportive environment that has been created, Morgan has been able to playfully and positively discuss and manage his worries. The way Miss has packaged her questions as suggestions, to allow Morgan to take charge of the interactional courses of action, shows how his agency and participation have been supported in practice. Through supporting Morgan's agency and participation Miss encourages him to make his own decisions. It is this sense, then, that 'self-work' has been engaged in, and managed, as Morgan displays his expertise and ability to deal with his worries.

expecting to see his mum later that day after school to give her the letter, and so this explains why Miss suggests the 'worry' is put back into the box 'till we know about mummy says' (line 59).

It is through examining *how* the worry box was used within the interaction that this tool is seen to accomplish so much more than just be a safe place for Morgan to store his troubles. The examination has also captured the way that agency, participation, and 'self-work' have been actively managed as interactional concerns through using the worry box.

The 'traffic light system'

The traffic light system is another tool used by Miss to support Morgan manage his friendship troubles in school. In the same way that the worry box was examined for its interactional affordances, the following discussion will show how this tool is used in practice. The way in which the traffic light system is used will show how it helps create a supportive environment, support Morgan's agency and participation in practice, and manage the 'self-work' that surrounds the very use of this activity.

Miss introduced the system when Morgan was first referred to her as a way of monitoring how he is feeling when trouble arises with his friends. It is used to help Morgan recognise his feelings so he can manage his affect and behaviour to prevent him from having angry outbursts and getting into trouble²⁰. The system is a narrative that provides Morgan (and other children) a recognisable and routinised description of actions and events (see Edwards, 1994 on script formulations). The following two extracts come from discussions that explain when, why, and how the system should be used to help Morgan regulate his affect and behaviour.

²⁰ See LeMessurier (2013) and Petersen & Adderley (2002) for a review of a similar practice, the 'stop, think, do' system that is designed to help children learn social skills, emotional literacy, and to resolve friendship difficulties.

(3.3)

School 1:4.13 'The traffic light system'

```
Miss: Gree::n (.) >means:< (0.5) **great carry o:n,
2
           (0.9) ((Miss does thumbs up))
3
   Miss: You're doin- whatever you're do:ing (.) its beau:tiful.
4
5
   Miss: An you're doin it (.) really really well.
6
7
   Miss: .h yello:w or orange (.) >means< (0.4) .hh
   Morg: Car[eful.
   Miss:
           [Be ca:reful, ((gently waves hands side to side))
           (0.2)
10
   Miss: Umm:: (.) need to thin[k a-
12
   Morq:
                                 [And reds: stop.
           (1.0)
13
14
   Miss: If you're feeling r:ed (.) if you're feeling ins:ide red
15
           *grrrrr*<sup>21</sup> (.) hh >you jus- you need to< ca::lm yourself
16
          down (.) >hands in pockets< (0.7) w:alk away to somebody.
17
           (0.5)
   Miss: But make s:ure you're (.) always >always< al:ways (.)
18
19
           where an adult can see you.
```

Miss summarises the prior discussion using positive affirmations to describe Morgan's pro-social behaviours, 'great' (line 1), 'beautiful' (line 3), 'really really well' (line 5). The system has three steps: green, orange and red, and each colour is linked to an assessment that describes different stages of emotion (calm to angry), along with associated behaviours and actions. Miss provides a more extensive narrative for when Morgan is 'feeling inside red' to describe what he should do when he starts to feel angry. It is this stage in the system that specifically modifies behaviour to prevent it from being problematic (lines 14-19). Therefore, if Morgan follows the system as a scripted narrative he can begin to recognise and control his

²¹ This is a growly sound to denote feeling angry.

emotions by developing his self-awareness and self-control skills. The traffic light colours provide a step-by-step process to monitor his feelings and behaviours, which will allow Morgan to develop his knowledge of what to do in such situations.

Through using the system Morgan can develop his social and emotional knowledge and expertise, which is essential because as children develop they are increasingly held responsible for their own behaviour (Mowat, 2012). So, for children who struggle with such things, interventions work by making available the skills and knowledge needed to help them understand, modify, and manage the emotions and behaviours that cause them difficulty. In the following extract the system is discussed once more, but this extract differs slightly from the previous in that Miss is checking Morgan's understanding rather than summarising a more general discussion. It is Morgan's knowledge and understanding of the system that will enable him to use this tool as a practical method to regulate his emotions, and improve his behaviour and friendships.

(3.4)

School 2:8.00 'How's it working for you'

```
1
    Miss:
            D' ya know this is (0.2) jus so (0.6) it's just so
2
            fantastic (.) >Morgan.
3
            (0.3)
4
            Because (0.5) just tell me one more ti:me,
    Miss:
            how it's working for \foundation \text{vou,}
5
           Er:m go is to: (.) carry it on,
6
    Morg:
7
    Miss:
            Ye:s.
8
            (0.6)
    Morg:
           #Be:# erm orange is be careful,
10 Miss:
           Hu↑hum.
11 Morg: Erm red is stop.
12 Miss: And what do you do if you have <stop>
```

```
13
            (0.8)
            Er:m walk away i-in- uhm with your hands in your pocket.
14
   Morq:
            That's right.= And ↑where do you have to walk to Morgan.
15
   Miss:
            Somewhere wher- where Miss can see ya.
16
   Morq:
            "Yeah" always always w- if you have to walk a:way
17
   Miss:
            sweetheart o[r-
18
19
   Morg:
                         [>Says there go (.) be careful,
20
   Miss:
            And \footnotenant stop.
            °Stop°
21
   Morq:
22
            But if you have to walk away darling- always make
   Miss:
            sure it's where a grown up can see you. Never walk
23
            away too far. So proud of you Morgan. So: really
24
            proud of you.
25
```

Miss introduces the discussion with a positive assessment asking Morgan to tell her how the system is working for him (line 1-5). Morgan explains the green and orange colours and their associated behaviours (line 6 and 9), which Miss affirms (line 7 and 10) to encourage his answers and to display attentiveness. Miss then asks Morgan what he would do if he has to 'stop' (line 12) and 'where do you walk to' (line 15), as this is where the system helps him control his angry outbursts. With each prompting question Miss invites Morgan to explain what he should do. These collaborative turns allow him to display his knowledge and understanding (also see Chapter 6 for how knowledge is co-produced), and show that he understands this system will allow him to monitor how he is feeling so he can better manage his anger and behaviour.

The theory behind the system is that by developing his self-awareness Morgan will in turn be able to regulate (see LeMessurier, 2013 and Petersen & Adderley, 2002 for a theoretical discussion about a similar practice). However, without personal agency these goals are not possible as it is not enough to simply tell a child how to behave. Therefore, the interaction shows that Morgan can display his understanding of the system, so as a conceptual lesson the teaching that has taken place can be seen

as successful. However, understanding a concept does not mean that a child will transfer their newly learnt skills from a controlled environment into a real life scenario when it is actually needed to manage strong emotions being experienced.

With that in mind, the next extract shows how Morgan tells Miss that he has used the system as a practical method outside of their sessions to manage real life conflict. In the following interaction Morgan and Miss are looking at expression cards to talk about his feelings. Morgan selects the 'angry' card to describe a situation that occurred between him and a peer in school. Miss treats Morgan's telling as an example of how he his transferred his knowledge of the traffic light system into a practical method to control his anger; and of the progress and success he has made in managing his affect and behaviour when dealing with friendship troubles.

(3.5)

School 6:2:6.57 'I didn't do anything back'

```
>Angry (.) angry as well. ((points to the angry card))
1
2
            (1.0)
3
    Miss: Why angry.
    Morg: Because (0.2) >Rory put his mis- finger up and I got
5
            <angry>= >But I didn't do anything back.
6
            W::ell done. I am s:o impressed with yo[u.
    Miss:
7
    Morg:
                                                    [Jus told a-
            told a Miss.
             (0.4)
10
    Miss:
            I am so impressed- you have come'n so far= You've
11
            done so well ha:ven't you,
                     ((Morgan nods, looking at cards))
12
             (0.6)
13
    Miss:
            Ye:s.
14
            (0.6)
                     ((looking at cards))
15
    Miss:
            >Because i:t's not been easy for you \tank it,
16
            (1.3) ((Morgan shakes his head))
```

Morgan chooses the 'angry' card and when asked 'why angry' he recites a time when another boy cursed him and he did not retaliate (lines 4-5). Miss praises Morgan's actions in her tribute and Morgan adds, 'jus told a- told a Miss' (lines 7-8) to explain what he did do to manage the situation. Miss recognises that Morgan not doing 'anything back' is an achievement in contrast to his previous behaviours, the reason for their time together, and why the traffic light system has been implemented. However, Morgan himself has been in charge of this change. He decided not to do 'anything back', despite feeling angry, instead he 'just told a Miss'. Morgan's actions display how his self-awareness and self-control have developed to help him put into action what he has been taught by Miss when facing difficulties with his peers, and for these choices Miss has praised and complimented him highly. Miss repeats once more how impressed she is with him, the changes he has made, and the effort this has taken (lines 10-15).

The discussion has examined how Morgan has independently practiced a new way of dealing with friendship troubles; communicated this to Miss and received positive feedback. This demonstrates that outside of the time Morgan spends with Miss, he can effectively control and manage his emotions and behaviour, to deal with real life conflict. However, it is not just the system that allows Morgan to do this, it is the way in which the system has been taught by Miss. The teaching has been positive and future-focused and Miss has supported Morgan's understanding of the system to ensure he understands how and why the system will help him regulate his emotions and behaviour. The next extract shows how Miss uses the comments of others in the school to further reinforce his behaviour, and her own positive appraisal.

School 5:1:9.08 'That's why we've got the traffic light system'

```
Miss:
            Do you know what I was h:earing about (.) the other day,
2
                        ((Morgan colouring, shakes head))
3
           From your class teacher.
   Miss:
4
                        ((Morgan shakes his head))
           How far you've come in the pas:t (0.9) >twelve months.
5
   Miss:
6
                        ((Morgan smiles, looking at drawing))
7
   Miss:
           How really really proud everybody is of you,
8
            (1.7)
           And h:ow well (1.0) <you ar::e> settling in (0.6)
   Miss:
           >at school.
10
            (2.4)
11
           H:uge improvements (1.0) on (2.2) >your friendships.
12
   Miss:
13
            You're managing to sort of really keep it (0.5) ((sucking
            in through teeth)) (0.9) friendly without getting t:00
14
15
            (2.9) tch may:be::,
16
            (1.7)
                        ((hard scribbling))
            How would you (0.3) ↑how would you- I'm jus- trying to
17
   Miss:
            describe how you found how you f- how difficult you
18
            use to find your friendships. = How were they before.
19
20
            Ho[w do-
21
   Morg:
              [Angry.
22 Miss:
           Angry.
23
   Miss:
           Nyeah tch that's why we've got the traffic light system
24
            isn't it,
25
            (0.9)
                        ((Morgan nods))
26 Miss:
           So h:ow do you feel you're coping with things now.
           I'm a bit angry a bit not. ((looks at Miss))
27
   Morq:
28 Miss:
           E:xactly.
29 Miss: You have moved on S:O much.
30
   Miss:
           I'm so proud of you.
31
            (1.0)
32
           (name) >said already.
   Morg:
33
            (0.4)
34
           Aoh::::.
   Miss:
35
           (0.6)
           You have become a rea: lly rea: lly fantastic (0.7) friend
36
   Miss:
37
           t'so many people.
```

```
38 (2.6) ((Morgan colouring))
39 Miss: I think that Mr Stiver's (0.2) and Miss Freida (0.2) have
40 noticed a r:eally really big improvement.
```

Miss tells Morgan how his teachers have reported the progress he has made in the last twelve months to improve his friendships in school. The talk is widening the extent of Morgan's progress by extending the noticings beyond herself and the work they are engaged in together. This works to maximise the reinforcement and support of the changes Morgan has made. Miss asks Morgan to describe his friendships before the system and he responds 'angry' (line 22). By questioning and inviting Morgan's version of events his agency and participation are supported in practice. Miss does not assume to know more about Morgan's life than him, rather she positions Morgan as having the authority to describe his friendships and confirm (head nod on line 25) this is why they have the traffic light system.

Miss then asks Morgan to evaluate the changes in his friendships and he responds, 'I'm a bit angry a bit not' (line 28), and in so doing displays his ability to form his own meaningful evaluation. Miss marks this change as something she can also assess, 'E:xactly' (line 29), before praising Morgan highly, 'You have moved on S:O much I'm so proud of you' (line 29-31), revealing her own (and Morgan's teacher's) evaluation of his change in her talk (line 37-40). The sequencing of these evaluations with Morgan being positioned first continues the supportive work being done by Miss within the interaction to be inclusive of Morgan's agency and participation.

The traffic light system is tool that allows Morgan and Miss to engage in, and manage the 'self-work' that surrounds its very practice. It is through the ways in which it is discussed (the ordinary use of questions and invitations to do self-

assessment) that Morgan can both communicate and hear how well he is doing in changing the way he manages his friendships. The extract then shows how Miss explicitly constructs a version of Morgan's self within the interaction, 'you have become a rea:lly rea:lly fantastic friend t'so many people' (line 36-37). By internalising the positive assessment revealed by her, the teachers, and Morgan himself, 'bit angry a bit not' (line 27), Miss offer's Morgan a positive description to continue the 'self-work' being done.

The first part of this chapter has looked at the pastoral care data to discuss the three features identified at the beginning of the chapter. First, the tools used within pastoral care (worry box and traffic light system) have created a supportive (positive and future-focused) environment. The worry box allowed for a positive, relaxed, and playful environment for Morgan to share and manage his worries. The traffic light system was future-focused in that it offered Morgan the skills and knowledge needed to manage upcoming emotions and friendship difficulties. Second, the worry box and traffic light system allowed Morgan's participation and agency to be supported. This was evidenced through the way Morgan used the worry box to share his worry, and his decision to put into action the traffic light system to help resolve potential conflict. Third, 'self-work' was engaged in, and managed through the way Morgan was invited to form his own self-assessments, and through Miss's positive self-description of Morgan made possible because Morgan himself choose to put into practice his newly learnt skills and knowledge to help him overcome his difficulties

The following section describes some of the tools used in the coaching interactions to look at the same three features discussed throughout: how a supportive environment is created, how agency and participation is supported in practice, and how 'self-work' is engaged in, and managed within the interaction.

Coaching practices

The term 'coaching' comes from the social learning approach that teaches children social skills for specific behavioural change (see Ladd, 1981; Oden & Usher, 1977). It is a pro-active process that allows individuals to develop new practices, and action alternatives to a variety of future situations (Stelter, 2013). The following section will look at two tools: SARA and Body Language, which are used to teach the children targeted social skills. The inclusion of these two tools has been chosen because they inform the later chapter on emotions, which is an interactional analysis of how these practices underpin an anger management technique that is taught to the children.

Thinking Tools

As discussed in Chapter 2, a key objective of the RAPID programme is to provide children a cognitive 'toolbox' of 'Thinking Tools'. The toolbox stores the children's newly taught skills until they are needed to be drawn on in their everyday life as methods to help them pay attention, control their emotions, inhibit impulsive behaviour, and engage in a process of effective problem-solving (Young, 2012). This chapter will consider two of the Thinking Tools included in the programme. The first tool to be discussed is 'SARA', a 4-step problem solving strategy that helps the children recognise and spot problems; the second tool is 'body language', a concept that helps the children pay attention to the non-verbal behaviours that indicate feelings and emotions.

The 'SARA' Thinking Tool

SARA is the first, and most pervasive, Thinking Tool that is introduced to the children in the programme. SARA stands for Scan (recognise and spot problems), Analyse (collect information to find the best solution), Respond (act), and Assess (review the action to see if it would have been better to do something different) (Young, 2012). SARA is a tool that can be applied to any situation because it helps the children enact a problem-solving strategy that they can use if they become involved in an argument, or if they feel angry because they have lost a game, or if they react inappropriately to any situation or persons. The idea being that SARA allows them to first 'scan' their environment to recognise that there is a problem, 'analyse' that problem so they can define it and think about different solutions, 'respond' by choosing the best course of action, and then 'assess' what they did to see if it worked. The following extract shows how Maureen introduces this Thinking Tool to the children.

(3.7)

Week 2: A:37.35 'We're going to teach you SARA'

```
Maureen:
               So we're going >to teach you< some
2
               more skills no:w, (.) tch for problem-
3
               solving. = And the first one is: S:ARA.
4
               And you'll need to lea: ↑rn (.) what
               S:ARA stands for.
5
6
               (0.2)
7
               Tch Okay. What do detectives do.
    Maureen:
8
               (3.2)
    Maureen:
               Yes Mason.
10
   Mason:
               So: lve stuff.
               So: lve stuff. Absolutely >that's deserves
11
   Maureen:
12
               a star.
               (0.3)
13
14 Maureen:
               Oka:y. So (.) this SARA (0.7) i:s from (.) New
```

```
15
               Scotland yard. It's what po:lice use for
               solving problems.
16
               (0.3)
17
18
   Maureen:
              Oka:y.
19
               (0.3)
20
   Maureen:
              So.
21
               (0.5)
22
   Maureen: SARA stands for s:canning thi:ngs, (0.3) an'
23
               analysing and spotting problems,
     (12 lines omitted)
24
   Maureen: >Analysing is collecting information so
25
              that you can find the best solu:tion,
26
               (0.8)
27
   Maureen: Responding (.) is (.) to act on what you've
              discove:red, and then (0.4) assessing
28
29
              is about looking to see what happened
30
               and what worked well.
```

The talk is positive and future-focused in that Maureen is 'going to teach some more skills for problem-solving' (line 1-3). This format maintains the solution-focused approach that is tied to the practice of coaching. Maureen invites the children's participation by asking, 'what do detectives do' (line 7), and Mason offers 'solve stuff' (line 10) to answer. The questions begin an Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequence (McHoul, 1978), a pedagogic tool that invites the children to reveal their existing knowledge (MacBeth, 2003), so that a shared understanding can be established before moving on with the discussion. Maureen uses the IRE to support the children's agency and participation in the unfolding interaction by constructing

the transfer of knowledge as collaborative and inclusive. Mason's answer is positively evaluated and rewarded with a star for his group²².

Maureen continues to briefly explain SARA and what it stands for in this first instance. Teaching SARA as a tool that can enable the children to recognise and solve problems is an on-going task throughout the programme and each of the sessions. The idea being that when these problem-solving skills are learnt, practised, and applied in everyday life, the children will develop the necessary skills to help them make behavioural change by finding alternative actions (Stallard, 2002). Through examining Maureen's delivery of SARA the analysis can reveal *how* this tool is taught and made available for the children to transfer as a real life skill. The following extract comes shortly after extract 3.7 above when SARA was first introduced.

Maureen explains *why* being able to spot and recognise problems is a key skill for the children to learn.

(3.8)

Week 2:A: 39.19 'If you don't know you've got a problem...'

```
1
    Maureen:
               Let's think abo:ut recognising and (0.6)
2
               spotting problems. >Cos that's the first
3
               step i:sn't it.= If you can recognise that
               you've got a proble:m that's the first
4
5
               step to making it better isn't i:t.
6
7
    Maureen:
               >Cos if you don't know that you've got a
8
               problem what do you do.
      ((10 lines of talk omitted as some of the children chat
       amongst themselves while Maureen chooses who to answer))
    Dan:
               ((Hand up))
```

²² See the Method Chapter for a discussion about the RAPID reward system.

```
10 Maureen: Yes Dan.
   Dan: Erm: (.) you don't realise that
11
12
              you're doing it, and you keep on doing
              it (.) and it distracts people.
13
14
   Maureen: Abs:olutely.= Well do:ne:.
15
              (0.5)
   Maureen: Oka:y. >Difficult to solve it i:sn't
              it.= >If you don't know that you've got
17
18
              a proble:m, (.) it's really hard to solve
              it isn't it. And it just gets >worse
19
20
              and worse and worse  so then what happens
21
              if it gets >worse and worse and worse<.
22
   Tristan: >You get told off.
23
  Maureen: >You get told off and you get in lots
24
              of trouble. Yeah abs:olutely.
25 Lucy:
             We:ll do:[ne. ((gives a star))
26 Maureen:
                       [Okay.
27 Tristan: Thank you. ((to Lucy))
28
              (0.7)
29 Maureen: So we need to know ho:w to solve it don't we <an'>
              better sti:ll (0.5) >avoid it. Would you not agre:e.
30
31
              (0.5)
32 Benji:
              Huhum.
33 Maureen:
              Yes. Okay.
```

Maureen has already introduced SARA to explain what this tool is (extract 3.7), and now she begins to explain why this tool will be helpful, 'if you can recognise that you've got a proble:m that's the first step to making it better isn't it' ... 'cos if you don't know that you've got a problem what do you do' (lines 3-8). Dan answers 'you keep doing it' (lines 11-13) and a collaborative conclusion is produced by Maureen and Tristan, 'if you don't know you have a problem it's really hard to solve...the problem gets worse and worse and worse...you get told off...and in lots of trouble...so we need to know how to solve the problem...better still avoid it (lines 16-30). The children's participation is supported through the collaborative discussions,

and through Maureen inviting the children's assessment with her questions. While the use of grammatical tenses, and the collective person references that create a sense of togetherness, allow the interaction to be positive and future-focused, which supports the solution-focused discussion that is taking place.

The main emphasis of the talk in this extract is to ground the relevance of SARA in the children's everyday life. To explain how and why this tool will be helpful, as this is what underpins the use of this tool as an everyday practice. It is important to remember that tools can be routinely 'taught' and 'learnt' in a controlled environment, but unless the children have some understanding of why to use methods such as SARA it seems reasonable to assume that they will have no motive to use them to manage real life problems (as was seen in the way Morgan was taught, and used, the traffic light system in extracts 3.5 and 3.6). Maureen makes the why an important part of her teaching and in so doing the children's agency is supported. The children themselves will choose whether they use SARA as a real life problemsolving method, but by emphasising why this tool will be useful for the children Maureen is emphasising how this tool will help them to manage their future interactions. In effect, Maureen is 'selling the benefits' as it were, instead of simply telling the children what to do. This is a rhetorical device used to encourage the children to form their own evaluations, as it is the children's own evaluations that will inform whether they think this method is useful, which will in turn determine how likely they are to use it. By managing the 'self-work' in this way Maureen is encouraging the children to decide for themselves whether SARA will be an effective tool to help their relationships with others become more positive as they will be less likely to keep getting 'told off' and 'in lots of trouble' (line 23-24).

The following extract shows how Maureen checks the children's understanding of SARA before asking them how they think they could transfer this tool into their everyday experiences as a way to deal with future problems.

(3.9)

Week 2:1c:0.40 'When could we use it'

```
1
    Maureen:
              Who can tell m:e (.) what SARA stands for= A:1:1
2
               four. >Tristan.
3
               (0.3)
   Tristan: SARA stands for:,
4
5
   Maureen: >No you can't look in your book. No.
6
              (0.4)
7
   Maureen: Benji.
   Benji:
             Scan. An- analy- analy:se, (.) respond err (0.8)
9
              a- assess.
10 Maureen: Well done (
                                ) .
11
              (0.3)
12 Tristan: ((loud clap))
13 Maureen: Okay. Good cla[p we need for that.
14
   All:
                             [((clapping))
15 Maureen: The ide:a of that tool is that you ↑use
16
              it (0.3) to think about situations that you
17
              get in.
18
               (0.2)
19
   Maureen: Oka:y. So if you get- you:rself in a sticky
20
               situ:atio:n (.) then the best thing to do is
21
               think ooh SARA. Have a look aro:und and
22
               do a scan (0.8) ana: lyse >what you think the
               situation is (2.8) assess what you >think the
23
24
               situation is that- erm that you can do to
25
               get out of it (.) >and then respond.
26
               (0.7)
27
   Maureen: Respond and then assess that- what you've done
28
              is the right thing to do.
29
               (1.0)
30 Maureen: Okay so you- >can anybody think of any< (.)
```

```
31
               situation when we could u:se that.
32
               (0.8)
33
   Maureen:
              Tristan.
   Tristan: When you've been in a fi:ght,
34
35
   Maureen: When you've been in a fi:ght yeap.
               (0.3)
36
37
   Maureen:
              Benji.
38
   Benji:
              When you're (.) like (.) angry and (0.8) erm
               there's- (.) there's a lot of people a- around ya
39
40
               and (.) you don't know what ( ) when you like
41
               (.) hit out or something.
              That's very good. =Yes brilliant well done.
42
   Maureen:
```

Maureen begins by asking the children to recall SARA to check their understanding, making sure they don't cheat and look in their work books (line 5). Maureen then provides a script for when this tool can be used, 'the ide:a of that tool is... to think about the sticky situations you get in...think ooh SARA' (lines 15-21). With her 'think ooh SARA' Maureen embodies enthusiasm and produces a scripted thought that displays remembering, as if SARA has just popped into her head, in what seems to be an enactment of how the tool might be used. Maureen then repeats the way in which the children could practice the step-by-step process of doing SARA in such a situation (lines 21-28). She asks the children to locate a situation in their everyday life when they could use it. Tristan offers, 'when you've been in a fight' (line 34), and Benji, 'when you're angry...there's lots of people around...when you like hit out or something' (lines 38-41). Both suggestions are problematic ways of dealing with 'sticky situations' and possibly reflect the boys existing ways of managing their

difficulties. As an alternative, if SARA is practised in the future it will allow the children to 'assess' whether their actions are in fact 'the right thing to do' (line 28)²³.

The extract and analysis show how SARA has been taught to the children as a real life tool that they can use to change problematic behaviour and action alternatives (Stallard, 2002). Maureen has provided a reason for why those changes need to be made and in so doing has reinforced its practice. SARA has provided the children a script formulation (Edwards, 1994) of what to do in future situations, as did the traffic light system in the pastoral care data (extract 3.5). Through the scripting of SARA the children are being taught how to use a specific method, that when practised will enable them to develop awareness and control. So when a problematic situation occurs the children can 'think ooh SARA' (line 21), to begin the problem-solving process that will help them to recognise the problem and manage their behaviour appropriately.

