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VOLUME TWO

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PROCESSES OF PERSON FORMULATION IN EARLY SCHOOL CAREERS

CONTENTS :

Volume 2

CHAPTER 9 : THE DYNAMICS OF CAREER EMERGENCE IN A CRITICAL CASE

School B: Alan

It is appropriate now to turn to an examination of the dynamics of career emergence in the second school, School B, and the critical case of a pupil who, for most of his time, was recognised as diverging from the norms of his school, his cohort and his peer group. We follow Alan through four years of continuous monitoring of pupil Other-roles as these were formulated by the teachers. This provides an opportunity to check out some of the processes already identified in School A and so explore their possible generalisability in a different social setting. It should be stressed of course that the intention is not to engage in a process of verification since the present research is not looking for generalisable theory but attempting merely to generate a conceptual framework for exploring the parameters within which the inter-personal processes of Other formulation appear to proceed. The following account then is of a critical case in School B considering processes of emergence over the first four years of schooling.

Year 1

At the point of entry to the research, some teachers have a developed knowledge of the pupil from his pre-school

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experience in the Nursery school. Consequently as he enters the Infant school, teachers are likely to begin their formulation of him from different temporal bases.

Week 1

In the first account, from the Nursery teacher, it seems unclear whether a ground is in operation. As the Nursery teacher she has already had over a year's contact with him. His career therefore extends back in time and so teacher is able to review the emergent development through retrospective reconstruction:

> 'Reached a stage where he could sit quietly with a group as long as he didn't have to participate actively. He would sit with a group that was singing but he wouldn't open his mouth'

The figure-ground framework is not so clear here. Teacher obviously, in reviewing the past, is working in ground formulations but with no indication of what might be their relation to normal and abnormal boundaries . Indeed, since there may be no underlying propensity to differentiate pupils in such fundamental ground terms in the 'radical' child-centredness of some nursery schools then either there may yet be no firm ground at all or, as is perhaps more likely, there may be a 'normal' ground presumed. The parameters of 'normality' will perhaps be stretched to take in every pupil individuality as a 'natural' feature of child development (unless teachers have any additional 'reason' to presume a different ground). This could be the case especially when prevailing developmental frames of reference may lead teacher

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to interpret presently observed figures as always potentially open to development, change and so to total reformulation - and occurring at a quite rapid pace of movement at this stage of schooling.

The developmental or emergent frame of reference is indeed noticeable as teacher refers to pupil having: 'reached a stage'. This suggests then that teacher may have been operating a series of developmental or provisional grounds temporally limited in relation to 'stages'. The pupil ground then is seen to have temporal phases extending beyond a group of episodes so as to mark entry onto a new stage. The new stage is marked by an interactional or behavioural instance: 'could sit quietly with a group'.

It does seem that one element of identifiable ground did endure however since some apparent divergence from the group continued throughout. So that, although he 'would sit with a group', there was still a suggestion of pupil resistance: 'as long as he didn't have to participate actively'.

It is not clear how divergently this was viewed. Although pupil is seen to be diverging it may well prove to be within the normal boundary. There is an indication here of the relativity of deviance as a contextual phenomenon in respect of behaviour which is considered inappropriate in the context of its occurrence. In this highly participatory school, in which the 'progressive' culture looks for active participation from a pupil, this pupil is deviating because of his non-participation. The fact that in this newly emerging phase of 'sitting with a group' he still showed the persisting

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non-participation seems to be a sign both of the prevailing participatory 'culture' and of this pupil's apparent enduring resistance to it.

Teacher is now formulating pupil resistance from a presumed motivational base: 'as long as he didn't have to participate actively' and 'wouldn't open his mouth'. Clearly then teacher is at this point operating a motivational reservoir with some confidence. Thus a form of ground appears to have been formed whether as segmental or as total Other. There appears therefore to be an emergence of some forms of 'deeper structure' beyond the apparent 'surface' of figure or episodic occurrences.

Although so far it seems teacher was operating a provisional ground we may now see it is after all more definite. At least definite enough for teacher to relate her own action to it by the construction of a strategy. She is assuming a clarity and a constancy of Other that will permit such prediction of Other as to allow her to construct her own action in relation to it. Presumably then in adopting a strategy teacher has a certain enough notion of Other-role:

'Initially it was a battle to get him to join a group at all. So I had to leave him on his own'

There is much to indicate potential deviance is in operation in teacher's formulation (or it seems to be so in her apparent meanings). Her account suggests a confrontation situation. It was: 'a battle to get him to join a group at all'. Both 'battle' and 'at all' convey quite extreme constructions. One in terms of opposing positions (interpersonal boundary) and the other in terms of a frequency distribution (the nil category,

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situated at many standard deviations away, at the extreme
boundary).

Next ground is seen to be emerging by a process of
negotiation and exchange. As mother and teacher discusses
pupil:

> 'His mother said that he's self-conscious. She said
> even when it's just me and him he's self-conscious.
> He won't run even in front of her'

Each party then, parent and teacher apparently, exchanges
ground. Each brings to the situation a contextualised ground
of Other-with-mum or Other-at-school. Thus it seems that the
contextual range of ground is being extended and a firmer view
of ground. It would seem then that it is not just that parents
act as 'typification carriers' (discussed earlier) but they
appear to operate as ground carriers. A more critical process!
Although ground will have a certain form to its originator it
can nevertheless be added to or fused with received ground. As
ground knowledge of Other across different contexts is acquired
then the predictive value of ground perhaps increases. Teacher
now has ground as a base for predicting Other in a wider range
of contexts.   It might be assumed that in the event of the two
contextualised grounds appearing incongruent then perhaps
processes akin to those outlined in Cognitive Dissonance theory
(Festinger,1957) might occur.   In the present context it
suggests teacher merely adds mother's ground to her own. Thus,
as compatible ground they are added or fused together.   (There
will later be a negotiation of incongruent ground).

In the present case the received ground is perhaps viewed
as more powerful than that of teacher's. Since it relates to

pupil as an Other within primary group contexts rather than in
interaction with herself as stranger it may perhaps

not just add to another context but suggest a possible
hierarchy of interpersonal contexts increasing in formulatory
significance. Since mother is perhaps viewed as the most
significant of others for formulating pupil then it is likely
to have greater significance. It seems the teacher does see
significance here: 'won't run even in front of her'. Thus
perhaps the parent's ground is not merely received by teacher
and added to her own but perhaps taken over by it. After all,
here is a significant piece of information. Thus it is perhaps
even a weighted addition.

Teacher next indicates the developmental or emergent
changes in pupil over the nursery phase:

'His behaviour was more controlled by the end.
I wouldn't say he's perfect. But he's not too
bad'

The final phase suggests an orientation towards normality. It
is not clear whether the ground being employed here is normal
or abnormal. But there is certainly a normal orientation
indicated.

There is however also a sign of segmentally abnormal
ground:

'I think he's the only one who uses baby talk.
Or he did before the holiday'

Here the sense of interpersonal boundary is suggested marking
this pupil off from others and clearly segmentally operating
from an abnormal base.

Headteacher C has only occasional knowledge of this pupil

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from the past and finds it difficult to recall him:

> 'I found it a very very difficult thing to
> recall anything particularly sort of noteworthy
> about him'

Perhaps this is even a sign of groundlessness or that pupil is informulable. Or perhaps pupils are processed in teachers' 'memory' as ground and not as figures. It may be then that ground generates recall of figure incidents from 'memory'. The difficulty of recall then may suggest a groundlessness in person formulation up to this point for this teacher.

There is an exchange with teacher G to recover the unrecalled ground:

> 'She said: Well he used to sit when we were
> having music. And I can remember this. He was
> one of these children who would come over and
> just wouldn't do anything at all. Didn't ever
> want to join in at all. And she said that this
> was fairly typical of him throughout his time in
> the nursery'

Here then is teacher-teacher exchange of ground. Perhaps school or staff-room 'culture' as a realm of 'what everyone knows' is experienced as a range of ground knowledge. It is certainly communicated to the teacher as ground: 'she said that this was fairly typical of him throughout his time'. It is apparently seen as enduring ground. Also as contextual ground. As in the earlier exchange of ground it involves addition of contextual range. Once again there is some indication of significance ('throughout his time') and therefore of some permanence rather than the mere transience of the episodic. Teacher exchange is of trans-episodic ground.

This trans-episodic ground is then used to predict pupil in the new context of starting school:

> 'You would think perhaps that he might have had
> some problems adjusting to school on his first
> day. But in fact he hasn't'

A reference was made earlier to the likely predictive value of additive ground formulation across contexts. Here it is actually working. Teacher applies the contextually extended ground to examine a predictable figure:

Ground 1 + Ground 2 ---> Figure prediction

Since Ground 1 is a negative it leads to the prediction of a negative figure outcome. However the expected outcome is inconsistent with the actual outcome. In fact the outcome is interpreted apparently as a neutral figure or groundless episode :

> 'He's just come in ever so quietly and just
> watches the rest of the group. He doesn't take
> any initiative. And certainly doesn't make
> himself noticed. But neither does he cause any
> bother with crying or anything.'

There is certainly much to indicate neutrality here : 'just come in'; 'just watches'; 'doesn't take'; 'certainly doesn't' and 'neither does he.... '. However, it is not possible to know at this point whether it is ground, suspended ground or tentative ground, it is worth noting that it is not the ground that is in question at this point. After all, it is that which has generated the figure prediction against which figure observation is matched ! It is only then an episodic suspension as a wait-and-see formulation.

At the end of week 1 there is little indication of a clear deviant ground. No firm ground appears at all yet. There are signs of a potential deviant ground but as yet it is only

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tentative and interactionally related to specific teachers and
their knowledge of specific contexts.

<u>Week 2</u>

Class teacher, who begins from having no previous knowledge of
pupil, seems now to be formulating an aspect of ground :

> 'He is still solitary. He doesn't play with any
> of the others'

Here there is perhaps a suspicion of deviant ground as
processes of relativity and indications of interpersonal
differentiation become apparent. Taking account of this
teacher's reference in the previous week to episodic
'stubborn-ness' then it may suggest that teachers form a number
of provisonal segmental grounds which together eventually form
the core ground. It is possible that until a number of key
elements of Other are established then perhaps there is only a
<u>suspended</u> Other. So far there seems to have been an
identification of various segmental Other-roles: the
non-participatory ground, the solitary ground and the stubborn
ground. It is not yet clear of course but in a culture which
places a high value on participation, there is perhaps likely
to be an underlying provisional ground (at least a recognition
of a diverg<u>ing</u> ground) in the formulation of such segments of
Other. There is likely to be some uncertainty whether such a
divergence is a permanent (trans-episodic) phenomenon or merely
a temporary (and therefore episodic) occurrence. For the class
teacher the suspicions of a more fundamental and deviant ground
are obviously now growing :

'I think there was one morning or one afternoon
we had a terrible sulking do with him because he
wanted a piece of a toy that somebody else had.
Not only had.   It was a construction toy.   It
was in the middle of their construction so they
couldn't take it away for him.   But he wanted it
!   And when they said : No, he went into a sulk
on the carpet. Hands over head and head between
knees. And that was at half past one. And at
half past three he was still sulking ! Which I
thought was unusual'

This is presumably another link in the chain that may lead

teacher into a use of abnormal model.   In this example too can

be seen   a reference to a category of parameter that so far

has not been given attention in this research but which could

be a dimension of formulation of some importance to teachers :

physical gesture - 'hands over head and head between knees' (it

is to be remembered that 'gesture' is a significant element of

the S.I.   account of self-other interaction, although its

physical manifestations have often received less attention in

research in this tradition); temporality - 'at half past three

he was still sulking !' The significance of temporality is

recognised by teacher: in emergent terms it seems this is the

point 'which I thought was unusual'. As it crosses a temporal

boundary it reaches the point of being 'unusual'.   The longer

the sulking goes on the less it can be seen as episodically

arising from a 'surface' phenomenon and so the more it must be

seen in terms of a 'deeper' structure as personal ground rather

than episodic theme.   The account continues :

'I picked him up a few times and transported him
to various parts of the classroom where he could
sulk in peace. But he didn't come out of it at
all.   I tried talking to him and that just made
him worse.   So we left him ! He didn't even go

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out to play!'

As the account continues it seems teacher is apparently testing out the situation for episodic divergence. She is perhaps attempting to neutralise the situation as though its 'form' were bounded within episodic parameters and so neutralisable as episodically generated divergence:

'picked him up a few times'

'transported him to various parts of the classroom'

'tried talking to him'

Again can be seen the sequences of deviant formulation. There is first teacher's response (social reaction 1) to pupil's presumed or possible deviance. Then there is the perceived pupil response (social reaction 2) to teacher's response. An episode then apparently has its own recognisable internal sequences of emergence.

The pupil's response to all these episodic strategies seems to suggest to teacher that the problem was not mere episodic divergence : 'he didn't come out of it at all' and 'he didn't even go out to play'. Thus can be seen how a teacher strategy may perhaps operate as a means of checking out ground or ∧ as episodically bounded. (A more specific or situated notion of strategy than that used by many of the writers in Woods (1980) There is an implicit boundary apparently operating behind all this as though a 'normal' pupil would have perhaps soon come out of the episodic divergence and would certainly have gone out to play. It leads onto a further statement of apparent deviant ground :

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'Just because somebody had that piece of toy and
he wanted it. He seems very very stubborn.
I've never met anyone who seems quite as
stubborn as him'

Here the deviant ground is clearly formulated. There is an
apparent recognition of an extremity of deviation: 'very very
stubborn'. The extent of deviation is perhaps further seen to
be extreme because of the extraordinarity of the context since
it is triggered by a routine classroom incident: 'just because
somebody had that piece of toy'. Here too is the formulation
of interpersonal boundary: 'never met anyone who seems quite
as stubborn'.

It is at this point that the final deviant ground emergence can
be seen. It seems to emerge together with the motivational
reservoir. This presumably 'normal' trigger indicated above
('just because somebody had that piece of toy') seems to lead
to the suspension of any normal motivational reservoir. Since
the deviant ground is now being presumed, the teacher's
apparent testing out of its possible episodic contingency or
contextuality has no doubt led to the conclusion that a theme
of apparent episodic divergence or deviation arising from an
otherwise normal incident cannot apply. Teacher has apparently
used this as a hypothesis and it hasn't worked. Consequently
then it seems teacher now has to presume personal ground rather
than episodic theme I Model confirmed I It now makes sense I
The motivational reservoir now provides meaning. (The answer
lies in the person and not in the context I)

Teacher recounts her earlier use of normal model (and its
assumption of normal ground) in the interpretation of an

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earlier episode :

> 'We went in the hall for dancing and he didn't
> want to dance. So I took hold of his hand and I
> was dancing with him. I thought perhaps it was
> just he needed reassurance. But no. When I
> looked down he was screaming his head off at me.
> He thought I hadn't heard him. I've never had
> any child shout as loudly'

Here then is the use of the figure-ground formulation framework in action. In perceiving this presumed figure phenomenon (of pupil not wanting to dance) teacher immediately formulates the deviant encounter in episodic terms. She presumably operates a normal base and assumes the occurrence to be no more than a situated episode bounded within its own episodic parameters. Consequently she selects pupil motive not from a deviant ground or motivational reservoir but presumes normal motivational reservoir and therefore she looks for a motive within the episode itself. Apparently she would look for the answer in a search for episodic theme.

Having formulated her strategy on the assumption of episodic theme ('I thought perhaps it was just he needed reassurance') which proves to be ineffective, it seems teacher must now look to trans-episodic frameworks. This then is perhaps the point when the deviant ground begins to be firmed up in the formulation process.

Perhaps an alternative view for teacher at this point would be to assume an incorrect, inaccurate or inappropriate episodic interpretation. This is where teacher differences might begin to show. Presumably different teachers might approach the situation differently. While teacher G appears to have presumed a deviant ground it may be that another teacher C

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might have continued an episodic search and so atempted to impute a different episodic theme .

In the present case, class teacher G seems clearly to have adopted deviant ground. In interpersonal terms the pupil is regarded as a different sort of person. He is regarded as being across a qualitative boundary i.e. teacher has 'never had any child shout as loudly'. In consequence either the episode would have to be regarded as extreme or the pupil was himself to be regarded as extreme. Teacher's interpretive work now leads to a selection from motivational reservoir :

'He was really mad that I was asking him to do
it when he'd told me he didn't want to'

Thus perhaps drawing upon the apparent ground in operation and its generating motivational base. It is possible that this could be a case of treating the incident as itself a mere episodic theme . There must be some ambiguity here of course. It seems however that teacher implies the pupil's own episodic perception is strange as though rooted in a peculiar viewpoint. Formulation then is oriented more to the seeming peculiarity of the person's response than to the unique parameters of the episode. Obviously there will always be a tension between perceived personal and episodic factors. The category boundaries may never be empirically clear. It indicates how formulation is a highly active and interpretative process of accomplishment.

Having adopted a deviant ground in the formulation of this pupil, the teacher now uses a ground-based strategy :

'So rather than leave him out I changed the

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whole dancing   lesson.   And   we had some games.
Which he would join in.   And he did join in that
kind of game, but he wasn't going to hop or skip
or jump'

Here it seems   the   contingently selected   strategy in   its
implementation in   turn confirms the ground: 'he did join in'.
But in the earlier activity 'he wasn't going to hop or skip   or
jump'.

It is notable how this operates within a developmental   or
emergent framework.   Thus   the Other is   not formulated as a
permanent outsider but as one who has 'not yet' moved into   the
boundaries of normality :

I: Why was he ready to join in Farmer's in the Dell
      but not the other?

T: I don't know at all. One's a group activity and
      the other's   an   individual.   He   doesn't   seem
      ready yet to do any individual activity'

It seems teacher is operating an episodic   theme   linked   with
emerging ground :

      episodic theme   shows it is a group/individual
      activity - the social or   perceptual   boundaries
      operated in   the   formulation of this episode ;
      emerging ground is shown in that he doesn't seem
      ready yet to do any individual activity

It is   perhaps   important   to   recognise   that   ground   is
emerging :   'doesn't seem ready yet'. It has two facets of
emergence:

1.   the appearance to the teacher i.e.   it's coming
      on the scene

2.   the developmental nature of Other i.e.   Other in
      context of likely development over time.

It is   possible   of   course   that the whole thing is seen as an
interaction with both facets moving as dynamic   processes
simultaneously   l   Thus   perhaps   perceptions   of   'child

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development' will recognise elements of :

- ground (as personal and more stable aspects of Other)
- episodic (in adjusting to first few days of school)

It seems possible then that the perception or social construction of 'child development' will be a continual interplay between perceived ground and the perceived episodic.

Although pupil is experiencing a deviant identity or ground (at the moment at least) there are nevertheless normal or non-deviant episodes too. The pupil had shown reluctance to join the others with teacher S and so teacher C had bided her time to coax him into going :

> 'He quite readily took my hand. Which I think
> is a sign as well. As I held out my hand to him
> he put his hand in mine and went with me. No
> bother at all. And just with this sort of look
> around the corner he went and joined people that
> he already knew. And stayed there'.

There is of course a persisting deviant ground here. It is noticeable in teacher's reference to 'no bother at all' - an apparent formulation of figure normality viewed from a deviant base. The deviant ground is apparently present as an underlying theme or deep structure within the episode. The underlying pupil resistance is still displayed in the perceived figure of pupil's actions : 'just with this sort of look round the corner'. This suggests a motivational base rooted in something beyond the present figure and therefore in ground. However, there is a suggestion of an episodic normality-orientation in pupil's response occurring in this episode. Its 'significance' for the teacher is not known. It could prove to be a first sign of normalisation as episodically

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situated ground revision.

Next a dispute over pupil's readiness for staying dinner and so a point of negotiation and interpersonal exchange of formulations in respect of pupil identity:

> 'His mother wants him to stay at school for his dinner. And at the beginning of this week I said to Mrs Knight that I didn't want to be contrary about this but that I'm sure he would be very very unhappy if he had to spend lunchtime with us as well as the other parts of the day'

In this account there is an exchange of deviant ground. Or rather a negotiation of ground. Teacher presents an abnormal formulation of pupil but parent is seen as not being prepared to receive it. The strength of teacher's ground formulation (however temporally or emergently based) is seen in its generaiᵗon of strategy :

> 'Even though the beginning of his coping with school may not be very obvious to us at the moment, I don't want those undermined by him having to take on other responsibilities that he's not ready for'

Here the sense of at least an emergent or phasic deviant ground is presented. The negotiation is presented as proceeding from a basis of totally opposing formulations :

> 'She professes to be absolutely amazed that he has this shyness. I'm calling it shyness to her at the moment. She says he talks to people at home. Well really I'm doubtful about this. He doesn't seem to have the vocabulary there at the moment'

It results in a formulation non-exchange ! Presumably teacher operates from a recognition of perceived cognitive dissonance here as the received ground is so incongruent with teacher's own ground that she cannot accept it ! (The transposing of

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ground across the interpersonal or spatial boundary between teacher and parent seems to generate a problem of relativity that will not permit an exchange. Teacher cannot accomplish it. A comparison might be noted here with Gavin in School A where there was also an exchange over his identity this early on in his career but in which the exchange of typifications are added together. The compatibility of data between the 'ground carrier' and the teachers permitted it. Here however the two sets of data are dissonant)

Teacher recounts her own view of the deviant ground at this stage of his career :

> 'He worries me very much. I mentioned this to her. That for children like Alan it's important that he feels secure within the group. And it can't be very helpful to him to be brought in on his own. To then have to join in with the group as the latecomer'

She indicates the peer group consequences arising from the interaction between parents' actions and the ground of pupil's abnormality recognisable in her use of boundary differentiation : 'children like Alan' as distinct from others.

Teacher next suggests how the parent's insensitivity to pupil ground acted as a trigger setting off a deviant incident. A quite complex interactional sequence of parent's failure to formulate personal ground is regarded as the trigger for the incident and provides teacher with an episodic theme to interpret it:

> 'And so that started him off on the wrong foot in that he went into school into his area crying because it'd upset him'

Teacher is able to see episodic theme and its underlying

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motivational set as a likely ingredient in the sequence of
events that might have ensued. Apparently several such
episodes happened in the early phase of his career:

> 'I would think that in the first fortnight that
> he was in school at least four times I took him
> into school myself because he came in late. And
> he's one of the very children who should be
> helped to feel that he's normal and that he
> belongs to the group'

Personal ground is brought in to link a number of episodes.
The present figure incident then is seen as part of an episodic
set (or sequence of episodes) all having a common theme which
in turn is perhaps supported by and confirms the enduring
personal ground. The competing views of personal ground become
the very point of disputation.   The formulation of ground
becomes teacher's method for understanding both pupil's and
parent's actions.   Teacher of course is attempting to diffuse
or neutralise the situations that arise and which exacerbate
and are exacerbated by the teacher perceived deviant ground.
The framework of person formulation and interpersonal
differentiation is present then as a teacher strategy . (It
can be seen here how teacher offers a genuinely dynamic
account. Many features are linked together as a sequence of
contingently and inter-related phenomena.   A genuine process
account!)

Next, teacher's comment reveals a quite significant
temporal boundary in talking about the differing views of
school and parent :

> 'No matter what his mother says about him
> talking freely to other people at home I just
> can't believe that children can change as much

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as that.   I   can't believe that they're either,
on the one hand so afraid of us, or so shy of us
that they would change that   much   between   home
and school.   I think that getting into the third
week in school if he's still that shy then we're
going to   have   to be quite concerned about him.
I'm concerned about him anyway'

There appear to be a number of significant boundaries here.   An

indication of the spatial/interactional boundary between 'home'

and 'school' and the relationship with pupil ground.   (Teacher

expects some   constancy   of   ground   between the two - at least

some trans-spatial consistency).   There is also   an   indication

of the   boundaries   between episodic and trans-episodic deviant

ground within it's emergent or   developmental   framework.   (It

seems that   episodic   deviance   would have disappeared in three

weeks! ; 'getting into   the   third   week   of   school......   I'm

concerned about him').   In the light of apparent incongruity of

accounts and   their   implicit   incompatibility   of   ground   the

suggestion must be that one account is invalid.   The extent   of

incongruity is so great.

To focus on the sociological dimensions of the deviance it

can be seen that teacher is apparently   categorising   pupil   in

terms which focus upon issues of relativity as pupil is seen to

be rather   like   the 'stranger' who is separate from the social

world of others.   Thus again an interpersonal boundary:

'Just doesn't seem to   know   about   exchange   of
talk.   He   doesn't seem to realise that there is
this sort of pattern when people   get   together.
Even if it's just two people'

The pupil   then   is   seen   to   be   interpersonally abnormal.   A

stranger   to   this   social   world.   Teacher   tests   out   the

hypothesis in the recounting of a context:

> 'Because I have been with him when it's just
> Alan and me and talked to him. And waited for
> his answer and there's been no answer
> forthcoming.'

Thus the absence of normality even in a figure episode at the very limits of ordinary relationships shows that it is not episodic deviance but a personal ground!

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Again a developmental frame of reference seems to operate for formulating pupil:

> 'He's very immature. I think he must be at
> least two years behind the I2's and the I3's.
> Which, considering he's only four years old it's
> quite a lot'

The basis of ground then, either in its generation or in its recounting, is comparative against interpersonal boundaries: 'behind the I2's and I3's. Is this perhaps because of the formulation context? Perhaps in a vertical group the interpersonal boundaries are less clear as there may be few 'organisational' categories to act as ready- made yardsticks. This is taken further as teacher recounts a deviant incident:

> 'In the hall I took a playing card away from him
> one day. Because he was playing with it in
> assembly ..... and then when I wouldn't give
> him it he hid himself in his cardigan.
> Completely oblivious of anybody else. Unless he
> was doing it for effect'

Here then is an apparent tension between the episodic and the personal. At first motivation is tentatively regarded as episodic:

> 'completely oblivious of anybody else'.

Then teacher moves or speculates beyond the episodic to

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possible ground and motivational reservoir:

'unless he was doing it for effect'.

Perhaps then in such a figure observation teacher is never quite sure whether to treat it as a suspended episode and therefore groundless (and so to be understood in its own terms) or to widen the parameters and see it as contiguous with deeper ground (lying trans-episodically beyond the boundaries of the episode). The present figure is linked up with previous incidents apparently as a means of generating possible typical motives and actions. This then offers a basis for teacher strategy construction as past incidents and present episodes are seen to rest upon a continuing personal ground or base.