The discussion has touched on how the use of SARA is based on understanding and changing the relationship between emotions and behaviours. This relationship is something that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For now it is enough to point out that it is not the emotions being experienced that are problematic, but the subsequent behaviours that they trigger. Therefore, the need to recognise emotions, to be better able to control behaviour, is the focus of the 'self-work' being engaged in, and managed. The next extract shows how Maureen sums up the exercise to give the children an important take-home message.

-

²³ Although actual alternatives are not discussed at this point in the session, the group go on to practice SARA and each of its components with hypothetical vignettes later on in the session, to decide what actions would be appropriate.

(3.10)

Week 2:1c:3.28 'Learn from your mistake'

```
1
   Maureen:
              >Well thank you you've all done >really
2
              really well with tha:t.= That's EX:ce:llent.
3
               (0.7)
4
   Maureen:
              Th- main I think.= The most impor:tant thing
5
               is (.) to lear:n from your mistake isn't it.
6
               (0.2)
7
              And so (.) that (.) las:t ay that assess (0.5)
   Maureen:
               is really really important. Because if
8
9
               something's hap pened it's happened isn't it,
10
               (0.3) but if you can work out why it ha:ppened
               (.) >then what can you do next ti:me.
11
   Tristan: Not do that.
12
   Maureen: Not do it. = Abs:olutely Tristan. = >Well done. =
13
14
               Do it differently next time. And that can be
               a:ll sorts of things can't it, (0.2) like,
15
16
              (1.1)
17
   Tristan: Swear[ing.
18
   Maureen:
                    [>I don't know swearing or: arguing or
              fi:ghting or answering back.=
19
20 Tristan: =>Or no[t listening.
21 Maureen:
                      [Or-
22 Maureen: Not listening or >taking something that's
              not yours. Al: 1 of those different things.
23
24
              (0.2)
25 Maureen: So well done.
```

Maureen thanks the children for their efforts and contributions to the discussion before stating her take home message, 'the most impor:tant thing is to lear:n from your mistake isn't it' (lines 4-5). She then explains why the 'assess' component is 'really really important' because it will help them to work out what they could do differently next time (lines 7-14). The future-focused (and solution-focused) feature of the supportive environment can be picked up through Maureen's, 'if something's

hap↑pened it's happened isn't it, (0.3) but if you can work out why it ha:ppened (.)
>then what can you do next ti:me' (lines 9-11). Maureen doesn't focus on the past,
instead the focus is on working out why something happened so the children can learn
from their experience and know what to do in the future.

The SARA tool provides the children a method that will help support the development of Guerra and Bradshaw's (2008) five competencies: a positive sense of self, the ability to practice self-control, effective decision-making skills, a moral system of belief, and pro-social connectedness, which play an important role in promoting positive development and preventing risk. In effect, SARA will help the children develop their individual skills, strengthen their relationships, and enhance their opportunity for support. The tool has facilitated discussions around what to do when a problematic encounter occurs: work out what went wrong and not do that again. This message gets to the very core of this tool: SARA is an everyday method that the children can use to help them assess real life consequences so they can learn from their experiences.

This leads onto an important aim of the nine-week programme, to ensure that the Thinking Tools are transferred in the children's everyday life, which is where they are most needed. This aim is supported through the help of the children's individual Coaches who work with the children outside of their sessions with Maureen. During their time with their individual Coach the children discuss what they have learnt each week, complete a piece of homework for the following session, and get encouraged to transfer and practice their newly learnt tools and skills in their everyday life.

The next extract shows how Maureen reinforces the importance of the coaching outside of the sessions. This is made relevant because in the prior talk the

group has finished discussing and sharing the homework that has been completed, except not all of the children completed theirs.

(3.11)

Week 2:U:21.06 'Carry on doing the things you've learnt'

```
1
    Maureen:
               Its rea: lly important that - that you do sit
2
               do:wn with whoever's your coach at home o:r
3
               at school (0.2) and (.) do your homework.
               That's >really really important isn't it Lucy,
4
5
   Lucy:
               Ye[s.
6
                [>Cos (.) then the thi:ngs that you lear:n
    Maureen:
7
               (.) you'll be able t' (.) carry those things
               on.
```

Maureen emphasises the importance of the homework each week and the need for the children to sit down with their individual Coaches. Maureen explains why the coaching and homework is important, '>Cos (.) then the thi:ngs that you lear:n (.) you'll be able t' (.) carry those things on' (lines 7-8). When constructing her turn Maureen emphasises her message through the word 'really' (line 1 and 4), and recruits Lucy to agree with, and support her request. These persuasive turns of talk work to maximise the children's engagement in the programme, to maximise their learning and future outcomes. The same rhetorical devices were seen in the way Maureen described why SARA was useful, through describing for the children the benefits of using it (extract 3.8). The programme manual, guides what Maureen teaches the children, but the delivery of those teachings offers valuable insight into how the programme's content is made relevant for the children.

A key objective of the programme is that the tools being taught are transferred into the children's everyday lives, and practised so they become routinised typical

ways of managing real life situations. The aim being that through developing their social and emotional skills the children will experience more control in their lives, more positive emotions, and become more motivated to achieve. The programme and its Thinking Tools (one of which is SARA) are grounded within the theoretical literature and its recommendations. But it is through examining the delivery of the programme and its tools, through the interactional practices being used by Maureen in her delivery, that we can reveal the ways in which she facilitates maximum outcomes for the children, and packages the delivery of 'support' and 'self-work'.

The SARA Thinking Tool has been framed by, and enhances, the supportive environment provided by Maureen by ensuring that the children understand how, and why, this tool will be useful. The children's agency and participation has been supported through the inclusive and collaborative discussions, and through Maureen asking the children to locate SARA as a useful method to help them deal with their own real life difficulties. Maureen has made the theory behind the concept of SARA relevant for the children through the way she has taught it and bought it to life, she grounded her teachings in the usefulness of this tool through her rhetoric ways of talking to maximise its effect.

The Body Language Thinking Tool

The Body Language Thinking Tool is the second tool from the programme to be introduced to the children. This tool can be used to illustrate the contingent nature of the programme's design. When a new tool is introduced, the children's existing social and emotional knowledge and understanding that is needed for the teaching of that tool is first established and shared throughout the group. Therefore, all the children

are ready for the introduction of each new tool, and so the solution-focused work that follows can progress smoothly. In this case, the concept of using body language as a resource to recognise feelings and emotions, will firstly help strengthen the practice of SARA, and secondly provide a basis for future tools.

Firstly, body language will allow the children to 'scan' and 'analyse' a situation by recognising cues that indicate emotions in one's self and in others. This in turn will allow the children to 'respond' to problematic situations appropriately. So, the first two Thinking Tools to be introduced to the children can be practiced together to help effect change. Secondly, by discussing and describing this ordinary method (body language), Maureen is sowing the seed for future teachings. For example, in the on-going work around emotions, the children's ability to control and manage their emotions is dependent on them first being able to recognise and make sense of their environment, and the situations they find themselves in²⁴.

In order for Maureen to facilitate the children's understanding of body language she uses a laminated picture of a gingerbread man. The gingerbread man has already been used earlier in the programme as a visual aid to help the children identify internal and external emotions, and their physical experience. In the two extracts that follow the gingerbread man is used to further develop the children's understandings of emotions by asking them to think about how they display anger, and recognise anger in others.

²⁴ This will be discussed further in Chapter 6 when the children are taught a specific anger management technique, which is underpinned by the discussions here.

(3.12)

Week 3:1a:29.22 'How do we show people that we feel angry'

```
Let's have a th:ink abo:u:t (.) how we sh:ow
1
    Maureen:
2
               (0.4)
              .HH ^{\circ\circ}I know [I know^{\circ\circ} ((arm up))
3
   Tristan:
                           [>People that we feel angry.
   Maureen:
              (0.4)
5
              Tch Okay=
6
   Maureen:
7
    Mason:
             =#I (got it)#
8
   Maureen:
             So:.
9
               (1.3)
               >Steam coming out of our e:ars.
10
   Tristan:
              >If you \think.
11
   Maureen:
12
                          ((Turns flip chart paper over))
               (3.0)
               Oo<sup>†</sup>p[sie:, ((paper falls down))
13
   Mason:
                   [If you think about ou:r lickle
14 Maureen:
15
               gingerbread m:an=
16 Maddie:
               =>Huha<.
17
   Paige:
               ~Hu:ha~
18
               (3.8) ((Maureen gets gingerbread man from box))
19 Paige:
               .hh #^Li'l gingerbread m[::an#
20 Maureen:
                                        [>Re[member our
21 Tristan:
                                            [He's funny.
22
               gingerbread man ↑from the first wee:k.
              >Yeah.= It's got water in tho:ugh.
23 Tristan:
24 Benji:
              Ye[ah.
25 Paige:
                [Yeah.
26 Miles:
              ((nods))
27 Maureen: >Okay<. In our gingerbread man we had wh-
28
              (.) we had feelings that w:ere,
               >Outside.
29 Tristan:
30 Dan:
              Exte:rior,
31 Tristan:
              External and- (.) insternal.
               Internal. Well do[ne- (.) Tristan that's=
32 Maureen:
33 Tristan:
                                [>Internal.
34 Maureen:
              =very good.
35
               (0.4)
36 Maureen: In[ternal and external.= S:o (.) what we=
```

```
[Well done guys ((Gives star))
37 Lucy:
38 Maureen: =what we g- want to think abo:u:t (0.5) what
39
              are those (.) EX:Ternal,
              (1.2) ((Benji, Miles, Tristan hands up))
40
41 Maureen:
              Si:gns that we're angry.=
  Tristan: =I got one.
42
43
              (0.6)
44 Maureen: °O:°kay.
45
              (0.7)
46 Maureen: Miles your hand went up firs:t=
47 Miles:
            Err::: >dunno<.
            ^{\circ}Outside things^{\circ}
48 Benji:
                               ((To Miles))
49
              (1.0)
                                ((Maureen writing on paper))
50 Benji: °Outside things° ((To Miles))
51 Miles:
            What ha:ppens o:utside.
52 Maureen: Yeah. What 'appens outside to show that
53
             you're- li- (.) angry=
            =>Face goes red.
54 Miles:
55 Maureen: Face goes red \sqrt{\text{ye}}:[s. ((Writes answer on paper))
56 Lucy:
                                [Well do[ne. ((Gives star))
57 Maddie:
                                       [£Wuhor:::[::£
58 Dan:
                                                 [It goes
59
             *whistles*
             (1.7)
60
61 Maureen: >Benji.
62 Benji: ↓Yu- ((clenches his fists))
              (0.8)
63
64 Miles: >Flench ya fis[t. ((Looking at Benji))
65 Benji:
                            [Clinch- ye:ah.
66 Maureen: Okay.
67 Maddie: >Shake.
```

Maureen uses the gingerbread man as a prompt to help the children identify and describe 'those external signs that we're angry' (line 38). The children provide a range of responses, 'face goes red' (line 54), 'flench ya fist' (line 62-64), and 'shake' (line 67). Their participation is encouraged through the collaborative discussions:

through Maureen's questions and prompt (the gingerbread man), and through the children's own prompts and verbalisations to each other. Benji prompted Miles to help him process Maureen's question (lines 48 and 50), and Miles verbalised Benji's embodied clenched fists to help him answer (line 64). Although all the extracts involve collaboration, what is most noticeable here is the peer support being offered, and the supportive environment this creates for the children to feel safe to share and discuss.

It is through examining the delivery of how the Body Language tool is introduced, as an ordinary method, that the multitude of affordances provided by this tool can be revealed. Through its delivery Maureen supports the children's participation by using the IRE sequences to draw out the children's existing, and developing, knowledge and understanding to describe how they show other people that they are angry. This in turn ensures the children's agency is supported as the children can display their expertise by showing that they understand how anger is presented. Through making visible their skills for recognising anger, and their ability to locate emotions in the body, the children are engaging in 'self-work' to develop their emotional literacy. This work will enable them to develop their self-awareness in the same way that the traffic light system helped Morgan to monitor his angry feelings.

The final extract shows how the body language tool continues to be used as an ordinary resource to further develop the children's emotional skills and knowledge, by asking them to now describe how they would recognise anger in other people.

(3.13)

Week 3:2a:40.56 'How would you know if somebody was angry'

```
HO:W WOULD YOU KNO:W (2.6) if:: (1.0)
1
   Maureen:
2
                 somebo:dy else was angry.
3
                          ((Benji and Maddie put hands up))
                 *angry* ((Gruff voice))
4
   Dan:
5
   Maureen:
                Yes [Benji.
6
   Miles:
                     [°Shu' up°
                                ((To Dan))
                They'd be frowning and (.) like (.) >crossing
7
   Benji:
8
                 their ar:ms.
9
                 (0.5)
10
   Benji:
                 And,
11
   Maureen:
                 Yep. So frowning and crossing their a:rms.
12
                 (0.6)
                Ma:ddie.
13
   Maureen:
14
   Maddie:
                 S:ad.
15
                 (0.4)
16 Maddie:
                Like: wouldn't do a:nything or like no
17
                 mo:vement (.) .hh or something like that.
18 Maureen:
                The other person wouldn't move=
19 Maddie:
                =YEAH. Would ignore people a:nd,
20 Maureen:
                Oka:y.
21 Maddie:
                Things around them.
```

Maureen asks the children to reveal their existing skills for recognising anger in other people. Dan embodies anger through his gruff impersonation, '*angry*' (line 4), while Benji describes physical displays such as 'frowning' and 'crossing their arms' (line 7-8). Maureen then selects Maddie to answer, who at first offers 'sad' (line 14), but goes on to clarify, 'would ignore people a:nd things around them' (line 19-21) in order to answer the question more fittingly. The children are using their emotional knowledge and interpersonal skills to describe how someone feels, by thinking about how those feelings are displayed to continue the 'self-work' seen in the previous extract. As such the programme and current exercise is progressively revealing, and

developing, the children's skills and knowledge to embed the use of body language as an effective device that the children can use in their future encounters.

As will be seen in Chapter 6 these discussions are the beginnings of a specific anger management tool that is taught to the children to help them manage and control their anger. Therefore, the programmes SARA and Body Language tools teach the children how these methods can help them to recognise emotions, and emotional displays in themselves and others, which will help them to control and manage their behaviour and find alternative actions to their impulsive angry outbursts. There are no explicit links being made by Maureen between these teachings throughout the programme and each separate exercise. But, from analysing the delivery of the programme these implicit links can be tracked.

Discussion

This chapter has examined the delivery of pastoral care (worry box and traffic light system), and coaching (SARA and Body Language) activities, to identify the ways in which that delivery was made relevant and transferrable for the children in their everyday lives. There were three features of the interactional landscapes that framed the delivery of the pastoral care and coaching tools: the supportive environment; the children's agency and participation; and the management of 'self-work'.

The supportive environment was identified and characterised in this way because the interactions that take place across both datasets were positive and future-focused. The children's problems informed the reasons why they were attending pastoral care and coaching, yet the interactions that take place are very much solution-focused. The importance of a supportive environment is that when trust, or 'rapport'

is established children feel safe and comfortable to engage, and share their experiences (see Fogarty, Augoustinos & Kettler, 2013; Geldard et al., 2013). Not only is this environment important for engaging and sharing, it seems vital for the management of 'self-work'.

To recall one of the ways in which a supportive environment was created, the worry box used in the pastoral care interactions showed how Morgan and Miss engaged in more relaxed and playful interactions than would be expected in the classroom (extracts 3.1 and 3.2). While the future-focused teaching of skills by Maureen encouraged the children to transfer the tools being taught into their everyday life to bring about behavioural changes (extracts 3.11 and 3.15). So, the supportive environment created across both settings is key to creating a space for the children to engage, learn, and be empowered to bring about change.

The second feature of the interactional landscape to be explored was the ways in which the children's agency and participation was supported in practice. The analysis showed throughout all of the extracts that the children were encouraged to participate through collaborative discussions, questions, and invitations for assessment. In terms of agency, the pastoral care interactions showed how Morgan was influential in shaping the interactional course of action. For example, his agency was shown through his decision to put into practice the traffic light system to manage a real life conflict, and also his decision to share that with Miss (extract 3.5). While in the coaching interactions, Maureen uses the IRE to support the children's agency (and participation) in the unfolding interaction by constructing the transfer of knowledge as collaborative and inclusive (extract 3.8 and 3.12).

The third feature of the interactional landscape to be discussed was the management of 'self-work' within the interactions. This was most clearly shown in

the way the supportive practices enabled both Morgan and the children from the coaching data to develop key social and emotional skills. The worry box, the traffic light system, the SARA Thinking Tool, and the Body Language tool, were all made available for the children as specific tools that could enhance their social and emotional skills, and provide them ways to help them deal with problematic situations: the worry box developed Morgan's decision-making, the traffic light system developed Morgan self-awareness and self-control to help him resolve friendship troubles; SARA developed effective problem-solving skills, and the Body Language tool developed the children's emotional expertise as it could be used to recognise emotions and help them better manage their behaviour in the future.

Psychological concepts inform the way interventions recommend that children should be supported. However, the literature in which these concepts are grounded have not studied the ways in which individuals actually go about delivering these recommendations in practice, or the way that targeted social skills are revealed and taught. The pastoral care and coaching interactions have tracked how Maureen and Miss engage in, and manage 'self-work'. Many practitioners may already know and understand the importance of helping a child to develop a positive sense of self, but the discussions provided throughout this chapter offer rationale, and insight, about some of the ways in which developing a child's self can be approached in real life. These insights will allow practitioners and researchers to reflect, appreciate, and consider their own practices, which will in turn allow them to transform common practice into strategy (Hepburn, 2005; Stokoe, 2011, 2014).

This chapter has oriented to the way that the practice of doing pastoral care and coaching is itself made up of many everyday discursive practices (such as questions, assessments, and persuasion). The next three chapters use the interactional

methods of CA and DP to examine how specific, but ordinary, practices are used to support children during the delivery of pastoral care and coaching.

Chapter 4:

Searching for the good in the bad

Chapter 3 offered a descriptive overview of the interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching and their constituent activities. This chapter uses the pastoral care data to examine an identified and specific 'searching' activity used by Miss when talking with Morgan about the troubles in his life. The analysis identified that Miss initiates a series of searches to find Morgan positive endings from real life struggles, and to identify and make visible positive qualities from within Morgan that could then become attributed to him. I refer to this activity as the *good in bad* search, not in order to evaluate or assess the interactions that occur, but because this familiar idiomatic description helpfully captures and reflects the contrastive action being performed in these searches. The *good in bad* search was identified as a specific interactional resource that Miss uses to engage in, and manage, 'self-work' to prevent Morgan internalising the potentially harmful impact of the difficulties being experienced.

It is said that a person's 'self' is shaped by their social experiences, and influenced by the evaluations of significant others (Shavelson et al., 1976). Therefore, the self is descriptive and evaluative, cognitive and social (Harter, 2012). As such, for Morgan who experiences difficulty in his life as a result of multiple problems at home and at school, it is understandable why he receives support from Miss to counter the potentially damaging effects of these difficulties. This chapter will draw on the work of Edwards (2007) to discuss how subject-object relations, or mind-world relations,

are managed in talk. In so doing, this chapter reveals how Miss goes about protecting Morgan from the impact of his difficult social experiences, and the potentially harmful evaluations of significant others in his life. It is important to note that Miss is a significant other in Morgan's life and so her relationship with Morgan can be compensatory and protective (see Luther et al., 2000).

The extracts used in this chapter identify some of the difficulties being experienced in Morgan's life (the bad) in order to see how Miss manages the 'selfwork' that follows (the good). For the purpose of analysis, by 'good' I quite simply mean the things that Morgan does well. More specifically, his pro-social behaviours, his positive attributes, and his acts of kindness – in essence the positive features that Morgan has to offer himself, and others, despite experiencing difficulty in his life. The 'bad', generally refers to Morgan's anti-social behaviours, his family situations, and the effect that these have on his well-being. An important distinction needs to be made here between the two types of bad that occur within Morgan's life. In terms of Morgan's family situations, the difficulties he faces are not within his control, as neither Morgan nor Miss can change what is happening in his life. As such, the work undertaken in regard to his family situations is supportive, in that Miss is trying to help Morgan understand the emotions and feelings he is experiencing as a result of his family difficulties, to prevent him from attributing personal blame. The second kind of bad that occurs in Morgan's life results from his anti-social behaviours. In contrast to his family situations, Morgan is in control of these kinds of bad, and understanding and changing these behaviours also forms part of the work he is doing with Miss.

Challenge the bad to find the good

The first extract comes from a session where Morgan and Miss are making scones together, in memory of his Grandmother and the cooking they used to do together. Miss has been talking to Morgan about staying safe during the coming summer school holiday. The talk has been prompted because during the previous half term holiday, Morgan ran away from home and climbed onto a roof resulting in the police being called to get him down. In the preceding talk, Miss draws on a prior conversation had between the two of them when she explained to Morgan, if he wants to be the 'footballer', 'fireman', 'policeman', or 'chef' that he has spoken about becoming then he needs to keep himself safe. The extract continues from this point. The analysis will focus in particular from line 13 on, and the way Miss tries to challenge the notion that Morgan's dad 'doesn't care' and in turn how Morgan responds.

(4.1)

School 4:1a:21.43 'M'dad didn't care'

```
Morg: THAT'S WHAT FI:REman do is climb roo:f.
2
    Miss: Yep. But they're trained to do it sweetheart to
3
           rescue peop[le.
4
                       [I'm trained to do it.
    Mora:
5
    Miss: No: you we:ren't trained to do it darling you did it
           because somebody told you to do it and it was dangerous
6
7
            and you could of (.) rea:lly >really< hu[rt yourself
8
    Morg:
                                                     [Ja:cob told me
9
           to do it=
    Miss: =I know but I don't want you to listen to Jacob if he
10
11
            tells you any silly things like that again.
12
            (0.5)
13 → Morg: M'dad didn't ca:re. ((places shaped scone on tray))
14
            (0.8)
    Miss: ↑Well I'm sure (.) ↓you- you're very loved Morgan very
15
```

```
loved and I'm sure your daddy would've cared.
16
17
            (0.4)
18
    Miss: I'm s:ure he would.
    Morg: He wo:uld if I died.
19
20
            (0.9)
21
    Miss: D' ya know what your daddy (.) and your mummy and a:11
22
            your >brothers and sisters< would've been (0.5)
23
            a:bsolute:ly=
24
    Morg: =>an' mus- dad said< if- (.) if I die he wou- he really
25
            w- c:udn't care.
26
            (0.9)
27
    Miss: No.
28
    Morg: He would.
    Miss: He would care.
29
```

Morgan's announcement on line 12 makes visible the *bad* in his life, 'm'dad didn't care' about him climbing on the roof. This announcement follows a clear display of Miss 'caring' about Morgan's safety through her gentle reprimand and future advice (lines 2-10). Miss accomplishes this by emphasising the danger and potential harm to Morgan as a consequence of his actions. She softens this with her use of 'sweetheart' (line 2) and 'darling' (line 5), which are terms of endearment. In this sense, then, Morgan's claim that his dad didn't care suggests a contrast with the position taken by Miss who is 'doing care' by attending to his safety and well-being. That his dad 'didn't care' presents a category disjunction, in that 'caring' is a predicate of the category 'dad', and so there is an expectation then that he should care (Sacks, 1992).

Morgan's announcement ('dad didn't care') makes relevant a response - a receipt, a sharing, a noticing, or an assessment of some kind is required (Schegloff, 2007). Miss's response is prefaced with 'well', indicating that what follows is going to be problematic, or at the very least not straightforward (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). It is a difficult announcement to respond to. If Miss were to disagree or challenge

what Morgan has said, she may seem dismissive of the potential harm this reporting has caused for Morgan. Any disagreement would also bring into play issues relating to epistemic rights and authority (Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

Miss has no objective knowledge about what Morgan's dad has said. She has not been privy to the conversation that has taken place, and so she is hearing the news second hand as a 'B-event' telling (see Labov & Fanshel, 1977). This means that Morgan has greater rights and access to assess his father's words, and to have an emotional response to them. However, he has not displayed an emotional stance in his turn, which makes it difficult for Miss to affiliate. One interactional dilemma for Miss is how can she can challenge, remedy, or otherwise reduce the potential harm of Morgan's announcement (my dad didn't care), and remain aligned with the talk in progress without contesting his greater epistemic authority.

The issue hinges on the management of subjective and objective positions. According to Edwards (2007), subject-object relations are managed in and through talk - 'subject-side' accounts reflect a speaker's stake and interest, whilst 'object-side' accounts reflect the things they are about. Expressions of subjective interest can display sincerity, genuineness, or affiliation, and if a speaker works up the subjective status of an account its objectivity can be undermined (Edwards, 2007). Miss constructs her turn to work up the subjective assessment, '\tag{Well I'm gure (.) \tag{you-you're very loved} Morgan very loved and I'm sure your daddy would've cared' (line 15-16). The repeated use of 'I'm sure', works to display a subject-side account and provide an expression of Miss's investment, to display sincerity and genuineness (Edwards, 2007). In addition, Miss inserts Morgan's name mid-turn. This too has been found to show sincerity and 'speaking from the heart' as it were (Clayman, 2010), and can be used when a speaker takes a non-affiliative position in order to

soften the lack of affiliation in sensitive interactional moments (Butler, Danby & Emmison, 2011).

Miss is displaying a strong investment in what she is saying in this turn. The words are certainly spoken and hearable as being sincere, but the talk is doing more than just display sincerity. The turn is intensified by the use of 'very' – 'you're very loved Morgan very loved' (line 14), and so the talk is inviting Morgan to hear this turn as an assessment, an index of Miss's attitude rather than fact. The turn is intensified further by Miss's repeated 'very loved Morgan very loved', in which she also uses his name to show sincerity (Clayman, 2010). So, along with the prosody of the talk the design of this turn helps add emphasis and display conviction. Although, the turn is notably ambiguous and generalised, as it does not include any person references to indicate whom Morgan is very loved by. This generalised ambiguity allows Miss to challenge Morgan, by asserting that he is loved and cared for in general. The lack of any direct reference to Morgan's dad softens Miss's challenge, and mitigates the risk that Morgan might resist her actions and hinder the therapeutic work in progress.

Miss then moves from the general to the specific as she expands to produce a more direct challenge to Morgan's assertion, 'and I'm sure your daddy would've cared' (line 16). The use of the words 'I'm sure' are used once more to work up the subjectivity of the talk, and the model verb 'would' ('would've cared') formulates a dispositional way to describe how someone acts or talks in general (Edwards, 2007). Miss's completed turn is constructed to challenge the inference and deprecating nature of the announcement, and instead proposes that Morgan's dad would in fact care, while delicately managing not to undermine his epistemic authority by using 'I'm sure' and 'would'.

After a short silence, in which Morgan does not take the next turn to talk, which is sequentially his to take, Miss extends her turn to produce a summative repeat, 'I'm su:re he would' (line 18). This repeat is a further example of Miss's investment as she reinforces her subjective proposal. This time Morgan quickly takes the second position turn, with a modified repeat, 'he wo:uld if I died' (line 19), which aligns with Miss's turn, but mitigates her proposal by implying that his dad's care is contingent on him dying.

Morgan's assertion is intense and serious, and so the short silence may be explained by Miss's potential reorientation to his words (Maynard & Freese, 2012). When Miss speaks she manages the intensity by breaking the contiguity of talk with, 'd'ya know what your daddy (.) and your mummy and a:ll your >brothers and sisters< would've been (0.5) a:bsolute:ly=' (lines 21-23), but she is cut off by Morgan who begins to speak. Presumably, Miss was about to suggest how Morgan's 'daddy', 'mummy', and 'brothers and sisters', would have felt if he had hurt himself, or indeed 'died'. Through listing Morgan's family Miss moves away from the harmful possibility that Morgan's dad would not care, by making relevant that his whole family would. In so doing, the emphasis is moved away from how Morgan's dad might feel in an attempt to protect him once more. In other words, Miss is trying to minimise the harmful impact of Morgan's dad's apparent lack of care, by finding an alternative that can help counter its harm.

Morgan appears to resist Miss's interactional move, as he interrupts with an extension of his prior turn, '=>an' mus- dad said< f- (.) if I die h-he really wouldn't cr- care' (lines 24-25). By designing his turn as an extension, seen through his use of the conjunctive 'and', Morgan sequentially deletes the relevance and action of Miss's announcement. Morgan is working hard to get on record that his prior reporting ('he

would if I died'), is not just his perceived version of events, he is reporting his dad's actual words. Despite his stumbled start, we can clearly hear 'dad said', followed by his repeated telling, to qualify his claim that his dad would not care if he died (line 19).

Miss is silent at first while she potentially reorients once more (Maynard & Freese, 2012). She then responds with a minimal, but very firmly delivered 'no' (line 27), to challenge what Morgan has said. The challenge is not a disagreement to what Morgan has reported, but to the message being conveyed within that reporting. While lacking any epistemic access to what Morgan's dad either said or meant, Miss's challenge presumably rests on a common sense understanding that sometimes people say things that they do not mean. This is the only way that Miss can contest what Morgan's dad has reportedly said. Morgan agrees, 'he would' (line 28), and Miss affirms his agreement with, 'he would care' (line 29), uttered once more with a sense of conviction seen in the emphasis placed on 'he'. With the turns produced as if each were building on the prior, Morgan and Miss affiliate and align to produce a 'collaborative' (Lerner, 2004) and positive conclusion: Morgan's dad would care, despite what he has said. Although Morgan at first resisted Miss's attempt to minimise the significance of his dad's reporting, by getting on record what his dad actually said, in the end he is in agreement. It is in this sense, then, that a good in bad search has been realised.

In this extract, Miss has been talking to Morgan about staying safe during the coming school holiday, and in so doing, displays that she cares about his safety. Morgan introduces the *bad* in contrast to the work that Miss is undertaking, by announcing that his dad did not care about his risky behaviour. It is from this point that we saw how Miss worked hard to challenge Morgan's announcement, initially

through proposing her own subjective perspective, and then by suggesting that the rest of Morgan's family would have cared if he had been hurt, or died, as a result of climbing on the roof. Despite Morgan's resistance at times, both Morgan and Miss collaboratively searched for something positive and found their conclusion - Morgan's dad would in fact care if something happened to him, despite what he said.

It is important to say that constructing a positive ending for Morgan is not about producing a 'true' reflection of what Morgan's dad actually thinks and feels. It is about producing an alternative version of events for Morgan to consider, and this is where we can see 'self-work' being managed. Morgan needs to feel that his dad would care to counter the damaging and harmful blow of his words. The talk in this extract is about helping Morgan make sense of his dad's words, and then prevent those words from being internalised and self-imposed. It is these actions that are of importance in this extract, and what Miss is attempting to protect and preserve.

A search for love

The second extract comes from a session when Morgan and Miss are looking at expression cards to help Morgan talk about how he feels after hearing that his mum has suggested he and his siblings are put into foster care. Miss has selected the 'love' card from the table to begin a discussion with Morgan about whether he feels loved. The analysis of the extract will be divided in two parts, the first will reveal the *bad* and show how Miss initiates a search to find someone 'who loves Morgan'. The second part shows how a failed search leads Miss to recast her search in order to find something *good* for Morgan.

(4.2a)

School 6:2:7.47 'Who loves Morgan'

```
>What about this one,
   Miss:
2
   Morg: L::::ove l- ye[ah.
3
   Miss:
                         [Do y- do you feel loved.
4
          (0.7)
                   (Morgan starts gathering up the cards))
5
   Morq:
          N:ah.
6
           (2.2)
7
   Miss: #Who lo:ves Morgan#. ((raises gaze from cards to Miss))
8
   Morg: No-one.
9
   Miss: No-one.
10 Morg: Nah.
11
          (1.0)
12 Miss: Ya si:sters? ((lowers gaze back to gather cards))
13
          (0.3)
14 Morg:
          Nope.
15
           (1.3)
16 Miss: >Mu:mmy,
17
           (0.5)
18 Morg:
          Nope. ((looks at Miss))
19
   Miss: >Daddy,
20
           (0.7)
21 Morg: Bit. ((slight smile looking at Miss, Miss smiles back))
22
           (2.3) ((Morgan lowers gaze to gather cards again))
```

The 'love' card is selected to find out if Morgan feels loved. In line 8, and in response to Miss's question, '#who lo:ves Morgan#', Morgan answers 'no-one', and so it is here that the *bad* can be identified. Miss produces a full repeat, which when uttered with turn final intonation, works to acknowledge what has been said before (Schegloff, 2007). However, by repeating the words with the same prosodic features Miss adds nothing to her turn; she simply gives it back to Morgan in a therapeutic move that invites him to expand (see Muntigl & Zabala, 2008; Perakyla et al., 2008). Morgan accepts her invitation and expands to affirm his response with 'nah' (line 10).

In his study of a suicide prevention helpline, Sacks (1992) noted that callers often reported, or were asked to report, their 'search for help'. Suicidal callers reported having no-one to turn to as the result of failing to find any likely providers of help (for example, family and friends). In this extract Morgan has revealed that he doesn't feel loved, and that 'no-one' loves him, which initiates Miss's 'search for love'. According to Sacks (1972), there are adequate and inadequate grounds for proposing that some fact exists, by determining whether or not the proposed fact does in fact exist, and is adequate. In other words, Morgan can only say that no one loves him, if this claim is determined to be a true and adequate evaluation of the facts. Miss begins her search by listing Morgan's family to establish whether his grounds for stating that he is not loved, do in fact exist and are adequate.

Miss firstly offers, 'ya siːsters' (line 12), which is interestingly incongruent with Sacks' claim. Sacks (1972) found, that when suicidal persons were searching for help there were certain people who had a greater responsibility and obligation to provide such help, namely family, then close friends. Sacks referred to these membership groups as collections of 'paired relational categories', for instance, husband-wife, parent-child, friend-friend, 'if there is a first member available of the paired relational category, it is to that member that the suicidal ought to turn for help' (Sacks, 1972, p. 58). In accordance with Sacks' explanation of responsibility and obligation, Miss should have offered Morgan's parents before his sisters, and it is noticeable that she does not. A parent's responsibility and obligation to a child is greater than that of a sibling. However, the incongruence can be explained in light of the previous extract, and the knowledge that Miss has about Morgan's world. It seems reasonable to suggest that Miss offers Morgan's sisters as the first category in her

search because it seems to be a safer option²⁵. This is ever more salient when the purpose of the search is to find someone who loves Morgan.

In response to Miss's offer of his sisters, Morgan replies 'nope' (line 14), and so the search continues with the offering of 'mummy' (line 16). However, this receives the same reply, 'nope' (line 18), and so Miss is left only to offer Morgan's dad as the final member of his 'nuclear family' category. Morgan replies, a 'bit' (line 21), which although provides an end to the search, as this love is only a 'bit' Miss faces an interactional dilemma. On the one hand, Morgan has acknowledged that someone loves him, and so this ends the search. On the other hand, the love which has been found is only a 'bit', and so Morgan's dad can be taken 'out of the slot' as someone that would be deemed adequate (Sacks, 1972, p. 58). Miss's search, and the subsequent dilemma, may indeed provide Morgan adequate grounds for reporting that 'no-one loves him'. The eye gaze and smile that Morgan directs at Miss is returned, which displays their mutually empathic understanding of the situation. In the silence that follows Morgan lowers his gaze back down to the expression cards and continues to gather them up, which suggests the search is over and the sequence is closed.

The first part of the extract has revealed the *bad* and Miss's failed search to find someone who loves Morgan adequately. The extract continues below and shows how Miss initiates a new interactional course of action in order to find something *good*, by asking Morgan how he feels about himself.

-

²⁵ Miss may not have listed Morgan's mum first because she has left the family home and suggested to his dad that the children are put into foster care. See extract 5.7 (p. 152), for an analysis of how Morgan is being supported by Miss to make sense of this situation.

(4.2b)

School 6:2:7.47 'Who loves Morgan'

```
23
   Miss:
           Do you think you're very special boy.
24
           (0.9)
           Ye:s.
25
                     ((eye gaze is down at cards, still gathering))
   Morq:
26
           (0.5)
27
   Miss: I think you're v:ery very spec:ial. ((moves cards closer))
28
           (1.4)
29 Miss:
           >Do you love yourself?
           (0.6)
30
31 Morg: fyeah.f ((Head jolts up, looks at Miss))
   Miss: £goo:d£. That's fantastic- that's gr:eat news. >That's
32
33
           great news<.
34
           (0.4)
35 Miss:
           I want you to always believe in yourself as well.
           >Because you're very very spec[ial.
36
                                          [>can I stick this back on
37
   Morg:
38
           there,
                     ((pointing to filing cabinet))
39
           (0.4)
                     ((Miss looks over at cabinet))
   Miss: You can stick them back on there for me if you'd 1:ike
40
           to. \tangle Would you like to do that [for me,
41
42
   Morq:
                                           [$yeah$
                    ((Morgan gets up from chair))
43
           (0.8)
44 Miss:
           Then you do that for me thank yo:u.
```

After the silence in which Morgan gathers the expression cards has passed, Miss continues her search for the *good*, but instead of pursuing the recognised impasse, she changes her orientation from talking about 'who loves Morgan', to asking Morgan how he feels about himself, 'do you think you're very special boy' (line 23). There are a few things to say about this turn. Firstly, the question is in a 'do you think' format, which is designed to elicit Morgan's opinion (Cromdal, Tholander & Aronsson, 2007). Secondly, Miss inserts the word 'very' to intensify the question and display her own stance towards what she has asked (Edwards, 2000). Thirdly, Miss

had been talking about love in the first part of the sequence, specifically 'who loves Morgan', but when Miss shifts the orientation of the talk from the 'other person' to Morgan's own thoughts, she uses the word 'special'.

One possibility for this replacement is that 'special' is an objective description that can be contested by Miss if Morgan answers no, but love, and more specifically feeling loved, is subjective and cannot be contested in the same way. Miss can provide objective evidence for why Morgan is special, based on her subjective knowledge of the type of person that Morgan is, because of his qualities as a child, friend, and student. However, she cannot provide evidence for Morgan feeling loved by his family, as she has no grounds to assess or challenge that Morgan should feel loved just because she says he should. As such, Miss will find it hard to challenge Morgan's subject-side account, that his 'sisters' and 'mummy' do not love him, and that his 'daddy' only loves him a 'bit', as these evaluations are based on Morgan's own understandings, of which Miss has only an objective reality. Miss cannot change Morgan's family situation and make him feel loved, but she can make him feel better about himself in the time that they share, and provide him reasons for feeling good, such as being 'special', and it is this suggested 'self-work' that Miss is managing in this sequence.

Morgan answers the question, 'do you think you're very special boy', with 'y:eah' (line 25). The question-answer sequence is complete, but Miss goes on to expand the sequence with her assessment, 'I think you're v:ery very spec:ial' (line 27). This assessment has two actions. First, it conveys Miss's stance towards what Morgan has said (Edwards, 2000). A similar sequence was seen in extract 4.1 when Miss extended her prior turn to produce a summative repeat to display her own

investment²⁶. Miss has occasioned, and then built on, Morgan's agreeing selfassessment to construct a viable (subjective) challenge to Morgan's (objective) reality.

Second, Miss supports Morgan's agency, as she places her assessment in second positioned agreement, as a kind of 'personal state enquiry' (Schegloff, 2007), which allows her to articulate her own thoughts based on Morgan's prior answer. Miss's assessment is an upgraded form of the initiating question (do you think you're very special), seen both in the emphasis and repetition of the words 'v:ery very'. It could be argued, that this questioning sequence has a sense of pre-emptness about it, in the same way that pre-invitations, pre-assessments, and pre-requests, project the relevance of the next action (Schegloff, 2007; Weatherall, 2011). This pre-emptness suggests that Miss maybe 'testing the waters', as it were, with her 'do you think you're very special'. This self-assessing question is less daunting than the question that follows ('do you love yourself', line 29), and so it could be a resource to mitigate this progressive delicateness.

Morgan accepts Miss's interactional course of action, and answers '£yeah£' (line 31), with smile and eye gaze directed at Miss. In recognition of the positive path that has been taken, Miss responds with an empathic assessment, '£goo:d£. That's fantastic- that's gr:eat news. >That's great news<' (line 32-33), which enthusiastically appraises Morgan's affirmation that he loves himself. This high-grade assessment displays Miss's conviction and investment in her evaluation (Antaki, 2002). She then adds that she wants Morgan to 'always believe' in himself because he is 'very very

²⁶ Extract 4.1: Expanded summative repeat:

Miss: †Well I'm sure (.) tyou- you're very loved Morgan very loved and I'm sure your daddy would've cared.

^(0.4)

Miss: I'm s:ure he would.

special' (line 35-36). It is on this 'positive note' that the sequence is brought to a close

Through Miss focusing the talk to be about how Morgan feels about himself, she has invited him to produce a self-assessment that is in contrast to the prior talk, which was 'other' focused and about how Morgan felt unloved. In contrast, Morgan's self-assessment is positive - he thinks he is very special and he loves himself. Both assessments empower Morgan to feel good about himself, so work to counter the damaging affect that 'not feeling loved' has. Miss has worked to produce a positive assessment to find a *good* that helps prevent Morgan from internalising the *bad* experience of not feeling loved. It could be claimed that through her series of questions Miss has 'done empowering' and helped Morgan identify a positive self-assessment.

The second part of the analysis has shown how Miss challenges the *bad* (Morgan not feeling loved by others), to find something *good* (Morgan's self-love). Miss has not continued to discuss how Morgan's family feel about him after her initial search for love turned out to be in vain. Instead, she has initiated two questioning sequences that have made visible to them both that Morgan himself thinks he is very special, and that he loves himself, which Miss has enthusiastically endorsed. The way Miss has organised her talk, the pre-emptive questioning sequence that 'tested the waters' and Morgan's willingness to engage in the self-assessing work, has allowed Miss to build her own subjective assessments.

As was seen in extract 4.1, through building her own subjective assessment

Miss can challenge the objective reality that Morgan does not feel loved by his

family. This has been collaboratively accomplished, as Miss's questioning sequences
have encouraged Morgan's agency and his empowering self-assessments to be heard,

making visible Morgan's own qualities as resources that are available to him. The collaboration has been achieved in subtle but visible ways, and it is through the detailed analysis of these interactions that these methods have been made known. The therapeutic work ends with Morgan's request to stick the expression cards back onto the filing cabinet, which is where they belong when they are not being used.

The extracts so far have shown how Miss has worked up the subjective status of an account to undermine its objectivity. In extract 4.2, Miss initiated two questioning sequences to collaboratively produce Morgan's positive self-assessments to identify and make known 'special' qualities from within him. The extracts have both shown how through Morgan and Miss's collaborative talk they have completed a search for the *good* in the *bad*, to find the good.

Finding internal qualities to enhance well-being

The next extract continues shortly after the extract above while Morgan is sticking the expression cards back onto the filing cabinet. As Morgan puts the cards back Miss initiates another search using the familiar questioning sequence to collaboratively transform Morgan's external behaviours into internal qualities that can then become attributable to him.

(4.3)

School 6:2:8.33 'Do you think you're very brave'

```
6
           (2.2)
7
   Miss: Wh:y do you think that.
8
           (2.0)
                   ((Morgan shrugs his shoulders))
   Miss: >Is it because you're able to come in here and talk
9
10
           about all you-
           (0.5)
11
   Morg:
           Yea[h.
13
   Miss:
              [all your problems and conce:rns.
14
           (0.8)
15 Morg:
          An' telling the truth,
16
           (0.2)
17 Miss:
           I ↓know.
18 Miss: I think that's pretty- I think you're pretty amazing
19
          really are:n't you.
20
           (1.2)
21 Miss: Do you think you a:re?
22 Morg: Yea:h.
```

As Morgan is sticking the expression cards back on the filing cabinet, Miss invites more self-assessment by asking Morgan if he thinks he is 'very brave'. Similarly to the format of her question in extract 4.2 (line 23, 'do you think you're very special boy'), Miss invites a high-grade assessment by asking Morgan if he thinks he is 'very' brave. Offering this formulation in this way, as a candidate assessment, helps Miss to display her own stance (Edwards, 2000). Morgan affirms this at line 3, 'y:eah', which Miss receipts with her partial repeat, 'do you,' (line 5). The prosodic design of this turn is a therapeutic move that seeks more from Morgan (Muntigl and Zabala, 2008). However, Morgan does not respond verbally, but by shrugging his shoulders he does a non-answer response (Stivers & Enfield, 2010).

Miss continues her pursuit for some sort of elaboration by offering a candidate account for why Morgan might think he is very brave, 'is it because you're able to come in here and talk about all you-' (line 9-10). She cuts-off her turn abruptly and so

she does not complete what she was going to say, but after a short silence, Morgan's confirming, 'yeah' (line 12), displays that Miss has said enough for him to answer (see Lerner, 2004). Morgan then extends Miss's turn by adding 'an' telling the truth' (line 15), using the connective 'and' to collaboratively produced an answer (Lerner, 2004) that shows both talking about problems and concerns, and telling the truth are indicators of braveness. By identifying telling the truth as being brave, Morgan demonstrates his own understanding of being brave, as an accomplishment in its own right.

In offering his extended answer (line 15 'an' telling the truth'), Morgan displays his agency as an active participant, and his willingness to engage in this discussion with Miss. The collaboration that occurs here (and throughout the extracts examined already) is an interactional phenomenon that evokes the relationship, or rapport, that has developed between Morgan and Miss (see also Fogarty et al., 2013). It is because of his relationship with Miss that Morgan is able to talk with her about the difficult and sensitive things in his life (Geldard et al., 2013). This relationship is important, because it promotes Morgan's engagement in the therapeutic work that is being accomplished during their time together²⁷. While Fogarty et al. (2013) suggest that rapport is achieved through the interactional phenomenon of progressivity (how talk allows for an activity or action to progress smoothly); the interactions that occur between Morgan and Miss suggest that the interactional phenomenon of collaboration also expresses the concept of rapport (see also collaborations in Chapter 6, p. 166).

Through their collaborative search Miss once more transforms Morgan's external behaviours into internal qualities that are attributable to him. Through their

_

²⁷ In contrast, see Hutchby (2007, p 101), for an analysis of the answer 'I don't know' as a resistance strategy used by children unwilling to engage in therapeutic work.

collaboration Miss has established that Morgan thinks he is very brave because he is able to talk (about all of his problems and concerns), and by his own reasoning, for telling the truth. She is quick to acknowledge this discovery with, 'I \pm, know' (line 17), which displays her own independent stance (Kärkkäinen, 2003). Miss agrees with what Morgan has said, and at the same time confirms that this is something she also 'knows' about him to corroborate and reinforce the presence of this quality. Kärkkäinen (2003) looked at the frequency of epistemic expressions and their interactional function, 'I know + compliment', was a less frequent combination in her data, but this is what we see here. Miss begins her compliment by evaluating 'that' (Morgan talking about all his problems and concerns, and telling the truth), but self-repairs to restart the compliment replacing 'that' with 'you're' to assess Morgan as being 'pretty amazing really' (line 17-19). In so doing, Miss transforms the compliment from being action oriented, to being Morgan oriented.

In other words, the repair changes from being about Morgan's external behaviour, 'talking' and 'telling the truth', to being about him, 'you're pretty amazing'. This makes explicit, and visible, that Morgan's external behaviours are a product of his internal qualities: Morgan can 'talk' and 'tell the truth' because he is 'pretty amazing'. It is not that Morgan's behaviour is amazing, but that Morgan himself is amazing. In attributing Morgan's behaviour to him, control of these behaviours is also attached to him, which Miss explicitly recognises to encourage his positive conduct.

Through transforming Morgan's external behaviours into internal qualities that are attributable to him, Miss has continued to protect and enhance how Morgan feels about himself. The *good* that exists within Morgan has been identified, praised, and complimented, because despite the 'problems and concerns' that Morgan faces,

Morgan can manage his affect appropriately by talking about these with Miss, because he is 'very brave' and 'pretty amazing'. Miss ends her turn with a tag question to seek Morgan's agreement, 'I think you're pretty amazing really are:n't you' (line 18-19). The agreement sought does not come, and so Miss pursues a response with her question, 'do you think you a:re' (line 21). The pursuit elicits Morgan's agreeing 'yea:h' (line 22) and in so doing Miss encourages Morgan to concur with her evaluation, and empowers him once more to realise these qualities that exist within him.

The analysis of this extract has shown how Miss continues the self-assessment work seen in extract 4.2 to search for the *good* by making visible Morgan's positive qualities. Here, it can be seen how Miss take Morgan's external behaviours and turns them into attributes, to identify his strengths and help him construct a version of himself based on those strengths. Miss cannot change Morgan's family situation but she can help him identify his own qualities as resources that he can then use and draw on in the future. It is in this sense, then, that Miss uses the ordinariness of questions, to work up the subjectivity of an account and elicit self-assessment, and in so doing she manages Morgan's 'self-work' to empower him to makes sense of, and overcome the potential harm of his difficulties.

Discussion

This chapter has examined in some detail the resources used by Morgan and Miss to talk about and make sense of the troubles in Morgan's life. Miss supports and guides Morgan through her searches to identify Morgan's positive qualities that have the potential to protect his social and emotional well-being. The main theme throughout

has been on how positive outcomes can be produced from real life struggles. In extract 4.1, Morgan announced that his dad didn't care, and the analysis looked at the way Miss challenged the deprecating nature of this announcement, without competing with Morgan's superior rights and access to such knowledge. Through managing the subjectivity of the talk Morgan and Miss collaboratively produced the conclusion that his dad would in fact care in spite of what was said or implied, and so they work to counter the damaging and harmful effect of this announcement.

In extract 4.2, Miss managed Morgan's reporting that he did not feel loved by changing the conversation from being 'other' focused, to being 'Morgan' focused, to be about how he (and she) felt about him. Through initiating her search for love, and the consequential new course of action, she broke away from the failed search. In so doing, her invitation for self-assessment led to Morgan agreeing that he himself thinks he is very special and that he loves himself. This in turn allowed Miss to produce her own subjective assessment of Morgan to ratify these positive self-assessments, and protect Morgan from being harmed by the prior search that failed to find someone who loves him. Similarly, in extract 4.3, Morgan's positive qualities were brought out in the talk through a collaborative identification of Morgan's braveness due to his being able to talk about his problems and concerns, and because he can tell the truth. Miss transformed these external behaviours into internal qualities attributable to Morgan, qualities that Morgan could say and could hear about him, protective qualities.

Morgan and Miss have engaged in conversations that have supported Morgan to talk about and make sense of his family situations. Both Morgan and Miss have searched for the *good* and made visible the resources that are available to him. A theme that has been discussed throughout is that Miss cannot change Morgan's family

situation and make him feel more loved and cared for, but she can make him feel *good* about himself, and show Morgan that she cares about him. She can manage his 'self-work' as best she can, make him feel special, and help him identify his internal qualities which he can then use and draw on in the future, if he so chooses. The extracts discussed above show how the talk is oriented to these tasks. Each of the extracts has shown how the *good in bad* search, has allowed the self-assessment and subjective evaluations that have been produced to support Morgan enhance his sense of who he is.

Chapter 5:

Reassurance

Chapter 4 showed how Morgan and Miss engaged in a series of searches to find positive outcomes for Morgan in spite of the difficulties being experienced in his life, and to manage the 'self-work' that was needed to protect him from these difficulties. This chapter will continue to look at how 'self-work' is managed within the pastoral care interactions by focusing on the ways in which Miss offers Morgan reassurance in response to his troubles.