Here then it can be seen how in the dynamics of typification there is an ongoing exploratory process! As teacher engages in the consociality of interaction with this pupil she is searching for theme. Does the theme reside within the boundaries of the episode or beyond as trans-episodic ground? Here teacher is actually moving across the boundaries in an active process of searching. Not only does it indicate the moving or dynamic elements in the process but also indicates the authentic phasic elements. It seems teacher is still searching for ground or may be testing out provisional grounds (as might be consistent with the notion of an 'elaborative stage' of typification, (Hargreaves, 1975)) Perhaps in a later phase a framework of ground will dominate the interpretation of episodes. Here there almost seems to be a transitional phase where movement between episodic and trans-episodic is operated in the search for reality. It is

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possible to tentatively suggest a phase development framework apparent in this process:

1. episodic

2. episodic - trans-episodic

3. trans-episodic

as the formulation frame of reference moves from figure to ground as the focus of interpretation. This may perhaps be the essence of the process of anonymisation?

Next an extended account occurs (Omitted here) of teachers G and C recounting an incident of the pupil refusing to eat school dinner. It is recounted as an emergent episode step-by-step. Each element of the process is perhaps hypothesised and tested out but still the deviance remains. Thus in the search for an appropriate formulation of Other teachers appear to move from the episodic to the personal (and therefore to the trans-episodic.) As each episodic variable is 'controlled' in the exploratory 'testing' process then it seems the residual category left is the deviant base of pupil ground. However, there may be teacher differences in this process. Although class teacher G formulates deviant ground, the headteacher C seems to resist this even to the end. Perhaps then some teachers (e.g. G) are prone to operate person formulation while others to operate episodic formulation.

Here then is a possible conceptual basis for recognising formulatory differences in teachers. There appears to be on the one hand the episodic formulator (context-dominant;person neutrality) who, in constructing a definition of the situation, interprets events with assumptions of context as more dominant

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than pupil Other-role)and on the other the <u>person formulator</u> (person-dominant ;episodic neutrality) who interprets from an assumption of Other-role as a more dominant element than contextual features in constructing a definition of the situation. It seems here that G has moved into <u>person formulation</u> after extracting every known 'variable' from the situation. On the other hand C has resisted even to the end the use of person formulation in retaining a more <u>individualised</u> view of Other as though adopting a framework of consociate relations rather than the more <u>anonymised</u> Other implicit in the framework of contemporary relations perhaps suggested by ground.

6.10.77

Another instance of the dynamic framework of formulation can be seen. It has already been suggested how there may be a tendency for teacher G to operate ground formulation to a greater extent than C. However in recountng this next episode G is operating an episodic framework and aparently resisting ground:

> 'He won't look you in the eye. Yesterday we were playing the counting game. And I noticed he wasn't joining in. But he looked as though he was thinking about it. And I wanted to know if he was kind of a silent participant or whether he was actually doing something different in his mind. So I said: Oh we'll do it again and perhaps Alan will join in this time. And he joined in the second time. But he had his chin on his chest all the time'

Teacher engages in a strategy to search for pupil's motive. While strategies are generally seen to derive from a

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motivational reservoir and therefore are contingently related to recognised pre-existing and therefore trans-episodic motives, on this occasion the strategy precedes the construction of the motive. Thus the relationship is reversed. The strategy is used to find its compatible motive. It is perhaps a strategy of a different character. It is searching after motive (by trial and error) rather than using a pointed strategy derived from a known motive in order to deal with a pupil of known ground. It is apparently operating as episodic strategy used in searching for an unknown. Perhaps then there is a useful distinction to be made between episodically-bounded strategies and trans-episodic strategies. Once again, it can be seen that many dealings with pupils are often genuinely exploratory and open-ended as an authentic searching or testing-out of the situation. A role- taking phenomenon par excellence!

The account continues with teacher apparently perceiving a normal figure:

> 'And he did say it but he said it right down there. But he knew it. So obviously he must listen and he must be joining in. Even if he isn't actually saying the words'

A normal figure is implied. The imputation of normal motivation suggests an attempted neutral episodic formulation. It then goes beyond the episodic to the trans-episodic. The motivation within the episode is seen to have continuities with, and is an indication of, pupil's action in other episodes: 'so obviously he must listen'. Teacher extends the formulation by invoking next a totally anonymous category:

> 'When you've got a small group there seems to be
> one who's never listening and then he always
> surprises you at the end by knowing everything.
> So perhaps Alan might be one of these'

This final comment is a rather unusual formulation adopting a strategy of the depersonalised Other. An example of the most extreme form of anonymity in formulation of the ultra-anonymous type (which seems to be rarely encountered in the present research). In being used by G it is not then inconsistent with the earlier suggestion of some teachers having a greater propensity to move in a direction of anonymity towards a ground rather than an episodic framework of formulations. Here though can be seen perhaps the most extreme form of ground. It suggests perhaps that anonymity may take one of three possible forms i.e.

1. episodic   (pupil in context)

2. trans-episodic (personal)   (pupil across contexts)

3. trans-personal   (pupil as a type i.e. a
                                      representative of a
                                      broader impersonal
                                      category)

It must be remembered of course that even type 1 the episodic is a form of anonymisation in generalising across time. It involves placing a boundary around a temporal unit or sequence such that the multiple minutae of pupil actions are interpreted as a whole as a unit of action or interactional unit. Type 3 may be regarded as the most anonymous form of typication. Much of the formulation encountered so far in the present research has been a more 'moderate' form of anonymisation. In fact ground formulation is a middle type (type 2). The forms of

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anonymity might be represented by the diagram below:

```
                |                  |
                |                  |
   (Episodic    | (Trans-Episodic) |  (Trans-Personal)
                |                  |
                |                  |
  <-------------------------------------------------------------------->
                     ↑            ╱|
 ---------------      |         B ╱ |        -----------
 |Individuality|      |  Ⓐ        |        |Anonymity|
 ---------------                  |        -----------
                                  |
     Person ) boundary            | Beyond person to
     Other  )                     | abstract or generalised
                                  | or depersonalised types
                                  |
  (Within formulation of single     (One point of the
  Other there are two points        general category of
  i.e. episodic and trans-           Others i.e. types of
  episodic)                         Other - the true
                                    social type!)
```
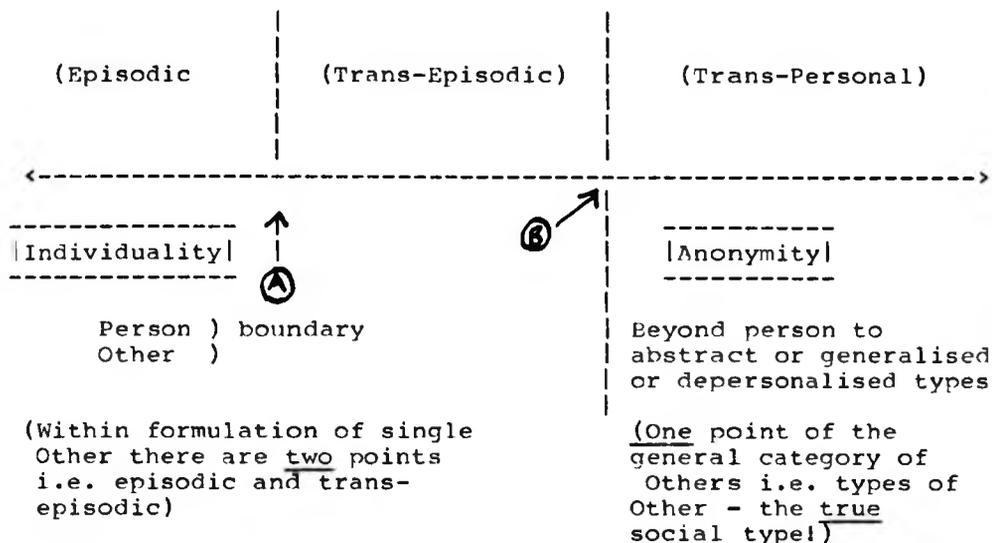
This outline suggests then that person formulation may not
simply be a continuum as was first conceptualised by Schutz but
may possibly operate as a criterion scale with boundaries
coming at points A and B above as :

the person;   the person-in-general;   and persons-in-general

16.11.77

By now there are signs of some modification in the earlier
deviant ground. A process of normalisation may perhaps be
occurring :

> 'He's a bit immature and inhibited still. But
> he's not so bad as he was when he first came in
> September. He's a lot better really now than he
> used to be. He'll join in with songs and group
> activities. And you can choose him to start a
> game off'

It cannot be known here whether pupil is on the normal or
abnormal side of the boundary. Perhaps it is just a situated

or episodic modification of an otherwise unchanged ground (applying only in 'songs and group activities')

Next a possible 'ideal' (rather than 'normal') formulation. In a situated or specific segmental role formulation there is an even further modification:

> 'He's beginning to show a bit of imagination as well in his writing. When you're talking about things that he's going to do. We were thinking about a Jack-in the box and how it pops out. But this is what came to his mind at the time. Whereas the others think of very mundane things like a jumper or a skirt.A lot of the time'

The divergence now, in this segmentally specific Other-role formulation is towards the 'ideal'. It is not clear then whether Alan is now regarded as a normal pupil or whether this is just an indication of the complexity of segmentalism in the alter-casting process. It has seemed so far in this analysis that the abnormal model of ground always dominates the interpretation of deviant pupils. However, deviant pupils may be seen to have some additional 'normal' segmental roles even though the dominant abnormal Other-role seems to act as a dominant framework for forⁿulation as its underlying motivational reservoir provides the predominant base for imputation of motives.

6.12.77

At this point Alan is approaching the end of his first term. He began provisionally by being viewed from a base of abnormal ground. This was at first apparently treated tentatively. After some testing out in which it was treated as though it could perhaps be episodic divergence there emerged a

recognition of deep structure residing in an abnormal ground. There are in addition some segmental formulations of normal and even occasional 'ideal' Other-roles but it seems that for teacher G (who now leaves the school) the underlying abnormality remains a base to the social construction of this pupil's identity.

This trans-episodic abnormal ground obviously is open to, and indeed encounters ,some episodic neutralisation. Consequently it is not always clear exactly where the pupil is on the boundary between normality and abnormality. For example:

> 'When he was listening he was joining in. And his hands were going. But as soon as I looked at him he stopped. I don't know why. So I tend to ignore him hoping that he'll come round....... I didn't pick him because once you say his name he'll withdraw. So I hoped that he would volunteer. But he didn't. But I didn't pick him on purpose. Because I didn't want him to withdraw'

Here there is an apparent tension between the episodic and the trans-episodic. Presumably there is always a boundary problem in formulation as teachers seek to establish the different elements in the interaction i.e. those attributable to pupil as person and those attributable to, and bounded by, the episode. In this case there is a clear ground formulation imported into the episode to provide strategy ('I didn't pick him because.... '). A strategy which is directly related to a ground and motivational reservoir beyond the episode. So ground formulations and motivational reservoir apparently provide the outer limits of the parameters for constructing teacher strategies: 'once you say his name he'll withdraw';

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'I didn't want him to withdraw'; 'hoping that he'll come round'. All of this provides a base for strategy: 'I didn't pick him on purpose'.

Once again however the model base is not exactly clear. There is inter-personal differentiation which suggests both divergence ('he'll withdraw') and convergence('he was joining in' and 'he was obviously listening to the others').

However, since G now leaves the school it is of no long-term importance to Alan's career where he now is. What matters is where he goes or is seen to go from here.

19.1.78

A new teacher takes over the class at the start of the second term. She is new to the school and to the profession. The pupil apparently begins as a groundlessly formulated Other with this teacher:

'I didn't really know him. He seems to have got lost in the general classroom situation'

Certainly no abnormality is suggested but there are perhaps possible signs of the enigmatic ground that has previously been known by other teachers. However, as teacher goes on there are indications of something which may turn out later to have been the beginnings of the emergence of abnormal ground:

'He's a funny little chap'

However, this is an ambiguous construction. It seems to be being formulated from at least a tacit normal base.

26.1.78

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As the pupil moves into his second week there is again no clearly apparent ground. Teacher's construction suggests a possible suspended episodic framework operating from an implicit normal base:

> 'I think he did about two of the patterns and then packed in and just totally left it. I don't think he even picked it up to take it home'

The formulation has no known base and is in any case entirely episodic. It seems likely to be groundless as a formulation totally within its own boundaries.

Teacher next moves onto a possible tentative ground base:

> 'He's very quiet with me. I've not really had a good talk to him yet. The other boys I've managed to break through. But Alan he easily gets upset'

Here perhaps are the beginnings of interpersonal boundary differentiation since 'the other boys' and Alan prove interactionally different. Also Alan's motivational base is now emerging: 'easily gets upset'. His trans-episodic motivation is beginning to be known. As yet perhaps it does not constitute a firm ground. Such apparent deviation may even turn out to be no more than a normal base with a segmentally specific 'trait' related to contexts of getting 'upset'.

It must be recognised that if person formulation does proceed in its early phase by the formulation of both a ground base and with additional segmental role formulations appended then there is always a problem methodologically in recognising whether a particular trait is general or a segmental ground phenomenon. If teacher offers an observation which is a

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segmental formulation then the ground upon which it rests will not be visible. There appears to be no method by which empirically it can be determined whether the latent ground is normal or abnormal. The present case is itself an instance. The present indication of inter-personal boundary appearing in the recognised difference between Alan and the others may perhaps either be segmental or be more generally a phenomenon of a general ground.

It may of course be that teachers are, like the observer, in the very same position. Perhaps they too can only operate tentatively at this phase of formulation.

Indeed, teacher's tentativeness can be seen in the next comment:

> 'Or at least that's the impression I get. And
> I've not been able to get to know him as much as
> I would like to yet'

The sense both of provisonality and of emergence is evident in what may be a preliminary or episodic phase of early formulation.

Teacher continues to operate a developmental or emergent view of pupil in her interpretation of the persisting interpersonal boundaries:

> 'He seems to get lost. Whereas children like
> Lisa you can always hear them. And they've
> always got something to say. Fair enough,
> they've obviously got the interest from home as
> well. Alan doesn't seem to have that. And he's
> not interested in school as yet'.

In this formulation there appear to be two boundaries operating:

1.   the interactional boundary :   'he gets lost' and

'they've always got something to say'

2. the perceptual boundary : Alan compared with
    'children like Lisa'(including a perception of
    home-school differences)

There is also a distinction between the three categories of
formulation:

1. the individualised or episodic figure of Alan

2. the trans-episodic ground of Alan

3. the anonymous category of 'children like Lisa'

2.2.78

The continuing sense of emerging or forming ground is
apparent:

   'He's a funny child. He tends to keep away from
   people. He always seems to be by himself'

The interpersonal boundary differentiation is apparently
recognised as an interactional strategy adopted by the pupil
himself. Also the potential personal abnormality: 'a funny
child'. These are potential deviant grounds. In the context
there is no means here of knowing but presumably teacher is
nearing the end of an introductory episode. (For how long will
a teacher regard phenomena as temporary (i.e. episodic) before
presuming them to be an indication of personal ground (i.e.
trans-episodic) ?)

Suspicions of personal ground seem to be behind the
teacher's continuation of this account:

   'I just don't know him any better at all. I try
   to ask him what he likes doing at school best.
   You try and get the conversation going by asking
   what he likes to paint. But he seems to go into
   himself'

Here the teacher is perhaps coming up against the boundary

between _episodic_ and _personal_ abnormality. Since there appears
to be an expectation of positive movement over time in 'getting
a conversation going' then the absence of any movement (by
inference) may well be interpreted as personal. However
teacher's expectations are meeting with little success:

'I just don't know him any better at all'

Teacher appears to be operating an episodic strategy: 'I
try to get the conversation going'. It seems the teacher may
be operating on the assumption of pupil's reluctance being an
episodic phenomenon and which, at the moment at least, is seen
to have causes that lie not in the person but in the episodic
setting. Thus teacher strategy is episodically selected and
implemented. However, this must be where the episodic and
personal boundaries meet. After operating the episodic
strategy it seems the pupil response does not correspond with
teacher's assumption of episodic motivational structure: 'but
he seems to go into himself'. At this point teacher may
perhaps be beginning to organise ground-based formulations.
There will be an opportunity to see whether this is the case in
future accounts.

It may be seen again at this point that the present
distinction   between   the   episodic   and   the
personal(trans-episodic) could have implications for 'child
development'. Indeed, the distinction is possibly _critical_ for
the _interpretation_ of 'child development. The recognition of
'development' of course is itself a   process   of   ground
formulation in which some perceptual organising of the apparent
essence of Other may be distilled from a number of episodes.

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Additionally though there is the operation of temporal boundaries which may well be hidden or latent. For example, as when the teacher begins to suspend the episodic as a temporal boundary is seen to be crossed and when the abnormality can no longer be sustained as episodic but must then be attributed to the trans-episodic or personal. Such temporal boundaries are of course part of the 'cultural' or 'career timetable' (Roth,1963) and organisational framework of the setting. As for example when teachers may operate such episodic boundaries as:

- a new term

- a new teacher

- a new school

Or even more specific boundaries within a new term such as a 'settling in' period. Once the temporal boundary is passed then the implications move from the episodic to the personal. The next account also indicates intra-episodic boundaries. Again it proves to be a temporal boundary:

> 'Not had any lengthy conversation. I would say two, three minutes is the longest I've ever talked to him. If you can call that a talk'

Once again an absence of a 'lengthy conversation' that might mark the close of the preliminary boundary phase. The phase is summed up in terms of what it has so far failed to achieve: 'the longest I've ever talked to him'. It seems the interpersonal boundary that has been reached is not even recognised by teacher as long enough to 'call that a talk'.

Many signs then of episode/personal boundary points. However, as yet there is no abnormal/normal boundary formulated

by teacher. It is all apparently episodic talk and often
negative as though formulation is in terms of what has not yet
emerged in the episode but might have been expected to do so.
It is in this respect then that implied abnormality may be
emerging.

At this time there are a number of apparently normal
ground formulations. Suggesting either suspended ground in the
tacit assumption of a normal base until proved to be
inappropriate or perhaps indicating the use of segmental role
formulations which are still awaiting a ground to latch onto.

2.3.78

In a VTR session can be seen something of the
trans-episodic continuity over time - a framework which is
imposed by teachers onto specific episodic contexts:

> 'You see he's got his back to me all the time.
> He doesn't face you. And when he talks to you
> he sort of comes up and prods you and looks
> away. He never looks at you in the face. He's
> sort of looking away all the time'

In this figure observation then the ground is invoked to give
it meaning. Its continuity with the deep structure of previous
trans-episodic patterns is recognised. The whole episode is
formulated as ground and expressed in terms of some anonymity.
Only one element of teacher's account is figure.

It seems then that whole episodes may experience the same
individuality/anonymity as do typications. Here the episode is
used as a trigger. Not for exposing the intra-episodic
features but for unloading again a trans-episodic ground. The
incident then is seen in terms more of its continuity with

previous and enduring phenomena than in its own episodic
uniqueness. The teacher's next act is to engage in
motivational search upon this general or ground formulation:

> 'It's lack of confidence. Just being awkward.
> I don't know. Possibly a bit of lack of
> confidence. I don't know how much he's mixed
> with children before he came to school'

This is all apparently ground motive arising from a use of
motivational reservoir. Since it is ground-based then it may
be assumed that a formulation model is in play here. The model
is not aparent however. It seems teacher may still be unsure!
She appears to be operating from, or trying out formulation
from, both sides of the normal/abnormal boundary:

> <u>normal side</u> : 'lack of confidence' (emergent
> confidence will in time cure this: it is
> temporary or situated) <u>abnormal side</u>: 'just
> being awkward'(residing in personal ground)

Teacher then further explores or elaborates this ground theme
and relates it to typical incidents:

> 'I've got the feeling he's probably not mixed
> with children before because his whole reaction
> to me. He is the cause of many a squabble
> between him, Shaun and Peter. And it's always
> him that sort of gets left out or punched or
> hurt or whatever. I think it's probably because
> he's not mixed with children before and not
> quite sure how to share things and how to react
> to them'

In <u>interactional</u> terms ('not mixed' and 'gets left out')
teacher acknowledges an interpersonal boundary and in
<u>motivational</u> terms the pupil is recognised to be perhaps a
'stranger' to the world of other pupils ('not quite sure how to
share and how to react to them'). them'). Thus here is the
sign of the normal/abnormal boundary. Perhaps even more
important though is the teacher's casting of Alan in a role of

deviant trigger ('he is the cause of many a squabble') and also
the butt of deviance ('always him that gets left out or punched
or hurt'). He is therefore seen to be associated with
deviance. However it is perhaps merely a suggestion that the
pupil is not intentionally deviant but is seen as an unwitting
element in the flotsam and jetsum of classroom life. Thus his
deviation is seen to be more in his personal difference from
others than in his intentional rule-breaking! But this is
perhaps the critical point in personal or motivational terms
(no matter how unwitting) he is clearly on the deviant side of
the boundary. His deviance is in his difference from others
(his Other-role)rather than in rule-breaking!

In this case can be seen teacher's operation across
various contexts. Teacher moves between the immediate context
and then towards a generalised ground context. Then moves to
motivational or predispositional construction. e.g.

```
 --------------------      ----------------     --------------
| Predispositional |      | Generalised |      | Immediate |
| Motivational     |      | Context     |      | Context   |
| Framework        |       ----------------     --------------
 --------------------

 ----------              ----------            ----------
| Motive |              | Ground |            | Figure |
 ----------              ----------            ----------
     |                       |
     |                       |
     V                       V
```

'because-of-motive'   'in-order-to-motive'

(i.e. non-episodic: (i.e. 'not sure how
 'I think it's   to share things')
 possibly because he's
 not mixed with
 children before')

Arising from the above suggested framework a number of questions are generated. How do teachers move over or across different contexts ? How are these linked together? What is their relationship? ⑤

Teacher now moves further into anonymity in apparently adopting a ground formulation. She moves further from the episodic use of ground to the trans-episodic use:

'(That's typical of him) to slightly turn away or fully turn his back on you. (Being) stubborn more than anything I think. Not particularly shyness. Because I don't think somebody can be as shy as that to get to the stage of turning away'.

It seems teacher suggests pupil's actions indicate something beyond what otherwise would be normal shyness. Teacher perhaps implies that episodic shyness might have led to one thing but here the pupil has done something else! Certainly he seems to have gone beyond normality to the boundary point of abnormality. The episodic theme is formulated by imputing

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personal ground: 'is stubborn more than anything; not particularly shyness'.

Teacher next moves onto a fine distinction which would mark the boundary between normality and abnormality:

1   'I think a shy person would cower more. They'd probably hold their head down and hunch their shoulders up. I would think that was more a child's reaction to shyness than turning away. I think it's stubborn-ness. And probably lack of manners being taught at home more than anything. It's certainly stubborness. He's certainly a stubborn little monkey when he wants to be.

 2 Very hard to get him to do anything he doesn't want to do'

It can be seen here how motives applied by teachers can have either a contextual or a non-contextual (trans-contextual) focus. This must be recognised as separate from episodic amd trans-episodic distinctions in formulation. Thus motives can have more or less sharpness or specificity. In the above account 1 is a contextual motive and 2 a trans-contextual. Thus 2 is both a trans-contextual and a trans-episodic motive thus combining space (i.e. context) and time(i.e. episodic). ⑥

The abnormal ground seems to not only have emerged by now but is used by teacher to interpret a deep structure seen beyond the episodic figure perceptions of Other :

    'He's getting on with what he wants to do. He's quite content to do that. But he doesn't seem to talk to the other children neither. They'll talk to him quite naturally. But he never seems to reply'.

Here the motive ('he's quite content to do that') seems to begin as episodic and opens out into the trans-episodic. Thus teacher perceives it through a ground framework. It seems to

be a move from figure to its underlying ground as a perceptual continuity. The episode shows interpersonal differentiation and especially the boundary between the normal and the abnormal: 'the other children'll talk to him quite naturally; but he never seems to reply'. A distinction between 'him' and 'the other children'. There is a suggested pathological formulation too i.e. they talk'naturally' but by implication he is beyond the boundary of 'natural'. There are further signs of boundary in a reference to temporal frequency i.e. 'never'. (There is an outer boundary point in a frequency distribution implied here - pupil is at the 'never' end!). In the study of deviant careers it seems a critical boundary is that between episode and <u>beyond</u> : between episodic and trans-episodic phenomona. The next episode indicates this, as teacher makes an observation:

> 'Now Alan came over to me there. But he was
> tale-telling. He'd just come to tell me that
> somebody'd got the muppet. Alan decided he
> would tell'.

In this episodic formulation then pupil is seen as having engaged in a rule- breaking deviant figure incident. The formulation is apparently contained within the episode. No trans-episodic dimensions are introduced. Here the deviance is possibly treated as episodic. The distinction perhaps between the treatment of deviance in the present research as compared with traditional research is contained within the notion of episode. Much traditional research in deviance presumes the episodic figure occurrences are central and therefore methodologically focus on rule- breaking and its supposed

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'causes' and relations with extra-episodic phenomona. The present research concentrates on the intra- and extra-episodic aspects of deviance in recognising both the person-formulation (trans-episodic) dimensions and its continuities and discontinuities with episodic phenomena. However, the critical point appears to be the boundary between the episodic and the trans-episodic as viewed by those who perceive the 'incident'. Thus it is the phenomological 'boundary' that is critical.

The present research attempts to make a significant contribution by its adoption of an emergent framework. It begins before deviant episodes. Thus it takes the 'before' and 'after' perspective on deviance. A recognition of a more extended emergent process. Traditional deviance research (Merton,1957;West,1967) is likely to focus at most only upon the consequences of deviance or, as in supposed 'causal' analysis, the post-hoc search for correlated 'factors'. It might be said then that traditional research usually defines as outside its parameters the pre-deviance processes of emergence!

The present attempt to look at the emergent processes of deviance is perhaps more phenomenologically valid since teachers will of course often know pupils before deviance emerges. Therefore to them, deviance will be a genuinely emergent process. It is treated as such in this research. In traditional research it is rarely treated as emergent. The point of entry in traditional research is often the deviant incident. This then becomes the starting point for a post-hoc search for a supposed 'because-of' motivational

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structure as seen by non-participants such as sociologists or phsychologists as researchers!

At this point in the analysis there is a reappearance of an ealier controversy. The last account from teacher was of course a formulation of pupil in reference to an instance of rule- breaking. Traditional research has concentrated on such formulations. The present research does not. While rule-breaking will 'naturally' be introduced by the participant it is to be viewed within its ongoing and dynamic context. It is not intended to concentrate solely on this but to recognise its relationship to the broader processes of person formulation. When traditional research defines deviance in terms of a rule-breaking incident and its related societal reaction then the research parameters are so defined as to often preclude the 'natural' trans- episodic features of the 'situation' as it is defined by the participants who themselves are the very processes of societal reaction! In a career analysis the trans-episodic parameters are seen to be just as important. The longitudinal framework is both a researcher's and a teacher's framework for constructing pupil identities. Here then is the crucial issue! After her account of the rule-breaking incident the teacher then moves beyond it into person formulation:

> 'He is quite good at that. In fact the only time he does come and communicate with me is when he's telling me somebody's doing something wrong. Or maybe somebody's hit him'.