Although the existing CA literature has not looked at reassurance as a phenomenon in its own right, reference has been made to the 'reassuring' or 'supportive' features of some compliments (Golato, 2005; Pomerantz, 1978; Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012). Likewise, Jenkins (2012) suggests that parents' responses to their children's cries of pain were used to 'provide reassurance' (p. 166), 'convey reassurance' (p. 240), and give their child 'a sense of reassurance' (p. 241). In these studies, reassurance is treated as something that is accomplished by other social actions, based on our common-sense understanding of what reassurance is and our 'intuitive knowledge that there are such things and this is the way they work' (Sacks, 1992, p. 355). However, this chapter seeks to study reassurance as a phenomenon in its own right based on *how* and *when* it is offered and to what ends.

The Oxford English Dictionary (2013) defines reassurance as: 'the action of removing someone's doubts and fears'. While this definition broadly captures our common-sense understanding of reassurance, it offers little in terms of how

reassurance is captured as an interactional practice and so our understanding of reassurance as a situated action is no further informed by it. Consider the defining words, 'the action of removing someone's doubts and fears'. The 'action' being described is a practical concern that is achieved in and through the talk as it unfolds, but this is not captured by the definition. A more descriptive definition offers: 'if someone needs reassurance they are very worried and need someone to help them stop worrying by saying kind or helpful things' (Collins English Dictionary, 2013). This definition gets more to the heart of what reassurance is as a situated action by stating that individuals need to say 'kind and helpful things'. However, the problem of capturing reassurance as an interactional practice remains, in terms of what 'kind and helpful things' should be said?

Reassurance as a situated action

While we have a definitional notion of reassurance, we do not have a sense of what reassurance looks like as a situated practice. The analysis within this chapter comes from a collection of examples that were first glossed as 'reassuring talk', and then examined in more detail to reveal the patterned ways in which the reassurance is done. This examination revealed that reassurance is offered when a speaker infers a recipients need to be reassured, in order to assist in the resolution of some trouble. Therefore, Sacks' (1992) characterization of an action being 'interactionally-generated' (p. 574) can be applied to reassurance, in that reassurance is a responsive action that works to resolve some trouble. However, a further distinction can be made about the interactionally-generated nature of reassurance if the context in which the 'reassurable' trouble occurs is taken into account - reassurance can either be

occasioned by some trouble that has occurred in the just prior turn, or by some trouble that has occurred in relation to previous talk. In reviewing the existing literature that has used Sacks' (1992) 'interactionally-generated' characterisation, Curl's (2006) 'offers of assistance' paper, found that interactionally-generated offers were responsive to different types of problems. In taking into account the contexts in which problems occur, Stivers (2015) made a distinction between offers that are interactionally-generated and offers that are initiated by the speaker.

The analysis of the pastoral care interactions and relevant literature have shaped the characterization of reassurance that has been developed here: Reassurance is either interactionally-generated in response to a recipients displayed affect toward some visible trouble in the just prior turn, or it is speaker-generated in response to a recipients inferred affect toward some latent trouble that is educed by the speaker in relation to previous troubles talk. As such, two types of reassurance have been identified, 'interactionally-generated reassurance', and 'speaker-generated reassurance', both of which will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Interactionally-generated reassurance

Interactionally-generated reassurance is responsive to some visible trouble that is flagged by the recipients' affective display in the just prior turn. A three-part sequence has been developed in order to identify interactionally-generated reassurance:

- 1. Trouble flag
- 2. Reassuring counter turn

3. Progressivity restored

In the first part of the sequence a trouble flag²⁸ occurs which interrupts the progressivity of the interaction. This initiates the second part of the sequence, the reassuring counter turn, which is composed of a trouble formulation, remedy and/or account²⁹. The reassuring counter turn works to absolve the recipients' affect towards the trouble, to restore progressivity so that the interactants can resume their prior talk or activity, and in so doing closes the sequence. In other words, interactionally-generated reassurance occurs as a 'side sequence' (Jefferson, 1972). The trouble flag is what temporarily interrupts the on-going interaction (rather than the trouble itself), and it is in this turn that reassurance is made relevant and offered. Once the reassuring counter turn has been produced, the visible trouble and its affect are absolved to restore progressivity.

The case of 'Doesn't matter'

The following four extracts will show how the three-part sequence has been used to locate interactionally-generated reassurance as being responsive to an affective display towards some visible trouble. In each of the extracts a visible trouble occasions Morgan affective display, which is the trouble flag that interrupts the interaction and initiates Miss's reassuring counter turn. In all four cases the reassuring counter turn is prefaced with the words 'doesn't matter', which work specifically to

_

²⁸ Jordan & Fuller (1975) view 'trouble' as anything that interrupts the flow of talk, while 'flag' is what initiates, and in its initiation is part of, the repair of that trouble.

²⁹ The word 'remedy' is taken from Goffman and his 'remedial interchanges' paper (1971, p. 138) in which he uses remedy to speak of an offenders' remedial dialogue – an apology, an account or a request. In CA, the word 'account' has two distinct senses (see Bolden and Robinson, 2011). The sense in which account is used here is in line with Sacks (1992), in that Miss makes her absolution an 'accountable action' (p. 4), and as something that is in need of explanation.

absolve harm or consequence, and in so doing restore progressivity so the interaction can resume. The first extract comes from a session where Morgan and Miss are making scones together. In the moments before the extract begins Miss divides the dough in half and shows Morgan how to cut a scone out with the plastic cutter. Miss puts the scone on a baking tray and then places the tray next to Morgan.

(5.1)

School 4:1b:15.00 'Roll it up and start again'

```
Okay. I'll pop that there for you and you can
   Miss:
2
           have a go yourself.
3
           (2.3) ((Morgan cuts a scone and lifts away cutter))
           And I'[ll- ((Takes rest of dough out of bowl)
   Miss:
5
   Morq:
                 [Arh:: ((The scone falls slightly))
   Morg:
                 [((Stops. Shoulders drop, eyes dart left to right))
7
   Miss:
                 [((Looks at the scone and then up to Morgan))
   Miss: >[Doesn't matter if it doesn't work out first<=</pre>
8
   Miss:
           [((Shakes head))]
10 Miss:
           =t:ime [just put a bit more flour on it and s-
12 Miss:
                  [((sprinkles some flour over the dough))
           >roll it up again and start again.
13
           (0.7) ((Morgan kneads flour into dough))
14
15 Miss: [Doesn't matter.
16 Miss: [((Shakes head))
17 Morg: I ↑jus bout to say-
18
           (8.3) ((Morgan rolls in flour and starts again))
```

Miss tells Morgan that she will place the baking tray to the side of him so he can put his cut out scones onto it ready for baking. Morgan begins to cut the first scone, while Miss prepares the second half of the dough for Morgan to cut from. Miss continues with a running commentary, 'and I'll' (line 4), but cuts her turn off when Morgan utters 'Arh::' (line 5), as he lifts the cutter from the scone and sees it fall slightly.

Morgan's utterance is a 'response cry' - 'a special variety of impulsive, blurted actions – namely, vocalised ones' (Gofman, 1978, p. 813). Goffman considered response cries to be an 'eruption' of spontaneous emotion (p. 813), which in this instance seems to be Morgan's disappointment and worry in relation to his scone not holding shape. Morgan's affect is also displayed through his non-verbal gestures, his stopping of the activity, shoulders dropping and eyes darting from left to right. Morgan's actions are also akin to Goffman's (1971) idea of a 'virtual offence', in that Morgan is displaying an awareness of a possible transgression.

Miss turns her gaze to look at the fallen scone, and then up to Morgan's face, recognising the trouble that has been flagged by Morgan's affective display. Miss quickly initiates a 'doesn't matter' prefaced reassuring counter turn (line 8) with headshake, which together work to minimise the significance of the trouble and absolve worry. The action of the words 'doesn't matter' suggest that the scone falling is not something that Morgan needs to worry about; and so he has not transgressed and committed an offence. Miss formulates the trouble and offers her remedy, 'if it doesn't work out first time just put a bit more flour on it and roll it up and start again' (lines 10-13).

The 'if-then' structure produces the trouble as something that can be easily fixed. Shaping the scone can be done more than once because the dough can be rerolled and cut again. The import of the word 'just' (line 10) works to 'trivialise' (Kiesling, 1997) and lessen the effort required by Morgan to remedy the trouble. During her turn Miss sprinkles some flour over the dough mix (line 12) and Morgan starts to knead and prepare it (line 14). The sprinkling of flour compliments the work being done to lessen the effort required to remedy the trouble because Miss makes it a joint enterprise. The reassuring counter turn restores progressivity as Morgan resumes

the activity, while Miss repeats her words, 'doesn't matter', with accompanying headshake to close the sequence.

The extract shows how the proposed three-part sequence identifies how interactionally-generated reassurance is responsive to Morgan's affective display towards visible trouble:

- 1. Trouble flag Morgan's verbal 'Arh' and non-verbal gestures (lines 5-6).
- 2. Reassuring counter turn *Miss's 'doesn't matter' prefaced turn (line 8)*, with trouble formulation *'if it doesn't work out first time' (line 8)*, + remedy *'just roll it up and start again' (lines 10-12)*.
- 3. Progressivity restored Morgan rolls the dough in flour to start again (line 18).

Miss has offered Morgan reassurance in response to his affective display that flagged the fallen scone as the visible trouble within the interaction. The reassuring counter turn has absolved the worry and remedied the trouble to restore the interaction. The following three extracts are further examples of how 'doesn't matter' prefaces the reassuring counter turn, to absolve Morgan's worry by minimising the significance of some visible trouble that is flagged by his affective display. In the following example, Morgan is writing his mum a letter. Just prior, there has been an extended period of silence that Miss breaks with her compliment.

(5.2)

School 1:2:8.00 'She's going to be thrilled its come from you'

```
1 Miss: Lovely wr[it-
2 Morg: [O:H]
3 Morg: [((Stops writing, scribbles out))
4 (0.7) ((Morgan and Miss look at the letter))
Trouble flag
```

```
5
           [ Doesn't matter ] (.) if you make a mista:ke,
    Miss:
                                                               Reassuring
6
    Miss: [((Shaking head))]
                                                               counter turn
7
           (3.5) ((Morgan still looking down at letter))
    Miss: >She's just going to be absolutely thrilled
8
           that it's come from you.
9
                                                              Progressivity
10
           (18.6) ((Morgan starts writing again))
                                                                restored
```

(5.3)

Morgan is cutting a scone in half to fill it with jam but it starts to crumble as he cuts.

School 4:2a:3.37 'Just means it's a beautiful recipe'

```
Trouble flag
            ((Stops cutting, pauses, looks up at Miss))
1
    Morg:
2
    Miss:
            [>Doesn't matter if they fall apart darling.=
                                                               Reassuring
                                                               counter turn
            [((Shakes head))
   Miss:
   Miss:
            =That's: (0.3) [when ha- >when that happens=
5
   Miss:
                            [((Helps Morgan to separate))
6
   Miss:
            =sweetheart it jush- means that it's a
7
            beau:tiful <recipe>.
8
            £REALLY=yeah£
   Morg:
9
    Miss:
            =[Yeah. It means that it's all <crumbly> and
10 Miss:
            [((Nods head))
            <light> and <delic[ious>.
11
                                                              Progressivity
12 Morg:
                               [>Can I eat it.
                                                                restored
```

(5.4)

Miss has shown Morgan how to sieve flour. Morgan goes to take the sieve so he can have a go himself but knocks the sieve into the bowl.

School 4:1b:3.00 'Won't hurt anything'

```
1 Miss: Wi[th the rest of-
2 Morg: [. H H H hh. ((knocks sieve))
3 Morg: [Open mouthed puts sieve back
4 over bowl, Miss helps him
Trouble flag
```

```
5
   Miss:
           [>It doesn't matter.
                                                           Reassuring
                                                          counter turn
6
   Miss: [((Shakes head))
7
   Miss:
           [>It doesn't- won't hurt anything.
8
   Miss: [((Shakes head))
9
           (2.6) ((Morgan takes a spoon of flour))
                                                          Progressivity
                                                            restored
           Let me watch ((Takes the spoon to sieve))
10
   Miss:
11
                      ((Drops the flour into the sieve))
           £Yes::::£. ((Looks from bowl to Morgan))
12 Miss:
           ((Sieves the flour into the bowl))
13 Morg:
```

The three extracts show how the three-part sequence identifies interactionally-generated reassurance in response to an affective display towards visible trouble: 1) the trouble flag - Morgan's affective display; 2) the reassuring counter turn - absolves Morgan by minimising the significance of the trouble through the words 'doesn't matter'; and 3) restores progressivity – Morgan resumes the activity. The reassuring nature of Miss's counter turn treats Morgan's affect towards the trouble as something that he should not worry about. The action of the words, 'doesn't matter', work specifically to absolve Morgan's worry towards the visible trouble. Thereby, reassurance is performed through remedying the trouble and its affect allowing the activity to proceed trouble-free.

What is interesting about the action of the words 'doesn't matter' in the reassuring counter turns, is that they seem designed to not only absolve and minimise the practical significance of trouble, but also the emotional significance of that trouble. The turn is hearable as doing emotional work because this is the essence of what reassurance is designed to do as a social action. By its very nature, reassurance is dealing with the fact that when something goes wrong there is the potential for that wrong to personally attributed and self-imposed. It is this very inference that creates

the space, and need, for reassurance to be offered. In other words, reassurance is a resource through which 'self-work' can be managed.

Speaker-generated reassurance

The chapter so far has examined how the three-part sequence was used to identify interactionally-generated reassurance in response to an affective display towards some overt trouble. The focus being on how visible trouble is flagged as being problematic by Morgan's affective display, which initiates Miss's prefaced 'doesn't matter' reassuring counter turn, that works to absolve Morgan's affect to restore progressivity. The second part of the chapter will look at how Miss reassures Morgan's affect towards some latent trouble that is educed by her in relation to previous troubles talk. The context in which speaker-generated reassurance occurs means that there is no visible trouble that occasions an affective display, so it cannot be identified using the three-part sequence that has been discussed so far. Instead, the context in which speaker-generated reassurance occurs means it is in response to some latent trouble, that is, trouble that has been revealed in earlier talk but unexpressed in the present talk. Speaker-generated reassurance is still identified by the reassuring counter turn, but this is produced as a stand-alone turn rather than being part of a three-part sequence.

Furthermore, the reassuring counter turns in the following extracts are not designed to minimise and absolve the trouble itself, as Morgan's latent troubles are more complex and cannot be fixed by him or Miss. Instead, the reassuring counter turns work to minimise and absolve Morgan's potential worry and self-blame

following the troubles he experiences in his life. The potential for Morgan's troubles to cause him to worry or self-blame is educed by Miss based on her shared knowledge about his life, and her pastoral care knowledge of how children might come to make sense of the experiences in their life.

The first extract comes from the session where Morgan and Miss have been talking about his mum's suggestion that he and his brother and sisters are put into foster care. Morgan announces that he has finished drawing his picture, and Miss ends the session by handing him a mirror as a therapeutic aid to help him tell her how he looks today. The idea seeming to be that by describing how he looks Morgan can describe how he feels. Once Morgan describes how he looks he puts the mirror down onto his picture, later noticing the symmetry reflected in the mirror that makes two of everything. This noticing interrupts the reassuring counter turn temporarily, but once Morgan has ended the playful talk Miss returns once more to complete her reassuring turn. The main focus for the extract will be on the reassuring counter turn that begins on lines 34-37 (and again in the repeat on lines 65-68 after the symmetry talk ends), after Miss's probing questions reveal Morgan's answer, 'becos m' mum', is the latent trouble that leads Miss to educe his need for reassurance.

(5.5)

School 5:2:29.26 'What are you shocked about sweetheart'

```
Beau:tiful. Now just have >a quick look< in
   Miss:
2
              the:re and ju:st tell me (.) [how Morgan looks=
3
   Morg:
                                            [((Takes mirror))
              =today.= >Have a [good look<.</pre>
   Miss:
   Morq:
                                [Er::m.
              ((Holds mirror up in front of his face))
   Mora:
              >Have a good look.
7
   Miss:
              (0.9) ((Morgan looking in mirror))
```

```
9 Morg:
            .HHHH
10
             (1.5)
             Just think of all the feelings tha:t
11 Miss:
12
             we've got.
             (2.6) ((Morgan looking in mirror))
13
             Tch an[d if you're not sure about the feelings=
14 Miss:
15 Miss:
                   [((Turns towards the filing cabinet and=
16 Miss:
             = there's - there's lots of feelings on there=
17 Miss:
             =points to the expression cards))]
18
             =look.
             (0.4) ((Morgan looking in mirror))
19
             My hair °look like° (0.3) oop- my hair looks
20 Morg:
             like a rabbit.
21
22
             (0.3)
23 Miss:
            >Your hair looks like a rabbit?
24
             (0.3)
            An' I <LOO::k> (1.2) 'appy= I l- look nervous.
25 Morg:
26 Miss:
            Nervous,
27 Morg:
           An' I <loo:k> (0.3) > shocked<.
28 Miss:
            Shoc:ked.
29
             (0.6)
30 Miss:
            >What are you shocked about swe:etheart.
31 Morg:
           [((Puts mirror down on island picture))
            Beco:s m' mum.
32 Morg:
33
             (0.6)
34 Miss: -> Because of your mum. I know darling.
35
             (0.5)
            An' we're gonna keep talking about this
36 Miss:
37
             (0.7) so that I c'n[:
38 Morg:
                                [((Notices symmetry in picture))
39 Morg:
40
             (0.4)
            >There's two people on an i:sland.
41 Morg:
42 Miss:
            £Ye:s£.
43
             (0.9)
44 Miss:
             .HH Hihuh ((Looks up at Morgan))
             There's two Paige >on the i:sland [there is=
45 Morg:
46 Morg:
                                               [((moves mirror))
47 Miss:
            =That's right.
```

```
48
              (0.6)
              [T:wo Mark's dads >on an island >there is.
49 Morg:
              [((Leans forwards and in towards the mirror to see))
50 Miss:
              (0.6)
51
52 Morg:
              [T:wo Livia >on an island,
53
              [((Moves mirror))
   Morg:
54
              (1.4)
              There's two rocks on the island.
55
   Morq:
56
              (1.6)
57 Morq:
             [There's (.) two flowers on the island.
58 Morg:
              [((Moves mirror))
59
              (0.3)
60 Morg:
              [>Done it<.
             [((he puts the mirror down, smiles and sits back))
61 Morg:
62 Miss:
            Fantas:tic.
63
              (0.5)
64
   Miss:
             >I'm going to take you back now Morgan.
          -> =[But you and I: are going to keep talking about=
65
             [((Leans forward and down to Morgan's eye level))
66 Miss:
             [((Looks down to picture))
67 Morg:
              =this oka:y,
68
             >Why did we need this for. ((Looking at the picture))
69 Morg:
              (0.4)
70
71 Miss:
            It \uparrowjus so that \downarrowwe can so:rt of \uparrowjus \downarrows:ee (0.7)
72
             tch >a[bout< how you feel.
                   [>A little bit< .hh I need to draw me somethink
73 Morg:
74
              else.
```

Miss hands Morgan a mirror and asks him how he 'looks today' (lines 1-4). Morgan takes his time to look in the mirror, his 'er::m' (line 5) and '.HHH' (line 9) prompt Miss's suggestions (lines 11-12 and 14-18) that work to help Morgan identify how he looks through identifying how he feels³⁰. Morgan responds at first with a description of his hair (lines 20-23) before using his feelings to provide a more fitted answer to

_

³⁰ See Chapter 6 for a discussion on how external looks can describe internal feelings.

Miss's suggestion, he feels 'happy' and 'nervous' (line 25)³¹. Miss receipts his second feeling by repeating 'nervous' as a device to prompt elaboration and extension (Muntigl & Zabala, 2008; Perakyla, et al., 2008). Morgan provides 'shocked' which is receipted in the same way with a repeat. After a short silence Miss explicitly pursues Morgan to elaborate his claim that he looks 'shocked' by asking 'what are you shocked about swe:etheart' (line 30). Morgan replies 'beco:s' m' mum' (line 32). It is from this answer that Miss educes Morgan's worry in relation to his latent trouble - his mum's suggestion to put Morgan and his siblings into foster care.

Miss initiates her reassuring counter turn, 'because of your mum. I know darling' (line 34). Morgan's answer, 'beco:s m' Mum', is minimal in that it does not provide Miss specific information in terms of what it is about his mum that leads him to feel shocked. However, Miss relieves Morgan's need to say anymore in order for a shared understanding of his feelings to be established. It is in this sense, then, that 'I know darling' can be identified as doing reassurance as it allows Miss to claim prior knowledge of Morgan's experiences, signalling affiliation and shared feelings (McMartin et al., 2014). Firstly, the turn seems designed to close down Morgan's elaboration to prevent him from dwelling further on the conversation, or the need to report his mum's words once more. Secondly, Miss's caring role as pastoral carer becomes operative (Butler and Fitzgerald, 2010), as she displays attentiveness to his needs and feelings, which along with her use of 'darling' (line 34) and 'sweetheart' (line 30) displays her caring stance (Patterson & Potter, 2009).

-

³¹ Of interest here is that Morgan's initial answer 'appy' (line 25) is immediately followed by 'I-I look nervous'. The latching and cut off and repeated 'I' could indicate that this is a repair of happy. It is of course entirely possible that Morgan is both happy and nervous, although these two emotions are an unusual pairing. While we can't know if Morgan is referring to two different dimensions of his feelings (perhaps being happy here and now but nervous about his home situation), or confusing looking and feeling, or providing 'nervous' as a more modal answer, Miss treats 'nervous' as the fitted response.

Miss has pursued elaboration to the point where she can identify what Morgan is referring to without causing him further upset. She then facilitates Morgan's telling by drawing on her own knowledge of Morgan's life to educe the trouble with 'mum' is related to their earlier foster care talk, and it is this that has left him feeling 'shocked' and presumably 'nervous' as he stated in his prior turn. The reassuring counter turn continues, 'An' we're gonna keep talking about this (0.7) so that I c'n:' (line 36), which is a proposed remedy to help Morgan make sense of his affect. However, Miss cuts-off as Morgan notices the symmetry reflected in the mirror (lines 38-62). Nonetheless, the counter turn acknowledges the seriousness of Morgan's trouble, and projects that there is more talking to be done to support his sense making of this experience.

The remedy does not attempt to fix the trouble (it cannot be fixed by Miss), but it does work to absolve and minimise the 'shock' that has been caused by the trouble, and let Morgan know that his feelings will be supported and talked about more in their time together³². The turn is also working to manage the difficult task of ending the session after Morgan's disclosure. Miss is 'making arrangements' (line 36-37) as a 'pre-closing' device (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) by switching her tense to the future, reassuring Morgan further in her interrupted account, 'so that I can' – help...support...? We do not know as the turn is interrupted, but enough has been said to project the delicacy of what is being managed by Miss.

The mirror play generated by Morgan temporarily interrupts the talk.

However, it returns once the play has ended and Miss again moves to sensitively close the session, more explicitly this time, '>I'm going to take you back now Morgan'

³² In their next session together Miss starts by looking at some emotional expression cards so they can identify, discuss and understand how feelings affect us in everyday life.

(line 64), which is soften by her remedy, '=But you and I: are going to keep talking about this oka:y' (line 65-68). As Miss continues her reassuring counter turn she leans forward and looks down towards Morgan's eye level (line 66). Rossano (2013) found that gaze is responsive to affective displays and actions being performed within the interactional environment (see also Haddington, 2006 for eye gaze and its relation to an assessable). As such, the combination of talk, eye gaze, and 'leaning forward' are resources available to Miss as a speaker attempting to reach an intersubjective understanding (Rasmussen, 2014). The understanding being communicated by Miss is Morgan's recognition that they will keep talking. The turn ends with 'okay', which treats the talk as significant and documents what has been said (Beach, 1993).

Miss educes from Morgan's answer ('becos m' mum') that he is understandably worried by the foster care talk, which has left him looking and feeling 'shocked' and 'nervous'. This recognition of the Morgan's affect in response to his latent trouble is what initiates the reassuring counter and proposed remedy to keep talking about Morgan's feelings in order to help him make sense of his experience. By doing reassurance as the relevant next action Miss's talk is reminiscent of Goffman's (1971) 'reassurance displays', how a future course of action is proposed when, 'the performer is alive to the situation of the one who has sustained change, that he will continue his relationship to him, that support will be maintained' (p. 65). Miss's reassuring counter turn is two-fold then: it is working to reassure Morgan's worry about possible foster care by letting him know that they are going to keep talking to assist his sense-making, and it manages the delicacy of ending their session by letting Morgan know that he has been listened to and will continue to be supported by Miss.

The second extract continues to focus on the reassuring counter turn, which is initiated from line 22 on, when Miss educes that Morgan may feel as if it is his 'fault'

that his parents have separated. The extract starts with Morgan reading Miss the letter he has written to his mum.

(5.6)

School 1:2:16.23 'It's not your fault'

```
>Miss can I read it to ya,
1
    Morg:
2
   Miss:
           Yes pleas:e. I'd love you to read it to me=
3
            =To: mum I want you: to:: (.) <come> (.) back
   Morg:
4
            and live with (0.5) dad f:rom Morgan.
5
            (1.5)
           An:d (0.2) >a drawing [of me crying.
6
   Morg:
7
   Morg:
                                   [((Briefly looks up to Miss))
8
            (0.6) ((Morgan continues to draw))
9
   Miss:
           That's r::eally lovely.
            (1.4) ((Morgan is drawing, Miss watches))
10
            °Oh°. ((looking at drawing))
11
   Morg:
12
            (0.4)
13 Miss:
            I lov- I love the way that you're able to
14
            come in he:re (.) and just really express
15
            how you feel.
16
             (4.0)
                     ((Morgan continues to draw, Miss watches))
17
            Because you are >very special< Morgan.=You
   Miss:
            know that don't you,
18
                   ((Morgan nods whilst drawing))
19
            (0.8)
20
   Miss:
            Yes.
            (2.0)
                     ((Morgan continues to draw))
21
22
   Miss: \rightarrow And (0.9) some of the situations that pa:rents
23
             get themselves in (1.5) it's not your fault
             darling. There's nothing that you've done
24
25
             that could make it any difference.
26
             (1.0)
27
   Miss:
            Sometimes parents just don't always get it right
28
            do they.
29
             (4.3) ((Morgan shakes his head whilst drawing))
```

Morgan asks Miss if he can read his letter to her (line 1), which she accepts enthusiastically (line 2). Morgan reads it and after a short silence explains that the picture is of him crying (lines 3-6). The tears drawn in the picture and Morgan's explanation that it is 'me crying' (line 6), share with Miss the sadness he feels about his mum and dads separation. Miss uses a specific practice to find positive outcomes for Morgan even in the badness of news.³³ She demonstrates this here in her complimenting of Morgan's letter, 'that's <u>r::</u>eally lovely' (line 9). The compliment itself displays empathy in its prosodic and design, although at this point it is not clear what it is about the letter that is being assessed.

It is Miss's next turn that explicates her compliment is an high-grade assessment (see Antaki, 2002) of the way Morgan can express how he feels, 'I lov-I love the way that you're able to come in he:re (.) and just really express how you feel' (line 13-15), the word 'just' orienting to the ease in which his ability comes. Miss is not attending to the content of the letter but the way Morgan is able to express his feelings within the letter, making it known that this is an attribute of him by adding, 'Because you are >very special< Morgan=you know that don't you' (line 17-18). The word 'very' intensifies the word 'special' (Edwards, 2000), while 'special' conveys in a child friendly way something about Morgan's unique, exceptional, or superior ability to express his feelings. Morgan responds by nodding his head, which at most agrees with Miss's words, and at least acknowledges them as being heard. Miss then

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³³ Chapter 4 focused on the ways that Miss initiates a series of searches to positive outcomes for Morgan.

verbalises his nod with, ' \underline{Y} es' (line 20) to give voice to her dispositional assessment as being accepted or acknowledged³⁴.

The conjunctive 'and' (line 22) connects Morgan being 'special' and his ability to 'express how he feels' to the occasioning of Miss's reassuring counter turn, 'And (0.9) some of the situations that pa:rents get themselves in (1.5) it's not your fault darling. There's nothing that you've done that could make it any difference' (lines 22-25). The reassuring counter turn, works to absolve Morgan of any self-blame or feelings of guilt he may have for his parents' separation. Miss's inference draws on her pastoral care knowledge, that sometimes children can blame themselves when their parents separate. The reassuring counter turn is not attending to the situational trouble (Morgan telling his mum how he feels) but it is occasioned by it within the interaction, built as a progression of Miss's situated assessment in response to Morgan's trouble and letter.

The turn also implies that Morgan's parents are not entirely at fault either, as this is one of those 'situations that parents get themselves in' (line 22). Miss expands her account with, 'sometimes parents just don't always get it right do they' (lines 26-27), suggesting that if parents 'don't always' get things right, they must sometimes get things wrong, and when that happens they are left in this 'situation'. Miss's account is working hard to not assign fault to anyone, but instead to normalise and remove any inferred blame that Morgan may feel (see Chapter 6 for more normalising practices). The account works to absolve and minimise blame, but not the trouble itself or the sadness that Morgan feels. Miss's tone of voice is soft and slow in pace seen by the pauses within and between turns, which along with her use of 'darling'

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³⁴ This extract was seen in Chapter 4 to discuss how Miss identifies and makes visible positive qualities from within Morgan to challenge the *bad* in his life, and to reveal what is *good* about him in spite of the troubles in his life.

shows sincerity (Clayman, 2010) and care (Patterson and Potter, 2009). The account ends with 'do they' (line 28), which is responded to by Morgan's headshake, again this at most agrees and at least acknowledges that Miss has been heard.

The reassuring counter turn has been occasioned by Miss's inference that Morgan might in some way blame himself for his parents separation. However, she has managed this inference without saying anything specific. Instead, she has used her role as a pastoral carer to reassure Morgan, based on her knowledge and expertise of the kinds of things that children in Morgan's situation may feel. As discussed in extract 5.8, Miss cannot fix Morgan's trouble that he wants his mum 'to come back and live with dad', or that he is 'crying' and sad about the situation, but she can show that she cares about how he feels and reassure him that the situation he is experiencing is not his fault.

The role of Miss as a pastoral carer is to support Morgan talk about and make sense of his experiences to promote his behaviour and well-being. As such, the work in which Morgan and Miss engage in is centred on the troubles and worries that exist in his life. In light of the social context in which these interactions take place the analysis of the two extracts so far (extracts 5.7 and 5.8), can reveal how a subtle, but pervasive search is engaged in by Miss to allow her to locate trouble on which to base her supportive practice. The analysis of the two 'speaker-generated reassurance' extracts above, show how Miss intuitively 'searches for and finds' the need to reassure Morgan. In extract 5.7, Miss introduced the mirror to help Morgan describe his feelings, which was further prompted by her asking Morgan to explain, 'what are you shocked about sweetheart'. It was his answer, 'beco:s m' mum', that occasioned the reassuring counter turn based on Miss's educed knowledge of Morgan's life. In extract 5.8, Miss found the need to reassure Morgan's educed worry and self-blame

through the writing of his mum's letter that allows him to express how he feels through words and drawing.

The last extract to demonstrate the way in which Miss reassures Morgan's educed affect differs slightly from extracts 5.7 and 5.8, in that the 'search and find' does not flag a trouble that would ordinarily occasion reassurance is needed. It comes from the session in which Morgan is writing a letter to his mum to express his worry, 'I want my mummy to live with me'. In the moments before the extract begins Miss has given Morgan a piece of folded card on which to write his letter. The extract will show how Miss offers reassurance on the basis that Morgan might need help to write his letter, which is both educed and tied to her category membership and role as pastoral carer.

(5.7)

School 1: 8.00 'I'm here to help you'

```
1
   Miss:
           So. Are you going to write this to yo:ur
2
           mummy.
3
   Morg:
           Yeah.
4
           (0.6)
5
   Miss:
           So what do you want to put=
6
   Morg: = [To mum.
7
   Morg:
           [((raises eyebrows, thrusts arm forward palm up))
8
           T:o m[um. That's good.
   Miss:
                 [((eyes down, starts to write))
   Morg:
10
            (0.3)
           If you want help Morgan (0.8) I'm here to
11
   Miss:
12
           help you.
            (0.8) ((Continues to write))
13
           >But if you want to write it by yours:elf
14
   Miss:
15
           (1.8) that's also fine.
16
           (2.0) ((Continues to write))
17 Miss: >And if you're not sure what to put (0.5)
```

Miss initiates an offer of help while Morgan is writing his letter, 'if you want help Morgan (0.9) I'm here to help you' (lines 11-12). Morgan has made no orientation that help is needed when the offer is made. In fact, he has proficiently begun to write his letter, starting with 'to mum' (line 6), after Miss has asked 'so what do you want to put' (line 5). Therefore, the reassuring counter turn is initiated on the premise that trouble may be forthcoming. Although, the offer of help, and its acceptance, is clearly conditional (seen in the use of if) based on Morgan's need coming first. The potential worry at this point is educed, but it seems reasonable to suggest that it relates to constructing the letters content, or in managing the emotional aspects of actually writing the letter. As has been proposed already, Miss's offer of help is tied to her role as pastoral carer. However, the pervasive search that allows her to engage in her supportive work has not found anything, as Morgan is writing his letter without any trouble. Therefore, Miss uses the word 'if' to package her reassurance as a hypothetical offer, as something that is available if he needs it.

Miss's offer of help to reassure Morgan that she will be there for him is designed with the mid-turn address term, 'Morgan' (line 11), to express sincerity and genuineness, and display her stance towards the offer (Clayman, 2010). Miss's assertion, 'I'm here to help you' (line 11-12), categorises her role within their relationship as being there to 'help' Morgan. Her helping role is predicated by her membership as a pastoral carer (Sacks, 1992), and with this offer of help and the assertion of her role, she makes this identity operative within the interaction (Butler & Fitzgerald, 2010). Her identity is omnirelevant in this interaction in the sense that

Morgan and Miss's child-pastoral carer relationship can be made relevant at any point, and so operate an omnirelevant framework for social action (Butler & Fitzgerald, 2010). Furthermore, her identity is vital to her offer of help being accepted if and when it becomes necessary.

Miss's offer of help also presents a useful ambiguity in that Morgan can hear 'help' as either offering assistance, support, or reassurance in relation to a situated problem in writing his letter, the wider troubles that have made it necessary for him to write his letter, or the worry that has been caused because of his wider troubles.

Again, a crucial aspect of this offer is that it is conditional on any of those scenarios first being made relevant by Morgan within the interaction. By asserting her role as someone who can help, and by making this help conditional on Morgan's request, a response from Morgan is not conditionally relevant. Therefore, there is no interactional pressure for Morgan to either flag trouble, or accept or reject what amounts to an offer of help. Morgan's agency is further supported when Miss expands her offer, '>But if you want to write it by yours:elf (1.8) that's also fine' (lines 14-15). The conjunctive 'but' further minimises any obligation tied to the offer of help in the prior turn.

Again, this extension does not require a response. As Morgan continues to write his letter Miss expands her offer with a third turn, '>And if you're not sure what to put (0.5) you've only got to a:sk' (lines 17-18). The conjunctive 'and' again connects what has come before with what is about to follow. The turn is unpacking the type of help Morgan might need. It makes explicit the educed trouble being flagged by Miss in her opening turn (line 11-12), Morgan may need help with 'what to put' in his letter. The word 'only' works to minimise the difficultly for Morgan in

requesting help. Miss has already stated that she is there to help Morgan so any need that emerges will not be 'too much' for him to ask for, or for her to give.

Miss has provided Morgan an inferred list of eventualities that may arise; his need for help, his not needing help, and the sort of help he may need. However, Morgan continues to write his letter on his own and so attends to the second eventuality, not needing help. This analysis picks up on the discussion in extract 5.5 when Miss proposed a suggested course of action to remedy a trouble, but Morgan's absent response was not treated as a sign of resistance, or as being 'relevantly missing' (Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012). In the same way Miss's expanded offer is seen as a set of proposals for Morgan to hear, and in effect he accepts her offer of not needing help by continuing to write his letter in silence. When reassurance is conditionally offered without a trouble being flagged but inferred, it seems that it is designed in such a way to not disrupt the progressivity of the activity or interfere with it, but to provide potential scaffolding if it is needed.

The extract has shown how the reassuring counter turn is initiated because of Miss pre-empting that Morgan might need help to write his mum's letter. Her predicated 'helping' role as pastoral carer is to be there for him and give him that help. The writing of the letter progresses uninterrupted as Morgan silently accepts Miss's offer of not needing help, supporting the idea that it is the trouble flag itself that interrupts the interaction. As no help was needed the activity progresses trouble-free while the offer, and any acceptance of that help, remains open throughout.

Discussion

This chapter started with a general discussion about reassurance and the way previous researchers have used the concept of reassurance in their studies. There was also a discussion about the need to examine reassurance as a situated practice, and an interactional specification of reassurance was proposed in order to characterise it as an interactional practice.

The first key finding was that although reassurance is a responsive action it is initiated in different ways: 'interactionally-generated reassurance' was responsive to Morgan's affective displays within the interaction that were made visible by a trouble flag; whereas 'speaker-generated reassurance' was responsive to Morgan's affect towards some latent trouble that was not visible within the on-going interaction but educed by Miss based on her knowledge of Morgan's wider experiences, or her pastoral care category. Despite the differences in how reassurance was initiated, the reassuring counter turn worked in the same way for all the examples shown- to absolve Morgan of any sense of failure, misdeed, or blame.

The first half of the chapter concentrated on how 'interactionally-generated reassurance was realised through the use of the prefaced 'doesn't matter' reassuring counter turn, which addressed Morgan's worry by minimising the significance of the situated trouble. Extracts 5.1 – 5.4 showed how trouble was flagged through Morgan's response cries and that they had the same 'doesn't matter' preface and reassuring action. The second half of the chapter looked at how 'speaker-generated reassurance' initiated the reassuring counter turn. In these cases, the counter turn worked to reassure Morgan's educed affect towards his latent troubles. However, it

was not the wider troubles in his life that Miss was working to remedy and absolve. Instead, the counter turn was designed to absolve the worry and blame that may have resulted from Morgan troubles – his shock about his mums proposal of foster care and the need to keep talking about it (extract 5.7), any feelings of blame as a result of his mum and dad's separation (extract 5.8), and the need for help in the writing of his letter to his mum (extract 5.9). Miss could not remedy the troubles in Morgan's life as these were beyond what she could fix, even Morgan had little control over his wider troubles. So, Miss was attending to Morgan's feelings towards his wider troubles to show him that she cares about his 'shocked' feelings (extract 5.7) and to minimise any potential blame that he might feel (extract 5.8), and to let he know that she was there for him (extract 5.9).

Another key finding was the use of categorisation. It was most explicitly discussed within 'speaker-generated reassurance' in terms of how Miss used her shared knowledge of Morgan's possible foster care (extract 5.7), her belief that Morgan may feel blame (extract 5.8), and how her pastoral care role to offer help (extract 5.9). However, Miss's category membership was an implied feature of 'speaker-generated reassurance', made visible through her displays of care, help and support, through the use of 'darling' in extracts 5.3, 5.7 and 5.8, and 'sweetheart' in extract 5.5. Miss's category was not examined as a defined concept but as an interactional practice that was accomplished through her offering Morgan reassurance, and managing Morgan's 'self-work' within the interaction. This chapter has shown how Miss uses reassurance as a practice to protect and promote Morgan's self, to prevent his observable, or wider affect from becoming internalised and dispositional. The following chapter will examine the coaching data to identify how

Maureen manages 'self-work' through the use of specific practices within the delivery of RAPID.

Chapter 6:

Managing emotions and normalising ADHD

This chapter will look at the ways in which children understand, share, and coproduce their knowledge of emotions with the help of Maureen. Drawing on the ideas of Edwards and Mercer (1987) this chapter will be concerned with how 'common knowledge' becomes socially constructed, developed and displayed in talk. As such, group discussions will be examined to look at how 'knowledge is actually built and shared' (Edwards & Mercer, 1987, p. 156) within the interactions and to what ends. The analysis will show how Maureen and the children collaboratively construct a shared knowledge and understanding of emotions through a series of step-by-step questions and discussions aimed at helping the children recognise emotions in themselves and in others, to help them manage and control their emotions in the future.

The chapter will also draw on Harvey Sacks' work on 'doing being ordinary' which he suggests is done by 'spend[ing] your time in usual ways, having usual thoughts, usual interests...' (Sacks, 1984b, p. 415). Sacks' idea is that people use 'ordinariness' as a rhetorical alternative to 'extraordinariness', to normalise events and counter any negative inferences that could otherwise be made (see also Burridge, 2008; Lawrence, 1996; Sneijder & te Molder, 2009). The analysis will show how Maureen uses questions, descriptions, and collective person references to normalise emotion and counter any negative inferences that could be made about children and

ADHD. The chapter will consider the ways in which emotional knowledge is built, shared and co-produced to claim 'ordinariness' as a device to 'unpathologise' emotion, and to offer the children an alternative identity to the 'disorder' construct that is so often bound to children and ADHD (see Bradley & Butler, (forthcoming); Brady, 2014; Danforth & Navarro, 2001; Horton-Salway, 2011).

Co-producing emotional knowledge as ordinary

The following extract comes from a session designed to help the children develop their problem-solving skills, by discussing how paying attention to other people can help them 'spot and recognise problems' to 'avoid getting told off' (see extract 3.10 p106). The extract shows that the focus for Maureen is about using 'listening' as a tool for emotion recognition. The analysis will focus on how understandings about emotional displays are co-produced between Maureen and the children.

(6.1)

'What does tone of voice mean'

```
1
              >You have to listen to what people are
   Maureen:
2
               sa:ying.
3
               (0.6) ((Tristan puts hand to ear))
4
              An' listen to what their to:ne of voice
   Maureen:
5
               is= >Does anyone know what I mean< by a
6
               tone of voic:e.
7
               (0.2)
8
   Tristan:
              When voi[ce sound [good.
9
   Dan:
                       [((Raises hand))
                                 [°A wha:t?
10
   Mason:
11
              (0.3)
12 Maureen: Yes Dan.
```

```
E:rm (.) it mea:ns er:m if they're gru:mp,
13 Dan:
               (0.2) e:rm:: [they could be lo:\uparroww (0.3) \downarrower:=
14
15
                             [Yes Dan huh.
   Tristan:
               =un' they can be high (.) \unitum:: li[ke that.
16
   Dan:
17
   Maureen:
                                                  [And what
18
               does that mea:n- w- if somebody's got ↓a low
19
               grumpy voice what does that of [ten mean.
20
   Tristan:
                                               [.HH
21
   Tristan:
                                               [((Jumps up, hand up))
22 Dan:
              I[t mea:ns they're not ha[ppy with it.
23 Tristan:
               [°they're unhappy°
                                          [That they're unhappy
24 Dan:
               An:d >[they're not go-
25 Maureen:
                      [They're not happy= Wel[l done D:an,
26
   Dan:
                                              [\text{Hi:gh voice}
27
               >means they're happy:.
```

Maureen introduces the need to listen to people's 'tone of voice' (line 4-5) but does not assume shared knowledge as she initiates an understanding check, 'does anyone know what I mean by a tone of voice' (line 5-6). The question begins an Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequence (Mehan, 1979), a classic pedagogic tool, which invites displays of existing knowledge to generate a shared understanding. Dan is selected to answer and offers, 'Erm it means erm if they're grump, (0.2) erm they could be low (0.3) ↓er: un' they can be high (.) ↑um like that' (lines 13-16), to demonstrate his understanding of different tones of voice embodied in his prosodic production.

Dan also reveals that he knows someone's tone of voice can indicate mood, which occasions Maureen's question, 'And what does that mea:n- w- if somebody's got \alpha a low grumpy voice what does that often mean' (line 17-19), with the same words (low and grumpy) and prosodic embodiment as Dan. The question invites Dan to elaborate, 'It mea:ns they're not happy with it' (line 22), to show he understands

the relationship between tone of voice and emotional states. Maureen uses her 'affiliative repeat' (Margutti & Drew, 2014, p. 7) and positive assessment, 'they're not https://example.com/happy. 'Well done D:an,' (lines 24-25) to evaluate and close the sequence. The IRE has been used by Maureen to elicit a display of recognition about tone of voice and how talk can indicate emotional states.

A second feature of the extract concerns the work accomplished by Maureen and Dan's use of unmarked person references: 'people' (line 1), 'their' (line 4), 'they're' (lines 13, 22, 24, 25), 'they' (lines 4, 6), and 'somebody's' (line 18). These collective and non-specific references provide the speaker a useful ambiguity to talk about what people do in general (Sacks, 1984). For Maureen and Dan the ambiguity of collective references has allowed them to speak about the indefinite 'everyone,' without excluding themselves, in a way that suggests there is nothing extraordinary about using tone of voice to indicate that someone is 'happy' or 'unhappy'.

Topicalising their tacit understanding of tone of voice introduces this as an ordinary practice that people use to display and recognise others' emotional states and as such it becomes available for the children to use. This ordinary tool can be used for future problem-solving, to help them spot and recognise 'problems' based on other people's emotions in relation to their own behaviour or actions. This theme continues throughout the analysis; the tools introduced are offered as practical methods for the children to use to manage ordinary everyday problems.

The IRE sequence and the usefully inclusive and ambiguous person references are used to construct emotional knowledge and behaviour as shared and ordinary. However, the basis for these sessions taking place is that the children's behaviour in reaction to their emotions is often extraordinary – hence the diagnosis of ADHD – and that Maureen, as an ADHD Coach, has expert knowledge on managing emotions.

A key aspect of the work then is that both Maureen's authority and the extraordinary behaviour of the children is minimised throughout. The next extract begins to identify the boundaries of ordinary emotions, using similar practices to those already identified (questions, descriptions, and collective person references), building a common knowledge of 'strong feelings' to first construct an ordinary alternative, and second to introduce the need for control.

(6.2)

'We need to control our feelings'

```
Maureen:
                So:me feelings are easier to express than
                others a:ren't they an::d,=
2
3
   Tristan:
                Yeah=
                =If thing:s ~are~ (.) t:oo strong >if our
4
   Maureen:
5
                feelings are too strong (0.6) the:n that's
6
                not good for us is it.
7
                N[o. ((Shakes head))
   Tristan:
8
                [Tch and sometimes we express them in ways
   Maureen:
9
                that (.) we don't want t:o (.) and that
                makes us feel silly.
10
11
                (.)
12 Maureen:
                Tch (.) So. We nee:d to learn to control our
13
                feelings >don't we.
14
                (0.4)
15 Tristan:
                Yeap.
16 Shay:
                (Nods head)
17 Benji:
                Ye[a-
18 Maureen:
                 [Yes:. Okay.
```

Maureen's opening turn, 'So:me feelings are easier to express than others <u>a</u>:ren't they' (lines 1-2), is a declarative + tag question. While Tristan confirms this (line 3), the tag is not designed to elicit a response from the children as Maureen's elongated 'an::d'

allows her to hold open her turn by projecting more to come (Schegloff, 2007). The mid-turn tag treats the statement (some feelings are easier to express than others) as already known by the children (Hepburn & Potter, 2011) and draws attention to this as part of the knowledge building process. The upshot of this is that the children are constructed as 'knowing', and sharing access to the experience of emotional expression.

Maureen completes her turn with 'if thing:s ~are~ (.) t:oo strong >if our feelings are too strong (0.6) the:n that's not good for us is it' (lines 4-6). This starts to establish boundaries of normal and harmless emotion, with some feelings being 'too strong,' and not 'good'. However, these 'strong feelings' are still produced as ordinary because of Maureen's use of the possessive pronoun 'our' and collective pronoun 'us' to speak on behalf of her, Lucy, the children, and all possible members, as in extract 6.1. This ambiguity manages the notion that it is not just the children who have feelings that are 'too strong' and not 'good'; the children are not being singled out as anything other than 'ordinary', normalising any potential inferences that could be made about children and ADHD (Sacks, 1984).

The ordinariness of strong emotions is also evident in Maureen's turn-final tag ('is it'), which mobilises support for an assertion made within the speaker's domain (Heritage, 2012). This provides the children the opportunity to display their independent access to this emotional understanding through their own experience or general social knowledge. Working to position the children as collaborators in the knowledge and assessment being constructed as Maureen invites their participation, and Tristan's 'no' and headshake (line 7) confirms this is something he either knows already or can agree with.

Maureen continues with a further collective understanding, 'and sometimes we express them in ways that (.) we don't want to (.) and that makes us feel silly' (lines 8-10). This presents the circular nature of emotions – we behave in certain ways because of strong feelings, which results in further emotions. For Sacks, 'we' is a reference that 'may refer to all members of a category that have ever lived and may ever live' (Sacks, 1992, p. 335), so Maureen again pushes back against any inference that the children are being singled out. Instead, Maureen's use of collective person references normalises, contextualises, and formulates this generalised pattern (Edwards, 1994). This continues in Maureen's upshot, 'So. We nee:d to learn to control our feelings >don't we' (lines 12-13), which hints at 'control' as a solution to inappropriate emotional expression, which we *all* 'need'. While the turn-final tag, 'don't we', positions the children as participatory collaborators who share access to this solution.

Normalising anger

The analysis so far has shown how understandings of emotions are co-produced as ordinary within the coaching sessions. This forms part of the vital work being undertaken to ensure the children are able to recognise the emotions of themselves and others as both visible and normal. The analysis in this section will show how by first normalising anger, Maureen can open up the discussions to talk about the children's own 'angry moments'. By bringing in the experiences of the children, the session moves to co-construct a sense of where the acceptable boundaries of 'anger' lie. As the session progresses Maureen begins to evoke the idea that the children's *individual* experiences are in fact shared. This all forms part of a step-by-step

progression towards the introduction of the 'self-talk Thinking Tool'. Maureen continues to use collective person references to produce ordinary constructs of emotions, and the tag questions continue to highlight the knowledge and understandings as shared.

The following extract comes a couple of minutes after extract 6.2 above.

Maureen asks the children to listen as she reads them a vignette: 'Imagine that you're outside playing football with your best friends, the game is a draw and there is only one minute left, the next shot is going to determine the winner. You're dribbling down the pitch and all of a sudden another boy who's not been at all in this game comes over and steals the ball. Now there's no chance of that last winning shot. How do you feel?' The vignette describes a situation in which 'anger' might be the expected response as a way of introducing this emotion for the next part of the session. In the moments before the extract begins the children have agreed that they would feel angry with the boy for stealing their ball.

(6.3)

'We all feel angry'

```
1
   Maureen: We a:ll feel angry >sometimes don't we<.
2
   Shay:
            ((Nods))
3
   Chloe:
            ((Nods))
   Mason:
            Ye[ah. ((Nods))
5
   Tristan
              [Hu:huh.
6
             (1.0)
                     ((Miles nods))
7
   Maureen: Pu[t your hand u[p if you felt angry this we:ek.
8
              [Yeah.
                            [((Puts hand up))
   Tristan:
             (3.8) ((Everyone puts hand up, except Mason))
             Ye[p. We've all felt an[gry >haven't we<. 0:k]ay.
10
   Maureen:
              [We-
                                   [Pho:tocopy in school].
11 Tristan:
12
             (0.6)
```

Maureen opens the discussion with the summative, 'We <u>a:</u>Il feel <u>angry</u> >sometimes don't we<', using the collective person reference 'we', the inclusive 'all', and turn final tag. These work together to position the children within the 'normal', 'standard' or 'expected' (Edwards, 2007) category of people who 'sometimes' feel angry, and establishes this as common knowledge. At this point, Maureen begins to 'zero in' (Schegloff, 2000, p. 715) by inviting the children to raise their hands 'if you felt <u>angry</u> this we:ek' (line 7). This initiates a shift from the general and inclusive towards the specific, in terms of both individual experience and time. Schegloff's (2000) notion of 'granularity' is important within interaction because it is at this level of detail that people gain access to experiences.