Here it can be seen that person formulation is as much a concern of teachers as the monitoring of rules and

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rule-breaking. Here the earlier episodic figure observation is now put into a <u>trans-episodic context</u>. It is seen as a mere instance of ground.

Here it must be asked whether perhaps teachers see the whole more than the part ? Is it really a gestalt with the ground seen as more prominent ? This would suggest almost an inverted figure-ground relation as personal ground now becomes the perceptual figure. Although it may be constructed in such a way, at the time the incident may first be <u>seen</u> as figure as the entry point for the whole sequence of person formulation.

It is essential to recognise the dynamics of the process. It is a <u>moving</u> process. Therefore it has a <u>beginning</u> (entry point) and then <u>becomes</u> a ground formulation. (At this point ground becomes figure) Next the continuing anonymity in deviant ground and in interpersonal relations:

> (Still not really got to know him?) 'Not at all. The only time he talks to me is when he wants something. If somebody's breaking something up. I think that happened this morning when he was making a tank. And he sort of came crying to me. And this is the only time he ever talks to me'.

The anonymity still prevails. This of course is not an anonymity of perception or formulation but is perhaps viewed as an <u>interactional</u> strategy adopted by pupil. The interpersonal differentiation or boundary is seen to be operated by pupil! In the recounting of this incident teacher begins with ground, then moves on to a figure instance and then returns to ground.

It is noticeable how in some cases ground is an entry point while sometimes entry is at the figure instance. In the

above there seems to be a move:

```
ground ----> figure
              (instance)
```

But on some occasions the move is:

```
figure ----> ground
```

(entry point)

It is important then to recognise that the interview talk is itself a moving process! The ground entry point appears in the continuation of this account:

'Even sitting down, with Look and Say reading, he's very reserved and pulls to the back of the room'

It seems here teacher is stating the outer limits of ground. Not only does ground generally apply but even sitting down reading!The very limit of abnormality. Clearly the abnormal model is in play.

Once again it is important to note that deviant pupils also experience normal episodes too. Even some apparently ideal ones! :

'Alan went by himself over there. Alan was on this middle (table) here by himself. With Matthew and some of the I2s. And hadn't he done well. Which was giving him encouragement or seemed to'

It seems that this may be a figure observation constructed within an episodic framework. Motivation is formulated within the boundaries of the episode. It is apparently a normal, perhaps even ideal episode: 'hadn't he done well'. It is perceived perhaps as a suspended or groundless episode, and formulated entirely within its own episodic parameters. There appears to be no (explicit at least) search beyond the episodic

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boundaries but instead is formulated within its own terms.

The moving framework of formulation needs to be recognised
. Once a deviant ground has become firmly formed it does not
remain as a mere constant. It can be seen that teacher is
susceptible to recognising potential change in a pupil. Some
changes are viewed as only temporary phenomena:

> 'When I went to talk to him there he clammed up.
> Just one word answers. Yet he carried on a
> five, ten minute conversation with me that day'

Here is an episodic comparison. Since there is no new ground
imported into this situation (and yet there might be an
implicit earlier one in operation) then the framework becomes
episodic. Even the comparison is episodic as one figure is
compared to a later one: 'yet he carried on a five...ten
minute conversation with me that day'. Is this meant to imply
the normal yardstick? Perhaps it is a boundary definer. This
episode has its own boundaries. It must be seen in episodic
context. Thus the present figures deviate from the boundary
point of this episode's own framework.

As teacher returns to an account of the significant
incident it can be seen how the episodic figure is nevertheless
formulated in relation to ground. It may be <u>suspended</u> from it
but there is nevertheless an apparent conscious relation to it:

> 'That (incident) about Alan I particularly
> noticed. Because I was so pleased that he'd
> actually made a step forward. And I felt that
> he'd made contact. Wanted to make contact with
> me rather than the other way round which has
> been the situation so far. I've felt as if I've
> been forcing him. And he's just not wanted to.
> But it just happened the once and it's not
> happened since'.

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The figure observation is apparently viewed against a prevailing ground of 'he's just not wanted to'. Consequently the figure stands out in contrast to prevailing ground and as a possible mark of a new ground emerging. It could then be an emerging episode marking a new trans-episodic phase but proves not to be. The ambiguity of formulation can be seen in what seems to be a normal academic formulation:

> 'He enjoys drawing. And he'll spend hours
> drawing. He'll spend the whole afternoon if
> you'd let him. And not do the work'.

Thus while the framework of ground is normal (perhaps even 'ideal') the formulation here becomes abnormal because of context as a divergence from pupil role. Here then is a rule-breaking situation. The dynamics of formulation seem to involve a movement between the personal ground and the context of rule-breaking. Teacher goes on to indicate a figure instance:

> 'This afternoon was an example. Actually it was
> continued from yesterday. He'd been doing
> something else in the morning. In the first
> part of the afternoon. And then he'd swapped.
> He did this picture. And I wasn't at all...I
> was quite pleased with him actually cause the
> intricacies that he did in that picture. The
> detail was fabulous'.

Against a background of ground (stated as a tendency to draw too much) there is an episodically formulated instance. The connection is implicit ('this afternoon was an example') but it is actually formulated in its own episodic terms. Perhaps not quite so as it is seen as continuing 'from yesterday'. But this makes it an extended episode or episodic sequence. What then happens here? Teacher does not react to it as deviance:

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'wasn't so cross'. Teacher turns it into an 'ideal' episode: 'quite pleased with him......the detail was fabulous'.

It seems then that here is the root of the whole process. It is not the rule aspect of the situation that is critical but the role aspect! The situation is interpreted as either deviant or not deviant as a consequence of the ater-casting by teacher of pupil's role-following or role-taking. Since any behaviour can always be potentially rule-breaking (according to context) then it is the recognition of role (Turner,1961) that is critical. Rules are seen to come in play when a perceiver has first identified the player's role and therefore the set of rules which would apply given his role as player in whatever game (Mead,1934; Goffman,1961)

The present incident sees a switch of games by teacher as now aparently judging pupil in the context of different games. In this way the meaning of the episode is critical. Teacher transforms a potential deviant incident into a potential normal-ideal situation by redefining the game and therefore recasting Alan's role as a player!

Next a reminder of pupil's enduring abnormality and also of the significance of boundary between episodic and trans-episodic forms of construction:

> 'He really is strange. I don't understand him
> at all. I don't know whether it is shyness or
> just sheer awkardness. Sometimes I think it's
> shyness.

It is not clear whether the perceptual fluidity is seen in pupil's inconstancy or in teacher's fluidity of perceptions. The enigmatic pupil presumably is so because teacher cannot

formulate him on secure ground! Therefore the motivational base apparently cannot be predicted with any accuracy. It has its episodic fluidity. Presumably then as teacher encounters pupil in different episodes each figure appears to have no direct relationship to ground or perhaps the mismatch of predicted and actual ground leads to the suspicion of no fixed ground or possibly even of groundlessness.

Here of course there is a relationship with the notion of anomie (McHugh). When experiencing classroom episodes teachers have to be able to see a theme in order to make sense of them. Although ground does not always produce theme it may assist the search for it. Since ground seems to provide motivational reservoir both for present understanding and future prediction of pupils, its absence inhibits the episodic search for theme. If a pupil in an episodic context defies analysis then it is necessary to fall back on person formulation.[6] Without a secure ground nothing else makes sense! Here teacher still seems to be searching for the secure and stable ground of 'deep structure'. Teacher goes on to relate a figure observation as an instance of the phenomenon:

> 'Other times like tonight, when we're getting dressed from doing dancing, he will not, when he wants his shoes fastening, he will not come up to me and say: Please D will you fasten my shoes? I've been trying to drill it into him for goodness knows how long now. But all I get is his foot in my face!'

Here then is one of the implied other times. It is seen as part of a recurring ground or one of the grounds since the motivational reservoir perhaps alternates or fluctuates between 'awkward' and 'shy'. This is perhaps the essence of pupil

enigma and therefore of teacher's continuing sense of anomie.

The account continues:

> 'Tonight one of the I3s was practising him
> before he was actually talking to me.In actual
> fact it worked. He did say: Fasten my shoes.
> No 'please'. No 'Mrs D'But 'Fasten my shoes!'
> At least it's a breakthrough. But he's a funny
> child. Now that is sheer awkwardness. Not
> shyness!'

Here the recognition of ground is shared by other pupils who also play their part in attempting a strategy. On this occasion it works! It seems teacher sees it as again rooted in the unpredictability of ground and its related motives and so its chances of working are always uncertain. There is also a sense of 'breakthrough' here as a developmental boundary is crossed. This is an episode which is linked trans-episodically with episodes which have gone before and perhaps seen as a starting point of episodes now to come. Once again confirmation of the inherent abnormality: 'he's a funny child!' It seems in the end that on this occasion (in this episode) teacher is able to identify motive as sheer awkwardness'. Perhaps then it is not that within episodes teacher can't identify the motive but just that she can't predict which it will be in advance. Each episode then perhaps begins the interpretive work anew. The following account conveys once again the teacher's continuing sense of anomie:

> 'I don't know what to do about him. I don't
> think anybody does. No sign of breakthrough at
> all. No sign of him wanting to communicate or
> wanting to be with other children or mixing with
> other children. None at all'

This seems to confirm the inherent abnormality of pupil and the

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teacher's continuing experience of anomie with him. It seems the pupil's enduring position beyond the boundaries of normality and his apparent interactional strategy of not 'mixing with other children' confirms not only his difference from other pupils in the normal distribution but his location at the outer limits: 'none at all'.

The First Year ends with signs of change in the pupil as he now appears to be becoming more responsive and communicative:

14.6.78

'He's started to talk more openly recently to me. He doesn't come and complain and tell tales as much as he used to. And that at one time was the only time he did communicate with me. But just generally I've had quite a couple of decent conversations with him since we came back after half-term'.

The possible new ground is formulated tentatively yet but is seen as an emerging phenomenon. It is possible of course that this might just be recognised as a segmental change rather than a fundamental change of motivational base. It is perhaps significant that it is formulated in ground terms and not merely as an episodic occurrence within its own temporal boundaries. Indeed no episodic motivations are offered.

28.6.78

The emergence of ground is now seen more definitely. A new phase appears to be underway:

'It's certainly all the time now. He's talking. Whereas it was spasmodic before. But every day

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> now. This last week he's been fabulous. It's
> every day he comes in and tells me something.
> And he's always talking to me'.

A general reformulation is apparent as pupil is seen to go through a change. It is not a total retyping but an emerging new identity. A new boundary is crossed as some segments of ground are revised and seen to be enduring phenomena: 'all the time' and 'certainly'. The previous occurrences were seen as a transition: 'it was spasmodic before'. The new ground is consolidated as pupil is now: 'always talking to me'. This has perhaps been a point of crossing into normality. It certainly seems a possible interpretation as teacher now begins to tentatively look in a different motivational reservoir:

> 'I'm not sure whether it's stubbornness or
> insecurity now. Now over the last few weeks.
> He's developed. And it's continuing this
> development of him talking to me. It's
> marvellous. Every day brings something new.
> And he's always wanting to express himself'

The pupil seems to have moved across significant boundaries and is in the process of demonstrating further movement: 'every day brings something new'; 'he's developed'; 'it's continuing this development of him talking to me'. In addition then there is a sign of a fading interpersonal boundary. In interactional terms pupil is no longer seen to be apart from the rest. Still more important is that teacher is now apparently in the process of re-applying motive search to earlier ground: 'I'm not sure whether it's stubborn-ness or insecurity now'. Whether the earlier motive is now being reformulated or a new one substituted is not possible to detect but most certainly in the present context pupil is seen to be crossing a motivational and

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therefore a _model_ boundary: from abnormal to normal!

Teacher goes deeper, suggesting deviance when it occurs can now be viewed as an _episodic_ phenomenon only and therefore operating from a different base of normality and not a reversion to a ground of earlier deviant identity:

> 'I suppose if I talk to him and he stops ....
> you could class it as stubborn-ness. That he
> doesn't want to communicate. But I never looked
> on it lately as stubborn-ness on his part. More
> shyness perhaps in the situation he's put in.
> That he doesn't want to talk'.

Teacher is here aparently stating the boundaries which operate in the typical episodes which now derive from the new ground. It can be seen how the boundaries are now expressed less in personal terms of pupil formulation but rather in terms of contextual or _situational_ parameters. This confirms the suggestion of aparent model change as there is now a move _away_ from personal ground to a framework of episodic formulation. The imputations of divergence now move from the personal to the episodic. This is followed by a lengthy series of commentary reviewing Alan over the year. It confirms the present retyping:

> 'Last two, three weeks he started to volunteer
> information in the hall. In the midst of the
> whole school group. That's the difference in
> his confidence' 'I find that he's very often the
> leader in a small group. He'll take the
> leadership role. Which he never would before!'

It seems that the retyping is viewed within a developmental framework apparently providing a tentative causal texture to their recognition of pupil change:

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> 'He sometimes gets a little bit weepy if children have knocked his model down. And that's reverting to his older babyish self. Because he was a little bit babyish when he came in. I think it's just a gradual process of maturing in school'

It seems perhaps the new ground is given a meta-legitimacy by casting it within a developmental framework[12] as though no further explanation were needed. Any divergence is now apparently interpretable and containable within episodic terms. The new apparent normal ground is retained!

The First Year ends then with a confident reformulation of Alan as a normal pupil. The ground appears to have shifted. There is now optimism about his remaining career. Its course will now be examined as he moves into Year Two and begins with a new teacher yet again!

Year Two

Alan begins the second year apparently well on the way to normalisation. It seems the abnormal model has largely been abandoned. At this point in the analysis we are about half way through the file of data for this pupil even though we are only a quarter way through the time-scale of his four year career! This may perhaps be an indication of a possible continuing normalisation with less concern expressed for this pupil and so less talk about him in the later interviews.

In the analysis of this pupil it seems appropriate to make a closer observation and continue a weekly account for a greater part of his career than was the case with the previous deviant case. This is because he seems to experience so much

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more change and reformulation than Gavin (who seems to have a relatively stable deviant career throughout). Consequently in order to look more closely at the dynamic^s of perceived change this more detailed exposition of the week-by-week processes of emergence will be continued.

The new teacher's comment may be scrutinised for an indication at this point of whether pupil is perceived from an abnormal or a normal base:

> 'He's always moaning about something in the classroom. He whines a lot as well.If he's built something and somebody else touches it or knocks it down, blimey you'd think there'd been a murder. Cause there's great screams!! It's Alan. Somebody's knocked something down. And he really cries. He sobs his heart out over it. He gets very upset over it. And it's difficult to make him see reason'

It is not possible to know which model is in operation here. However, it is clear that already the pupil is seen to be coming up against the boundaries of normality:

'great screams'

'you'd think there'd been a murder'

'he really cries'

'gets very upset'

'it's difficult to make him see reason'

The last formulation suggests a motive boundary. It indicates more than anything the potential abnormality as the pupil is seen to be operating from a motive outside the boundaries of what by implication might apply to normal pupils: beyond 'reason'. The real issue is whether teacher's formulation is pointing to a potential deviant ground or to a mere episodically bounded theme.

Rather than formulating this episode in its own terms teacher seems to be operating a more generalised construction locating this episode as a member of a category set of equivalent typical episodes. Again there seems to be a formulation apparently somewhere midway between the specifity of the individual episode and the generality of ground. This is not a trans-episodic, but a more episodically limited formulation. This could be an early stage of ground formulation until teacher has sampled enough pupil situations to formulate a trans-episodic ground. It could be a possible early, tentative form of limited ground formulation.

The early tentativeness can be seen again in the following account as teacher seems to be uncertain of whether to operate episodic or trans-episodic formulations. The motivational search moves between the episodic and the trans-episodic:

> 'Hangs his head. Whether it's shy I can't really decide. If he decided to answer a question in the class, he talks freely. He talks freely with the other children. But when I'm talking to him I do get a response sometimes. But often it takes a while before he responds freely. He tends to hang his head'

Teacher has formulated an aspect of ground: 'he hangs his head'. It is seen to occur with enough frequency to warrant a provisional or tentative trans-episodic formulation. If adopted as a formulation base this would then allow the generation of motive but obviously teacher is still unsure whether to operate episodic or ground motive: 'I can't really decide whether it's shy'. Teacher appears to be moving between a ground and episodic formulation. The continuing open-ness of

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the provisional ground is forced by the varying pupil action in different typical episodes: 'talks freely with other children'..... 'but when I'm talking to him he tends to hang his head'. However it is not just a simple differentiation of context in typical episodes. The second category of episode is temporally (in frequency terms) seen to have an as yet unidentified theme: 'I do get a response sometimes but often it takes a while'.

It seems obvious then that some stabilisation of form is emerging towards ground and the identification of typical episode but it is still only provisional and tentative. It seems to be accomplished by a process of matching between:

figure and ground ;

figure and theme .

The apparent ground formulation continues:

> 'He doesn't come to you as often. Unless somebody's knocked his bricks down or something. He'll come if he needs you. But he won't come to you to talk about something. He comes to see if his number's right. But even then he seems to be grudging coming over. He just gives you a look and gets on with his work'

There seems to be an emerging ground here linked to certain typical episodes. However the limits of this are reached: 'even then he seems to be grudging', which indicates perhaps a trans-episodic point has been reached. Teacher may be moving across the more limited formulation of typical episodes to the more trans-episodic. This perhaps indicates a possible sequence in the emergent processes as formulation moves from groundless episodes to ground - via typical episodes.

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Teacher's account next seems to reveal a normal ground may be operating as an underlying base to this pupil. She offers a qualified or finer differentiation suggesting divergence is perhaps restricted to a quite limited range of typical episodes:

> 'It's just adults he's like that. No
> inhibitions with the children at all. They come
> over and talk to him. And he just talks freely'

Here the formulation is presented in relation to specific interpersonal contexts. There appears to be a limited segmental ground recognised as operating in his relations 'with adults'. There is nevertheless a movement across the boundaries of normality when with other pupils. He is then seen to be quite normal. It seems abnormality is now seen to be episodically limited. The basic ground is now apparently seen to be normal. Within such abnormal episodes then perhaps there is a suspension of ground as pupil's actions are seen to be episodically bounded (it's just adults he's like that') when the now prevailing normal ground is suspended and no longer provides the motivational reservoir.

Another normal formulation follows. This time perhaps even with indications of 'ideal' divergence too:

> 'And he really fantasises sometimes. If we're
> doing abstract work, he writes about monsters or
> something. Just a brief example. But he'll
> talk for hours with the others quite freely.
> And while they're writing he's discussing ideas
> all the time. But as soon as an adult comes on
> the scene he hangs his head again and doesn't
> take part in the conversation.

This is a classic account of the generality and variety of typical episodes. Is this perhaps:

- the tentative and early emergence of ground stability in early teacher perception?

- the dramatic change occurring in pupil so that there is no core stability of ground yet?

It can be seen how there is the complete range of formulation from typical ideal, typical normal to typical abnormal. In terms of the fundamental normal-abnormal dichotomy which is being suggested in the present research both sides are represented here. The emerging stability of the normal might be suggested by the occurrence of two points in the normal sector of the distribution: 'ideal' and 'normal'. It is particularly noteworthy how both the 'abnormal' and the 'ideal' seem to take the form of divergence of an occasional and specific kind in relation to definable typical episodic limits. Ideal occurs 'sometimes'. Abnormal occurs: 'as soon as an adult comes along'.

6.10.78

This account now moves on to the second interview after what seems to be a predominant normality for this pupil:

> 'He's still reluctant to talk a lot. He'll talk
> occasionally. If we're talking about something
> in the group that interests him he'll take part.
> And get quite excited about things'

The framework of normality is present but perhaps he is only just in the bounds of normality 'still reluctant to talk a lot'. In terms of the extent of normality there is still seen to be some resistance. Teacher continues:

> 'But when we're talking in turn in the classroom
> he's still very sullen and he doesn't want to

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> know. Especially if you've just disturbed him
> when he's working. And then it's not worth it
> cause you get nothing from him. He'd rather go
> back and do his work. When he's finished his
> work you can get him to read. But he won't read
> until he's finished all his work'

Again teacher presents a more generalised formulation across episodes towards a notion of typical episodes or perhaps as a more limited segmental ground formulation. Why are some motives and strategies drawn from within the episode being seen as episodically limited while others are drawn from ground? Perhaps as pupils become normal then the normal ground has to be increasingly segmentalised because of its degree of generality as compared with the abnormal.[12]

However, in this case it is temporary or episodic abnormality that is being formulated. As such it is obviously presented in a generalised form but obviously not suitable as main ground since the main ground is normal and so could not sustain the abnormal. If the normal ground is retained by the teacher then any abnormality would have to be seen exclusively in figure terms and episodic groundlessness or of some mid-position of a more general abnormal theme but of sufficient typical episodic generality to be between the groundless figure and trans-episodic abnormal ground.

In the emergence of deviant ground there is now a further revelation:

> 'Whiny still. He seems to be worse this week
> than he was before. But I think he's just
> generally feeling that way out. He's always
> whined if he can't have his own way'

This could be an apparent reformulation as there is seen to be

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a reversion to a possible deviant ground: 'worse this week than he was before'. It is not clear whether this is the emergence of a new ground or whether teacher is viewing it more cautiously as episodic divergence. There is perhaps a hint at the episodic in the possible episodic motive: 'I think he's just generally feeling that way out'. It seems teacher is here invoking a typical episodic theme: 'always whined if he can't have his own way'. This seems to be formulation at the level of the typical episode: the mid-position between general ground and figure episode. It is recognised as a general pattern but limited to specific contexts or boundaries.

Teacher next moves from this level of generality in the typical episode to a specific figure instance:

> 'Like this morning. Everybody got their milk.
> Except five people. And he was crying his eyes
> out cause he thought he wasn't going to get any.
> He will whine on and on and on about things.
> But if you don't stand for it he doesn't go on.
> He changes'.

It is apparently viewed as an episodic figure instance of a more general phenomenon: 'He will wine on and on about things', which in turn seems to generate a teacher strategy.

Here then perhaps a differentiation of strategies may be recognised. It can perhaps be assumed that most strategies have some specificity. Therefore they may either be derived from ground because of their relation to general motives or be derived from segmental ground since they refer to Other in relation to limited and specifiable contextual boundaries. It would seem that as teacher attempts to deal with pupil in particular contexts then strategies would be generated not from

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general ground but from the contextually-relevant segmental ground and so operate as a <u>contextually specific</u> strategy. This might suggest strategies may vary in orientation between:

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|  ground  |  <---------------->   |  typical episode  |
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Strategy perhaps may occur from any point on this line and be orientated in one direction or another. Towards ground generality or towards contextual specificity. Those writers who have examined the notion of 'strategy' have often regarded them as trans-contextually generalised repertoires or 'recipes' for dealing with pupils in general (Hargreaves,A.,1978;Woods,1980). However a more situated treatment is given by Pollard (1980) which perhaps comes closer to the present attempt to understand the 'micro' rather than the 'macro' structural frameworks of action.

The exploratory processes of formulation persist as teacher continually seems to move between episodic and trans-episodic forms in her attempt to construct reality:

> 'He was quiet at the beginning. And rather
> sullen. He didn't whine as much. But now that
> he's coming out of himself more and talking more
> he's whining. It becomes more apparent. Maybe
> it was as bad before but he just seems more
> apparent this last week or so'

An emerging ground is indicated. Teacher appears to be reformulating and is uncertain whether a new ground is forming ('he's whining') or whether it only <u>appears</u> new since previously it was hidden by pupil's conduct (whereas now 'he's coming out of himself more'). It seems teacher senses a new boundary is being crossed but is aware it may be too soon to

formulate with any trans-episodic generality: 'just seems more apparent this last week or so'.

Teacher next relates a figure observation of pupil experiencing a seemingly significant interpersonal boundary:

> 'He got some counters out for his money
> yesterday and he was counting them. And then
> Matthew was doing his number. So he went and
> took some of his money. And he started crying
> and carrying on. And you've got to keep
> explaining to him that he has to share. He's
> still very possessive over everything!'

It seems here that teacher recognises a potential abnormality. It is suggested in this account where what seems to be interpreted as a quite 'normal' action on the part of the other pupil is seen to lead to an apparently 'abnormal' figure response from Alan. This then is not a mere episodic but a ground formulation apparently operating from an abnormal model. The other pupil is interpreted through a framework of episodic normality while Alan is viewed from a trans-episodic framework of abnormal ground.

This account shows how the very same context may be seen both in episodic and in trans-episodic terms. Different individuals in the same context are being viewed either from an episodic or a trans-episodic frame. It can be seen in such processes how episodic and trans-episodic career lines run concurrently, are juxtaposed and yet are insulated from each other! The perception of any one event may involve the organisation and construction of reality through the recognition of both episodic and trans-episodic parameters operating simultaneously. This is a powerful indication of how reality is socially constructed or accomplished. The member's

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account of reality has to be assembled !   A 'stranger' will not
'see' the episodic and trans-episodic parameters recognised in
the 'thinking-as-usual' (Schutz 1963), of the members since it
operates at a possible level of 'deep   structure'.

Additionally there are significant processes of
relativity since they operate differently across different
interpersonal boundaries at the same moment in time.   In such a
way it can be seen that emergence is linked to relativity.
Each   component of relativity (in the differentiation of
interpersonal boundaries) has its own temporal or emergent
reality.   It is linked back in time to earlier constructions
and projects onward into future.   Thus reality may be seen to
have either continuity with previous forms or not! It is the
perception and construction of present reality as having,   or
not having, continuity with previously constructed forms that
is critical.   In the same incident or event, for one component
of interpersonal relativity (the formulation of Alan) the
present figure is perceived in relation to a continuous ground.
For another pupil (Matthew) the incident is seen as episodic.
It is important then to recognise the interpersonal relativity
of emergence or emergent processes.

19.10.78

It seems the processes of emergence now continue by a
firming up of the interpersonal boundary between the normal and
abnormal pupils:

'Most of the children you always find smiling.
Everywhere they are. But Alan, whereas you
sometimes think it's unusual to see some of the
children unhappy, it's unusual if you see Alan
smiling'

It seems clear enough that teacher is now operating a
different ground and therefore an abnormal model has been
adopted for Alan. Teacher now offers a further statement of
ground:

'He cries at nothing. Nothing at all. He's
been like that since I first came. And he's
still the same'

This is illustrated by a figure instance:

'Yesterday they were changing library books. So
I said: Get a partner. And he'd no sooner
realised he hadn't got a partner before he was
sitting on the floor with his head down crying.
Really crying. Little situations like that. It
takes a long time to make him see that its not
the end of the world'

The deviation from the normal is apparently seen as quite
extreme 'really crying'. After outlining figure teacher moves
immediately back into ground. This provides a basis for
interpreting pupil's motivation: 'takes a long time to make
him see that it's not the end of the world'. It seems to
become the basis for a strategy formulation too.