Therefore, the turn is designed to do two things. First, the hand raising seems symbolic of being 'counted' in both senses of the word. Maureen's claim that 'we all feel angry sometimes' is reinforced as everyone (except Mason) raised their hand, which is visible to the children and reinforces the 'normalness' of anger. In this sense it defines the importance of the message being conveyed in line 1 and the normalising action being performed by it. Second, the turn brings into play the children's everyday reality. By asking them to locate and bring to mind an actual experience within their week, the children can contextualise the feeling of anger in a meaningful way and use their situated experience to make sense of the unfolding discussion. This sharing of individual experience to produce a collective understanding is ratified as Maureen acknowledges the raised hands reaffirming, 'We've all felt angry >haven't we<.

Okay' (line 10). Having established the ordinariness of anger, Maureen invites the children to assess experiences of anger.

(6.4)

'Isn't bad'

```
Maureen: Is it a good thing or a bad thing.
14
   Mason:
             Ba:[d.
15 Tristan:
               [Bad.
16
             (1.3)
17
   Tristan: Bad.
18
   Mason:
             Bad.
19
             (0.8)
20
  Maureen: ↑It's not bad is it ↓if- (.) feeling angry,
21
             (0.3)
   Tristan: >It's \food thing<.
23
   Maureen: Isn't b:ad,
24
             (0.5)
25 Maureen: If you know how to control it.
26 Mason: ~Ye:h~.
```

The fixed choice question requires that the children assess anger as either 'good or bad'. Both Mason and Tristan respond 'bad', but with her evaluative third-position turn Maureen challenges this (line 20). The assertion 'it's not bad' counters the boys' answer, but her corrective work is minimised by the tagged 'is it.' The tag implies that the children 'already know' anger isn't bad, despite their answers, and as such Maureen supports the children's participation. Tristan then asserts a new understanding, 'it's a good thing' (line 22), Maureen repeats, 'Isn't b:ad' (line 20) to reiterate her third turn evaluation and further support the importance of what is being conveyed. Maureen then introduces a contingency or conditionality for this not bad assessment of anger - 'If you know how to control it' (line 22). There is a logical inference to be made here: uncontrolled anger is bad. However, this is not made explicit – Maureen has left this message inferable. The children's involvement in this sequence, starting in extract 6.3, shows how they have engaged as active participants

in producing understandings about anger via a step-by-step progression, with increasing granularity and specificity.

In the extracts shown so far, the children's engagement in the discussions, have been carefully scaffolded by Maureen in subtle but important ways. The collective person references are 'specifically vague' (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 41) in that they include anyone and everyone whilst they also directly specify the children. Throughout, the questions are designed not only to invite and support the engagement of the children, but, to construct them as knowing, thereby orienting to their expertise and authority over their own experiences and life (Butler et al., 2010). One upshot of these techniques is that in addition to being treated as 'ordinary experts', either implicitly through medial tag questions or explicitly through invitations to participate, the methods support interactional spaces where the children can initiate their own contributions to the discussion. This is evident in the following example, which continues directly on from the previous extract.

(6.5)

'It's a natural feeling'

```
27
   Maureen: Cos it's a na:[tural feeling i:sn't it.= Feeling=
                          [>I don't know how to control it.]
28
   Tristan:
29
                          [((shakes head))]
   Maureen: =an:ger (0.3) is nat:ural. We all feel cross
30
31
             and angry sometimes.
32
             (0.4)
   Maureen: I[t mi:ght b:e,
             [And if you felt it- if you felt befo:re an:
   Mason:
35
             if you do it again you know how contr- (.) how
             contr- (.) to control it.
36
37 Maureen: Exactly Mason. Ex:actly=
           =°Erm°= ((Nodding))
38 Lucy:
```

```
40 Maureen: =Because you know so:meti:mes (1.0) tch it
              mi:ght be (0.5) that somebody's said something
41
              to upset yo:u, = >Might'n it.
42
43
              (0.3)
44
   Maureen: Might be that somebody's eaten that last
45
              chocolate biscu↑it,
46
   Lucy:
             HHuh=
47
   Mason:
              ↑hu:h,
   Maureen: It might be that (0.4) >somebody's: >if- if
48
              it's Lucy or myse: If somebody might have cut
49
              us up when we're dri:ving.
50
51
              (0.8)
52
   Maureen: It might be that somebody's not done so↑mething
53
              you've asked them to do: ↓o:r (0.7) or you've
54
              forgotton something and you feel angry at
              yourself.
5.5
```

The extract begins with more of the normalising work (Edwards, 2000; 2007) that Maureen has been doing throughout, asserting the 'naturalness' of feeling 'cross and angry', as both inclusive ('we' and 'all') and known-in-common ('isn't it'). In overlap with this, Tristan responds to Maureen's earlier assertion (line 23, extract 6.4) reporting a subjective experience — 'I don't know how to control it', as if verbalising a realisation or acknowledgment in light of Maureen's talk. This turn is neither oriented to as a contribution to the on-going talk, or as an intrusion. This demonstrates how contributions that are not directly relevant to the interaction are both possible and accepted, and as such allow for individual experiences to be heard, without disrupting the groups' focus.

Mason then initiates his own contribution to the discussion at line 34 - 'And if you felt it- if you felt before an' if you do it again you know how contr- (.) how contr- (.) to control it'. The prefacing 'and' connects his reasoning to Maureen's prior

turn, thereby actively constructing common knowledge. Mason's use of generic person references ('you') is aligned with Maureen's use, and constructs his contribution as being true for all, as an ordinary understanding for recognising and controlling anger. He uses his social understanding and the 'collectivity's corpus of knowledge' (Sharrock, 1974, p. 45) to make sense of the experience by connecting what people know and what they do as a practice for managing anger. Maureen's high-grade assessment (Antaki, 2002) affirms Mason's reasoning, 'Exactly Mason.

Ex:actly' (line 37) and ratifies his expressed 'principled understanding' (Edwards & Mercer, 1987, p. 97).

In the same way that Mason connected his talk by using the preface 'and', Maureen uses 'because' to include Mason's contribution before continuing her abandoned turn from line 30, 'Because you know so:meti:mes (1.0) tch it mi:ght be (0.5) that somebody's said something to upset yo:u,=>Might'n it' (lines 36-38). She continues to list hypothetical things that 'might' make 'somebody' angry, descriptively working anger up as being directed at ordinary everyday things, and therefore rational and spontaneous rather than dispositional and irrational (Edwards, 1997), to continue the 'unpathologising' work seen throughout.

Using metaphors to construct experiential aspects of anger

As the session progresses, Maureen increases the focus on the children's individual experiences. While the generic ordinariness of emotions, and anger in particular, is a vital part of redressing the 'pathologisation' of ADHD behaviours, there is a need to return to the children's own individual experiences of anger which is a problem at

times. She begins to address this in the following extract as she introduces the metaphor of anger as a volcano with the potential to erupt (see Lakoff (1987) on emotion metaphors).

(6.6)

'What do volcanoes do?'

```
Maureen: We need to think about what those triggers ar:e.
2
             (0.8)
3
   Maureen: Cos s:ometi[mes it can make you feel like a=
   Tristan:
                        [I know trigger was (.) chk chk (.)=
   Maureen: =volcano >can't it] = And what do volcanoes do.
   Tristan: = B O O : : : M ! ]
7
   Tristan: WH[UCH BOO:M!
   Benji: [Eru[pt.
9
   Mason:
                  [Ex[plo::d[e,
10 Paige:
                      [((Gestures and mouths explosion))
11 Maureen:
                             [Erupt.
12
             (0.4)
13 Maureen: And when is it you get into trouble.
14 Tristan: When you fight,
15 Maddie:
             Huh hh h h[ h
16 Maureen:
                       [>Yes Mason.
17 Mason: When you fi:ght or say swe:[ar words.[ >Becos=
18 Maddie:
                                        [ (
                                                 ) .
19 Maureen:
                                                 [ ((Nods))
20 Mason:
            =I- (.) usually do that often now.
21
             (0.5)
22 Maureen: Yep.
23
             (0.3)
24 Maureen: And i[t is that ((Points to Mason))
25 Tristan
                  [When you run out of school.
             (0.6)
26
27 Maureen: >When you [run out of school.
28 Lucy:
                       [Uh:m.
29 Tristan: When yo[u climb over the school fence.
                    [So it's when you erupt i:sn't it.
30 Maureen:
31 Maureen: It's when you're tha[t volcano and you erupt.
```

```
32 Tristan:
                                 [I don't do that.
33 Paige:
             Ye[s:.
34 Maureen:
              [That's: (.) when you get into trouble.
35 Maureen: If you can ke:ep [it,
36 Maddie:
                             [°Skive school sometimes°
   Tristan: Don['t bubbling.
37
38
   Maureen:
               [Bubbling along and manage i:t, (1.0) then:
39
             you don't erupt do you.
40 Tristan: >Then the volca:no won't n- never erupt<.
             (0.5)
42 Maureen: °°No. Okay°°.
```

Metaphors are a conceptual resource used to construct a narrative description of emotional expressions in real life. Metaphors of anger as bubbling or boiling are ways to construct anger as passive and experiential (Edwards, 1997). Examples of 'erupting emotions' are shared in this sequence to continue the shift from the more general and hypothetical to the children's own experiences. This is also managed in part by Maureen's referential shift from 'we' to 'you', in a narrowing of recipiency. The children provide a selection of appropriate actions (lines 5-8) in response to Maureen's question about what volcanoes do. They then contribute examples of when they 'get into trouble', 'when you fight' (line 11), '... or say swe:ar words' (line 14), 'run out of school' (line 20), or 'climb over the school fence' (line 24).

Interestingly, in offering these examples Tristan and Mason both use the generic 'you' to talk about what seem to be descriptions of personal experiences. This is a nice illustration of how the work of the session can help the children recognise that their 'own' experiences are ordinary. Mason then shifts to the subjective 'I' to speak about his own experiences through his admission that he fights and says swear words when he is angry (lines 14-15). This disclosure seems to allude once more to

the context in which these interactions take place and the reasons why the children are attending.

Throughout Maureen acknowledges and validates the children's experiences, she then closes the 'sharing' by formulating these specific examples as 'eruptions' (lines 25-29). By using the volcano metaphor to contextualise the physical feeling of anger Maureen makes available another practical tool and ordinary method (as well as tone of voice) for the children to use to recognise and manage their anger. The solution is to keep the volcano 'bubbling along and manage it then you don't erupt' (line 35-39). Tristan also formulates the upshot, '>Then the volca:no won't n- never erupt<' (line 40) prefacing 'then' to connect his talk to Maureen's in a collaborative building and discovery of knowledge and understanding. Tristan's use of 'the', and Maureen's use of 'it' construct the volcano as a separate entity within the children but not part of them. By separating the volcano from the person, an interesting psychological interpretation can be considered; the children are in charge of 'the' volcano and as such they can control 'it' if they use the tools being taught to recognise anger and externalise it in this way.

The extract comes at the end of a long stretch of talk that began in extract 6.3 when Maureen made it known to the children that 'we all feel angry sometimes'. The discussion progressed to challenge the belief that anger 'is not a bad thing' in extract 6.4, before moving to normalise anger and assert the need for control in extract 6.5. It ended in extract 6.6 above when anger was described as a volcano, offering the children a practical tool for recognising and controlling their anger. The extended analysis of these extracts has shown how the children's knowledge and assessment of anger has been shaped and developed through a step-by step- progression,

collaboratively constructed to provide a practical understanding, and tools for the children to use to help them recognise and control their anger in the future.

Recognising anger in other people

The following extracts come from a discussion later on in the session when Maureen is progressing the children's knowledge of anger so they can recognise it in other people as well as themselves. Again this stretch of talk will show how the construction of knowledge is broken down into stages, each step contingent of what has come before and what will come after. Throughout the discussion Maureen uses their newly shared knowledge and understanding to progress to the next stage.

In the following extract the children are asked to imagine the following scenario: 'You're playing an important football match against another school. Your friend tackles someone on the other team and the boy falls to the floor and twists his ankle. The referee blames your teammate and gives him a yellow card. Your teammate is very angry and starts to shout at the referee and walk towards him. If he behaves badly he may get a red card and be kicked out of the game'. The scenario is a role-play situation and Maureen asks Maddie to be the player who gets angry, and Lucy to be the teammate that calms her down. The other children in the group have been asked to sit and watch Lucy and Maddie play their 'roles'.

(6.7)

'How did you know Maddie was angry'

```
(Lots of talking in the background)

1 Maureen: So. HOW DID YOU KNO:W (0.3) that- (2.4)

2 Ma:ddie was angry=

4 Tristan: =She was shouting.
```

```
5
                (0.2)
6
   Dan:
                N[er.
7
   Maureen:
                [>She was shou:ting.
8
9
        (6 lines of the children talking omitted)
10
11
   Maureen:
                How else did you know that- (.) Maddie was
                angry.
12
13
                (5.6) ((Children sit quietly))
                [>.hh .hh .hh .hh .hh (quick in-breathes)
14
   Maddie:
                [((Sits up straight, smiles and looks at Maureen))
15 Maddie:
                >Don'[t touch me.
16 Maddie:
17 Benji:
                     [You- (.) clenched the fis:ts.
18 Maureen:
                She did clench her fists di:dn't she.
19 Tristan:
                It looked like she was actually angry=
20 Benji:
                =>She was frowning.
21 Maddie:
                H[uhuh. ((looking down at book, nods))
22 Maureen:
                 [Yeah.
```

The role-play is a way for Maddie and the other children to put into practice the tools and methods they have been taught in the session so far to help them display and recognise anger in other people. Maureen initiates an IRE sequence that invites the children to draw on these practices to recognise Maddie's emotional state. The question requests that the children can now display their knowledge in the form of a description that has been built, co-produced, and shared in the prior discussions. It is reminiscent of what Edwards (1993) refers to as an 'organized joint recall session', in that it requires the children to use some prior talk in order to answer a set of questions.

Tristan is the first to answer and he uses his knowledge of tone of voice to identify a recognisable feature of Maddie's anger, 'she was <u>shouting</u>' (line 4). Maureen's affiliative repeat (Margutti & Drew, 2014) confirms Tristan's answer and once the children's talk subsides Maureen initiates her second IRE sequence, 'how <u>el</u>se did you

know that- (.) Maddie was angry' (lines 11-12). The question informs the children that they need to continue to describe recognisable features of Maddie's anger to display the extent of their knowledge. There follows a long silence in which the children sit quietly, seemingly to think about the question. Maddie produces a series of inbreathes while looking and smiling at Maureen to display her anticipation about a potential answer. She then announces, 'don't touch me' (line 16), not to answer Maureen's question, which was addressed to the others, but to remind the group what she said in the role-play to help them answer.

Maddie's response is overlapped by Benji's, 'you- (.) clenched the fis:ts' (line 17). Like Tristan (line 4), Benji builds his answer from an external feature of Maddie's anger³⁵. Maureen evaluates, 'she did clench her fists di:dn't she' (line 18), her reformatted repeat confirms Benji's answer is correct while the design of her turn and tag question suggests Benji's answer has recalled this feature for her. This is a fundamental aim of the group discussions. Everyone has watched the role-play, each from their own perspective and they remember different things. The subsequent discussion allows each individual perspective and remembering to build up a comprehensive description for the group to share.

Tristan goes on to describe, 'it looked like she was actually angry' (line 19), to explain his 'reality analysis' of Maddie's behaviour (see Hester & Francis, 1997). The group have been asked how they know Maddie is angry but the reality is that Maddie is not angry, she is just acting as if she were. Tristan marks this knowing with the word 'actually' to contrast how real her acting was despite knowing that she was not

-

³⁵ Earlier in the session the group discussed how their body shows other people that they are angry by identifying their 'external signs'. Maureen used the outline of a gingerbread man to record where on the body the 'external signs' of anger could be found. See 'Themes and Practices' extract 3.12, p.111 for the transcribed talk and discussion.

displaying a genuine emotion (Clift, 2001). Tristan's turn also serves as a compliment to Maddie's acting ability and how realistic her performance appeared.

Benji latches a second answer, '=>she was frowning' to identify another external feature of Maddie's anger to build on the descriptions that have already been given. Maddie herself confirms this as true with her head nod and 'huhum' (line 21), and Maureen confirms with 'Yeah' (line 22). This makes for an interesting point, Maureen is the coach and therefore the person in 'charge', so asking questions and confirming or rejecting forthcoming answers is within her epistemic domain (see Heritage, 2012). However, in this instance Maddie also feels entitled to confirm the answers being given as the observations that those answers are being based are about her and what she did. Her confirmation and reminder to the others (line 16) are examples of Maddie's collaboration and participation in the building and sharing of the practical methods being used to recognise anger.

A few moments after this extract Maureen produces an extended turn to summarise what the group know before progressing the discussion to question the way in which Lucy calmed her down.

(6.8)

'What was Lucy's tone of voice'

```
1
   Maureen: So. >We know that: (.) Maddie was angry. >We
2
              know that Lucy managed to talk her down
3
              di:dn't she. >And how did Lucy do that,
              what was Lucy's tone of voic:e.
4
5
              (0.5)
6
   Tristan: Cal[m.
7
   Benji:
                 [C[alm.
8
   Miles:
                   [Calm.
   Maureen: Very cal:m= >We talked about that last time
```

```
didn't we<. Really=

Tristan: =<u>I'm boi</u>:ling= ((Begins to take coat off))

Maureen: =nice and calm. Well done.
```

Maureen summarises, 'so we know that Maddie was angry. We know that Lucy managed to calm her down didn't she. And how did Lucy do that' (lines 1-3). The turn determines what the group already know based on their watching of the role-play and the tools they have put into practice (tone of voice and body language) to identify that Maddie was angry. The mid turn tag focuses the children's attention, and the person reference 'we' speaks on behalf of the whole group to reinforce the collaboration that has taken place. Maureen then initiates an IRE question in the final part of her turn (and how did Lucy do that, what was Lucy's tone of voice). The design of the question topicalises and brings to life the way Lucy calmed Maddie down by naming tone of voice. The practice of using tone of voice as a tool to describe how Lucy talked Maddie down is a prompt for the children as it works to indicate the type of response that Maureen is looking for.

Tristan, Benji, and Miles all respond 'calm', which Maureen confirms and upgrades in her evaluative response, 'very cal:m' (line 9). She then latches, '>we talked about that last time didn't we<' (lines 9-10) to recall the groups collaborative building of tone of voice as a practical tool to recognise emotional states (part of which is shown in extract 6.1). By drawing on this recalled knowledge Maureen explicitly links the tools being taught as practical method that they can use in and out of the sessions.

The children's toolbox of practices is being built to help them understand and implement ordinary methods that will help them recognise emotion in their everyday world. In extract 6.1 Dan shared how he knew people's tone of voice could identify

happy and unhappy emotional states. Here tone of voice is being used to recognise Maddie's anger (she was shouting) and describe the 'calm' way Lucy was talking. This discussion expands the children's knowledge of how resourceful tone of voice can be as an everyday practice and the children are being given the tools to 'own' (Sharrock, 1974, p. 52) this knowledge. Their ownership gives them to right to use these tools as a practice in the future to recognise other people's emotions in relation to their own behaviour or actions.

Self- talk Thinking Tool

The work done within the session so far has been in preparation to the main focus of the session, which is to learn how to control anger. The normalising and emotional recognition work now turns to the teaching of a specific anger management tool. The following extracts will show how the 'self-talk' Thinking Tool is introduced to the children as a method for managing anger. For Goffman (1978) self-talk is a ritualized behaviour, one that we all practice for different reasons, here Maureen is teaching this ordinary practice as a formalised method for controlling anger. In her introducing self-talk into the children's toolkit, Maureen shifts the structure of the session through her recasting of person references, to mark her talk as the teaching part of the session.

(6.9)

'Does anyone know what self-talk is'

```
1 Maureen: Okay. >So now we know (.) that you can
2 recognise when you're getting angry.
3 (1.1) ((Maureen reading handbook))
4 Maureen: And no:w (.) we need to teach you a way (.)
```

```
to stop you from (0.2) le:tting ou:t (.)
5
6
            those angry feelings.
7
8
             (8 lines omitted)
9
10
   Maureen: The way not to get into trouble is to
11
             manage, to control your anger. That is
12
              so so important. And we do that
13
              particularly (.) I am going to get
14
              another tool out of my toolbox.
15
16 (3 lines omitted - Tristan talking and Maureen looking in toolbox)
17
18
   Maureen: ((Holds self talk sign up in air))
19
   Maureen: By s:elf-talk= Does anybody know what I
20
             mean by s:[elf-talk.
                        [Talk to your self.
21
  Shay:
22 Tristan: >Talk to your self.
23 Maureen: Talking to your self.
```

Maureen's summative turn (lines 1-2) assumes and attributes the children's cognitive ability to recognise 'when you're getting angry', on the basis of the earlier exercise which involved them observing, and reporting, Maddie's physical displays of anger, her 'shouting' (extract 6.7 line 4), 'clenched fists' (extract 6.7 line 17), 'looking angry' (extract 6.7 line 19), and 'frowning' (extract 6.7 line 20). Maureen then introduces the self-talk tool as something that 'we need to teach you ... to stop you from letting out those angry feelings' (lines 4-6). Unlike previous instances, the all-inclusive 'we' now only refers to Maureen and Lucy, as Coach and Assistant. This then begins to partition the group into a two-party organisation: the children and the instructors (Butler, 2008; Sacks, 1992). As such, there is a shift in the distribution of the rights, obligations, and expertise amongst the group. In lines 1-6, Maureen switches the tense from speaking in the present to the future, which lends itself to an

instructional or advisory mode. The future-oriented footing in 'when you're getting' (line 2) and 'letting out' (line 5), evokes a time when the children will get angry, and express that anger, and highlights the shift from the earlier normalising work to the 'main business' of providing the children a specific anger management tool.

We also see a partitioning in terms of the ownership of angry emotions. Maureen's descriptions ('those angry feelings') separate the emotion from the children, similar to the distancing work that was seen in extract 6.6. Anger is formulated as something 'other than' the individual; helpfully separating the person from the emotion to resist the idea that anger is dispositional (Edwards, 1997), and part of the children's identity. Having introduced 'self-talk' from her 'tool box' (line 14) Maureen invites the children to identify if they know what 'self-talk' means (lines 19-20). The children's responses are affirmed as correct, and this then signals the introduction of self-talk phrases.

Shay answers in transitional overlap, 'talk to your self' (line 3), pre-empting the end of Maureen's question in his eagerness to answer (Edwards, 1993; Lerner, 2004). Tristan is quick to repeat Shay's answer, '>talk to yourself' (line 4), and Maureen confirms they are both correct with her modified repeat, 'talking to your self' (line 5). The subjective 'your' is used to describe self-talk as a practice that is done by the individual as a form of personal communication. The self-talk has been introduced as an ordinary practice that the children can use to stop them letting out their angry feelings so that they can control and manage their anger instead. It is in this sense, then, that self-talk now 'belongs' to the children as a method that they own and have the right to use as a practice to manage their anger (Sharrock, 1974).

As the session continues Maureen recalls for the children a discussion that took place earlier when they were each asked to name their individual 'triggers' that

made them angry (data not shown). From that list the children are asked to pick one per group and then discuss how they could use self-talk in that situation to calm them down. Again, the exercise shows how prior discussions form part of the collective production of knowledge. Maureen asks the children to use what they have already done to help them think about how to do self-talk now, and also by using the children's own anger triggers to do that self-talk, Maureen embeds the relevance of the exercise for them.

(6.10)

'How could you use self-talk'

```
Maureen: Okay. Think abo:ut what can you do to <calm>
down.

Shay: ((Yawns))

(0.3) ((Reading handbook))

Maureen: And how you can use self-talk.= What could
you say (.) to yourself to cal:m down.
```

The proposed exercise is hypothetical seen in the use of 'think' (line 1) and 'could' (line 5). The children are being asked to think about their situated experiences from earlier to help them decide what they could say to calm down. The reference 'you' and 'your' are being used to invite the children to speak subjectively from their own experiences. The use of hypothetical scenarios is common in cognitive therapy to propose behavioural change (Simmons & LeCouteur, 2011). Also in counselling, Butler et al (2010) found child counsellors use 'advice-implicative interrogatives' to suggest a future course of action that the child might do. In both of these studies it is the therapist or counselor who puts forward a hypothetical proposal. However, here it is the children themselves who are being asked to put forward their own hypothetical

proposals. Again, this seems to work by embedding the relevance of the self-talk tool for the children as a method that they can use in their everyday life.

This exercise is reminiscent of producing a 'script proposal' as a way of packaging what could be said at some point in the future (Emmison et al, 2011). It is also similar to the teaching that takes place in the classroom, drawing on the presumption that the most effective way of teaching is to get the children to come up with of the answers themselves (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). The children's participation is further supported in this way to give them agency and ownership over their own lives and the practices they can use to find their own potential solutions. It also makes the experience more engaging and meaningful as they can decide for themselves what will work for them.

After group discussions the children report back two self-talk phrases, 'tell yourself to calm down' and 'tell yourself not to get angry'. Using the generic person reference 'yourself' the children formulate these bits of self-talk as *instructions* to one-self, rather than *talk* to one-self. In the following sequence Maureen builds on their contributions to turn generic instructions into personalised self-talk.

(6.11) 'Lots of self-talk phrases'

```
1
    Maureen: So- there's lots of self-talk phrases
2
              >that we can tell< ourselves aren't there.
3
              (0.5)
4
    Maureen: Yeah. If I start w- a fight with that
5
              [bo:y I'll get into trouble.
              [Dan (.) °sit down°.
6
   Lucy:
7
              (1.6)
8
   Benj:
              What.
     ?
              I'm falling a[sleep.
```

```
[>That's what you can say to
10 Maureen:
             yourself isn't it< (.) if I sta[rt a fi:ght=</pre>
11
12 Maddie:
                                             [ *Maureen.
13 Benji:
             =Yeah.
14 Maureen: I'll get into trouble. ((Sing-song voice))
15
   Benji:
             Ye[ah.
   Maureen: [It's not worth arguing with him (.)
16
              I need to find a teacher. ((Sing-song voice))
17
              (0.8)
18
   Maureen: He a: lways does that kinda stuff (0.2)
19
              that's / why / kids / don't / like / him.
20
21
   Maureen: It's about having a m:antra to put into your
22
              head. >So (.) I need to <calm> down. Calm
23
              down.
              (0.5)
24
   Maureen: Walk awa:y. >Tell the teacher= Whatever it
25
              is to have that s:elf-talk. So instead of
26
27
              (0.9) some of the things you want to
28
              [say (.) those <angry sweary things>.
29
              [Phew:::
                         ((Blowing air through lips))
30
              (0.4)
   Maureen: We need to contro: 1 ya anger and ya
31
32
              feelings. Okay and problem-solve
33
              >so that we don't< get into that trouble.
```

Maureen begins this sequence with a return to the inclusive 'we' that flattens out the relationship between her, Lucy, and the children. The self-talk phrases are 'anyone's' and the children are positioned as equally able to recognise the truth in the statement as is shown with the tag (line 2). Maureen then offers a list of hypothetical phrases designed as script proposals (Emmison et al., 2011), while the directly reported speech (lines 4-5) gives the children access to what they could say in such situations (Holt & Clift, 2007). Maureen adopts the 'animator' role (Goffman, 1981) as if speaking on behalf of the children as authors of the self-talk. She widens the children's 'corpus of knowledge' (Sharrock, 1974) to the many possible ways of

formulating such talk for themselves in practice: 'I need to find a teacher', 'I need to calm down'.

Stepping outside of the animator role briefly, Maureen explains it is about having a 'mantra to put into your head' (line 18). This explanation is a nice illustration of how the practical method (saying something to yourself) is treated as a cognitive practice. Putting a phrase into one's head makes it transportable and available to be drawn on in multiple situations. What is being done here could be described as the explicit seeding of a script formulation (Edwards, 1997), which can be made interactionally relevant and used in everyday situations. In closing this sequence, Maureen formulates 'that self-talk' (line 23) as a tool that the children can use to replace 'those angry sweary things' (line 25), 'to control ya anger and ya feelings' (lines 27-28), 'and problem solve >so that we don't< get into that trouble' (line 28-29). Maureen returns once more to the inclusive and collective 'we' (line 27 and 29) to speak about self-talk as an ordinary practice that can be used by everyone to control anger and not get into trouble. This return to the ordinary is now done on the basis that a jointly produced understanding of self-talk has been formalised and scripted to be reflective of the children's everyday reality, but constructed as an 'ordinary' practice that is used by everyone to manage anger. This continues the normalising work seen throughout to prevent the children from being singled out and dispositionally defined by their emotions and behaviours.

Discussion

This chapter has focused on the ways in which knowledge was constructed, coproduced, and shared between Maureen and the children. The analysis revealed how a step-by-step approach was used to uncover the children's knowledge and understanding, by fostering their collaboration, agency, and participation through the questions and discussions that took place. The purpose of this approach was to ensure topics of talk were first shared within the group so those topics could then be progressed to further the knowledge being shared. The IRE sequence was a specific device used by Maureen to allow understandings to be first elicited, and then to continually check that a joint understanding was being achieved as the talk progressed. A further device used in the building of knowledge was tag questions. The use of mid-turn tag questions treated some bit of talk as already known by the children (extract 6.2), or as something they could accept and agree with as part of the knowledge building process (extract 6.3). In addition, mid-turn tags were often latched to a turn of talk to confirm the significance of what had just been said without opening it up discussion (extract 6.2). While the use of turn final tags was used to invite agreement (extract 6.11), or mark some bit of talk as a kind of judgement or conclusion (extract 6.4).

The second focus of the chapter was the ways in which the children's emotions and behaviours were normalised and re-specified as being ordinary. The analysis drew on Sacks' work on 'doing being ordinary', to examine the ways in which Maureen 'unpathologised' emotions to counter any negative inferences that could be made about the children and ADHD. One practice that was identified within the analysis was the way that Maureen used collective person references to normalise tone of voice (extract 6.1), strong feelings (extract 6.2), feeling angry (extract 6.3), and to describe anger as a natural feeling (extract 6.4). This normalising work made ordinary practices, used by people in general, available as tools and methods for the children to use; tools and methods that they could then use to help them recognise and

understand emotions in themselves and in others, to help control and manage the expression of their emotions. The use of collective person references worked to include the indefinite everyone, without excluding, or targeting the children in the group. As such, Maureen's practice untied the need to manage and control emotions, as only being representative of the children in the group, and so the children's experiences were unpathologised further.

A second feature of the use of collective person reference was that by first normalising emotions (extracts 6.1 - 6.5), Maureen could attend to the main business at hand, the advisory and instructional part of the session in which the children were taught how to control and manage their anger through the practice of self-talk (extract 6.9 - 6.11). The normalising practice that precluded these teachings meant that the lessons were packaged in a way that was not chastising, which otherwise would have had damaging effects and created a negative environment. Efforts were taken to separate anger from the children, (extract 6.6 and 6.9), to ensure that anger was constructed as spontaneous and rational because it was directed at something, rather than being dispositional and bound to the children and their ADHD identity. This feature of the session is a significant finding as Krueger and Kendall (2001) and Travell and Visser (2006) found that children often define themselves by their ADHD behaviours, and so children's experiences can negatively impact on their sense of self. Therefore, the practices identified throughout the chapter, and in particular the normalising practices, have shown how Maureen manages this 'self-work', while ensuring that the children's understanding and knowledge of emotions has been developed.

Chapter 7:

Discussion

This thesis has examined interactions that take place during the delivery of pastoral care and coaching. A detailed analysis of the conversations that take place in these two settings has identified the ordinary but visible ways (such as questions, self-assessments, and person references) in which pastoral care and coaching provides support and manages 'self-work' for children with SEBD. Interventions are informed by theoretical guidelines that recommend children experiencing SEBD can be helped if they are supported to develop their emotional literacy, of which self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience are key components. An important part of this research was to uncover the ways in which theoretical recommendations were delivered via interactional practices, to make visible the delivery of support and the management of 'self-work'. The need for this work to be done is because support and 'self-work' are performed as much through the ways in which Maureen and Miss deliver their interventions, as it is through the content of those interventions.

The final chapter of this thesis will involve a review of the analytic chapters within to highlight the main findings and their contribution to both research and practice. This chapter will also discuss the wider implications of these research findings, before considering possible directions for future research.

Overview of chapters and implications of research findings

Chapter 3: Supportive themes and practices within pastoral care and coaching

This chapter was a rich descriptive account of the interactional landscapes of pastoral care and coaching. The pastoral care and coaching activities that were discussed show how these framed the actual delivery of these interventions. While, the ways in which these activities were delivered by Maureen and Miss (being positive and future-focused, giving regard to the children's agency and participation, and managing psychological notions of self), is what allowed these interactions to be seen and described as being supportive. The importance of these findings is that a supportive environment is vital for children to feel safe enough, and comfortable enough, to engage with the professional and the therapeutic work being done.

Through examining *how* the worry box was used in practice, and the way Miss packaged her questions as suggestions; the analytic discussions revealed how Morgan's agency was supported to take charge of the interactional course of action, and how his decision-making was supported to allow him to deal with his worries himself. These findings not only contribute to the literature that describes and recommends the usefulness of the worry box (or similar resources) to practicing professionals, in terms of sharing how this practice was delivered in real life, it contributes to the literature within CA. In a more general sense, the CA literature on the interactional use of questions in conversation (for example, Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Heinenmann, 2006; Heritage, 2002; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2003), and more specifically the use of questions within counselling interactions. For

example, the use of 'advice-implicative interrogatives' (Butler et al., 2010), within counselling interactions revealed the therapeutic affordances of questions packaged as suggestions. The same packaging of questions as suggestions was found here in the pastoral care interactions, and used in the same way as Butler et al. (2010) propose, to support agency and not claim authority over the child's life. Of further significance was that Miss packaged her questions as suggestions in order to manage Morgan's 'self-work', to make him instrumental in finding and making visible his own positive qualities and behaviours that could then be attributed and used to describe him.

Like the worry box, the interactional affordances of the traffic light system were also identified. These findings contribute to the literature that claims such practices develop emotional literacy, and more specifically, self-awareness and self-control. The system is a practice for monitoring behaviour, as was discussed in extracts 3.4 and 3.5, and Morgan showed that he understood this and what the system was designed to help him do. As a conceptual lesson the teaching of this practice was a success, but the reality of this concept will always be realised as a practical concern as it is through its practice, not it's teaching, that Morgan will develop his self-awareness and self-control.

It was via conversational practices (such as praise, assessments, and descriptions) that the traffic light system was taught, and it was through these teachings that the management of 'self-work' could be revealed. The ways in which the system was reported, assessed and described allowed Morgan to both communicate, and hear from other's, how well he was using the system, how much it had helped him control his anger and improve his friendships, and how proud everyone was of him. Therefore, 'self-work' became a 'psychological' concern within the talk, through the way the system was taught, reported, and assessed. These

findings will sit within the existing DP literature in terms of how 'self-work' is accomplished as an everyday concern in and through members' talk.

Similarly, within the coaching interactions and the discussions around the problem-solving strategy, SARA, the discussion revealed how this tool was made relevant to the children as an everyday resource for managing their own 'self-work' through explicating *how* and *why* this tool would be useful for them (extract 3.8 and 3.9). This 'selling of the benefits' as it was referred to in the chapter, managed both the children's agency and their 'self-work', through the rhetorical devices used by Maureen that invited the children to form their own evaluations in order to maximise transference, practice, and future outcomes. A key concern for the RAPID programme is the transference of tools being taught and so the discussions about how Maureen delivers her teachings will be especially helpful for those who design interventions, most especially the RAPID programme. These findings are significant in regards to how scripted manuals need to be turned into discursive practices in order to be delivered and made interactionally useful. Therefore, by revealing the very discursive practices being used during delivery (such as persuasion to engage practice), manuals can be fine-tuned to aid future delivery.

The Body Language tool was discussed to illustrate the contingent nature of the programme. Although Maureen did not make this contingency explicit in her teachings, by closely tracking her delivery this contingency became very apparent. A key finding that can be made as a result of these discussions is in regard once more to the way interventions are designed, or fine-tuned. Through making these links more explicit, the delivery could further maximise the children's understanding, practice, and future outcomes, and this is a finding that could be feedback to professionals to help them improve effectiveness. A major barrier for charity organisations, such as

Maureen's, is that they need funding to operate and run their programmes. Therefore, interactional findings that can reveal hard-to-assess aspects of effectiveness will benefit future funding applications, as organisations can note how delivery has been examined to highlight interactional moments of support and 'self-work'.

Chapter 4: Searching for the good in the bad

This was the first of three analytic chapters that used CA and DP to analyse the pastoral care and coaching data. Chapter 4 used the pastoral care data to examine a specific practice that was identified as being used by Miss to find positive endings from Morgan's real life struggles, and to identify and make visible positive qualities from within Morgan that could then become attributed as being typical of him. The *good in bad* practice was realised in extract 3.1 through a search to find an alternative version of events for Morgan. So, that instead of internalising his dad's damaging and harmful words, Morgan could make sense of his experience by concluding that his dad would care. It was through managing subject-object relations that this necessary 'self-work' was performed, and in identifying how Morgan's 'self-work' was being managed these findings contribute once more to existing DP literature that is interested in revealing how people manage psychological concerns in practice.

In extract 3.2, Miss initiated a search for love to find someone who loves Morgan. After this initial search failed, Miss recast the search to reveal that Morgan loves himself, and thinks he is very special. The way Miss managed this 'self-work' made relevant the original work of Sacks in terms of whom a person in need 'ought to turn for help' (Sacks, 1972, p. 58). In this instance, Miss offered Morgan's sisters as the first persons in her search for love, which was a breach of who she ought to turn,

as the 'first member available of the paired relational category' (Sacks, 1972, p. 58) was Morgan's parents. As was noted, Morgan's parents' responsibility and obligation is expected to be far greater than that of his sisters. However, for Miss, 'availability' became complicated precisely because of the experiences Morgan was reporting about his parents. Miss needed to find someone who loved Morgan, preferably in the next turn, to prevent further harm. Therefore, Miss prioritised her selection in order to find someone who loves Morgan. In other words, she selects Morgan's sisters because she prioritises their love over Morgan's parents love based on what she knows about his life. Therefore, this extract is an example of how mind-world relations are delicately performed to manage 'self-work'. As such, these findings contribute to the way extremely sensitive matters are managed in real life.

A further finding throughout the chapter in regard to the management of 'self-work' was the way Miss elicited self-assessment from Morgan through a series of questions (extract 4.1; 4.2b; 4.3). These questioning sequences enabled Miss to produce her own assessments, which not only displayed her subjective stance and investment, enabled her to produce viable (subjective) challenges to Morgan's (objective) reality (extracts 4.1; 4.2b). Whilst they also allow Miss to make visible Morgan's positive qualities and turn his external behaviours into attributes of him, to identify his strengths and construct a version of him based on those strengths (extract 4.3). In so doing, these findings support the claim that the subjective status of an account can undermine its objectivity (Edwards, 2007). Importantly, although these challenges undermine objectivity, they support Morgan's agency because they do not compete with his rights and access to his own experiences, and how those experiences make him feel. So it is in this sense, then, that the structure of Miss's challenges, to find the *good in the bad*, delicately manages the 'self-work' being achieved and

makes Morgan an active participant in that 'self-work', and it is only by examining the interactions in fine detail that these findings have been found. The sequence of questioning to elicit how Morgan feels again adds in the more general sense to the existing CA literature on questions, and more specifically to the use of questions within supportive and therapeutic settings to reveal how professionals manage the delicateness of these matters in practice.

The *good in bad* practice was used to prevent Morgan internalising the bad experiences of his life, to instead find something good that would make *him* feel better about himself. When thinking about these moments it brings to my mind the sentiment of a tank, an emotional tank that is within Morgan, which works in the same way as a fuel tank in a car. As Morgan goes about his everyday life his emotional tank buffers him from his troublesome world, each time something bad happens his tank empties a little. Miss's job in their time together is to refill Morgan's tank by helping him find the positives in life, by praising his good, helping him overcome his bad, and by caring for him, so that he can go back out into the world and be buffered once more. For me, this is 'self-work'.

Chapter 5: Reassurance

While practices relating to reassurance have been discussed within the CA literature, reassurance has tended to be treated as something that is accomplished by other social practices, for example, compliments (Golato, 2005; Pomerantz, 1978; Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012). By looking at reassurance as an action in its own right, the analysis here has identified and described a previously glossed over practice. In so doing, this analysis has contributed an interactional specification of this practice to the field of CA, which can be developed and further examined in other settings. The pastoral care

data was used to develop an interactional specification: Reassurance is either interactionally-generated in response to a recipients displayed affect toward some visible trouble in the just prior turn, or it is speaker-generated in response to a recipients inferred affect toward some latent trouble that is educed by the speaker in relation to previous troubles talk. As such, two types of reassurance were identified, 'interactionally-generated reassurance' and 'speaker-generated reassurance'.

A three-part sequence was also developed in order to identify interactionallygenerated reassurance:

- 1. Trouble flag
- 2. Reassuring counter turn
- 3. Progressivity restored

The three-part sequence contributes to some core understandings about how interactionally-generated reassurance is performed. The first part of the sequence identifies how it was the trouble flag that initiated the reassuring counter turn. As Jefferson (1972) notes, trouble is a device that can generate a 'side sequence', or more specifically a 'break' in the activity' (p. 294), that needs to be addressed for the interaction to resume. Therefore, when certain kinds of trouble occur that break the interaction (such as when a scone crumbles when it is cut shape, or when a mistake is made when writing a letter), reassurance has been found to be an interactionally relevant thing to do, to manage the trouble and its potential affect, and ensure the ongoing interaction is resumed. Therefore, by identifying reassurance as a device that can restore interaction, understandings about how interactants manage situational troubles has been advanced.

The context in which speaker-generated reassurance occurred was not in response to some visible trouble and so the three-part sequence was not helpful in

identifying this type of reassurance. However, the reassuring counter turn had the same performative action in both types, to minimise and absolve Morgan's affect towards trouble, but for speaker-generated reassurance this was a stand-alone turn rather than part of a wider sequence. Therefore, it was the reassuring counter turn that identified speak-generated reassurance and how it was initiated in response to Morgan's potential affect based on shared knowledge of his life and pastoral care knowledge of how children might come to make sense of the experiences. The analysis of this type of reassurance has advanced understandings about how interactants manage more delicate troubles within interaction.

The analysis of the reassuring counter turn drew on the literature that surrounds formulations and accounts within CA. The trouble formulation was Miss's candidate understanding of the situation, and cause of the trouble (Heritage & Watson, 1980; Schegloff, 1996a), while the account explained *why* the trouble should not cause worry or self-blame. In packaging the reassuring counter turn with a trouble formulation and account, reassurance seems to be an 'accountable action' (Sacks, 1992, p. 73), in need of some additional work in order for it to be a preferred response. According to Sacks (1992) accounts can be countered, and so the accountability of reassurance could be that it needs to fulfil its 'transformative function' (Buttny, 1993, p. 1). Without this accountability issues of genuineness and sincerity could be bought into play making reassurance a dispreferred action. The examination of reassurance as a situated action in its own right has identified some interesting findings, but it needs to be studied further in order to advance our understanding of the workings of this practice.

A further contribution of the reassurance findings relates to practices surrounding care and support because the reassuring counter turn is hearable as doing

emotional work. The essence of reassurance is that when something goes wrong there is the potential for that wrong to personally attributed. It is this very inference that creates the space, and need, for reassurance to be offered. Patterson and Potter (2009) studied the use of terms of endearment to display a caring stance. When Miss was identified as 'doing care and support', for example in extract 5.7 when Morgan and Miss are talking about foster care Miss only pursues Morgan to reveal enough of his feelings to established a shared understanding, Miss closes the discussion with 'I know darling'. This turn was also discussed in the chapter in regard to the action of 'I know', but in reference to displays of care Miss uses this term of endearment to display that she not only cares, but that she is supporting Morgan in making sense of this difficult situation. What is interesting about reassurance here is that it is often designed to include terms of endearments, for example, 'sweetheart' (extract 5.5), and 'darling' (extracts 5.4, 5.5, 5.8). Calvert (2009) and Elden (2013) discussed how often invisible and taken for granted concepts, such as 'care', become activities that are interactionally achieved. It is in this sense then, that the interactional practices being used by Miss is where notions of care and support can become visible and analysable practical accomplishments.

Chapter 6: Managing emotions and normalising ADHD

The final analytic chapter used CA and DP, to examine how ordinary practices (such as questions and collective person references) were used within the coaching interactions during the delivery of RAPID. The chapter tracked a session that aimed to teach the children how to recognise anger in themselves and others, and strategies to help them control their feelings of anger. The focus of the chapter was to look at

the ways in which the children came to understand, share, and co-produce their knowledge of emotions with the help of Maureen. The chapter drew on the ideas of Edwards and Mercer (1987) to see how 'common knowledge' was socially constructed, developed, and displayed in and through the talk. The chapter also drew on the work of Sacks (1984b) and his 'doing being ordinary' paper, to examine how Maureen and the children built, shared, and co-produced their knowledge to claim 'ordinariness', as a device to 'unpatholgise' ADHD, and normalise the emotions that are so often tied to the ADHD construct.

The analysis revealed specific interactional practices through which the programmes content and tools were delivered, and the unique affordances of these methods of delivery for building, sharing, and co-producing emotional knowledge. One key feature of these practices was the use of questions. For example, the IRE sequence (Mehan, 1979) was used not only to elicit the children's understandings, but to establish knowledge as being common and shared. Similarly, Maureen used tag questions to treat some bit of talk as something the children could accept and agree with as part of the knowledge building process (extract 6.3); confirm the significance of what had just been said (extract 6.2); mark some bit of talk as a kind of judgement or conclusion (extract 6.4); or treat some bit of talk as already known by the children (extract 6.2). These practices supported the children's authority by treating them as having expert knowledge of emotions outside of the intervention, and promoted their agency by allowing them to actively engage in the production and display of knowledge.

A second feature of the knowledge building process was that Maureen normalised emotional experiences by re-specifying emotions, emotional cognitions, and behaviours as ordinary. Collective person references like 'we', 'you', and 'our',

helped to normalise strong feelings (extract 6.2), and emphasised the naturalness of anger (extract 6.5). The references included 'everyone' without excluding or targeting the children so that 'strong feelings' and 'anger' were not treated as dispositions of the children, and were unbound from their diagnosis of ADHD. Similarly, the use of generalised pronouns presented the resources being taught as ordinary, everyday methods that the children could use to recognise their own and other people's anger (body language and tone of voice), and to control their feelings of anger (volcano metaphor and self-talk).

Through identifying the ways in which questions (IRE and tag) and collective person references were used, the findings from this chapter have contributed to the existing literature that have studied these phenomena. Although, Maureen uses the IRE in its traditional sense, as a collaborative method to make knowledge visible, it has traditionally been studied within the organisation of the classroom interaction. As such the use of the IRE within coaching interactions shows how the usefulness of this method extends beyond the classroom. While the use of tag questions has been a research topic within CA and found to treat some bit of talk as already known by the children (see Hepburn & Potter, 2010; 2011), the other actions that were performed by Maureen's use of tags provides an account of the other affordances offered by these interactional devices.

The way in which the conversations were constructed to be collaborative was noted throughout the coaching data (as well as the pastoral data, for example, the way Miss used questions to elicit Morgan's self-assessment to collaboratively find the good in bad). While Fogarty et al. (2013) suggests that rapport is achieved through the interactional phenomenon of progressivity (how talk allows for an activity or action to progress smoothly); the interactions that occur within the coaching data suggest that

the phenomenon of collaboration also brings to life the concept of rapport. The collaboration that was noted for its rapport building qualities, therefore, adds to the interactional literature on how rapport is achieve as an interactional accomplishment.

Difficulties and further implications

Although the research implications for each chapter have been discussed individually, there are some further implications that can now be considered collectively in light of the difficulties that have been experienced as a result of this projects aims. This thesis identified practices that were routinely used (good in bad, reassurance, and normalising emotions and ADHD) to allow the institutional aims of pastoral care and coaching to be delivered, and as such the findings sit within an applied framework (Antaki, 2011). One such practice that was identified was reassurance, which had not been studied as an interactional phenomenon in its own right before. However, the practice of doing reassurance within the pastoral care interactions was pervasive and in identifying some of the ways in which reassurance was done, this chapter highlighted the need to examine it as a practice in its own right in order to further advance our understandings of this phenomena.

Therefore, Chapter 5 was an examination of a never before considered practice in its own right, and so there were no existing findings that could inform the way in which this phenomenon has, or could be studied. However, due to the applied nature of this research the examination of reassurance could be informed by this framework, 'to see how it happens...and how it affects what happens next' (Antaki, 2011, p. 6). As such, a detailed analysis of reassurance as a situated practice allowed for an identification of its structural properties to be revealed. In terms of the further

implications of these findings, reassurance is widespread within interaction, and so findings that begin to reveal how it is used to resolve trouble will be relevant for researchers examining interactions across many social domains. Future research will reveal if the ways in which reassurance is offered is generic, or if the findings from this thesis are specific to pastoral care. Such research is needed in order to identify the universality, or specificity, of reassurance in practice and so this thesis supports the need to examine this as a practice in its own right, and supports the need to examine it across other social domains to further understandings of this phenomenon.

A key theme throughout this thesis was the management of 'self-work'. Although identifying the ways in which a child's sense of self can be enhanced was a research interest from the start of this thesis. In order to examine the 'self' using CA and DP the psychological concepts that surround its enhancement needed to be respecified to allow an examination using these methods. The reason being that DP is not concerned with studying the 'self' as a psychological concept, instead it is concerned with how people make the 'self' psychological in and through their talk. As such, it was not expected that I would find explicit references to the psychological concepts of emotional literacy, self-concept, self-esteem, and resilience, because these were the expected outcome of the children attending intervention. In order to discuss how Maureen and Miss went about providing, what I have called 'self-work', I needed to examine the interactions for moments when they were seen to be engaging in talk that was designed to make the children feel better or good, help them understand their emotions, support them to find their own solutions to their problems, praise them for the achievements, and help them to see the things they did well or qualities they possess. In other words, I needed to reveal how Maureen and Miss made 'self-work' an identifiable action within the interaction.

This was not an easy task as it could not be taken for granted that 'self-work' was a mysterious side effect of the type of interactions being examined (which is what the psychological literature takes for granted), claims needed to be grounded in the interactions as visible members' concerns. This thesis has begun to identify moments within interaction when Maureen and Miss are visibly doing 'self-work' and these moments have been discussed throughout. But, this re-specification could be further developed in order to strengthen the idea that 'self-work' is intricately achieved through the ordinariness of everyday practices in subtle but pervasive ways, and that it is not achieved simply as a by-product of attending intervention as is currently assumed within much research and practice.

This is a valuable field of research as the everyday management of 'self-work' can inform the future design, or fine-tuning of the way interventions are written and delivered. For example, in the coaching interactions it was noted that the programme was designed to deliver contingent teachings that progressively build the children's knowledge and skills. However, this contingent nature was not made explicit in the teachings, but it could be tracked by examining delivery. If these contingencies were made more explicit the children's understanding, transference, and practice of the programmes skills and tools could be further enhanced. This in turn could enhance the future outcomes for those children, which is the reason why such interventions are designed in the first place.