2.11.78

In the next account there is an indication of developing
normality:

'He's suddenly coming out of himself. Yesterday
I was surprised because after the holiday we
were talking all about what each other'd been
doing. And about four times just in that one
session his hand was up and he was wanting to
speak. It wasn't just a look and one word

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answer. He   talked quite freely about what he'd
                    been doing.   And that's just suddenly.

An episode has begun that indicates processes   of   change   are
perhaps underway.   It has 'suddenly' appeared in this emergent
episode. Episodic figure and motive illustrate a suspected
change of ground.   The suggested episodic theme: 'it wasn't
just a look and one word answer' suggests teacher regards it as
significant. Teacher is obviously searcing for underlying
pattern as she invokes previous images and then rejects them .
It seems a genuine searching process is underway as teacher is
actively constructing as much in terms of what the episode was
not as what it actually was. It can be seen that a genuine
searching is being undertaken as teacher seems to be sifting
through possible interpretations.

        This then is perhaps what theme search is all about.
Teacher is not just putting forward a statement of supposed
episodic theme but also providing the background of   its
structure. The construction of an episodic theme is perhaps
more likely to involve searching and processes of
accomplishment since each episode is potentially unique and
for-the-moment, therefore previous themes are unlikey to apply.
They are less enduring than ground - indeed episodic !

16.11.78

Pupil's career now seems to continue in its apparent normal
orientation:

        'They're all quite sociable except for Alan
        Knight. But he's getting better. There's been
        a vast improvement just lately'

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A fundamental difference still persists between Alan and the others. This suggests an abnormal model may perhaps still be in use. However, there is a process of limited or perhaps segmentalised normal orientation going on: 'vast improvement just lately'. This possible normality is further outlined:

> 'Alan's started with everything. He'll have a
> go at it for about five minutes. And then
> everything just gets left half-way. That's only
> just started these last couple of weeks. He
> always used to finish things'

Yet in another segmentalised role formulation there is a provisional reversion <u>away from</u> normality. A phase that has 'only just started'. It seems teacher has not abandoned the emerging normal model as the deviation is perhaps seen as an episodic divergence from the previous normal ground: 'he always used to finish things'. Another sign of normalisation is noticed:

> 'He's becoming much more sociable and wanting a
> one-to-one attention from me. Very interested
> to do more work and show me now. He's taken a
> sudden turn. He's interested in showing off
> what he's done if he gets praised for it to all
> the children now. Which wasn't Alan at all.
> He's even started giggling. Very unlike him'

This may perhaps be complete normalisation. Teacher now engages in biographical Other matching. A contrast with former ground 'which wasn't Alan at all'. The move into the normal phase is so marked it reaches a significant boundary: 'even started giggling'.

It can be seen how the last two accounts indicate moves in different directions both <u>away from</u> and <u>towards</u> the normal! It seems the process may then be multi- directional and perhaps

segmental. In propensity to 'finish' work he is moving <u>away</u> from the normal while in 'showing off' his work he is moving <u>towards</u> the normal.

An uncertainty here then is whether pupil is retained as abnormal ground with a number of normal segmental grounds 'bolted' on or whether this signifies <u>total</u> reformulation. It is necessary to await teacher's further formulations to discover this. However it seems perhaps that teachers would encounter possible problems of 'cognitive dissonance' unless they operated a basic model and then added segmental roles (insulated from the basic model by their role boundary specificity). A basic model would have general application and therefore provide a general motivational reservoir. Teachers must presumably be continually faced with a general <----> specific tension as <u>general</u> formulation competes with the contextual <u>specificity</u> of segmentalised or typical episodic formulation.

17.1.79

Normalisation continues:

> 'He's changed a tremendous amount. Even his
> mother's remarked. He's more eager to come to
> school'

This seems to be a remarkable change then. A total <u>revision</u> of ground is seen to be justified by mother's own formulation. New ground is apparently 'negotiated' by the fusion of two compatible grounds both in-school and out-of-school.

Another indication of normal ground:

> 'He mixes a lot with other children. It's
> become very apparent. It seems such an obvious

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> 'fact. Cause before he used to be very sullen.
> And now he's laughing with all the others. And
> going to others to play. Whereas before they
> would be going to him. And he wouldn't want to
> know most of the time'

Normalisation continues. The inter-personal differentiation boundary has been dissolved. Whereas there was an inter-actional difference perceived before, it no longer applies. This leads to a double dimension of normality then. At pupil level of interacting there is no self-imposed boundary (the genuine sociological 'identity' of pupil's perceived self) and at teacher level of perception there is no longer a boundary of typical action and motive to distinguish Alan from other pupils. Boundaries have blurred and disappeared. The essence of a process of normalisation!

The new ground is supported by new motivation:

> 'He's becoming very affectionate. Which isn't
> like him. He likes to be round you. He likes
> to be noticed. Does little things to be
> noticed. Which he wasn't before at all. It was
> hardly noticeable before'

A change then which is most noticeable since it is a contrast with previous ground. New ground now provides a source of understanding motivation. He is now seen to be operating from a new reservoir: 'does little things to be noticed '. Since it is not apparently an episodic motive then it confirms the view that a new ground is now in play.

Finally a review of the total change. The move into normality:

> 'If I ask for anybody to do anything he's always
> there offering. And things like that. Which
> for him is a big improvement. It's quite
> surprising sometimes some of the things he does
> which you wouldn't think of from Alan. Not from
> the Alan I knew when I first came. Well he

> didn't really know me.   So he was maybe a bit
> dubious about the fact that he kept getting   all
> these new teachers!'

The process   of   normalisation   is apparently complete then.   A
statement of new ground which is now seen to   be   a   widespread
phenomenon: 'things   like   that'.   In   addition it is seen as
specifiable in a typical episodic or boundary form: 'if I   ask
for anybody   to   do anything he's always there offering'.   This
is contrasted with earlier ground: 'the Alan   I   knew   when   I
first came'.   This   earlier   ground   is   now seen to have been
temporally and inter-actionally contingent and bounded.

Again can be seen   the   essential   perception   problem   in
deviance formulation: is   it   shortlived   (episodic) or is it
enduring (ground)?   Unless there is absolute certainty then for
'open-minded' teachers there will perhaps always be a potential
episodic explanation.   Normalisation now seems to result   in   a
reformulation of   earlier   deviance   from the new standpoint in
time:

> 'I expect at some time   boys   do   go   through   a
> period of showing their personality over others.
> Over teacher.   And   he seemed so introverted at
> first.   Now I feel he's   becoming   more   normal.
> He's becoming overtly normal'

This is a straightforward statement of normality then.   Earlier
deviance   is   now   neutralised   by   being   reviewed   within   a
developmental framework.   It is   in   effect   recast   within   an
episodic framework   as   a   phenomenon   now   seen to have been a
developmental phase or extended episode.   What at the time   may
have been   seen   as   ground   is   now   seen   to have been a mere
extended episode.   Obviously this episodic   reformulation   will
always be a post-hoc process reviewing earlier phenomena from a

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new standpoint in time. Thus episodic or phasic neutralisation
of deviance is possible only when it can be seen how it turned
out or what it turned into i.e. when it's come to it's end. It
has no form until then.

The normalisation seems also to be confirmed with what
appears to be a clear instance of submergence. The pupil no
longer appears in interview talk (as though perhaps he is no
longer of any concern to the teachers). From January to June
1979 there are only three interview references to Alan. One
suggests (15.2.79) either a difference of mere opinion or
perhaps of situated pupil identity in relation to specific
teachers:

> 'When we were talking in the group before B said
> about Alan. She found him difficult when she has
> him to get him to concentrate and to do work and
> things. And I still haven't found that since
> then. He's not that way with me'

Thus a possible disputing of segmentalised gound formulations.
The next (14.6.79) suggests a classic submergence:

> 'I feel that it is only where there has been
> something unusual or different that I've
> mentioned anything. Because life, and everyday
> life of every child, and your relationship with
> that child seems to run on a relatively even
> pattern'

A statement of routine submergence within the parameters of
normality. Perhaps this is a perceptual ground in both the
sociological and the psychological sense of figure-ground!
There are no perceptual figures for teacher to observe and none
to 'mention' in the interpersonal context of the interview as
it all submerges into ground.

Teacher goes on to indicate what stands out against the

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backcloth of ground as figure incidents:

> 'And it's all relative of course. And
> interspersed with things that happen that
> surprise you to the extent that you make a
> mental note of it. Well, I don't necessarily
> make a mental note of the fact that I haven't
> remarked about anything on this one child during
> the course of one day. Until I may suddenly
> think to myself: My God, I haven't seen
> so-and-so. I wonder what he's been doing. And
> then I'm brought up sharp and realise: Well
> he's been getting on. He's been busy painting.
> And it has to be a constant......definite effort
> to think what that child has been doing.
> Because I haven't been particularly concerned
> with him in a set-out way during the day'

Here then is what seems to be an unsolicited statement congruent with the general dynamic model here being proposed. Teacher is acknowledging that perception itself is a dynamic process of relativity (between figure and ground) as though one phenomenon is matched against another: 'it's all relative of course'. A recognition that the standpoint of perception is critical.

This phenomenon of matching has been a recurring process throughout the research. It can also be seen at other times in the process of incidents often being formulated in terms not of what they are but of what they are not. Thus being constructed comparatively against a temporal, an inter-actional, personal referent. Within the framework of relativity the notion of boundary, between one form and its comparative form, is critical no matter how strong or weak the boundaries are.

Teacher's account here also suggests how pupil formulation perhaps slips into the psychological notion of perceptual ground in the course of a day for most of the time: 'it has to be a constant effort to think what that child has been doing'.

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Pupil slips into an episodic sociological submergence and a psychological perceptual ground. He only becomes noticed as figure 'if I'm brought up sharp and realise'.

Perhaps then it is important to distinguish between the construction of episodic theme from the perception and formulation of person within episodic parameters. In this instance pupil slips into the anonymity of perceptual ground. Thus there really is an episodic theme (sociological) and a personal perceptual ground (psychological). But then perhaps this is just sociological submergence i.e. suspension in reverse. Instead of a groundless formulation as in early days it is now an episode-free formulation. The Other disappears for an episode. Thus a genuine perceptual figure slipping into perceptual ground. Now it is ground without figure as pupil slips into episodic anonymity.

In spite of all this apparent normality there are still traces of abnormality

> 'He still has his usual mannerisms. But they're
> not as pronounced as they were before. Which
> makes him more on a par with other children.

Pupil has become normal then. The implied traces of his abnormality no longer differentiate him from 'other children' so much. The interpersonal boundary and the interactional boundary once again are dissolved. (In Alan's case these two boundaries seem to go together). The teacher continues with an account of how normalisation is apparently socially structured by attempting to manage his responses by adopting a particular strategy:

> 'You know that you have to wait quite a long
> time for him to reply or to join in. You know
> what's going to cause him to hang his head and
> withdraw. And so consequently you don't put him
> in that situation. You avoid it'

(15)

Is it really normalisation then or avoidance of the abnormal?
Since abnormal ground is still present as a basis of this
teacher strategy, although pupil's response is made normal, is
there not a deviant potential ground behind these typical
episodic figures?   Perhaps this is the social structuring of
normality. As such it is a dynamic process moving between
outcomes and recognised potential outcomes, between figures and
potential grounds, between episodic and trans-episodic forms.

Teacher also indicates how extreme the earlier abnormality
had been regarded. The boundary so dominated the formulation
that it seemed to be beyond normalisation:

> 'He had something to cause me concern. Because
> I didn't think that with his attitudes and
> behaviour that he could ever get, or at that
> time get into a situation, and a sense of ease
> with me sufficiently enough for him to learn'

Thus formulations have temporal projection.   At the time of
original formulation they carry forward some way into the
future. To formulate is to begin to act upon the future.

And so Year Two closes with Alan's career apparently
having undergone a process of normalisation - whether 'natural'
or 'socially structured'. How then does the Year Three proceed
with a new teacher?

A new teacher once again. Beginning with no previous knowledge of him:

24.9.78 'Now he's a little lad who will follow things through. If he's on his own he'll work hard and long at a thing'

This seems to be a routine normal formulation of conformity to expectations, even though it is qualified. Perhaps there may be a hint of what could come. The qualified normality: 'if he's on his own' may perhaps turn out later to be something greater. But at this point teacher is apparently operating from a normal base.

But perhaps a recognition of potential abnormality is not too far away:

'Apparently he cries. Not cries, as much as he looks as though he's going to. His eyes fill up. It fits, unless he's misunderstood my intentions. There's been no reason that I could see. In fact the first time I said to him : What was wrong with his eyes? I didn't realise that they were in fact tears'

Here is an instance of teacher acquiring a communal ground from negotiation with other teachers. Staffroom culture provides a basis for acquiring ground. Here it seems teacher is attempting to discover an underlying pattern to her episodic figure perception by searching for theme. She tries out trans-episodic communal ground and apparently 'it fits'.

Teacher also attempts an episodic form of alternative interpretation: 'unless he's misunderstood my intentions; there's been no reason that I could see'. She even has to reformulate original figure since even the figure was not clear: 'In fact the first time I said to him: What was wrong

with his eyes? I didn't realise that they were in fact tears'.
Note how in this instance there is much <u>movement between</u>
perceptions: between <u>misperceived</u> figure and <u>received</u> ground;
between episodic and trans-episodic ground. A dynamic or
ongoing process indeed. Teacher continues the search for
likely theme by reverting to the emerging provisional ground
framework of typical episode:

> 'We were going to do number cards again.   So I
> wonder if they come when he feels as though he's
> being asked to do something that he can't do'

Again there is an apparent mid-position between the episode and
the more general ground. Here then it is a search within the
generalised or <u>typical</u> episode. But finally teacher goes on to
explore possible segmentalised ground:

> 'His results weren't right. But then he sat, of
> his own accord and he was on a table of his own
> and he worked through and he did get the right
> answers. And he could think what he was doing.
> So I wonder if that's it.   If he thinks to
> himself. I can't do this. A bit of timidity'

Teacher, throughout this sequence has moved through tentative
figure,   revised figure, episodic theme, communal/received
ground, typical or generalised episodic theme, and finally a
tentative and segmentalised form of ground. In the first week
such movement is to be expected since it is a process of
<u>searching</u> for form!   This occurs before a stable formulation
base emerges. That is, until a firm ground appears.

3.10.79

In week two a normal or perhaps even a normal-ideal

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segmentalised formulation:

> 'Alan Knight is remarkable. He swims all the
> time with his head under water. He got a
> certificate. He really is quite confident in
> the water. Does very well'

This seems to be a possible 'ideal' formulation: 'remarkable' and 'very well'. This then is <u>segmentalised ground</u> or <u>typical episodic setting</u> relating to specifiable contexts of action and interaction.

Next a figure instance is offered:

> 'On Friday of last week he almost made the
> distance they had to swim. Swim to the length
> of three posts it was. And he almost made it.
> I'm sure it was Alan cause we congratualted him
> in red group this morning'

This is offered within the context of negotiation. After teacher's general formulation, teachers B and N offer instances. There is then an 'agreed' normal/ideal formulation across school culture extending beyond even staffroom culture since other pupils took part in the ceremony.

Surprise is expressed by teacher N:

> 'I was quite surprised. I would've thought that
> he might have found a bit of difficulty coping
> with a new situation'

The matching of episodic figure with segmental ground leads to surprise. Such 'surprise' situations demonstrate the importing of ground-based frameworks against which episodic figures are interpreted.

In the context of this staffroom interview teacher offers a renegotiated formulation:

> 'I was saying today, he's quite timid in his
> approach to me. He certainly hasn't got loads
> of confidence. He'll come and ask me if he can

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do this or that. But often if I ask him a
question he will take an age to answer'

Thus the class teacher who opened up the negotiation at the
start of the sequence with a comment on his confidence now
'dredges' up a matching lack of confidence. Is this perhaps
the result of negotiation? It also stems itself from a context
of negotiation beyond the interview indicating a quite complex
network!

Teacher B adds to the same formulation offering additional
and typical episodic instances and their segmental ground
bases:

'I think this is something that I find is within
his character. For instance at lunchtime, we
can be discussing anything. And if you bring
Alan into the conversation, because he doesn't
always press himself forward within a group
situation and volunteer, and if you talk to him
particularly to include him, very often you have
to wait quite a while for him to respond'

Thus it adds to previous formulation. In negotiation then it
amplifies the staffroom construction from personal ground to an
episodic theme provided by typical episodic motive and strategy
and outcome.

The same teacher contrasts this with another typical
episode or perhaps segmental role formulation:

'Now other times, when he really has something
to say, and he wants to say it he'll say it.
But to get him to be involved is something
rather difficult'

The general ground is segmented into particular roles and shown
to lead to different motivations. Each is perhaps associated
with a typical episode and intra-episodic motivation
(contextually bound) and related to the specificity of its role

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context. Thus it is either insulated _from_ or contiguous _with_
general ground.(21)

Finally classteacher returns to the interview theme of
lack of confidence:

> 'I find him rather timid with me. If I ask him
> something he hesitates to answer. Even just a
> straightforward question that would require yes
> or no. He's certainly not timid as far as the
> rest of the group are concerned. He'll chatter
> away to them. And play around with them'

Thus two typical episodes separated by interactional boundary.
Other in one context of interaction is compared with Other in a
different interactional context. In episode 1 there is also a
sense of extremity evident in the limits of the boundary:
'even just a straightforward question'. Thus teacher's
postulation of an utterly normal situation invokes a non-normal
response. It seems she retains a view of potential abnormality
behind this (interactionally qualified to relations with
herself as specific Other).

Pupil seems to be experiencing a normal career now. The
earlier abnormal ground is often used as a backcloth in the
expression of contrast. For example, the next account is a VTR
'live' observation. The teacher interprets present figure by
its divergence from an earlier abnormal ground:

> (Alan makes a thumbs-up gesture and everyone
> remarks what a change in him)[24]'Yes. Indicating
> I suppose really his development of confidence.
> Because he was really an introverted child when
> he first came. He wouldn't hold his head up.
> Or look at you at all'

This figure observation then is recognised by all as such a
contrast with earlier ground. The outburst from everyone is
quite a clear indication of the 'thinking-as-usual' in

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staffroom 'culture'.

Next an apparently normal episode. I questioned teacher
about why she had said to Alan: Are you choosing a book? (My
suspicions were a possible implicit deviance imputation here):

> 'He had the books on the floor. So it was for
> two purposes. We hadn't much time. One was to
> go and choose a book. And the other was for him
> to put away the books that he already had out'

It proves to be a routine situation then after all. Perhaps a
groundless episode. In order to check out further the possible
deviance implications I ask: Was he being mischievous?:

> 'Maybe not. He just probably wanted to go on.
> I certainly remember going behind the bookcase
> and he had the books on the floor. I said: Are
> you going to choose a book Alan, or whatever,
> for him to go and choose a book and put away the
> books that he had'

So my attempts to probe further into this episode do not reveal
any ground. It may still be implicit but in the above account
the whole episode does seem to be groundless. It is described
in figure and episodic terms. There are no trans-episodic
references made.

Next classteacher indicates a difference between Alan and
another pupil. It is formulated first as an episodic
difference but then perhaps becomes more than that:

> 'Alan is different to Peter. There was an
> incident the other day. Peter knew immediately
> he'd done wrong. And he more or less sprung up
> to me. And he said he was sorry. Now Alan will
> do wrong in a very quiet sort of way. And I

wouldn't say he's as open in his actions   as   is
Peter'

An inter-personal boundary appears.   It may of course not be a
significant boundary.   But episodically a difference is   noted.
The intra-episodic   sequence demonstrates a difference: 'Peter
knew immediately';   'he sprung up to me';   'and   said   he   was
sorry'.

Is it significant that the formulation for Peter   is   mere
episodic: 'he   said   he   was   sorry'?   Whereas   for   Alan the
formulation is trans-episodic as though it were a mere instance
of a recurring pattern: 'Alan will do wrong in   a   very   quiet
sort of way';   'wouldn't   say   he's   as open'.   As though the
figure incident were less noticeable than the ground for   which
it stood!   Faced   then with an instance or event involving two
pupils, teacher sees figure with one   pupil,   and   ground   with
another!   This   suggests   a significant element of the dynamics
of typification.   Teachers it seems   are   able   to   see   either
figure or ground in the same event.   It can be seen either as a
unique episode or as a recurring pattern.

Although Alan seems to be experiencing   a   normal   career,
there   is   some   inter-personal   differentiation   above   which
suggests either there   is   still   a   latent   abnormal   model
operating or a segmental model with deviance limited to typical
episodes.   In   the   next   account   the   occasional   deviance is
suggested when teacher talks through a VTR sequence:

'I would think you're expecting that I would
always treat Alan in that certain manner.   I
don't.   Because sometimes I get angry with Alan!
And I'll speak quite severely to him'

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Thus behind the normal and routine sequence apparently going on in this VTR teacher acknowledges that ground is normal. Such normality would be broken in occasional episodes by teacher responding (as societal reaction): 'sometimes I get angry with Alan and I'll speak quite severely to him'. Thus it is only 'sometimes'. This suggests normality prevails, even though there are some implied problems with Alan. His treatment sugests a mere routine normality rather than abnormality!

22.5.80

Signs of some form of diverging. Either deviance, abnormal divergence or mere divergence within the normal range. But the account is not clear. Teacher S from the Year 1 phase of the research comments on academic progress:

'I'm very disappointed in him. His reading was very slow. I think he's just got onto Janet and Alan Book 2. He's another one who doesn't read unless you ask him to go and bring his book'

It is not clear what base is in operation here. Pupil is certainly some way from the normal. Perhaps divergent within the normal range. Teacher suggests he's one of a divergent category: 'he's another one'. A segmental ground perhaps rather than a typical episode.

It may be then that there are two forms of mid-position formulation lying between ground and episode i.e. segmental role and typical episode.

Segmental role: emphasises the person as role-taker

Typical episode: emphasises the episodic parameters of the

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setting

This is a distinction which has so far been ignored. The
two have been elided. But it seems likely that they occur as a
continuum and are not in fact discrete categories.
Consequently it is unlikely that there will be a conceptually
clear boundary. They will perhaps inevitably be overlapping
categories since empirically both person as role-taker and the
episodic parameters of the setting are likely to be perceived
as overlapping phenomena. And so the present distinction
provides only one of emphasis upon either person or setting.

As teacher continues it can be seen that pupil is still
being viewed from a normal base:

> 'When we do get him to do anything, he still
> likes building. Using his hands. And there you
> see a lot of imagination coming out. And his
> paintings are very good. And his drawing. He's
> very imaginative really in painting and
> construction. (But) not in writing. He finds
> writing a bit of a grind'

A normal base then. Certainly no fundamental deviance is
referred to. Nor are there motivational selections from a
deviant reservoir. The formulation is of the mid-position type
and all apparently segmental roles. It seems there is some
divergence and some normal-ideal. The potential deviance
perhaps can be seen to be no more than diverging and certainly
neutralised since pupil's manner of role implementation is seen
to be ideal/normal even though his reluctance to adopt such
roles is itself potentially diverging from the normal ideal.

It is important to take account of the continuing dynamics
of formulation. Although once a ground or base has been
settled upon it seems to then identify the likely parameters of

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pupil action, there is nevertheless often a recognition of movement across or between different sets of parameters. This can be seen in the next account in which from a normal base there is seen to be some diverging:

'When it comes to doing anything written he gets fed up very quickly and doesn't produce a lot of written work. Even within my sight it's difficult for him to do a lot of work. A lot of sitting and writing. He'd much prefer to go and play with construction toys or paint'**26**

Although a quite routine and normal base is present there is some segmental divergence within a contextually limited framework. The divergence involves temporal dimensions: 'he gets fed up very quickly. Thus role-taking has both temporal and contextual dimensions. This is important in process terms! The contextual also takes effect in defining the very outer limits of this diverging: 'even within my sight'. The pupil is perhaps normal, but either segmentally or typical episodically diverging towards the limits of normal/abnormal boundary. Nevertheless, this divergence is contained within its episodic boundaries and does not appear to challenge basic ground.

Teacher continues, stating the segmental role/typical episode strategy:

'He loves painting. And it's not that I'm trying to stop him doing that. But I think the balance is wrong. He would spend all day doing these things and very little doing anything else'**27**

Thus it seems there is a recognition of potential divergence. Not in terms of not participating in a participatory culture but in the manner of participation. Teacher seems to have a

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notion of balance in role-taking across the curriculum. The segmental role formulation involves some notion of balance: 'I think the balance is wrong'. Thus teacher is not adopting strategy against a generalised pupil ground, relating to pupil's either following or not following pupil role, but is attempting to influence the manner of following. Nevertheless it is a strategy directed trans-episodically and trans-segmentally and so must reside in ground.

Perhaps this indicates how ultimately all formulations of pupil ground may be sedimented out into trans-episodic and trans-segmental dimensions and perhaps used by teachers in that way to predict two elements of pupil: the episodic and the segmental role.

Such finer differentiations within teacher formulation of Other-role should be recognised. The following account shows teacher outlining the basis of her general strategy. Is it oriented towards both episodic and segmental dimensions of Other?:

> 'I usually set him a task to do on a morning.
> And then dangle a carrot: if you get that done
> you can go and paint a picture about something.
> Or I try to give him a working assignment. And
> then let him have some sort of choosing time to
> choose what he wants to do'

Here the temporal dimensions can be recognised in terms of intra-episodic sequence. Not just as episodic and segmental formulations but in the temporal and sequential relations between them. Teacher begins then with episodic strategy: 'usually set him a task to do on a morning'. This then is allowed to open out into segmental strategy in a situation of

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control or negotiation way: 'if you get that done you can go and paint a picture'.

Note how the social 'structuring' is along many dimensions in complex relationships of episode, segmental ground, temporality and sequence. How some approaches (Sharp and Green, 1975) perhaps oversimplify their treatments of social structure and identity in seeming to trivialise and apparently generalise across these as unexamined or unacknowledged dimensions!