A further implication concerns the fact that the data for this thesis came from pastoral care and coaching. These two settings were very different in that the pastoral care data was one-to-one and focused on the detailed experiences of a child's individual story. Whereas the coaching data was group-based and had a collective rather than individual focus on the children's stories around ADHD, its associated

behaviours and difficulties. Therefore, the differences in the focus of these two settings were not conducive to a comparable study. However, the differences did allow for a more extensive study as the analysis across both datasets revealed how support and 'self-work' was being managed in both settings through similar everyday and ordinary interactional practices.

These findings support the idea that the delivery of support and management of 'self-work' is not specifically tied to either of these settings, or even for that matter specifically tied to those working with children. The practices that have been identified are comparable because they are supportive (for example, reassuring affect and normalising emotions), and the methods used to deliver these practices are similarly ordinary (for example, questions and assessments). Therefore, the findings from this thesis will be relevant across many social domains and populations where support and 'self-work' are central concerns, as well as being relevant for the interventions that are designed to help those populations.

In the introduction chapter, I discussed two kinds of applied CA as proposed by Antaki, (2011). The research findings from this thesis sit within the first kind that was discussed, as they are 'an illumination of routine institutional work' (p. 6). Although the findings from this thesis contribute to this growing body of applied research, there is so much more that could be found from examining the pastoral care and coaching interactions, in terms of how Maureen and Miss undertake the work that they do. This thesis and its analytic chapters have begun this investigation, but it has by no means exhausted such an investigation. The analytic chapters within were chosen from amongst a wide selection of interesting 'noticings', and the following section will briefly consider some of these as possible directions for future study.

Directions for future research

This section will outline three possible directions for future research as a result of the collections I have been gathering during my examinations of the pastoral care and coaching data. The collections outlined here were beyond the scope of this thesis but would be valuable future studies for both research and practice. The section will end with a discussion about how the research findings from this thesis could be used to provide an empirical basis for training workshops, and how they could be used to inform intervention design.

A potential study of interest comes from the use of therapeutic aids, such as the worry box, expression cards, and the Thinking Tools. Although this thesis touched on the use of such aids to uncover some of their therapeutic affordances, it was not a detailed study of *when* and *how* these aids became interactionally relevant, which would be a valuable study in its own right for both research and practice. A study of this kind would contribute to the field of interactional research that has already studied the use of drawings, objects, and artefacts as research interests (for example, Fogarty et al., 2013; Heath & Luff, 1992; Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002; Richardson, 2013; Richardson & Stokoe, in press; Vom Lehn & Heath, 2007). It would also be valuable for those working with children as it would reveal how therapeutic aids can assist the work being done, and how that work could be maximised through recognising and applying those findings.

A further study of interest comes from moments within the coaching data when a girl, who I call Chloe, remained silent throughout the nine-week programme. Chloe attended all nine sessions voluntarily, and completed all of the homework task set each week, and so it can be presumed that the programme provided her with

something of value, but she never actively contributed to group discussions, activities, or games. The collection of 'Chloe's silence' included how Maureen, Lucy, and some of the children tried to engage her in the group work using different tactics.

Of particular interest was when the cameras recorded a particular break-time when all the children except Chloe and Maddie went into the sports hall. In this particular break-time Chloe and Maddie remained in the hall and Maddie tirelessly tried to engage Chloe in conversation, which she did with some success after several minutes and different attempts. A detailed examination of all these moments would reveal how someone can get a silent child to speak, and as such would be valuable for professionals and practitioners who encounter such difficulty. This thesis focused on the external behaviours of children with SEBD, yet Chloe displays how SEBD can become internalised behaviour, which is as equally challenging for professionals. Such findings would also contribute to research that has focused on the examining the 'silent child' (Silverman, Baker and Keogh, 1998; Hutchby, 2007), which examine children's resistance to professionals and institutional support. Unlike these studies, the case of Chloe's silent would instead be an examination of what interactional methods work in trying to encourage her participation.

A final example of a future study would be the examination of the use of 'therapeutic compliments'. Wall, Kleckner, Amendt & Bryant (1989) defined therapeutic compliments as, 'a statement of praise or affirmation made by a therapist to a client. This statement is used to create conditions for successful therapy by both increasing the therapist's maneuverability, and empowering the client to move toward a desirable therapeutic change' (p. 160). In the pastoral care data a particular practice that was identified was the way a series of positive assessments were actioned in a

seemingly 'stepwise' move (Sacks, 1995, p. 566), to produce a therapeutic like compliment. An interactional analysis using CA and DP methods would identify the ways in which this specific collection of moments, were packaged as compliments to deliver a 'therapeutic message'. The findings would contribute to existing interactional studies that have examined the interactional use of compliments (for example, Golato, 2005; Pomerantz, 1978; and Shaw & Kitzinger, 2012), including those that have identified 'therapeutic messages' embedded in compliments to accomplish specific interactional aims (Hudak, Gill, Aguinaldo, Clark, & Frankel, 2010; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2012).

Future evidence-based training

The future of this thesis could be to use the research findings to develop training for those who support children and young people. Such a study would fit within the framework of 'interventionist applied CA' (Antaki, 2011, p. 9), an example of which is the 'conversation analytic role-play method' (CARM, Stokoe, 2014). As was discussed in the Chapter 1, CARM is a radically new approach to training that allows people to see how they, and other colleagues, do the work they do. It is a method based on empirical research findings from naturally occurring interactions that allows for an authentic insight into professionals' everyday practice (Stokoe, 2014). Instead of simulated role-play, CARM is live role-play, based on recordings of actual interactions during service provision. Recordings are played and stopped at key moments to enable the unfolding conversation to be discussed, which enables professionals to live through the actual experience of the encounter to see how it is

managed. This method offers professionals a unique insight that can only be experienced through the CARM method, because the practices and methods through which they conduct their business are often ordinary and taken for granted.

Stokoe's CARM (2014) approach could be used to deliver evidenced-based training materials for those delivering support to children. The research interests for this thesis was to identify the ways professionals support children experiencing difficulties in their lives to understand, manage, or overcome those difficulties. These are key concerns that professionals themselves are dealing with. Yet, many are often unaware of the skills they use in the delivery of their services. The methods identified in this research about how professionals provide a supportive environment, manage 'self-work', and support agency and participation during the delivery of their interventions, could be used to inform future training materials.

This training material would identify and share the everyday ordinary methods that have been identified as being used to support children, so professionals can then recognise, improve, and fine-tune their own skills and practices based on what the analytic findings have revealed. This kind of training would be valuable to professionals and practitioners precisely because the ways they actually deliver support are often intuitive. As is the way in which they manage 'self-work', as it is often packaged within ordinary practices that make such work subtle and difficult to unpack without using the interactional methods of CA and DP. As such, a 'trainable' outcome of this thesis could be to develop workshops on 'supporting self-work' that would show, for example, how reassurance in done in practice, and how it becomes a relevant action because of the way trouble is flagged; the way emotions are normalised using collective person references, and the way agency and participation are supported in practice through praise and invitations for self-assessment. The

workshop could show that 'self-work' is not just managed through the content of an intervention programme but through the ways in which professionals actually deliver the content of those programmes. As such, the workshop would reveal how someone goes about developing and enhancing a more positive sense of self for children with SEBD in practice.

The research findings from this thesis would not just be useful for developing CARM workshops with professional working with children, but also in producing helpful literature to inform those who design interventions. Such literature would share the ways in which professionals turn scripted manuals into discursive practices that can then be delivered in practice. Therefore, the scripting of interventions could be fine-tuned and explicated in the manuals themselves so professionals can maximise their own delivery based on sound empirical findings. The fine-tuning of scripted manuals would inform how delivery could maximise children's transference and practice of skills and knowledge in real life, which would in turn maximise the future outcomes of the children who attend their programmes.

A further valuable outcome is in view of the fact that professionals, and academics, struggle to demonstrate the impact of their work, because they cannot capture the 'softer outcomes' that show that what they are doing is of benefit to those receiving help and support. This is because most effectiveness studies use self-reported devices to measure outcomes, but as has been noted already fuzzy concepts, such as rapport and emotional literacy, cannot be easily measured in such ways as they are assumed to be natural outcomes of simply attending interventions programmes. The findings from this thesis, however, can show how such fuzzy concepts can be studied as visible actions within the interaction. Therefore, these findings would make these softer outcomes available to professionals and academics

alike. Inform the development and delivery of further interventions, as well as the guidelines and recommendations that advise professional practice, and the handbooks that describe how interventions should be delivered.

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Appendices

1.	Pastoral information sheet: parent version	.239
2.	Pastoral consent form: parent version.	.242
3.	Pastoral information sheet and consent form: child version	.243
4.	ADHD information sheet: parent version.	.246
5.	ADHD consent form: parent version.	.249
6.	ADHD information sheet and consent form: child version	.251
7.	Transcription conventions.	254



A Project about young people's experience of pastoral care Participant Information Sheet (Parent/Guardian)

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to look at how young people talk about and make sense of distressing experiences. In particular the study will investigate the ways in which the young person and you the counsellor explore issues, problems and troubles together which are impacting on the young person's life. It is important to say I will not be looking at the quality of the sessions or assessing you at any time, my only interest is to look at how the children and young people talk about their experiences within a supportive counselling environment

Who is doing this research and why?

This study is part of a PhD research project supported by Loughborough University. The research will be carried out by Louise Bradley, Social Sciences Student and supervised by Dr Carly Butler, Lecturer in Social Sciences. The research is being carried out because little research has focused on how young people make sense of distressing experiences, or the resources used by counsellors to help aid the young person through this process.

What will I need to do?

You will be asked to read this information sheet and meet with the researcher to ask any questions. If you agree to take part in the research you will be required to sign a consent form. You will then be asked to discuss the research project with the young person and give them a simplified information sheet and consent form to sign. If the young person is under the age of 16 their parent/guardians will also be given an information sheet and asked to sign a consent form for their son or daughter to take part in the research. Once consent has been obtained the young person will attend their regular session as organised by you. The researcher will not be present during your time with the young person so will not interrupt the therapeutic work being done. The session will be video and/or audio recorded. The recording equipment will be supplied by the researcher and instructions on how to work it provided and fully explained. The recording of sessions will be done by you, and all recorded sessions will be collected by the researcher after the session has finished. The recordings will then be transcribed for analysis at a later time.

Why video record the sessions?

The type of analysis used in this study is conversation analysis, and this type of analysis relies heavily on the detailed descriptions of how people talk and communicate. The use of video data is essential as it allows the researcher to examine naturally occurring interaction and the use of verbal and non-verbal communication. As humans we communicate as much through gaze, gesture and body language as we do through the words we speak and without video recordings such vital communication is missed. The use of video recorded data is a well-established method within social sciences when examining interactions as it identifies the common patterns and practices people use to communicate.

Will taking part in this study be confidential?

Yes. The data from this study will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with the strict ethical guidelines which govern all research carried out with children and young people. The researcher will have no contact, or details about the young people who take part in the study as all discussions and recordings will be done with you the counsellor. Also, you and the young person will have full control over any data that you submit to the researcher for analysis. Once the recorded data is collected it will only be available to the researcher and supervisor. The researcher will collect and store all recordings safely and securely during collection and analysis under a password

store all recordings safely and securely during collection and analysis under a password protected computer file.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The findings from the study will be written up in a thesis to be shared with other researchers and individuals who work closely with children and young people. This will help improve the understanding of young people's experiences of distress to help improve the support they and others receive in the future. It is also intended to contribute to the knowledge within the area of childhood counselling more typically relating to how young people make sense of their experiences, and has applied contributions with respect to the study of counselling practices.

The thesis will be presented in publications and at conferences to other researchers. Any names or identifying features within the written transcripts will be removed or replaced with fake names to ensure anonymity. If you consent to video recording any video clips used will ensure the young person's face is made unrecognisable for publication purposes with the use of special computer software. However, for conference use it is helpful to use video clips showing faces as it aids researchers understanding of the data through the use of non-verbal communication. However, if the young person, the parent/guardian or you prefers, conference video clips can also be made unrecognisable. If you consent to just audio recordings names and identifying features will be erased from any audio clips used.

Once I agree to take part, can I change my mind?

Yes. After you have read this information sheet and asked any questions you may have I will ask you to complete an Informed Consent Form. However if at any time, before, during or after the sessions you wish to withdraw yourself or the young person in counsel from the study please contact me, or my supervisor. You can withdraw at any time, for any reason and you will not be asked to explain your reasons for withdrawing. Also, it will be made clear to the young person that they can ask to stop the recorder at any time during their time with you, for any reason and without the need for explanation.

What do I get for participating?

A summary of the findings will be available to you at the end of the project.

I have some more questions who should I contact?

Louise Bradley Postgraduate Researcher Department of Social Sciences Loughborough University Loughborough Leicestershire LE11 3TU

XXXXX XXXXXX

Email: l.bradley@.lboro.ac.uk

You can also contact my supervisor, Dr Carly Butler, Lecturer in Social Psychology Room U4:120 Brockington Department of Social Sciences Loughborough University Loughborough Leicestershire LE11 3TU

+44 (0) xxxxx xxxxxx

Email: c.w.butler@lboro.ac.uk

What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?

The University has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at

http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/Whistleblowing(2).htm.

If you require any further advice relating to the research the Advisory Committee is contactable at the following address:

Ethical Advisory Committee Research Office Rutland Hall Loughborough University LE11 3TU

PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM

(to be completed after reading the Information Sheet)

Please tick the boxes and sign to say you understand and agree

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University Ethical Advisory Committee.	?
I have read and understood the participant information sheet and this consent form.	?
I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my child's participation.	?
I understand that my child is under no obligation to take part in the study.	?
I understand that I have the right to withdraw my child from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.	?
I understand that all the information my child provides will be treated in strict confidence.	?
I agree for my child to participate in this study.	?
Please state whether you agree to your data being used for any or all of the following purposes:	
I agree to my child's data being used as part of a research project by the student researcher.	[2
I give my permission for the transcripts to be used in research publications and conference presentations.	[3
I give my permission for the video data to be used in research publications (faces will always be obscured in publications).	[3
I give my permission for the video data to be used at research conferences, and my child's face can be seen.	e [
I give my permission for the video data to be used at research conferences but my child's face must be obscured.	[3
	[2
Your name	
Your signature	



Young People's Experiences of Pastoral Care

Hi, I am from Loughborough University and I am doing a project about how young people talk about the things that are happening in their life with the help of someone at school. I would like the project to help people who work with children and young people to understand how you feel about the things which are happening in your life.

What do I need to do?

You will see Mrs xxxxxx at school just like you always do and she will check that you are ok to take part in my project and if you are she will record the time you spend talking. I would to video and/or tape record your talk with Mrs xxxxx but you can decide which one you feel more ok with. I will collect the recording after you have finished talking with Mrs xxxxx and write down what you both talk about.

If you are ok for me to video record your talk I will make sure when I write about what I have found that I don't show your face in any photos because I can hide your face with special computer software. Sometimes it can be helpful to show clips from the video to help other researchers like me to understand what I have found out. This happens at meetings called conferences. If it is okay with you, I would like to show the recordings without your face being hidden. People would be able to see your face but won't know your name or where you live. You can decide whether you are happy with this and only if you say it is okay will I do it. If it is not ok I will hide your face with the special computer software.

If you only want me to tape record your talk with Mrs xxxxx that is ok and I will erase your name and any other names or places that you talk about on the tape so no one knows who those people or places are.

What if I don't want to take part?

It's ok if you decide you don't want to take part even if the recording has already started. You can ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time and you do not have to explain why. It is really important that you feel ok about what we are doing so don't be worried if you want to ask questions or stop the recording.

Can I find out more?

If you have any questions about the project you can email me at l.bradley@lboro.ac.uk or you can ask someone else to email me for you and ask me any questions you have. You can also contact me by letter or phone. My details are:

Louise Bradley

Postgraduate Researcher

Department of Social Sciences

Loughborough University

Loughborough

Leicestershire LE11 3TU

XXXXX XXXXXX

Also you can contact my supervisor, Carly Butler at c.w.butler@lboro.ac.uk or her postal address is

Carly Butler

Lecturer in Social Psychology

Room U4:120 Brockington

Department of Social Sciences

Loughborough University

Loughborough



If you want to take part please tick the boxes and sign below

	I understand why this project is being done and what I have been asked to do		
	I have had the chance to ask questions about it		
	I understand that I do not have to take part in the study		
	I understand that I can stop being part of the project at any time for any reason and I do not have to explain why I want to stop		
	I am happy for you to video record my time with Mrs xxxxx		
	I am happy for you to tape record my time with Mrs xxxxx		
Only fill this part in if you are ok for me to video record your time with Mrs xxxxx.			
Are you happy for me to use video clips? Please only $$ one of the boxes below			
	You can show the recordings to other researchers and show my face		
	You can show the recordings to other researchers but hide my face		
	You cannot show the recordings to other researchers		
	Your name		
	Your signature		



A Project about Young People and Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder Participant Information Sheet (Parent/Guardian)

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to find out about the views of young people with ADHD. In particular, the study will focus on their awareness of the condition, their sense of identity and how they manage the behaviours and emotions associated with a diagnosis of ADHD. The study will also be interested in the ways the young people are supported by others in the group to talk about and make sense of their thoughts, feelings and experiences, as well as their hopes and aspirations for the future.

Who is doing this research and why?

This study is part of a PhD research project funded by Loughborough University. The research will be carried out by Louise Bradley, Social Sciences Student and supervised by Dr Carly Butler, Lecturer in Social Sciences. The research is being carried out because little is known about how young people with ADHD understand and perceive themselves, or how they feel others see them. Most research in this area has focused on the views of the parents or focused on how to manage the symptoms of ADHD.

What will my son or daughter need to do?

Your son or daughter will attend the RAPID program as organised by ADHD Solutions. Your son or daughter will be given the opportunity to meet with and discuss the study with the researcher. They will be given a simplified version of this information sheet explaining the reasons for the study. If your son or daughter is happy to take part in the study they will be asked to sign a form to indicate their willingness to participate. Participation will only be allowed if you the parent/guardian is also willing for them to take part and have signed the parent/guardian consent form. The sessions will be video recorded so the data can be analysed at a later time. It will be made clear to your son or daughter that they can stop the recordings at any time, for any reason and without needing to explain to the researcher why.

Why video record?

The type of analysis used in this study is conversation analysis, and this type of analysis relies heavily on the detailed descriptions of how people talk and

communicate. The use of video data is essential as it allows the researcher to examine naturally occurring interaction and the use of verbal and non-verbal communication. As humans we communicate as much through gaze, gesture and body language as we do through the words we speak and without video recordings such vital communication is missed. The use of video recorded data is a well-established method within social sciences when examining interactions as it identifies the common patterns and practices people use to communicate.

Will taking part in this study be confidential?

Yes. The data from this study will be kept strictly confidential in accordance with the strict ethical guidelines which govern all research carried out with children and young people. Once the video data is collected it will only be available to the researcher and supervisor. The researcher will collect and store all recordings safely and securely during collection and analysis under a password protected computer file.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The findings from the study will be written up in a thesis to be shared with other researchers and individuals who work closely with young people. This will help improve our understanding of the real life experiences of young people with ADHD and help improve the support they and others receive in the future. The thesis will be presented in publications and at conferences to other researchers. Any names or identifying features within the written transcripts will be replaced with fake names to ensure anonymity. For publication use any video clips used will ensure the young person's face is always made unrecognisable with the use of special computer software. However, for conference use it is helpful to use video clips showing the young person's face as it aids researchers understanding of the data. However, if you or the young person prefers the conference video clips will also be made unrecognisable and this can be indicated on the consent form. The use of recordings will be fully explained to the young person and they will be asked whether they agree to their faces being shown for conference use only or not. The researcher will endeavour to make sure the young person feels comfortable with every part of the research, and if they are not that they understand it is their absolute right to say no. The primary concern for this research is the wellbeing of the young person and the researcher will respect any decisions they make to ensure their wellbeing is maintained.

Once I agree for the young person to take part, can I change my mind?

Yes. If at any time, before, during or after the recordings have begun, and detailed analysis has started you can withdraw the young person from the study by contacting myself, or my supervisor. You can withdraw them for any reason and you will not be asked to explain your reasons for doing so. It will also be made clear to the young person that they too can withdraw from the study at these times or ask to stop the recordings at any time, for any reason, without the need for explanation.

What do I get for participating?

A summary of the findings will be available to you at the end of the project if you wish. It is important to say that in accordance with confidentiality agreements it will not be possible for you to view or check the recordings from the sessions.

I have some more questions who should I contact?

Louise Bradley
Student Researcher
Email: l.bradley@lboro.ac.uk
Department of Social Sciences
Loughborough University
Loughborough
LE11 3TU

Dr Carly Butler
Lecturer in Social Sciences
Email: c.w.butler@lboro.ac.uk
Room U4:120 Brockington
Department of Social Sciences
Loughborough University
Loughborough
LE11 3TU

What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?

If you are not happy with how the research was conducted, please contact the Mrs Zoe Stockdale, the Secretary for the University's Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee:

Mrs Z Stockdale, Research Office, Rutland Building, Loughborough University, Epinal Way, Loughborough, LE11 3TU. Email: z.c.Stockdale@lboro.ac.uk

The University also has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at

http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/Whistleblowing(2).htm. Please ensure that this link is included on the Participant Information Sheet.

What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?

The University has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at

http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/Whistleblowing(2).htm.



Children and Young People with ADHD

PARENT/GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT FORM (to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University Ethical Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee.

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my child's participation.

I understand that my child is under no obligation to take part in the study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw my child from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.

I understand that all the information my child provides will be treated in strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the researchers unless (under the statutory obligations of the agencies which the researchers are working with), it is judged that confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of the participant or others.

I agree for my child to participate in this study.

Please state whether you agree to the data being used for any or all of the following purposes by ticking the boxes:

I agree to the data being used as part of a research project by the student researcher.

I give permission for the **anonymised transcripts** to be used in research publications and conference presentations.

I give permission for **video clips** to be used in research publications (faces will always be obscured in publications).

Please tick one of the following for conference use only:

I give permission for the **video clips** to be used at conferences and my child's face can be seen.

I give permission for the **video clips** to be used at conferences but my child's face must be obscured.

Your name	
Your signature	



Young People and ADHD

Hi, I am from Loughborough University and I am doing a project on young people and ADHD. I am doing this because I would like to find out what life is like for you because I think you know best about what it is like to have ADHD. I would also like the project to help people who work with children and young people with ADHD to understand how you feel about and make sense of your ADHD.

What do I need to do?

You will go along to the RAPID program sessions run by xxxxx at the community centre. I will also be in the sessions to listen to what you chat about with xxxxx and the others in the group and if it's ok with you I will use a video camera to record what everyone says.

What will happen next?

After each RAPID program I will watch the video and write down what you and the others in the group say so I, and others can understand more about what being a young person with ADHD is really like. I will change everyone's name in my writings so no one will know who you are, and when I use video clips to show others what I have found I will hide you faces with special computer software. Sometimes it can be helpful to show other researchers the video clips without your faces being disguised so we can talk about what I have found. These talks happen in meetings at University and at conferences. If it is okay with you I would like to show the recordings at these meetings and conferences without your face being disguised. The other researchers would be able to see your face but they won't know your name or where you live. It is completely up to you whether this happens and unless you say it is okay for me to show your face I will always make sure that nobody can recognise you in the video clips.

What if I don't want to take part?

It's ok if you decide you don't want to take part even if we have already started. You can ask to stop the recording at any time and do not have to explain why. It is really important that you feel ok about what we are doing so don't be worried if you want to ask questions or stop the recording.

Can I find out more?

If you have any questions about the project you can email at l.bradley@lboro.ac.uk or you can ask someone else to email me and ask me any questions you have. You can also contact me by letter or phone and my details are:

Louise Bradley
Postgraduate Researcher
Department of Social Sciences
Loughborough University
Loughborough
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xxxxx xxxxxx

Also you can contact my supervisor, Carly Butler at c.w.butler@lboro.ac.uk or her address is Carly Butler
Lecturer in Social Psychology
Room U4:120 Brockington
Department of Social Sciences
Loughborough University
Loughborough
LE11 3TU
xxxxx xxxxxxx



My name is
I know what the study is about. I understand what taking part involves. I know that everything I tell you is private. I know that if you think I or others might not be safe, you will have to tell somebody. I know that you will write a report that will include the things I talk about. I know that I can stop being part of the study at any time. I know that no one will mind if I stop being part of the study. I am happy for you to video record what I talk about.
Please $\sqrt{\text{one}}$ of the boxes below You can show the recordings to other researchers and show my face.
\square You can show the recordings to other researchers but hide my face.
I am happy to take part in the research
[child's name]
I Louise Bradley confirm that I have told [child's name] about the research project and given them the information sheet. To the best of my knowledge they have understood what I have told them and they are giving free consent.
Louise Bradley

The Jefferson Transcription System (2004)

[] Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech. 1 ↓ Vertical arrows are used to represent marked intonation shifts. Side arrows are used to draw attention to features of talk that are relevant to the current analysis. Equal signs indicate no break or gap Under<u>lin</u>ing Indicates some sort of stress **CAPITALS** Mark speech that is hearably louder than surrounding speech. This is beyond the increase in volume that comes as a byproduct of emphasis. Numbers in round brackets measure pauses in seconds (in this (0.4)case, 4 tenths of a second). If they are not part of a particular speaker's talk they should be on a new line. (.) A micro pause, hearable but too short to measure. owordo 'degree' signs enclose hearably quieter speech. Wo::rd Colons show degrees of elongation of the prior sound; the more colons, the more elongation. .hhh Inspiration (in-breaths); proportionally as for colons. .,? Punctuation markers represent normal shifts in intonation. The full stop represents falling intonation, the comma represents a slight rise in intonation, and the question mark represents questioning intonation. >word< 'greater than' and 'lesser than' signs enclose speeded-up talk, or they are used the other way round for slower talk. <word> wor-Hyphen is used to that a word has been cut-off. The hash symbol represents a croaky voice #word#

£word£ Words spoken with a smile

.hh Inbreaths

hh Outbreaths

(word) Transcriptionist doubt or inaudible talk

((word)) Transcriptionist comments about visual

/word/word/ The forward slash represents staccato talk