However, the possible latent deviance behind the aparent normal formulation must be recognised. It is possibly an underlying element of teacher strategy:

> 'I don't organise his movement but he gets tasks to do which will keep him usually within my sight. And often I say to him: Bring your book and sit at my table. If he's wandering off doing different things'

Here then there is a spatial dimension added to the structuring of his actions. Not segmental role structuring this time but perhaps the typical episode (with a strong spatial definition of the situation). This is further probed:

> (Would you be happy for him to move out of your area?) 'Not for any length of time. I would feel bound to go and check up and see what he was doing. Because he and his younger brother Matthew are two that I do check up on a lot'

Spatial definition (and structuring) is again then a continuing feature of teacher's attempt to structure the ongoing situation for Alan.

This could mean then that there is a latent deviant ground always threatening to re-emerge. But how can this possibility be empirically verified? Nevertheless it seems that while

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there is a normal base for formulation teacher is still consciously attempting to so structure the situation as to continue the normality. It seems she attempts a structured normality in a case of continuing potential divergence!

(Maybe this is a significant process underlying the career of Alan. He is one who has always seemed to experience structuring to normalise the definition of the situation) It is perhaps appropriate at this point to refer to the work of Sharp and Green who have considered processes of reification in pupil identities. In the present context however it can be seen how the structuring is not to reify deviant identity but to normalise it. There are implicit notions of oppression in the terms 'structuring' and 'reification'. But it is important to acknowledge that 'structure' is no more than the recognised parameters operated by social actors in the construction of their everyday life. Some of their consequences, intentions, or purposes may have 'oppressive' dimensions but they may also be operated in a 'benevolent' framework. Thus structure has no inherent quality! It is the continuing framework of everyday life.

2.7.80

As the analysis approaches the end of Alan's third year there is some reference to his earlier career at the start of Infant schooling. Thus a 'natural' temporal context of a three year time-scale. Knowledge of Other has ground elements extending three years back into the past. (It can be see then

that ground 'naturally' has extended dimensions to participants. It is a genuinely developmental or longitudinal view of Other which may remain untapped except by the use of methodologies that acknowledge such longitudinal frameworks):

> 'It took him such a long time to bring himself
> to even talk to people and to join in anything
> that was going on. He would just sit.
> Literally in his own little space with his head
> down. Very withdrawn and wouldn't take part in
> PE. And he wouldn't take part in singing
> nursery rhymes or playing games for a long time'

A review than of earlier deviance, in its general (trans-episodic) ground form, and more specifically in its segmentalised form. It can be seen that in this formulation there are 'naturally' occurring temporal and spatial dimensions introduced by the teacher. Deviance was seen to be an emerging phenomenon. Not a constant but a developmental or moving condition. In this case towards normality. In specific contexts, space was seen to be a prop used by the pupil to insulate himself from others. It perhaps also signals to teacher something of the nature of Other. There is perhaps even an unstated expectation about the manner of pupils conducting themselves in 'space' - normally or abnormally?

'Space' then may be an important, though unstated, feature of interaction (Goffman,1959;Kelvin,1970). Teachers may judge pupils according to how they act or conduct themselves in the domain of space. Thus we may have assumptions about normal and abnormal movement across or use of space. For example, why is it seen to be so significant that pupil 'would just sit'? Is he breaking an implicit 'rule' that space is a phenomenon to be

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<u>used</u> and <u>acted</u> in? Is this a feature of Primary school ideology in a 'movement'- oriented world? Or are actors always seen in spatial terms? Space may be a permanent though latent dimension of Other construction but rarely spoken about because there is perhaps for other aspects of formulation no 'academic' precedent as there is in the language of developmental psychology and its pervading ideology in the world of education. Its rare appearance in talk may be a feature of the present <u>method</u> rather than a rarity in social action! It may be a deep and unstated feature of Other construction!

The same temporal emergence is seen in his continuing 'slow'-ness. Is this then a powerful feature of typification to be recognised? In the formulation of children there is perhaps a strong <u>developmental</u> and <u>temporal</u> standpoint built in. For Schutz (1963), the framework of person formulation was perhaps intended for, or derived from, an understanding of adults at a phase of relative stability in Other. Further indications of a developmental framework can be seen as the account continues:

> 'He's just a little slow in buildng up words.
> He thinks about it and looks at it. And the
> skills are becoming internalised in him'

Thus the very perceptual framework is along a <u>moving</u> temporal frame. Not just a boundary between the normal and abnormal! The boundary is itself moving as the cohort or normal yardstick moves! This formulation then is in segmental ground. It is given specific contextual reference in its typical contextual boundaries and typical contextual motives. But nevertheless its typical direction of movement is towards normality.

Again then it can perhaps be seen that it is not just a question of the boundary between persons wich provides the framework for formulation but the direction of individual movement in relation to a shifting boundary! This may be a significant feature of formulation. In addition to the inter-personal boundaries (the boundaries between persons in normal/abnormal terms) there is a concurrent attention to the direction of movement of the individual in relation to a shifting boundary.

This developmental theme is continued:

> 'He's not saying them out loud often. So you're
> not sure if he's using the right letter sounds.
> And it takes him a minute or so to make any
> attempt at saying what it is. But it often is
> right'

But here it seems to be a matter of barriers to perception of development imposed as a pupil strategy. Pupil tends to withold data: 'takes him a minute or so to make an attempt'. Thus not only is there a trans-episodic temporal dimension to development over months or years but there is an episodic temporal emergence within each setting. Here because pupil disturbs an expected interactional flow the episodic temporal emergence is halted. Perhaps then usually it flows 'naturally' and therefore doesn't appear in the data. It is important to recognise then that there are two dimensions to temporality: the trans-episodic and the intra-episodic.

Here then is an instance of 'natural' Garfinkling where the routine processes are disturbed spontaneously. Maybe this is an important underlying feature of typification which only

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'appears' here because of Alan's 'natural' Garfinkling! This would have implications for methodology! Many hidden or latent processes may never be revealed therefore except by spontaneously occurring ('natural') Garfinkling. This would be an ever-present feature of research and a continuing source of error.

There may be implications for labelling then in this process. How much time or temporal emergence do teachers permit or wait for? Do teachers vary in their propensity to wait for or allow temporal emergence to influence an existent trans-episodic formulation? Here there are perhaps connections with other teacher differences such as in 'open-mindedness'.[20]

The ambiguity of formulation can be seen in the next account. Person formulation is very much a process of accomplishment and so of selecting the right ground, of operating the right boundaries:

> 'Really is unenthusiastic about anything written(1). But when it comes to doing number(2), if you pin him down to going and getting his number cards out he'll choose a card and get on quite confidently with it'

It can be seen then that the Other has a persisting ambiguity (role formulations 1 and 2). Potentially divergent in 1 and normal in 2. Note how it is in movement or orientation that the significant construction occurs. It is not whether he is or is not deviant or normal but the direction of its orientation. This can be seen in the structuring of 2 above into normalisation. While segmental role 2 is potentially normal, it still requires teacher strategy to give it momentum and to ensure its continuing direction of

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normality. The formulation begins from a normal base. But perhaps the potential moving perspective of episodic emergence is recognised to be unpredictable and therefore requires teacher strategy to attempt its structuring! Again it is important to remember the moving perspective! Action is a dynamic process while interview talk may view it from an inactive standpoint!

The episodic emergence is given further elaboration!

'He's not always coming to say: I can't do
this, before he's tried(1). He'll try first(2)
and then if he has made any mistake and you
explain to him(3) he does grasp it(4)'

Thus teachers appear to hold not only trans-episodic and typical episodic formulations but also typical intra-episodic formulations of typical sequences of action. Here the formulation follows sequentially through four anticipated events. Thus teacher's formulating knowledge is very complex. Taking in earlier points it can be seen to proceed through segmental role/trans-episodic formulations 1 and 2; the generation of segmental role 2; and the anticipated sequences of events 1 to 4. It is important then to take account of these moving and dynamic perspectives in the analysis.

Next a revisit to earlier deviant ground:

'I've written Alan was extremely withdrawn
during his first year in school(1) but has made
remarkable progress. And has much to offer in
group activities(2)'

This is not just a revisit in the context of the third party talk of interviews but the communication to third parties in the next school. This is important then because it indicates how teacher recognises that for next teachers to begin to formulate

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pupil appropriately (from present teachers' standpoint) it is important to know the ground from which development has proceeded and been seen to proceed. They need to know not just the appropriate ground but the developmental ground so as to recognise 'actual' development and the 'relative' evaluation of it. Thus what is seen to matter then is not just how the pupil is but what he has become and the distance over which he has travelled! Teacher is obviously offering a normalised ground 2 to neutralise or offset the statement of ground 1.

(Therefore this is an important instance for understanding the negotiation of Others as it occurs within organisational contexts. Similar processes of career emergence may perhaps occur in other organisational contexts)

Teacher goes on to give the ground formulation greater segmental specificity:

> 'Has much to offer in group activities. Particularly in Art and Craft. He's very talented at drawing and painting. He does things in minute detail and uses colour very nicely. And it's one of the things that I particularly used to build up his self-confidence. His talent at Art and Craft. Because once he knew he could do something, possibly better than other children, he became quite confident about doing that. And other children would say: Alan can draw cars, fairs or.....Alan can paint this'

Teacher offers first a general ground which is translated into specific segmental role instances. These are employed strategically by teacher in attempts to maintain the direction of normalisation. The teacher's own perception, and that of other pupils within interaction is seen to produce a normalisation through segmentalised 'ideal' Other perception

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and its manipulation. Again then the potential ambiguity and diversity of Other indicates some of the complexity of processes of formulation. (Since a deviant may also have many 'ideal' facets, the issue then becomes how the many facets are perceived, managed, structured or induced by teacher strategy in the direction of either normality or abnormality)

In these examples can be seen a seemingly recurring problem in the case of Alan. Most of his data is presented by teachers at a less specific level than for Gavin (the deviant case in School A). Although it is related to contexts and so relates to action settings it does seem to be at a general rather than a specific level of focus: and so is perhaps in the form of the 'typical episode', the 'situated episode', or the 'predictable setting'. A continuing goal of this research has been to get as close to the micro-setting as possible. Although Alan's seemingly more generalised contextual data is not as close to the apparent dynamics of social action as Gavin's highly specific contextual data it is the closest available in the interview data.

It is possible that these two careers experience differences in the dimension of individuality <-------> anonymity. Perhaps Alan is more anonymised. Or maybe his personal 'style' or strategy increasingly separates him interactionally from others and therefore moves him in the direction of the anonymous and away from the individual mode of social interaction and so of formulation.

Teacher next sums up the developmental dimensions of ground:

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'I think reading and number really you can say
he's lost a year out of his Infant school life.
Or going on for a year'

Here then a temporal and segmental construction in two
specified segmental roles. Formulation is seen to be within a
temporal or developmental framework with rates of emergence
seen to be lagging behind other non-specified segmental roles!
A powerful summing up of the temporality of Infant school life
and the particular place of 'development' (direction and pace
of movement) within the temporal frame or 'cultural timetable'
of Infant school life.

Year Four

And so on to the final year. A point which would have
meant a move into a 'new' school - the Junior school. But
because of school mergers it effectively meant the fourth year
was within a merging organisational situation as a process of
school merging was underway at the time. The headteacher
seemed to be attempting to redefine ideologies and boundaries
(inter-personal, curriculum, and even typificational I
suspect!) as she took over the now Junior department in the
new situation. The early phase of merger involved an opening
of 'spatial' boundaries as the former Junior techers began to
operate in the area which had previously been an I3 area.
Within this context Alan's teacher is a newcomer both to the
school and to the profession and so perhaps is something of a
'stranger' owing no allegiance to either of the two 'schools'
in the merging process.

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<u>4.9.80</u>

Where does Alan begin then? From a normal or an abnormal base? It seems teacher begins without ground. The first account is mere episodic:

'At first he was very reticent when I first met him'

In keeping with the 'professionalism' that might be expected in teachers retaining 'open'-ness of categories this seems to be a groundless formulation. Pupil is constructed only in episodic terms. It could be expected that the episodic would precede the trans-episodic and this is indeed what happens.

The next statement appears to move towards ground:

'The first thing you'd think about is the fact that his brother's in my class as well now. And physically they look very alike. But Alan tends to seem very much older. Because Matthew 's so young'

Indications then of sibling pairing. How then does the 'sibling phenomenon' (Hargreaves, 1975) become an element in the figure-ground processes? Does it provide a readymade figure-ground relationship with each sibling acting as a covert <u>ground</u> permanently present within these early <u>figure</u> formulations?

It seems teacher operates the 'sibling phenomenon' as the opening of ground formulation. As an opener she presents the dimension of development/maturation: 'Alan tends to seem very much older because Matthew 's so young'. Thus there is perhaps an in-built <u>perceptual</u> figure-ground frame too as Alan's <u>figure</u>

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exists against the <u>ground</u> of Matthew.

It seems then that it is necessary to recognise a number of figure-ground dimensions:

1.   trans-episodic)
)   ground/figure
    episodic   )

2.a. intra-episodic : - episodic figure

    (sociological)   - episodic theme (equivalent of ground)

  b.   intra-episodic : - perceptual figure

    (psychological)   - perceptual ground

These might be represented diagrammatically as follows:

<u>The 'Sociological' and 'Psychological' Dimensions</u>
<u>of Figure-Ground</u>
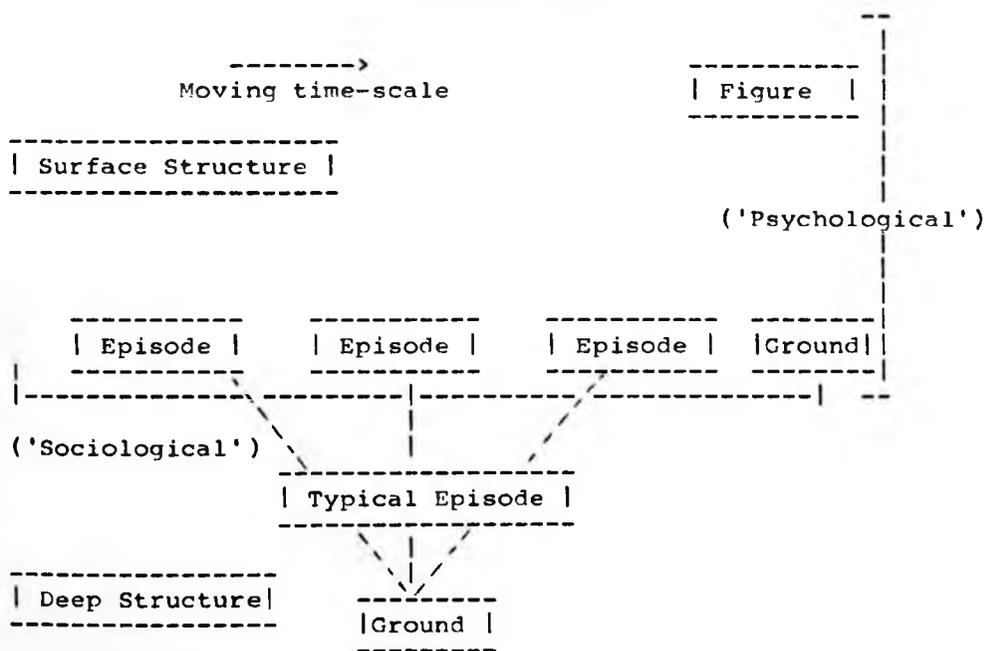
The otherwise 'psychological' notion of figure-ground becomes 'sociological' by moving into an inter-personal mode such as in the use of the 'sibling phenomenon'. Presumably both at the

psychological and the sociological level of episode, typical episode and ground, the two dimensions of the psychological and the sociological cut across figure-ground!

Next we move onto a formulation of Alan himself:

'He's at first a sort of bit sulky. But now he seems to be working he's working quite well'

It seems teacher has noted a brief temporal resistance which quickly fades into normal and normal-ideal formulations. This seems to be at episodic level and perhaps the beginnings of emergence on a segmental or typical episodic scale. As yet no ground of a trans-episodic kind has emerged. It seems about ready to emerge however:

'I find him polite. He tends to be one of the ones that will do things when he's asked to do it. Reasonably straight away'

Here than an apparently conformist pupil. Expressed in an apparently segmental ground form after all. In week 1 then this extent of person generalisation is to be found. And possibly from an emerging normal base too. Is normal model in play at this point?

Perhaps not . Teacher does notice something else:

'He just shows in his face that he doesn't like it. Rather than actually not doing it. It's just I noticed with both of them that their facial expressions tend to be reasonably deadpan. I think particularly Alan. He seems fairly solid'

This then could be a normal figure from a segmental abnormal ground base. The motive is half figure and half ground 'he just shows in his face that he doesn't like it'. Beneath the normal figure an underlying deviant motive is suspected: 'rather than actually not doing it'. Although not being

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perceived as deviance there is an appearance of normality (at figure level) yet with possible indications of something less than normal at deeper or ground level.

Week 2:   11.9.80

Apparently normal or perhaps even groundless formulation so far.   In the next account however teacher indicates a suspicion of potentially deviant ground visible in an incident:

> 'There was an incident with him. The other day he was playing with some dominoes. Big dominoes. Building some kind of structure. And another boy came along just took from him rather than kicked it down. And Alan went under a chair and cried. And then he came out and he went and sat somewhere else and sort of cried. And eventually went in to dinner and cheered up. But he obviously takes things very hard of that nature'

Here then an episodic formulation leading to a trans-episodic formulation of potential deviance. But it is seen as highly specific and segmentally role-related: 'he obviously takes things very hard of that nature'. It is generated from an episodic occurrence seen in apparent deviant figure terms. Since the intruder is formulated in implied normal terms ('just took over from him rather then kicked it down' - he is seen to have merely done this rather than the deviant thing) then Alan's response is obviously seen as out of all proportion to the 'surface structure' of the incident which acted as a trigger. Thus a deviant response. Yet also more than that. In its temporality too it is longer lasting than the normal. Teacher's use of 'eventually' suggests a struggle against time,

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and so not the 'normal' time-scale.

(In this analysis it is perhaps mostly by apparent meanings rather than teacher formulation of boundaries that in this case provides indications of normality and abnormality. The deviance is continually implied then rather than stated. The account is thus less valid and so must be regarded as merely exploratory)

Next a formulation that suggests normality:

> 'Normally he's still one that you don't notice a
> lot. And if he drifts off he does it quietly'

Apparent role Conformity then and possible submergence. An anonymity of submergence within normal parameters. Teacher is perhaps generally operating a normal base. The deviant ground of the previous formulation is possibly only segmental or typical episodic.

Then an element of the 'ideal' divergence is noticeable in another incident:

> 'He's also very keen on making things. He made
> what he calls a computer yesterday. It was out
> of boxes and things. And so he did very well.
> So....very good with his hands'

This figure episode approaches the 'ideal': 'so he did very well'. In segmental ground terms it is also seen to be ideal too: 'very good with his hands; very keen on making things'

There must then be a tension between competing normal, abnormal and normal-ideal formulation bases in this early career. How does it get resolved? These early weeks are of emerging ground within such a context.

As might be expected in the early phase of formulation there are many apparently 'normal' or possibly groundless

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episodic constructions.   These   are   possibly   the   <u>suspended</u> <u>ground</u> or even <u>pre-ground</u> formulations which have been referred to earlier.   These will be omi̯ted in the account so as to avoid repetition.

On to an apparent deviant formulation:

> 'Sort of misbehaves.   He's like Matthew. He's
> like Matthew. He's very stubborn. And if I ask
> him to do something he doesn't <u>want</u> to do he
> tends to..... Like I said: Will you put your
> book away.   So he shut it. But he wanted to
> keep the page. Eventually, when I said: Oh,
> you could find the page again Alan. Alan put
> the book back. But it takes that amount of
> getting him to do it'

Quite a mix here of formulations. However it seems overall to be an account of deviance. Begins with rule-breaking deviation but expressed in person formulation (ground) terms: 'sort of misbehaves'.   And   then   using   the   'sibling phenomenon', a further figure-ground: 'he's   like Matthew ;   he's   very stubborn'. The sibling relationship becomes a ground for the formulation of Alan's figure deviation.   All of which is encompassed in suggesting potential deviance: 'very stubborn'. It is illustrated with a figure instance or episode. The deviance is seen to have two possible boundaries both <u>temporal</u> ('eventually Alan put the book back') and <u>degree</u> ('takes that amount of getting him to do it'). It seems then that Alan has exceeded or crossed both boundaries of normality here. Both boundaries possibly being implied in this incident.

<u>Week 3:</u>   18.9.80

Apparent signs of emerging deviant ground perhaps:

> 'Alan is still crying if people upset him.
> Always it seems to be to do with something that
> he thinks is his. Like if he's playing with
> Lego. Somebody comes and breaks it. Which
> happens twenty times a day to other people. He
> doesn't retaliate but he cries quietly'

Here is a sense of continuing emerging ground ('still crying')
as though as a phasic or emergent feature it may be open to
temporal modification before long. In the context of this
potentially deviant ground is a typical episodic/segmental
other-role motive: 'seems to be to do with something that he
thinks is his'. But then finally what seems to be the first
statement of the normal/abnormal boundary. Here for the first
time the location of Alan on the abnormal side of a boundary as
compared with the normal side where the others are: 'which
happens twenty times a day to other people'. Thus a
significant inter-personal distinction. Nevertheless in the
context of this deviance there appears to be a recognition of
movement towards normality:

> 'He's started coming to me a bit more to appeal
> for help rather than just cry. He'll come and
> tell me who did it. And if he's restored, he
> seems to buck up and carry on. And he seems to
> be a lot happier. He's started standing near me
> in assembly'

Here then a definite movement is formulated towards normality.
There is an underlying deviance as in previous instances. But
his response to the deviant context is perhaps perceived as
more oriented towards the normal. In addition there seems to
be the reduction of inter-personal boundaries, at least between
teacher and pupil Two typical episodes then indicating normal
orientation. One ground indicates the same: 'seems to be a

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lot happier'. The direction is unproblematically towards the normal.

A time sampling observation generates a routine and possibly normal formulation:

> 'Alan was sitting with his book open and
> finishing a drawing. But he wasn't actually
> doing anything much — he was just sitting.
> Looking worried. Which again is fairly typical'

A routine formulation which captures the 'natural' moment and forces teacher to formulate it. In terms of formulation it is not 'natural' but in its attempt to capture the dynamics of teacher-pupil relations (especially the 'lows' as well as the 'highs') it comes close to the naturalness of situated typification across a range which other focii of interviewing tend to distort by encouraging the 'high' orientation in teacher selectivity.

In this case then there is nothing very remarkable. It is formulated from a normal base. A routine but normal episode with normal episodic figures: 'sitting' and 'drawing'. In addition a potentially abnormal figure not merely episodically divergent ('looking worried') but related trans-episodically by the teacher to an apparent ground: 'is fairly typical'. In a time-sampling randomly selected moment then it is still evident that deviant ground is operating at deep structure level. This is noticeable not in what he was doing ('wasn't actually doing anything' therefore a routine normal formulation perhaps) but

in the manner of doing it ('looking worried'). In so doing it
has exposed or tapped the covert presence of an underlying
deviant ground - at a random moment!

   Beyond this, teacher expands and invokes (or expresses
continuity with) an earlier deviant ground:

       'He does tend to scowl a lot. Which I think I
       noticed at the beginning. That was the main
       thing about him. He looked very sulky'

Here then the deviant theme is episodically transformed into a
trans-episodic formulation by relating it to ground.

   It is possible that the ground may only be visible from
the present standpoint.   Although she says 'I think I noticed
at the time' it may have been no more than groundless figure at
that time and therefore had no more than episodic value.   It
may only be from the present that one can look back to emerging
or emergent ground and see it when it has become and not while
it is becoming! The social construction of reality is an
emergent process.

   Again though, the recognition of deviant ground is still
no more than provisional, or at least is still open to
neutralisation. Teacher attempts to transform it into a more
neutral phenomenon:

       'He looked very sulky.   He sort of screws his
       eyes up. He's passed his eyesight test so I
       don't think he needs glasses. But he sort of
       peers. Sort of looks. Frowns a lot when he's
       working. It might be just like people. You
       know. Mannersims.   I don't know whether he
       worries about it or not'

Thus in spite of identifying continuity with ground in these
episodic events its potential deviance is at first potentially
neutralised ('I don't think he needs glasses') and then

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potentially normalised by regrouping pupil as a member of a formulation set with everyone else ('It might be just like people . You know . Mannerisms '). Thus the deviant ground though formulated is recognised as only provisional.

Teacher continues with a comment on the typicality of pupil at the time sampling moment:

> 'Yes. Alan will sit down for periods in the day
> and work. Especially drawing which he loves.
> Or modelling or something. Drawings he'll give
> a lot of time to'

Other is formulated in temporal dimensions. Thus ground is not static but has dynamic and ongoing momentum too. The formulation here is given segmental role specificity. Perhaps from a normal base.

This may perhaps be a classic individualised formulation. Thus as you move towards increasing specificity then you involve dimensions of increasingly specific reference such as:

- time/sequence
- context
- inter-actional framework

It seems possible that anonymity becomes lessened by a process of formulating Other with increasisng specificity of time, context and interactional framework and so construction becomes individualised.

Perhaps then it is important to recognise that typifications (whether of deviant or normal) become individualised when used in specific contexts of action. Although they may be reified in contemporary relations they are

likely to be individualised in the consociality of action. It
is important then not to confuse anonymity with reification (as
perhaps Sharp and Green may have done) but to recognise that
the use of even reified constructs may take very specific and
individualised forms.

Then a reference to segmental formulation of Other-roles:

> 'Writing, he's had a little burst and is
> beginning to do it more willingly. Otherwise
> it's just a real chore for him'

From a potentially deviant ground base there is an episodic
switch to potentially emerging normality: 'He's had a little
burst'. (Thus one episode over!) The next phase is seen to
begin: 'is beginning now to do it more willingly'. In the
newly emerging phase there are stronger grounds for supposing
normality as pupil action is seen to indicate a normal motive!
Thus the beginning of potential normalisation. It is of course
a process and so must be recognised as an ongoing phenomenon!

Here also is the 'psychology' of figure-ground: seems
'more willing' but in reality is 'a real chore'. Pupil is
almost seen to be engaged in a strategy of 'appearances' and
'realities' (Jones and Davis,1965)! A process of pupil
management of appearances and realities is recognised!

Account continues:

> 'I sort of wandered over later on and saw he'd
> done a picture. And hadn't started the writing.
> As far as I know he wasn't actually about to do
> anything. He had his pencil in his hand. But
> he was on the wrong page. He was working on the
> left hand side and his hand was the right hand'

Here is an episodic account then i.e. no ground base. Any

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potential deviance is in mere episodic form and related in figure terms only. The episode is viewed within an emergent framework. What is <u>now</u> seen on VTR can be formulated in terms of what <u>will</u> happen in the future: 'and hadn't started the writing' (or in this case what has not yet happened). Sequences of expected movements, orientations and outcomes are expected.

While the incident seems mere episodic and groundless it then moves on to take in trans-episodic dimensions:

> 'So he just had a worried expression on his face. Well it could've been the sun. But he does scowl a lot. Even if he's listening to things. So whether it's just a concentration feature I don't know'

Potential deviant ground emerges. But only in a provisional form. Its provisionality can be seen in that it is immediately neutralised by relating its parameters across the normal/abnormal boundary. It is not just a deviant phenomenon but a potential normal one too and so can occur within the normal parameters: 'even if he's listening'. Next a statement of academic ground and an indication of the normal distribution model employed by teacher:

> 'Alan's in orange. The Middle group for reading. Language. Sort of average. A sort of median. I started with the extremes basically. And decided who are the ones who need more or less constant attention or totally non-academic, shall we say, work to keep them sitting. Who're the ones that I could give something to with very little explanation. And they'd go and do it. Those are the extremes'

parameters of motivational types within which Alan is median

Median Position

Normal/Abnormal Boundary

Sharp Boundary

Ideal

'need very little verbal instructions'

'Need awful lot of attention'

Broad Band

'Will work but need quite a bit of assistance'

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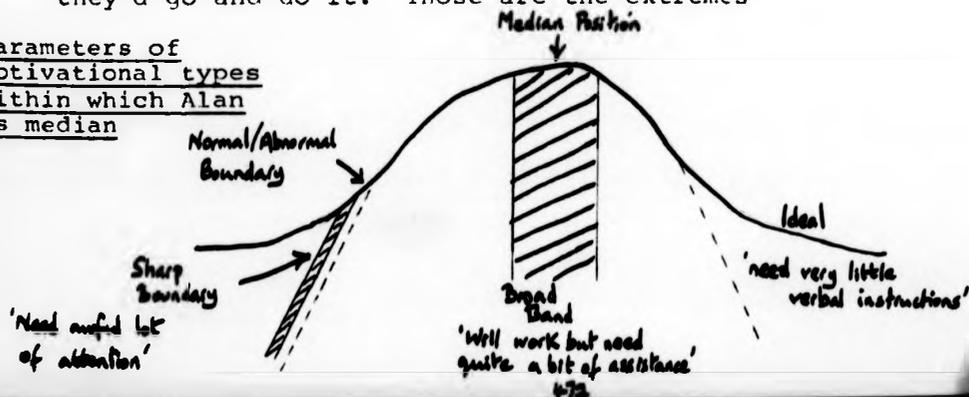
In academic terms then the pupil is around the median position between the parameters of motivational types. Here then is a reminder of the conceptual distinction which it is necessary to make between:

- the normal and abnormal (boundary related)
- the norm or median/mean position (band related)

These must be seen as conceptually distinct. The first relates to ground perception. The second to a specific position within normal ground. They may relate together as a continuum or distribution. But the first has significant ground implications as a base for perception. The second has only a reference point implication not a person boundary point but a comparison point.

Teacher focusses the parameters more sharply:

'The ones that need an awful lot of attention or very little verbal explicit instructions'

And the mid-position:

'Those who will work but need quite a bit of asistance'

(Note though how this is a vertical group and therefore the parameters may hide the normal/abnormal for his cohort group!)

Alan continues his normal career?:

'I've also put him in the middle group in number. Alan will try but he's very very reluctant to try anything new. And he does get very worried about that. And then you have to sit with him and tell him that he can do it'

Again then normal. At least in the segmental role specified here i.e. for number. He is formulated in terms of typical segmental motive and its typical segmental strategy.

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Alan's career seems to be quite a moving phenomenon!
i.e. moving between the normal and the abnormal. Up to now it
has seemed that a normal career was underway in spite of
occasional divergences. But now it seems there was a deviant
career which teacher refers to in summing up the state of play
after half-term:

'At the end, just before half term I had words
with their mother because I was very worried
about both of them. In terms of the fact I
didn't think they were getting on as they should
do. Particularly Matthew. But Alan came in for
it as well'

Here then teacher is operating deviant ground and using it as a
basis for negotiation with pupil's mother. In this case there
is the additional figure/ground issue of the 'sibling
phenomenon'. Collectively they are constructed in terms of
trans-episodic deviant ground: 'they weren't getting on'. But
this image splits further into its own internal figure-ground
with both siblings occupying first perceptual figure and then
perceptual ground positions in the formulation(suggesting the
combined sociological and psychological dimensions of
figure-ground).

It seems teacher explored a tentative 'because-of motive'
at the time of negotiation:

'I asked about the baby. Whether this might be
a problem. More with Matthew again than Alan.
Being the younger one. No, it wasn't. They
loved the baby, sort of thing. But anyway,
something sunk in'

It is perhaps significant that teacher's motivational search was within a temporal frame in an episodic or phasic assumption of post-birth influences on the two siblings. Thus it is not seen as permanent but as potentially transitory and so perhaps as an extended episodic phenomenon. Teacher presumes the because-of motive would be a greater influence on Matthew than Alan. Thus it is seen to apply selectively. A figure/ground process is seen here as well operating more prominently with the figure than the ground or vice versa.

Although the outcome seemed to indicate potential normal orientation this may have been only phasic or episodic sequence. Immediately there is a move into the potential deviant ground:

> 'Alan still sulks. Last week he did get on fairly well. This week I've noticed him started sulking again'

So the normal orientation is seen perhaps as episodic. A temporary interruption. The reversion to previous ground continues: 'started sulking again'.

Teacher recounts figure instances which are regarded as extensions of, or founded upon, deviant ground:

> 'We've had three incidents this morning where he's been crying because he couldn't see the television. And he wouldn't move himself! And he was told to move. He wouldn't move. He just sat there'

There seems to be an implied normal yardstick here (of what any normal Other might do in the circumstances). Teacher applies episodic strategy but again 'he wouldn't move'. The attempt to structure it into normality fails. Thus a double deviance!

Both 'natural' and 'structured' responses are abnormal: 'he just sat there'. The teacher perhaps is not aware of the formulation of deviance in his earlier career: 'just sat there'. Here it is reminiscent of such earlier deviance though its continuities with it cannot be established .

The deviance in this case moves into a <u>temporal</u> mode. It becomes a deviant <u>response episode</u>:

> 'He just sat there. And then moaned. And then
> he turned away. And then he cried. He spent a
> long time. A good five minutes turned away
> quite deliberately from the television'

Four temporal references occur here. All in a sequential form. The response episode has a temporal framework. In some ways then it is not unlike the notion of 'societal reaction' operated in Labelling accounts of deviance. Here however it is the <u>deviant's</u> response rather than the <u>onlooker's</u> that is under scrutiny. (The present framework nevertheless would suggest that any account of 'reaction' whether of the deviant or the onlooker should take an episodic view i.e. a dynamic or process view of the entire episodic unit.)

The above account by the teacher also has a deviant motivational base too since such a motive is seen to have no source within the episodic parameters of these events but beyond. Pupil's action is seen to have slipped from an episodic response to a ground response. As the episode unfurls, its theme increases ground potential since it moves from the potentially transient or episodic (deviant response to contingent circumstances) to the more <u>enduring</u> bases of his behaviour in deviant ground and its motivational reservoir.

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(This is where the temporal dimension is critical. Ground is an ever-present phenomenon within or beneath any figure).

The episodic sequence of chain continues:

> 'Then he was in the line and somebody pushed
> him. So he cried because: so-and-so's pushed
> me out of the line. Again, nothing that any
> other people wouldn't've solved by either
> shoving them back or just standing there! Or
> going somewhere else. But Alan seems to draw a
> blank at doing something about things'

This then confirms the view being taken in the analysis so far. Here is an overt statement of what was implied earlier. While deviant ground was previously only noticeable in the teacher's use of motivational reservoir, it is now overtly referred to. Teacher is claiming an inter-personal boundary of a fundamental (ground-based) kind. Alan is compared with what 'any other people' would do.

This leads onto a moving exploration of the ground-related basis of the deviant incident. She considers the changing form of ground over time:

> 'I think I've mentioned something about him
> going under the chair. And he would cry under
> the chair rather than cry in public. Maybe not
> sulky (last time). I've decided it's sulking
> now perhaps! Then I think he was genuinely
> upset'

It is not altogether clear what is meant here. When was he sulky? Then ? Or only from the present standpoint in time? But certainly moving perspectives indicate how earlier figure becomes viewed from what now seems to be a reformulated ground. This figure changes in meaning because of its changed ground. Here we can see how the 'sociology' of figure-ground is crucial! It is meaning that is important! Figure is a form

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which can be changed or reconstituted in more than one
dimension of meaning. This is where ground and the covert
facets of formulation appear in the social construction of
reality. Teacher outlines the basis for reformulation:

> 'I think it's the protracted nature of it that
> makes me term some of it sulking'

The temporal dimension then is what is significant. Perhaps
this then is confirmation of earlier comment (about the
temporal power of ground).

Teacher immediately goes into elaborated instance of this
'protracted sulking':

> 'Like yesterday. He and Sally had been making
> very intricate plasticene models which've been
> going for several days. Sally is getting a bit
> naughtier perhaps we could say. And I told all
> of them we were 'tidying up now'. And I'd
> specifically gone over to them and said to them
> that if they helped tidy up the floor then just
> before play then they could have ten or fifteen
> minutes when they came in to finish off. And if
> it wasn't done then it goes right away'

The ground of course once again can be seen to be an enduring
phenomenon since it can be entered at any point on a moving
time-scale: 'like yesterday'. This then is itself seen within
episodic terms as the time scale/unit over which the two pupils
have 'been going for several days'. The other pupil in the
context is seen to be on her own moving time-scale/unit as she
is moving towards deviance - yet from a normal base.

The dynamics of inter-personal boundaries are even more
evident as the account proceeds:

> 'Now they didn't. They carried on. So I sort
> of said one more time: Listen, you tidy up now
> and then you can have some more time. They
> didn't! So I just took the whole thing and

bunged it back in the plasticene. Which upset
the pair of them. Sally sulked. Sort of sat
with her arms folded and sort of stared at the
wall during the initial time we had. Then she
went off to story. She came back. She was
perfectly normal. She'd obviously got over it.
Alan just glowered. And he wouldn't do
anything. He went and sat'

This is a fortuitous coming together of a 'normal' and a
potential 'abnormal' pupil in one incident! It is even more
interesing to note the reaction of 'sitting' or 'just sat'
which for Alan had been his first sign of deviance at the start
of his school career! His first divergence from the normal!
Here we appear to have the same situation except that it is not
in itself related to earlier ground by the teacher. In fact
her knowledge of Other extends only to the start of this Fourth
Year. However, it is clear that the episode is seen in
abnormal terms with the inter-personal boundary differentiation
occurring between Alan and the normal pupil Sally whose
reaction was short-lived and then 'She came back. She was
perfectly normal'. However, Alan's was longer lasting and
possibly is seen to be operating from a different motivational
base. He 'just glowered' and 'he went and sat'. It seems then
that the motivational basis of this episode quickly passes into
a normal frame for Sally ('she'd obviously got over it') but
for Alan the abnormal base continues ('he wouldn't do
anything'). In this way episodic emergence continues. For
Sally the episode is over and another has begun. But for Alan
the same episode continues:

'Sally went and I said: Well, you tidy up.
You've lost your chance. If you don't tidy up
now then the plasticene doesn't come out again

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> for you two. Sally went off. Sort of went off
> and tidied up. Alan just sat and sulked I
> think. Sort of very stony faced'

The difference then is that Sally has normalised her episode by moving on into another and normal episode. For Alan however clearly the incident continues into an extended episode (with its same underlying deviant theme and ground) which is seen to differentiate him from the normal pupil. But in addition he also crosses a boundary in the category of deviance: he 'literally sulked'. The deviance then is almost reified. A 'real' case of deviance then and not just episodic. Clearly the base here moves away from the episodic to the trans-episodic. The direction then moves from episodic figure to ground. In its deviation across the boundary into abnormality it is seen as extreme: 'very stony faced'. It can be seen then how for the normal pupil it was temporary divergence. A brief excursion and contained within episodic boundaries. For Alan it was potentially trans-episodic! The comparison here then brings out the 'normal' reaction of the 'normal' pupil and the 'deviant' reaction of the 'deviant' pupil!

Next an apparently routine and recurring form of deviance:

> 'Today he's done the same thing. I said: Alan
> you're not fiddling with whatever it was. I
> said: Don't start that. I've told you to go
> and get your book out so you'll be ready. And
> packed away(1). And he just looks at me and
> carries on(2). He does it with other teachers.
> I've noticed. Even B'

Deviant figure is perceived. It is treated by teacher's episodic strategy and so potentially neutralised. But pupil's response is again deviant. Thus the second figure is a

response to the initial entry point. Since opportunity to episodically neutralise it is offered and rejected then presumably teacher assumes an underlying theme that would reside in ground. Here too there is a sort of episodic primary and secondary deviation as figures 1 and 2 are linked sequentially. In effect then an _episodic_ version of primary and secondary deviation. The difference is that here the second deviation confirms the ground whereas in the secondary deviation of Lemert (1967) the second devia**tion** results from presumed ground. In this case the concept of _interactional_ _Other_ is also important. It provides teacher with an additional check on the likely ground. If Other with Teacher 1 is deviant and Other with Teacher 2 is deviant then the deviance must be independent of the teacher with whom pupil is interacting. It can be assumed then to be a property of pupil as trans-episodic ground and not a mere property of the episode. In this case there is a further check with an assumption of different sorts of inter-actional Other. The outer limits of testing as deviance occurs with 'even B'.

25.11.80

Signs of deviance orientation accelerating:

> 'I think the only one is Alan. And he's getting
> worse. We had an incident this morning. I
> think it was just after you left. Where he'd
> written something rude about the female anatomy.
> On a table. In pencil. And the other boy had
> said it was him. And I usually try not to jump
> down their throats unless I've actually seen it.
> But I said: I want the truth. Did you do it?

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> No. All the others were saying it must be him.
> And in the end when I'd said: Right, if you're
> not going to tell me you can tell me by your
> actions. If it was you go and wash it off. And
> he went off. And he washed it off'

In this case there is a clear indication of abnormal ground.
It is expressed in inter-personal boundary terms: 'the only
one is Alan'. A clear boundary between the rest and Alan. In
addition, as well as having been located on the abnormal side
of the boundary, the direction of movement is continuing:
'he's getting worse'. There is still further movement to be
seen in increasing deviance. On two dimensions then
(i.e. extent and continuing dynamics) he is increasing in
deviant ground. (Perhaps then this is a matter of degrees of
deviant ground. Pupil has obviously crossed the line. He is
now seen as worsening. Although operating from the abnormal
side, there are distinctions to be made about the kinds of
deviance: its degree and its direction.)

It is appropriate then to examine how the episodic
corridor or chain continues:

> 'I'm sure it was him. Cause it was his writing.
> Cause the boy he was sitting next to writes
> nothing like him. But that was it. It may not
> be different. It's typical Knight
> intractableness, that once challenged they're a
> bit strange'

Here then is a psychology of figure-ground in differentiating
Alan's writing from others. This is contextually used to
eliminate the other boy. It gives teacher strong suspicions.
Episodic suspicions. Episodic theme is well-formed, especially
since the whole episodic chain has pointed in this direction.
But finally teacher invokes a trans-episodic ground. The

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episode and its figures are linked trans-episodically with ground beyond the boundaries of the episode. But more important still, the ground is not a mere static formulation but a dynamic one: a typical episodic chain or corridor. The present episodic chain is compared to the typical episodic corridor held in ground. It fits and so teacher is convinced! Although everything so far has pointed in this direction, the typical episodic sequence is seen to be quite significant as a crunch point in the decision.

The incident is further probed:

2. (Were you sure it was him?) 'Oh yes. Now I feel that if Alan hadn't done it, first of all he would've cried and secondly there was no way he would've gone and washed it off. It's just the way he is. He cries if he's wrongly accused. If he's hurt; if somebody pinches his toys; if they mess up his work; he cries a lot at things and withdraws'

On this occasion the deviant pupil ground would have shown itself in an episodic figure: 'he would've cried'. That he didn't is seen as consistent with the view that teacher formulation is correct. More significant though is the interactional corridor or typical episodic chain. This is seen to be critical: 'there was no way he would've gone and washed it off'. This is double or triple evidence. Perhaps it may be viewed as a ladder or series of stepped moves rather than a corridor. Although teacher may have been wrong in the first formulation, the second step or rung is even more convincing. Thus it is a stepped corridor!

Further probing:

3. 'I don't know (why he did it). He's doing it a

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> lot. A lot of the boys have become more aware I
> think at the moment. Sexually aware. There's a
> lot of drawing of various bits of the body keeps
> going on. And he's done something before
> actually'

It is important then to recognise the temporal dimensions of the previous account. It has reference points further back in the past. Thus not only is there an intra-episodic but also a trans-episodic chain. The incident is seen in relation to earlier episodes. (It can be seen how the construction of reality is within temporal dimensions acting backward and forward in time). The trans-episodic formulation here also helps to neutralise the incident. Alan is identified with 'a lot of the boys'. In this sense then he is on the normal side of the inter-personal boundary. There is a reference to the beginning of the trans-episodic sequence however: 'he'd done something before actually'. A trans-episodic general theme or ground for all the boys is established and a particular one for Alan!

This earlier incident is recounted:

4. 'He'd drawn something and it's: I can see the
   tits. Or something like that. On a piece of
   paper which somebody else brought to me. And
   again Alan's handwriting is fairly clear.
   Because he has two very characteristic letters,
   Ws and Rs, which nobody else does like him'

The earlier incident was formulated on the basis of caligraphic 'evidence' then. The segmental role formulation allows figure formulation or resolution on basis of segmental ground since he 'has two very characteristic letters which nobody else does like him'

However, perhaps more important still is the more

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fundamental underlying theme in both episodes. In 2 and 3 the
deviance is not rule-breaking in terms of the sexual! In fact
3 is hardly treated as deviance. No ground is invoked. It is
more routine or episodic. Almost non-person formulation. The
only trans-episodic feature refers in 4 to a routine or
'normal' ground i.e. his letters. Although there may be
divergence it is not a boundary matter! In fact the issue in 2
and 3 is the deviant person formulation (the trans-episodic
ground) invoking the deviant ground 'he cries a lot'. It is
not the deviant incident (which is mere episodic in fact) but
his <u>reaction</u> to it. Thus the more usual labelling perspective
is turned around! The <u>pupil</u> reaction to deviance is the issue
and not the 'societal reaction' of others to the routine
deviant incident! Thus the trans-episodic dominates the
episodic! Deviant person formulation is a trans-episodic
phenomenon!

Teacher in fact indicates intended 'neutralisation' of
even the deviant episodic instance of rule-breaking:

'I don't want to make too much fuss about that
either really. Cause I imagine it's something
that now'll go on for the next however many
years'

Thus the rule-breaking is neutralised. What remains is the
person formulation issue. The non-rule breaking feature! This
is because the rule-breaking is relocated within an emerging
temporal framework. It is seen as a mere figure of an emerging
temporal ground. The figure is seen to be less important than
the ground. The ground in this case is seen as interpersonally
quite routine and therfore on the normal side. A normal ground

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thus neutralises a potentially deviant rule-breaking. Since it rests on a normal ground it is underplayed. But also since it has temporal dimensions it is even less important to the teacher since it is seen as a continuing ground extending from the here- and-now into the future. The present ground is itself no more than a figure of its own ground! The teacher then is reacting less to the first ground reached as it is approached in a vertical plane (direct from figure). When reached, teacher switches to horizontal plane as she recognises ground in its temporal and developmental (and therefore emerging) dynamic form.

9.12.80

At this point the pupil reaches the end of Term 1 in his Junior career. Clearly he is still viewed from an abnormal base:

> 'Still the main thing that strikes you about him is his sort of rather strange personality. Stubborn-ness comes out. Persistently will do things he's been told not to do. And if he's told not to do something he just generally stands still. Or sits still. And he sort of stares. And he does that with other teachers as well. So I don't think it's just me brings that out in him!'

Teacher begins, almost with a psychological view of figure-ground, on the theme of abnormality and its pathological connotations: 'still the main things that strikes you is his sort of rather strange personality' The dominant perceptual frame is a ground model. (Perhaps a case of the 'psychological' figure being the 'sociological' ground!)

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Again the persistent abnormal response: 'stands' or 'sits'. It is not clear whether this is seen to be a continuing ground base extending back to Year 1 or just a spontaneous reference. Maybe teacher has been exposed to staffroom culture and its negotiation arena. It may have some communal continuity then. However the recurring theme is seen to be ground since teacher operates a test for episodic or episodically-contingent deviance: 'I don't think it's just me brings that out in him'. There is trans-episodic ground: 'he does that with other teachers as well'.

The statement of deviant ground continues:

> 'It's just he has a strangeness about him. Once he does something he's fine. He looks perfectly normal when he's actually getting down to doing things. It's just I find him rather odd in the way that he reacts to adults. And to other children'

Here then acknowledgement of what seems to be pathological model at a general ground level: 'has a strangeness about him'. Additionally in segmental terms: 'rather odd in the way that he reacts to adults and to other children'. The ground however is total. The segmental is attached to a deviant ground. (Presumably the same segmental formulation could be attached to a normal ground too for normal pupils)

Teacher then reviews her changing and emerging view of other:

> 'At first I wasn't quite sure about him at all. I think mainly because I never challenged him earlier on. So I didn't get this refusal. He'll lie. Or refuse to answer. Which again I find a bit odd. Because most of the other children, if they know darned well that you know, are honest. Cause they know there's no

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way out. Whereas Alan just goes bright red. He
won't answer He'll say: No. And I think he
would maintain it till the better end'

This is an interesting formulation on a number of counts. But
most of all because once again it draws attention to the person
orientation rather than rule orientation in formulation. For
instance, although deviance rule-breaking is mentioned ('he'll
lie'), the real issue seems to be rule-breaking against a
backcloth of person perception. Against interpersonal or
normal matching: 'which I find a bit odd'. Thus potential
rule-breaking deviance is immediately related to a person
formulation context which diffuses the episodic rule-breaking
aspect of deviance but puts into sharper focus the oddness of
it in interpersonal boundary terms.[21]

In addition an account of emergent processes. Thus there
is emergent ground ('I wasn't quite sure about him at all') and
emergent temporal strategy ('I never challenged him earlier
on'). The interpersonal boundary of course differentiating the
pupil from others, and providing the real background to the
rule-breaking deviance is what is most significant: 'most of
the children......whereas Alan'. It is additionally put into a
temporal dimension or typical episodic sequence. The
interpersonal boundary refers to the differences betwen Alan
and the others in their responses in typical intra-episodic
sequences or episodic chains. It has a far-reaching prediction
value: 'he would maintain it till the bitter end'.
Teacher is further invited to review emergence of deviant
ground:

> (When did you suspect that he was a bit odd or
> strange?) 'Well, a couple of teachers had said
> to me early on: Mm, he's a funny boy. And I'd
> thought: I wonder why?'

The abnormal model then is first tentatively broached in a negotiative setting. The staffroom culture provides the backcloth against which formulation may begin. There is here a possible indication that emerging figures will be constructed against staffroom culture as the operating ground in the early days of formulation. Hammersley (1980) has considered the 'functions' of staffroom talk. Perhaps staffroom typifications operate as a provider of ground. In the present instance it can be seen that when teacher first encounters this talk she has no figure data to relate the received ground to and so 'I wonder why?'.

> 'It would be at least a month I think into the
> term before I really noticed him. Particularly
> in that way. When it hit me. Because of
> something I did. Which was I think to shout at
> him for something. And he just stood there'

Again it is the pupil's reaction to the deviant incident which is at issue. Not the rule-breaking itself. The teacher recognises an unusual pupil response to her own intervention following an apparent rule-breaking: 'he just stood there'. Thus:

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----------------      -----------------------      ----------------
|rule-breaking|-----|teacher intervention|-----|pupil response|
----------------      -----------------------      ----------------
                                                              ↑
                                                   This is the point
                                                   of deviance!
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Again the issue is very much <u>sequential</u> and related to interactional chains. It is rooted within a sequence of

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events. But the underlying episodic theme is not of rule-breaking but abnormal pupil response! Again the point seems to be a recurrence of staffroom culture as a basis for ground formulation. It is expressed in prevalent staffroom language 'just stood'. (The prevalent staffroom form is actually 'just sat'! This is perhaps an alternative inert form of the same formulation perhaps!) Also of course it is seen as a form in contiguity with the staffroom formulation: 'it would be at least a month before I really noticed him in that way' The account continues:

> 'I'd noticed his brother more. So he was taking
> up more of my time. And it was only I think
> when Alan started to reflect the same things
> that his younger brother had already come to my
> notice that I began to perhaps......once I knew
> what I was looking for in one, I saw it in the
> other one'

A classic account of the selectivity of perception in the 'sibling phenomenon'! The emerging figure-ground of his sibling soon provides the ground basis for Alan. He is viewed from borrowed figure! Or transposed figure!: 'Alan started to reflect the same things that his younger brother had'. Thus there was an existing ground base to relate Alan's figure to.

And so the figure latches onto an emerging ground. A dynamic ground. Perhaps a matter then of perceptual set. Ground is obviously a potential perceptual set. In most other cases of course the pupil provides his own perceptual set. Or the normal or normal/abnormal boundary acts as perceptual set. But with paired pupils such as siblings , twins, or even close friends there are perceptual sets induced 'naturally'. Teacher

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seems to be quite explicit in her reference to the ground base of perceptual set: 'once I knew what I was looking for in one, I saw it in the other one'.

The idea underlying the perceptual set is linked to the ground base provided by family:

> 'He's a bit odd. I think it is this way he will look at you and refuse to answer. Having met his mother, she's as abrupt as they are! So it may just be the family'

Abnormality it seems is seen to originate in the family. Thus family typification is a more generalised or anonymised form of pupil ground formulation. Teachers' construction of family as a ground base would provide a motivational framework within which to view members of the family. If family <u>is</u> seen as ground then it would become a motivational reservoir. This is suggested in teacher's comment: 'having met his mother, she's as abrupt as they are!'

14.1.81

Pupil career moves into Term 2. Again deviance seems to dominate formulation:

> 'Alan's temper's the worst thing about him at the moment. And he's in a foul mood! He's fighting allcomers at the moment. He allows them to get him cross basically. He just reacts with temper. He either punches them back and if that doesn't win and they hit him back he goes off and cries'

This formulation then is phasic. The deviance has become expressed in an episodically or temporally emergent form. It is episodically specific:

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'temper's the worst things at the moment'

'fighting allcomers at the moment'

In its form it may be temporally bounded but the underlying deviant ground persists anyway: 'goes off and cries'. This is a form recurring throughout his career.

Teacher notes a motivational change in the ground. The point of its emergence is episodically or temporally located:

'He's doing it I think much more for attention.
Before he used to go and hide and do it quietly.
But today he was sort of sitting. Went behind a
bookcase. But he was making this awful wailing
noise behind the bookcase. And I thought:
Hello. But I think that may have been because
he knew he wouldn't get my sympathy'

The deviance has a different motivational base: 'before he used to go and hide but today he was making this awful noise'

The whole episode is seen to be temporally rooted. Perhaps phasic:

'I think that may have been because he knew he
wouldn't get any sympathy. Cause yesterday I
told him it was time he fought some of his own
battles. And he threw a chair at the wall.
So.....yes his temper's not at it's best'

The present episodic figure is seen to relate to a previous day's incident therefore this gives it its motivational base. It is seen as indicating a changing motivational base put perhaps a temporary divergence. (Once a pupil has a deviant base then presumably the motivational reservoir can provide an infinite number of fitting motives. It is then simply a matter of replacing one with another, while retaining the same ground).

Teacher then continues the account into academic formulation:

> 'His reading's tremendous now. He's really keen
> to read. He's got monster books and knocks me
> arm about every day saying: Can I read? So
> we're whipping through them about three books a
> week or something. At the moment'

Academic formulation is in the normal-ideal range. A phase of

rapid reading development is seen to be in play 'at the

moment'. There is simultaneous formulation on two fronts:

- an academic formulation from a normal-ideal base

- a deviant formulation

Is one base dominant? There is no clear indication. However,

it is perhaps significant that each formulation is temporally

located. Each is seen as phasic. Perhaps then either pupil is

changing and therefore constancy of ground no longer applies.

Or perceived change leads teacher to suspend previous ground

and regard it all as phasic or episodic until new constancy of

ground arises.

Teacher seems then to have constructed a tentative academic

ground with some divergence away from normality:

> 'He's very slow to catch on. Some days. And
> there are several things in his records suggest
> he's much better at number than I've found him
> to be. His last teacher told me on the records
> he has number bonds to twenty — which he
> doesn't!'

All is uncertainty then.   Teacher postulates a   frequency

framework as though ground moved from one to another: 'some

days he's very slow to catch on'. Presumably then some days

something else applies.   Also a mismatch between his records

(as received <u>ground</u> and <u>segmental ground</u> formulations) and

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teacher's own figure observations and ground formulations. Here then is an area of some negotiation. There is a potential rejection of one segmental formulation which techer sees to be contradicted by her own implied figure observation. Since a segmental formulation which relates to a developmental phase may be contradicted by a single figure observation then it relates to a more concrete phenomenon than might be usual. This then is not a continuing emergence but a staggered or stepped emergence which might be represented thus:

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----------------------  *  ----------------------------------
|              Fig X           .----------.
|                              | Figure  |
|                              .----------.
|
|                        Z
|                        |     .----------------------------
|        Y               V  |
|        |              -------
|        V               |
|       ------------
|        |
|      ----
|     |                        .------------------------.
|     |                        | Developmental Ground   |
.-----                         .------------------------.
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Time -------->
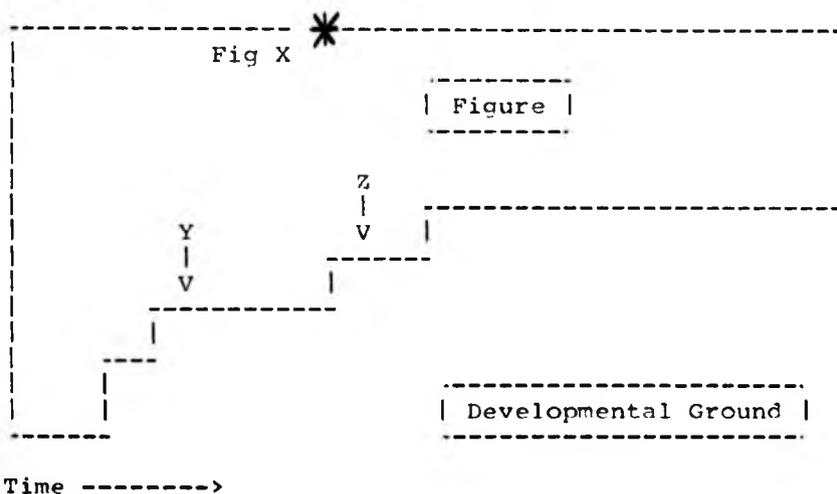
Here figure and ground are critically related in terms of being present or absent and therefore are less 'open' than many categories of formulation. Inconsistencies of figure X with Y and Z lead to view about layers or steps in development.

Thus there is here a critical and 'closed' relationship between figure and ground. Whereas many other categories of typification are 'open' in their relationships between figure and ground. Thus there are then:

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'Open' categories - frequency distribution; generalisation from

statistical norms

'Closed' categories - discrete boundaries

This of course is a return to the point at which the present analysis started (at the beginning of the research) when it was possible to identify the closed category between Abnormal/Normal model and the open within normal distributions!

The tentative academic formulation is followed by an episodic or phasic divergence perhaps seen to be consistent with episodic divergence:

> 'There's still a lot of non-verbal ans^wering which is a shrug of the shoulders or a nod of the head. He even did it in assembly the other day. He just shrugged his shoulders. C didn't stand for it. But he does seem to do a lot of being uncommunicative. Although other times he's very chatty. He'll tell you about what he's drawing'

Again some fluidity or just inconsistency. Teacher states divergent and therefore potentially deviant segmental ground: 'still a lot of non-verbal answering'. Thus it suggests a previous ground which has not totally disappeared! But perhaps a normal direction is seen as an underlying pattern even so. The segmental figure illustrates it: 'even did it in assembly'. Not only 'did it' but 'even did it'. (Is there perhaps a sampling range of situations which are seen to represent typification boundaries?) 'Even in assembly' suggests a boundary and one of some significance. Teacher retains a general ground: 'seems to do a lot of being uncommunicative. Thus a general ground is offered with some tentativeness but with a possible subordinate ground ('he's

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very chatty') which is treated as a temporal or episodic phenomenon.

Perhaps in a changing situation or one of revision there will be a continuing movement between figure and ground as one type becomes replaced by another. Thus until the episodic occurrences of either abnormal or normal settle to some prominence then fluidity of figure ground will persist. Perhaps this is akin to anomie. The uncertain ground is not unlike a situation of social mobility when an emerging individual is seen to be potentially threatening because his roots are uncertain and yet he could be grounded on one side of the normal boundary or the other!

The possible anomie is further cited as teacher continues the search for meaning:

> 'I don't know. I think there's something peculiar going on with Alan at the moment. I haven't got to the bottom of it yet. Just the way he is at the moment. He seems to be <u>very</u> defensive about everything. With everybody. There may be something that's happening at school or at home'

Obviously then a figure-ground problem! Teacher has recognised an episode is underway but as yet its boundaries are unclear. Is it an offshoot from the existing ground? Or an emerging new ground? Unclarity is present then: 'I haven't got to the bottom of it yet'. The unclarity continues with the tentativeness of both episodic (in-order-to) motive and trans-episodic (because-of) motive.

Teacher's unclarity continues:

> 'I'm not sure. But I think there's something behind it all. People have only got to say

> (something) and he'll turn round and try and
> sort of belt them all. Which of course they
> think's great fun'

Teacher is still searching for meaning or structure. Thus the search for episodic theme or ground: 'there's something behind it all'. Thus matters of figure-ground or 'appearances' and 'realities' are first-order concerns too ! There is of course the implicit interpersonal differentiation of 'they' and 'them' at least interactionally differentiated from Alan. **㉞**

28.1.81

Next a routine observation. Structured rather than 'natural' since time-sampling is its source:

> 'Alan was in the loo at the time! I think. He
> wasn't anywhere to be seen. (A typical moment?)
> Yes. He usually goes before dinner. Like all
> of them. They're well-trained'

How useful this is. It indicates the 'lowlights' in a career of teacher talk where the present methodology invites overemphasis on 'highlights'. In this quite routine episode there was a typical submergence. Teacher was so unaware of him she has to infer where he was. But more significantly the interpersonal set here is one of dissolved boundaries. The pupil is 'like all of them'. In submergence terms and in interpersonal terms here is a normal base or theme in operation.

It should be remembered how ground is either changed or suspended in such routine episodes. There are many routine or suspended episodes additional to the predominant trans-episodic

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ground.

Nevertheless there is still a sign of abnormality. It is not clear whether it is mere episodic or whether it refers to the persistent ground suggested to be behind the previous account. Formulation proceeds:

> 'He's been in a real paddy lately. I think I said last time that he was getting....his temper tantrums were getting worse. Well, they're getting four times as bad. Yesterday he was diabolical. Storming in and out. He just won't be teased'

It seems there is a continuing worsening of ground. It may be episodic or perhaps the beginnings of a new phase. Obviously it is seen as quite long term (relatively persistent) and also extreme: 'four times as bad'. The highlight of the theme is a figure incident: 'Yesterday he was diabolical'. The formulation is either of increasing deviant ground or episodic divergence. Perhaps in early emergence it is never clear until later on when it can be viewed from where it has arrived. When episode either ends (and therefore changes direction) or merely becomes an extension of ground it will then be possible to know.

The account continues (with some neutralisation):

> 'Today he's not been so bad actually. I think they must be leaving him alone. But yesterday he was under a table. Behind things crying. You hear this sort of----(crying noise) from behind the cupboards. But he's been teased a lot'

Here a comparison of two episodes. It is an apparent neutralisation of the implied deviant ground. But in fact turns out to be an episodic siding. The main line ground persists. The episodic figure is only an episodic

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neutralisation: 'they must be leaving him alone'. The deviant ground remains intact. The episode has its own bounded structure or theme. The outcome 'yesterday' of course was different since the motivational theme was different: 'he's been teased a lot'. Thus it is the episode that is treated as the variable (dependent variable?) while the ground is seen as an enduring constant (independent variable?) **(15)**

Next a routine observation:

> (In the country dancing?) 'I can't remember seeing him particularly. He was in the other set. The decent set. The set that were dancing. He's OK in dancing. He's a bit giddy at first. Particularly if you ask him to do anything. He's giggly with the rest of the boys. They giggle a lot. And sort of skip round and be silly. And Alan will do all of that. But once you get him down to being with a partner he's fine'

Is this perhaps a case of pupil submerged into ground or figure? Teacher's comment: 'I can't remember him particularly', suggests an absence of figure or that pupil was being viewed only in ground terms. This would be quite consistent with teacher's apparently segmental ground formulation of normal-ideal: 'he's OK in dancing'. Perhaps then there was an absence (or suspension) of figure observation and ground is substituted in teacher's 'consciousness' as the form of teacher's awareness of this pupil. It seems then that teacher may operate segmental ground frameworks in such situations so that in a dancing episode the Other will be segmentally formulated as normal-ideal and so will not be noticed unless faced with any incongruous consocial relations with him. (The 'scanning process' or 'mechanism' which was

tentatively raised at the beginning of the research as teacher appears to switch to 'automatic pilot' or 'automatic formulator' and pupil submerges into ground. He moves from the immediacy of consocial relations to the greater anonymity of contemporary relations as the 'scanning mechanism' takes over)

Teacher operates phasic model of episodic chains: 'he's a bit giddy <u>at first</u>': This is followed by two other items in the sequence. However it is all presented in a highly conditional form, apparently qualified from a framework of normality: 'he's got quite a good memory for it; he's not bad at all'

11.2.81

A normal or routine formulation:

A 'Alan was right round the corner. Sitting on the carpet. He'd sat ready for dinner and was determined he was going to be first

B Surprisingly when just afterwards I said would he come and put the shapes away he got up and did it. And then somebody pinched his place'

Here then is an account of a developing episode. Episode A links with B. And even seems to be a perceptual ground for the second:

'He'd sat ready for dinner and was determined he was going to be first (Episode A)

'surprisingly he got up and did it' (Episode B)

The element of **surprise** in B is contingent upon A. It forms a ground backcloth to B. All is recounted in terms of the

episodic chain.   It culminates in a potential deviant trigger:
'somebody pinched his place'. Thus the account began with a
routine figure.   This has led step by step, within the
boundaries of the episode, to a potential deviant trigger.   It
remains to be seen whether it will lead to deviance.

Account continues:

>   'But he was in a good mood I think.   Cause I'd
>   told him how wonderful he was at dancing.   Or
>   something like that'

It seems   than   that   the   potential deviance is neutralised at
this critical point by an episodically enduring ground or
theme: 'mood'.   This is seen as sequentially linked to an
earlier point of origin and still operational at this point.

Thus there is perhaps the equivalent of personal ground to
be found in episodes (as episodic <u>ground</u>). This is a personal
<u>state</u> which is only episodically located but lasting in time
throughout a significant part of the episode. Its origin may
reside earlier but it still remains <u>here</u>. This is obviously
quite different from <u>theme</u> since that relates to the entire
episode and the many personal grounds that may be operating in
it.

The whole thing is then put into a more macro-temporal unit:

>   'He's in a much better mood at the moment.   This
>   week he's been fine He had a day off on Monday.
>   These two days he's been fine'

This then is a theme extending beyond the immediate episode to
a temporal unit which is trans-episodic but still smaller than
permanent ground.   This suggests then three possible levels of
temporal structure:

Three Levels of Temporal Structure

```
                                  ----------------
                  ----------------|Micro (figure)|
Surface                           ----------------
Structure↑    ----------        ---------  ---------     ---------
        |1.  |Incident|:       |Episode|  |Episode|     |Episode|
        |     ----------        ---------  ---------     ---------
        |     --------------
        |2.  |mid-temporal|:                  'this week'
        |    |structure   |         |
        |     --------------       |--------------------------->
        |                          '     mid-unit
        |     ----------
        |3.  |permanent|:          --------
        |    |structure|         |ground|
        |     ----------          ------------------------------->
Deep    V                       ----------------
Structure---------------|Macro-context| Moving time-scale->
                        ----------------
                        (Deep structure)
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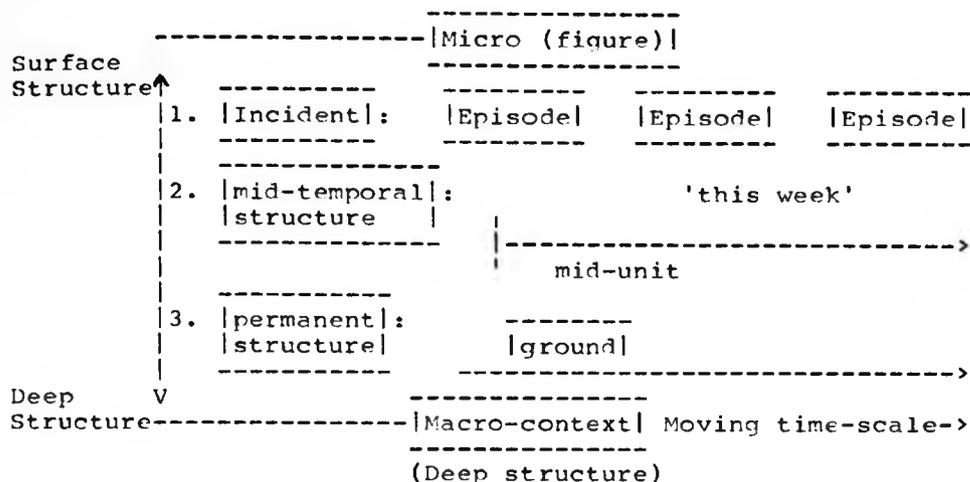
A recurring deviant ground:

> 'He still has I think come to me twice because
> people have taken something of his. Like a
> paintbrush or something. And rather than going
> and getting another one, which most kids sort of
> shrug the shoulders and say: Oh go and get
> another one! sort of thing, he comes and tells
> me he wants me to do something about it'

Here then an account of persisting abnormal ground. It is
presented sharply against a statement of interpersonal
boundary: 'most kids shrug their shoulders'. The boundary is
located in terms of what the 'normal' pupil would do in such a
typical episode. The ground then is translated into typical
episodic form. It can be seen how even though the focus is the
typical episode it still retains its underlying ground or
personal form. Obviously person and context are inter-related.
The point is that in the episode the person emerges and so
makes it a personal rather than a normal event or episodic
context.

Next a possible abnormal ground:

> (What would I have seen if I'd come in earlier?)
> 'Alan wingeing about his paintbrush and <u>then</u>
> going back to painting. That sort of thing'

Here is a deviant ground formulation and a statement of the
relative frequencies and significance of figures and ground.
It obviously means that the sampling of events when employing
methods of observation is critical! It will be impossible for
a researcher to know whether it is ground or figure that he is
seeing! Here however, although teacher and I have apparently
been formulating a normal figure, there is nevertheless an
abnormal ground beneath. Apparently it is of enough general
occurrence as to be 'that sort of thing' 🖋

2.4.81

A VTR playback yielding teacher's routine observation:

> 'That's fairly unusual that the two of them
> (Andrew and Alan) talk together like that and
> are together. They generally only do it to
> scrap'

It is seen to be unusual then against the pupil ground profile
(the interactional profile for the sibling pair). Thus an
apparent figure observation of normality is transformed into a
different construction by revealing its underlying deviant
base. Thus the meaning to the teacher is made different by her
invoking of the deviant ground. This is what to the teacher is
therefore 'fairly unusual'. (This is one of many VTR
observation accounts of routine and normal figures. In common
with much of the VTR data it is inevitably unselective in its

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capturing of routine aspects of classroom life. However, it is significant that in the perception of such routine data teacher still imports a deviant ground into the situation to indicate the <u>deeper</u> or <u>underlying structure</u> to what would otherwise appear to a researcher as a mere <u>neutral</u> figure)

6.5.81

Review of pupil ground:

> 'Alan maybe has settled down a little bit. There was a big hoohah with his father at the end of last term. Because his temper had got so bad I asked his parents to come in'

The deviant ground is here treated by teacher at a temporal and critical point in its emergence: 'had got so bad'

Account continues:

> 'Because I was worried if they thought I was doing nothing. I wanted them to know why. Because he's sulking under tables for hours on end'

Here then a further statement of ground and given <u>typical episodic</u> specificity of both context and temporality.

Finally:

> 'He's been a lot better this term. Maybe he needed a holiday!'

Here are indications of the temporal units and frameworks operated by teachers in formulating pupils: 'better this term'. Earlier there was a reference to 'bad at the end of last term'. The school's unit of time (the 'term') provides a marker point for the <u>emergence</u> profile of this pupil's deviant ground. The final comment is possibly speculative motive

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search or mere flippancy!

<u>12.6.81</u>

Routine observation:

> 'Alan Knight's sat on the carpet. He's lately
> become very keen to be the first in for dinner.
> So he's ready for dinner now. He does this a
> lot'

Here then is an instance of segmentally normal ground. (It is

important to recognise how deviant pupils experience normality

as well as deviance!)   While   many   observations   appear

<u>groundless</u> (as mere normal episodes) this seems to be a normal

ground-based one.

This is explored further as the buzzer marks a precise point

for formulation (arising from time-sampling):

> 'Well at that time in the day that's lately
> fairly typical for Alan. That he would be ready
> for dinner. He's one of the first   ready
> usually. Whether he's used to doing that I
> don't know. He seems to be one of the few that
> picked it up very quickly. Unlike some of the
> others'

Here an interpersonal boundary of normal type: 'Alan picked it

up quickly'. It is neither normal nor abnormal but perhaps an

implied groundless formulation presented either as a mere

episodic or a typical episodic framework.

  The account continues, revealing the potential deviance

that can arise in such situations:

> 'There aren't enough there to show Alan at
> another typical moment which is when people are
> jostling him for the first position. Which is
> when trouble starts.   So at the moment he's
> fairly happy.   If there were more you would see

a different picture!

Deviant ground then lurks at an interpersonal level. It is seen to be a phenomenon which is triggered off with the increase in pupil numbers. This is seen to be the critical point for Alan's abnormal ground to emerge. Here it is recognised as being hidden by an absence of large enough numbers of other pupils. It thus is a normal figure in appearance but resting upon a potential deviant ground which is at present being contextually neutralised by absence of large numbers: 'if there were more you would see a different picture'. Processes of intra-episodic emergence are recognised as significant in the ongoing construction of careers: 'at the moment' everything is OK'. Thus the episode is viewed in terms of what it may become and not just how it appears or is 'at the moment'.

Two additional dimensions are present beyond the mere figure appearance:

1. deeper ground) Linked together in
2. anticipated temporal emergence) emergence processes

22.6.81

Signs of normalisation:

ground 1 -----> 'Alan has matured slightly after the talk
                with his father.
       2 -----> We've had temper but not anywhere near as much'

This 'matured slightly' is a normalisation (movement in the direction of normality) as can be seen in the comparison of implied ground 1 and 2: 'had temper but not anywhere near as

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much'.

The normalisation is further instanced:

> 'He's working harder. He's far more open to
> reason. He's not sulked under a table, I don't
> think, for quite a while. At least two weeks
> anyway''

The _temporal_ dimension is presented in a 'two week' unit within
which motivational changes are seen. It seems teacher
recognises a _movement towards normal-ideal_ in 'working harder'
and _away from abnormal_ in 'not sulked under a table'.

Again apparent normalisation:

> 'He's being much more talkative now. He
> actually put his hand up in assembly today and
> answered a question. It was the wrong one'

Here is normalisation formulation with a sting in the tail! It
seems there is moving ground. Not phasic or episodic but a
continuingly moving ground. It is instanced by a normal figure
which so crosses the usual boundaries as to demonstrate it
clearly: 'he actually put his hand up in assembly'. There are
contextual boundaries too then. It is not just the perceived
role aspects of putting his hand up but _in assembly_! Clearly
this is seen as the most significant feature of this
formulation as the consequent deviance is mere episodic (as can
be seen in the following account). Obviously then there is a
psychological figure-ground element here. In such a normal
situation with deviant potential which does teacher see? Here
she not only sees the normal so prominently _but_ actually uses
it to illustrate a process of normalisation. Perhaps then
there is a double figure-ground issue here:

1. psychology of figure-ground at surface

2. sociology of figure-ground i.e. normal figure

   indicating a normalising moving ground

The deviant figure is insulated from the normalising ground.
Clearly then it is seen to be mere episodic in a manner which
might perhaps be represented in the following diagram:

```
                        ------     --------------
                 |     |psych| :  |figure-ground|
                 |      -------     -------------
 -----           |                   ↙   ↓
|Soc|:           |              EPISODE
 -----           |           ------------------------
 -----------     |          |  normal      | Deviant|
|Deep      |  |  |           ------------------------
|Structure|  |  |                      ------
 -----------  |  |                      ___       -------
             |  |                       ===    <--|Here the
             |                          -          deviance is
             |                                      diffused or
             ----------------------------------->   bounded. (Almost
                       |Moving ground|               earthed?) and so
                        ---------------               is episodic

                                                        ----
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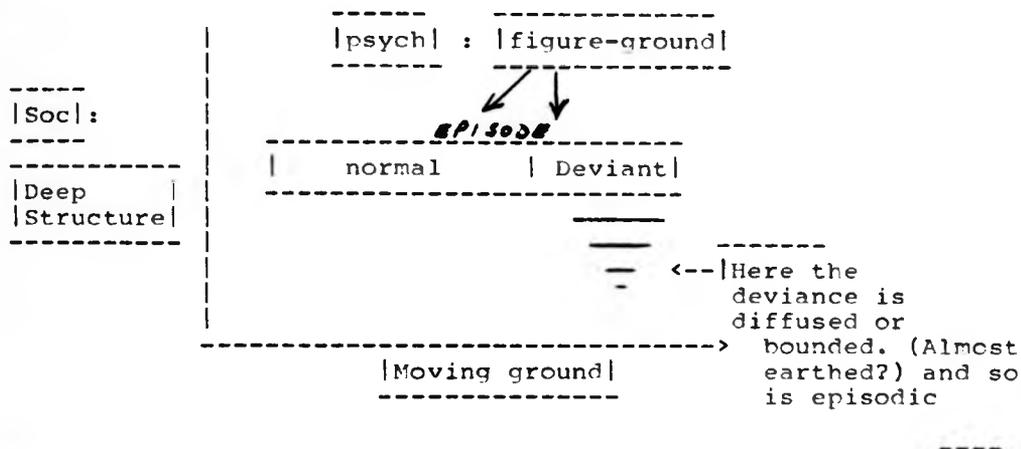
Teacher's account continues:

> 'He said it was Matthew's birthday. Whereas what
> I thought he was going to say is that his
> cousins are coming. It was not Matthew's
> birthday for a month. But somebody had
> mentioned birthdays. So anyway. So never mind'

The episodic deviance is further neutralised by teacher's
statement of what he might have said. Teacher offers this as a
reason for saying anything. Thus a continuance of the
normalisation of ground. This pupil had a reason for saying
something as 'his cousins are coming'. The actual pupil talk
is seen to have been episodically diverted: 'somebody had
mentioned birthdays'. Clearly the whole episode is thoroughly
neutralised: 'so anyway' and 'so never mind'. The final
remark demonstrates what teacher has extracted from the

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episode. Not the potentially deviant figure but the normal figure and its ground implications. Faced with the normal and deviant figures then she extracts the normal! (Thus in the 'psychological' or 'surface' processes of figure-ground she sees the 'normal' as figure)

27.6.81

Normal-Ideal formulation:

> 'Incidentally there's Alan doing what he loves best. Making a film projector!'

A combination of normal figure and its segmental ground. In spite of an enduring deviant ground there are now obviously segmental ground formulations on the normal side of the boundary. (Here can be seen something of the complexity of Other-roles. Both normal and abnormal segments operating simultaneously!)[34]

14.7.81

An apparent abnormal formulation:

> 'He's for ever getting into fights. Which are partly because other people tease him and partly because he gets into them anyway. And he doesn't seem to be able to do much about them. He has to retaliate'

Apparently then deviance occurs through two routes:

1. the personal deviant ground

2. the interactional network of episodic triggers or

   catalysts

An authentic interactional process is suggested:

Deviant Ground   +Interactional Triggers --> Deviant Ground
                                                          Motive
('he gets into fights')('other people tease him')('has to
                          ↗   ↗ retaliate')
    (1)   (2)   (3)

i.e. (1) + (2) ----> (D)1 + (3) ----> (D)2
        | |
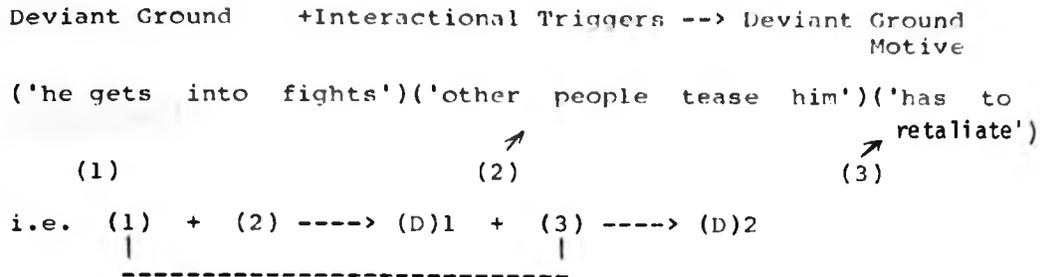
Thus 1 + 2 produces Deviance (D1) which in turn leads to a
motive grounded in 1 and therefore a further trigger.

    Thus two elements of deviance: D1 produced from ground
plus   interaction.   Further Deviance results from pupil's
response to Deviance.

Signs of normalisation perhaps:

> 'I think slightly over this year that he's not
> as quiet.   Certainly when you tell him off or
> when you ask him to do something he doesn't
> withdraw into himself as he did at first. It
> was terrible trying to get him to do anything.
> Whereas now he seems to take it. And he'll sulk
> occasionally. But he tends to just sort of
> accept it and get on with it'

Continuing movement away from deviant ground 'over this year'.
The   time   scale   of   formulation spans his   Final   Year.
Normalisation is still underway then. Even in his last year.
Normalisation is specifically instanced in a typical episodic
or segmental role form. There is still a recurring divergence
('he'll still sulk occasionally') but this is perceptually
relocated to ground. But it is still not clear exactly which
ground predominates at this point. Normal or abnormal?
Finally the tachers give their last reviews of Alan in much
detail.

Academic formulation:

> 'Alan Knight has moved from green to red. To
> the top one. Partly to get him away from
> Darren H. **And** Richard. Because they're such
> a nuisance to him. And in the hopes that he
> might benefit there'

Here then can be seen the unclarity of role-formulation

boundaries. Academic grouping is not just based upon

<u>academic</u> ground (viewed as a segmental role) but on

<u>interpersonal</u> ground relations. Nevertheless teacher adopts

an apparently developmental notion of academic ground: 'in

the hopes that he might benefit there'. Certainly this is

not a fixed or static notion of ground since pupil is seen

as open to the positive influence of the new group.

15.7.81

Final Interview. Review of earlier deviant ground:

> 'I can remember when we first started talking
> about this group that Alan Knight took up a
> lot of time. He was this strange boy who was
> very withdrawn when he first started school'

The extremity then of early deviant ground: 'strange' and

'very withdrawn'. The abnormality was so prominent as to

absorb 'a lot of time' in interview talk. The teacher's

reference here gives some indication then of the pupil's

deviation from school norms.

Teacher continues:

> 'He was this very strange boy. And during
> his four years with us has periodically
> displayed this tendency to be isolated from
> the group. He occasionally has great

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difficulties with his relationships'

A continuing interactional differentiation then marking off
this pupil 'from the group'. The apparent sense of boundary
and a recognition of abnormality which has persisted over
his career and been 'periodically displayed'.

Account goes on:

'He's temperamental. When he's at his most stable
is a very interesting boy to work with. A very
interesting boy to talk to. He has interesting
things to say. Initiates conversations. Responds
quite easily to an initiative from anyone else and
makes contributions to group discussions and so
on'

The general framework of formulation suggests a 'temperamental'
and not a stable ground. Is there an implication of changing or
fluid ground rather than the presence of one dominant ground? It
is not clear. It seems there perhaps is an absence of firm
ground ? Teacher appears to be suggesting something like a
schizophrenic identity composed of two grounds. Pupil alternates
or moves between them. This may perhaps be a special case of
deviant ground - a case of deviance in the lack of ground
stability!

After outlining aspects of his 'normal' ground teacher then
outlines the other ground:

'But if he's going through one of his more
unstable periods really he's an extremely
difficult boy to work with and withdraws into his
silence. Or if it's insisted upon that he replies
to something that's been said to him will blurt it
out in a loud voice and: Well alright, I'll speak
but I'm not doing it because I really want to.
It's only because you want me to to'

Here then is the deviant ground. It is seen to be contextually
or episodically modifiable up to a point. The ground even

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impinges upon the pupil's response to teacher strategy i.e. 'it's

only because you want me to!'

The pupil has a deviant career right to the end:

> 'Really a very unusual boy. I know that during
> the year G had words with his parents. And it was
> his father that came to school. He found it very
> difficult to understand why it was that we were
> having problems with Alan in school'

Recognition then of the difficulty of negotiating an agreed base

for proceeding with teacher-parent strategy formation because of

the incompatible or competing grounds. The account of

'negotiation' continues:

> '<u>I</u>'ll have to talk to him. I'll tell him. And so
> on. When really we were trying to find a cause
> and reasons for his behaviour. But acording to
> them he was never like that at home'

There is a difference of view about an appropriate strategy then.

Presumably because of formulating the issue from different

ground! The present formulation can also be seen to refer to an

earlier ground.

Thus there are two temporal dimensions of pupil career:

1. <u>developmental</u> in ground <u>moving</u> over time towards or away
   from a boundary (a linear or segmental movement)

2. <u>phasic</u> in ground switching perceived in pupil as he goes
   through normal and abnormal phases (the possible 'schizo'
   type as Alan appears to be) and what is perhaps the basis of
   apparent <u>anomic</u> processes from time to time when it is
   uncertain which ground is, or will be, in play.

Additionally each party has a different <u>contextual</u> figure or

ground. A view of Other 'at home' or 'at school'. Thus contexts

of Other become also figure/ground. From teacher's point of view

there is 'the school' as dominant figure. Knowledge of other

contexts must be psychological ground. For parents 'the home' is

figure. Thus in the interaction of each standpoint it seems

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likely that the receiver will at the time of the negotiation experience a present account (from the typification carrier) of Other in unfamiliar contexts as immediate figure but against an enduring ground of knowledge of Other in familiar contexts. The significance of ground and the basis of this operational use by observers is seen to be critical by teacher herself as she refers to the problematicity of the interactional-Other context. This is in reference to pupil's past career and the critical point of Junior transfer:

> 'I think that had he gone to a separate Junior department this year, in his strange moods I would guess that a teacher who hadn't known about the difficulties he'd overcome during his career in school, they might have been saying: Well we need the psychologist in to look at him'

Here the 'reciprocity of perspectives' (Schutz,1963) is a critical issue, or seen to be so by the participants! It operates even as a member's method for constructing accounts of other teachers. Thus other teachers are constructed as role-takers whose view of 'deep structure' or ground is likely to be problematic. Teacher recognises how different perceptions may arise from different standpoints. Also how figure apearances may lead to misinterpretation of ground: 'in his strange moods I would guess that a teacher who hadn't known about the difficulties he'd overcome ....'. Beyond the formulation of deviant ground the new teachers would perhaps fail to take account of the moving ground or the dynamics of ground movement over time (the developmental ground referred to earlier). From present teacher's standpoint the meaning of figure rests upon the emergence of ground over time. To a newcomer or stranger this is

a critical problem as there will be no access to the temporal emergence. Neither the <u>direction</u> of movement (towards or away from the normal), the <u>pace</u> (the rate of movement), or the <u>distance</u> covered (how far he has travelled in the direction of normality) can be known. The nature of ground will also be inaccessible and therefore the selection from the 'appropriate' range of ground-based strategies will be difficult since the variety of contextual motivations that may be selected from the underlying reservoir is unknown to newcomers. To the teacher then the selection of appropriate strategy is seen as being contingent upon knowing all the dimensions of pupil career emergence:

- direction
- distance
- pace

It seems then that strategies can be <u>figure-related</u> or <u>ground-related</u>. For this teacher a strategy is seen to increase in its appropriateness as it takes in ground and all its facets!

This viewpoint might suggest then that the critical point for the selection of strategy is its attention to either figure or to ground in the construction of Other. It would seem then that access to the deep structure of some of the constituent elements of ground (pace, direction, distance) all require <u>in-group</u> membership. The 'stranger' (Schutz,1944) to the in-group culture would not be in a position to operate deep structure and so select appropriate strategies compatible with ground. Inevitably strategies would be figure-based and related

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to <u>immediate</u> search for <u>provisional ground</u> rather than to the <u>dynamic emergent ground</u> which is part of the 'taken-for-granted' world of in-group culture. In the context of in-group culture perhaps the most significant element in operating ground is in recognising its moving or <u>emergent</u> nature .

This can be seen in teacher's final comment reviewing deviant ground over the Final Year:

> 'When G finally asked his father to come it was
> when he was physically removing himself. In some
> instance by putting himself under the table. But
> he doesn't do that too often!'

Here ground is seen as an emergent phenomenon. It is a moving phenomenon gradually being revealed or becoming apparent over time. It 'exists' within an ongoing temporal reality.

Additionally this is seen to be operating simultaneously within a multiplicity of boundary contexts. There is reference to interpersonal boundary. This is actually noted as ground and imputed as originating in a deliberate motivational base of pupil's actions i.e. 'he was physically removing himself'.......'in some instances by putting himself under the table!'

Thus the notions of interpersonal <u>spatial</u> differentiation are generally formulated ('physically removing himself') and <u>precisely</u> instanced ('in some instances by putting himself under the table !'). It appears that the outer limits of the category are identified. It may be seen to be part of a general category of 'physically removing himself', whose outer limits are even in some instances demonstrated by 'putting himself under the table'.

The phenomenon is additionally viewed in a temporal framework:

- developmental or emergent
- frequency or rate of occurrence

In developmental terms it is the increasing emergence to the teacher (G) and in frequency terms: 'doesn't do that too often!'

Both space and time are apparently critical elements within the in-group 'world' or 'culture'. This analysis ends where it began - by attempting to explore the continuities between a trans-contextual process of pupil formulation and the contextual dynamics of its ongoing construction in situated classroom encounters. This has been attempted by recognising the apparently 'natural' dimensions of 'time' and 'space' and their sociological counterparts - the processes of emergence and relativity. In the case of the pupil Alan, a consideration of these processes has taken the analysis through a lengthy exposition of his career. In the course of its continuing emergence, his identity has been seen to indicate continuing movements of distance, direction, and pace. Thus it can be seen how the social construction of pupil identities is a complex and ongoing phenomenon at times recognising significant movements even across the apparently fundamental normal-abnormal boundary.

CHAPTER 10: REVIEW: INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS ARISING FROM
ANALYSIS OF DEVIANT CAREERS

REVIEW

This research has attempted to provide an account of
processes of Other construction occurring in schools. And
especially has sought to offer an account of the dynamics of
such processes in the ongoing stream of classroom life.
Consequently particular attention has been given to:

1.   the longitudinal movement or processes of Other
      formulation as they occur over the first four
      years of schooling.

2.   the moment-by-moment   movement   in   Other
      formulation as episode follows episode in the
      fast flowing stream of classroom life

Basic Elements: Figure-Ground

The account has centred upon the notion of figure-ground
to provide a conceptual framework for exploring the dynamics of
person formulation as a process of moving between different
elements of constructed Other. It has seemed appropriate to
redeploy the notions of figure-ground from the psychology of
perception into the sociological contexts and processes of
role-taking and Other construction. In doing so this
establishes theoretical continuities with the work of Garfinkel
in 'documentary method' and McHugh in the use of emergent
'theme'. It was decided to use figure to refer to the
essentially immediate and fleeting appearances and

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manifestations of Other-role and to regard ground as the enduring Other-roles that are seen to persist beyond the episodic, such as may be found in notions of 'identity'. The ground is seen to provide an enduring base upon which Other is seen to act and especially suggests a stock of typical motives that may be imputed from what has been referred to as a motivational reservoir.

Other-Role

Central to the analysis has been the notion of relativity in the placement of boundaries in interpersonal relations. As with Turner it is recognised that:

> 'the role becomes the point of reference for placing interpretations on specific actions, for anticipating that one line of action will follow upon another and for making evaluations of individual actions'

It is appropriate to recognise a conceptual continuity between 'typification', 'role', 'identity' and 'career' in the ongoing construction of reality.

It seems the casting of Other in role is central to the whole process at both episodic and trans-episodic levels. In the context of deviance then either in the recognition of isolated deviant incidents or of enduring deviant identities it is the perceived role which is critical. The present analysis has sought then to move away from the more traditional notion of rule-transgression and its related 'societal reactions' which has been prominent in the literature of the major process view of deviance. It has been recognised in the course of this

research that it is the role rather than rule aspect which is critical to the perception of deviance in schools. Situations are apparently interpreted as either deviant or not deviant as a consequence of the alter-casting by teachers of pupils' role-following or role-taking. Since any behaviour can always be potentially rule-breaking (according to context) then perhaps understandably it is the role that is critical. Rules are seen to come in play when first the player's role has been identified and therefore the set of rules which would apply given his role as player in whatever game is seen to operate in the emergent setting. The present framework then is suggesting a move in a direction opposite to that advocated by Coulson (1972), who argues for a rejection of 'role', and Harre and Secord (1972), who advocate the adoption of a rule-based model of social interaction.

It seems that the central issue is how teacher formulates pupil. Whether at the time he is seen to be in academic role or in deviant role. Thus it matters not whether the context of observation or interaction is defined as academic. What matters is whether pupil is formulated to be operating within an academic or a deviant role at the time and therefore from a base which is deviant (fundamental ground) or which is academic (subordinate segmental ground). The dynamics of the process are evident then in the teacher's casting Other in role. This is the critical process. It has been seen how once ground emerges it tends to become regarded as a dominant Other-role. Thus the emergence of a deviant ground influences the formulation of Other even in academic contexts. This then

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recognises a process which has also been identified by Turner:

> 'the placement of any one of these boundaries
> for a fleeting instant or for a longer period
> limits the identifiction of other roles'

Episodes and Strategies

The analysis suggests that the critical boundary has proved to be that of the <u>episode</u> and those boundaries that are seen to surround it and so insulate it from, or permit its perceived continuities with,trans-episodic realities.

In the study of deviant careers a critical boundary is that between the <u>episode</u> and beyond. That is the boundary between episodic and trans-episodic phenomena. Thus whether the formulation of Other is contained within the apparent episode or whether trans-episodic dimensions are introduced. The critical boundary is between the episodic and the trans-episodic as recognised by those who perceive the 'incident'. Thus it is the <u>phenomenological</u> boundary which is a critical element in the processes which underpin, and provide continuities in, 'societal reaction'.

An important dynamic element is the <u>exploratory</u> search for <u>theme</u> as teachers encounter episodes. Thus a critical process is in perceiving whether the theme resides <u>within</u> the boundaries of the episode or <u>beyond</u> in trans-episodic ground. Teachers appear to move across these boundaries in the active process of searching.

An <u>episode</u> can be turned into a <u>trans-episodic event</u> by

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An episode can be turned into a trans-episodic event by

the introduction of the personal. Thus in the episode the personal identity emerges and so makes it a personal rather than an episodic event. The parameters of the event are then seen to be within trans-episodic notions of personal identity and not within the boundaries of episode.

In teachers' dealings with pupils some motives and strategies appear to be drawn from within the episode (seen as episodically limited) while others are drawn trans-episodically from ground. In the case of normal pupils in the course of deviant episodes it seems teachers are likely to employ episodic notions and strategies in their interpretation. For abnormal pupils however they are likely to employ trans-episodic motives and strategies.

As teachers operate episodic strategy they are assuming an episodic phenomenon which at the moment at least is seen to have origins or 'causes' that lie not in the personal identity of the pupil but in the motivational parameters of the episodic setting. Thus teacher strategy is episodically selected and implemented and appears to be where the episodic and the personal boundaries meet. And so, for example, after operating an episodic strategy and encountering a response that does not correspond with an assumption of episodic motivational structure this seems to be the point at which teacher begins to organise ground-based formulations.

The critical point for a teacher's selection of strategy seems to be its links with figure or ground in the construction of Other. It would seem then that access to 'deep structure' and the constituent elements of ground (pace, direction,

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distance) all require in-group membership. The 'stranger' to the in-group culture (Schutz,1964) would not be in a position to operate 'deep structure' and so would be unable to select 'appropriate' strategies compatible with ground. Inevitably strategies would then be figure- based and related to an immediate search for provisional ground rather than the operation of a dynamic emergent ground which is part of the 'taken-for-granted world' of in-group culture. Perhaps the most significant element in operating ground then is the recognition of its moving or emergent career.

A possible distinction to be made is that between :

- episodically bounded strategies
- trans-episodic strategies

While in-group strategies will eventually derive from ground and so are trans-episodic in both origin and in operation it is possible to use episodic strategies in an exploratory manner to check out, tease out or even test a suspected ground. However, the newcomer or 'stranger' to the in-group can operate only episodically-bounded strategies.

Phases of Emergence

The data has suggested that in the figure-ground construction of early careers, for most children the teachers will begin formulation from an assumption of total normality. Total normality will operate immediately as the presumed or anticipated motivational base. Teachers appear to assume a framework of normal motivation applies until proved to be inappropriate. However, such processes as 'pairing' of

siblings or friends, or 'setting' the Other in context of a deviant set (e.g. family) appear to invoke the likelihood of an abnormal base and motivational reservoir being operated from the start.

It seems that an early phase of formulation involves teachers in active processes of searching for ground. Teachers then seem to engage in testing out provisional grounds (perhaps consistent with the notion of the 'elaborative stage' identified by Hargreaves,1975). Early encounters with pupils will be perceived as episodes to be interpreted as figures in which signs of ground may be sought. In a later phase of typification however, ground will dominate episodes. There is perhaps a transitional phase where the framework of formulation moves between the episode and trans-episodic interpretations in searching for appropriate meanings. The sequence may be expressed thus:

1. episodic

2. episodic <-------> trans-episodic

3. trans-episodic

The formulation frame of reference moves from figure to ground in the focus of interpretation as pupil acquires a trans-episodic identity. This may perhaps be the sequence of processes involved in anonymisation. A significant emergent point in this sequence may perhaps be identified by reference to the account of one teacher. It seems for her the boundary in emergence which distinguishes between episodic and trans-episodic forms of deviance is three weeks! In the first three weeks of schooling it seems some forms of deviance may be

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perceived as episodic whereas beyond this point teachers begin to suspect ground as the base for its persistence. Thus the focus of attention moves from episodic (contextual) to trans-episodic (personal) formulation.

There appear to be two temporal dimensions to pupil careers (at least in the early phase of schooling) :

1. developmental as ground is seen to be moving over time towards or away from a boundary (as a linear or possible segmental movement).

2. phasic as ground switching is perceived (in some pupils) as they go through normal and abnormal phases ; this apparent switching between normal and abnormal bases and motivational reservoirs seems to be implicit in apparent anomic processes when from time to time teacher is uncertain which ground is or will be in play.

Formulation in Primary school contexts is ongoing and seen to take account of two simultaneous processes :

- emerging ground (personal)
- episodic (contextual; adjusting to first few days in school)
   emergence

It seems possible then that the perception or social construction of 'child development' will be a continual interplay between perceived ground and the perceived episodic. The 'developing' framework of 'child development' is itself an additional moving frame. Not just a boundary between the normal and the abnormal but the use of a boundary which itself

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is continually shifting as the cohort or normal yardstick moves on developmentally. Thus it is not just the boundary between persons which provides the framework for formulation but a recognition of the direction of individual movement in relation to a shifting boundary . Thus processes of relativity occur within a shifting framework.

At different times in the processes of emergence there appears to be an absence of ground but for apparently different reasons. In early formulation the groundlessness seems to rest upon an assumption that ground will emerge in the near future (i.e. suspended-anomie). Whereas in later formulation the recognition that there is no stable or predictable ground present to discover will lead to anomie per se (an apparent meta-deviance in some pupils).

In the case of normal pupils a feature of groundless formulation which occurs in the early days of relations with pupils is at a point before the emergence of any ground at all, but when teachers appear to give most pupils the benefit of any doubt and so presume a normal ground. This is then tacit ground - the anticipation of a ground yet to emerge. This might be distinguished from episodic suspension (when in later formulation ground is temporarily suspended).

In the early phases of typification, as teachers move away from the episodic, rather than formulating an episode in its own terms, it seems teachers are operating a more generalised construction of an episode as a member of a more generalised category set of equivalent typical episodes. It seems to be an apparent mid-position between episodic and ground formulation.

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It is not trans-episodic but limited in reference to specifiable episodes or episodic settings. In the early phase it might be expected that until a teacher has sampled enough pupil situations to formulate a trans-episodic ground then ground formulations would always be provisional, tentative and therefore limited. Thus typical episodic settings appear to be a possible early and tentative form of limited ground formulation. Thus teachers seem to operate first episodic and then move towards ground frameworks. In later typification however, the expression of limited formulation appears to be derived from ground and so might be regarded as a limited or segmental ground formulation. Its essential difference from early typical episodic formulation is its attachment to, and basis in, the underlying motivational reservoir. Thus typical episode appears in early typification and segmental role formulation in later Other-role construction.

It seems that person formulation proceeds from a general ground base with additional (segmental) and more specific role formulations appended. This presents a problem of observation both to the actor and the researcher. If a segmental role observation or formulation is identified then the ground on which it is presumed to rest will be unknown. It will always be submerged and the nature of its underlying ground will not be visible. It seems problematic to discover whether it is a normal or an abnormal ground since even abnormal pupils often have some normal segments. The appearance of a 'normal' segment then may hide an underlying abnormal base for an 'abnormal' pupil but indicate continuities with a 'normal' base

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for a 'normal' pupil. The same 'appearance' may either be a segmental or a core typification in the case of different pupils.

Processes : General

The data suggests that there is a continuing tension between the _episodic_ and the _trans-episodic_ in teachers' formulation of pupils. It seems likely that there is a continuing boundary problem in formulation as teachers seek to establish the different elements perceived to be present in an episode. Those attributable to the person (and so trans-episodic) and those attributable to and bounded by the episode (and so episodic). In some cases ground will be imported so as to provide the 'theme' for the episode. Thus _strategy_ will be related to ground and its motivational reservoir beyond the episode. In other cases the 'theme' will be entirely episodic with interaction perceived to operate within its own episodic parameters.

The analysis has identified an apparent process of what might be regarded as the 'social structuring of normality ' or the pursuit of strategies in the avoidance of the 'abnormal'. Although at 'figure' level the outcomes of classroom life may appear 'normal' for some otherwise deviant pupils there may, at a 'deeper' level, still be a continuing abnormal or deviant ground as an ever-present, though underlying, basis of both Other-formulation and teacher's related strategy formulation and its implementation. Thus a deviant potential ground may operate behind an apparent normality. Teachers' attempts to

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produce 'normal' outcomes are in effect a dynamic process moving between anticipated figures and potential grounds, between episodic and trans-episodic forms.

It seems the very same context may be seen simultaneously in both episodic and trans-episodic terms. Different individuals in the same context can be viewed either from episodic or from a trans-episodic framework. Thus episodic and trans-episodic career lines run concurrently, are juxtaposed within the same episode, and yet may be insulated from each other. The perception of any one situation may involve the organisation and construction of an episodic context through the recognition of both episodic and trans-episodic forms of reality. Thus the active and interpretative processes underpinning the social construction of reality I The account of reality has to be assembled or accomplished I A stranger will not 'see' the episodic and trans-episodic parameters since they operate at the level of 'deep structure'. These episodic and trans-episodic parameters may operate differently across different interpersonal boundaries at the same moment in time. Thus emergence is linked to relativity. Each component of relativity (the differentiation of interpersonal boundaries) has its own temporal or emergent reality. It is linked back into a continuing past and projects onward into a future. Thus reality may be seen to have continuity with previous forms or not I It is the perception and construction of present reality as having or not having continuity with previous forms that is critical. In the same incident or event may be perceived a continuity of ground for one pupil or a unique episodic

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occurrence for another. It can be seen that processes of relativity and emergence are central to the construction of social reality in classroom life.

Another process which is apparent seems to be that of retyping which from the present framework would be regarded as the crossing of a significant boundary in formulation. In effect it takes the form of the crossing of a motivational and therefore a model boundary - such as in moving from abnormal to a normal ground and so moving between their associated motivational reservoirs. A significant boundary crossing would be from a deviant identity, seen as a trans-episodic phenomenon rooted in enduring ground, to the point of its recognition as having been replaced by a framework of formulation in which it is seen as episodic deviation operated by a mere episodic theme bounded within its own contextual parameters. The motivational base for deviance would then be seen to be generated solely by context and so operating within its own episodic boundaries. This is a critical point for figure-ground relations since deviant occurrences in fact may still continue but they would now be perceived to rest upon a different ground and insulated from it by episodic boundaries.

Processes : Negotiation and Exchange

An identifiable process within ground emergence is that of negotiation and exchange. Exchange of ground seems to depend on the perceived compatibility of data on offer. It was noted how in some instances the compatibility of data between 'ground carrier' and teachers (as in the first deviant case) permitted

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the addition of data.

But in other instances (as in the second case) the ground exchange could not proceed because of incompatibility of dissonant data. The transposing of ground data across interpersonal and spatial boundaries proved not to be manageable. It seems that processes of relativity operate at the root of the process.

It seems processes of ground exchange may occur to increase the contextual range of its application. Each party in the exchange presents a contextualised ground and so the contextual range of ground is being extended. In this way knowledge of Other in a different context such as 'at home' or 'at school' is added to each party. Each party in the exchange is thus getting a firmer view of ground. It seems then that it is not just that parents often act as 'typification carriers' but they operate as ground carriers - a more critical process since it simultaneously imports a motivational base ! Although ground will have some existing form to its originator it can nevertheless be added to or fused with received ground. As ground knowledge of Other in different contexts is aquired then the predictive value of ground perhaps increases.

The reciprocity of perspectives (Schutz) is critical or seen to be so by participants. It seems to operate even as a member's method for constructing accounts of other teachers. It seems other teachers are sometimes constructed as role-takers whose view of 'deep structure' or ground is likely to be problematic. Teachers recognise how different perceptions may arise from different stand-points. It is

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recognised how uninformed perception of a pupil's figure behaviour may lead to 'misinterpretation' of ground. It is recognised that new teachers would misformulate Alan, the second case, because they would fail to take account of the <u>moving</u> ground in the dynamics of its movement over time. Acknowledging such processes it is possible to recognise with McHugh the significance of emergence :

> 'Emergence makes disparate slices of time continuous enough in their meaning to maintain concerted activity'

From the standpoint of a present teacher the meaning of 'figure' events in classroom life rest upon their knowledge of pupils as biographical Others and their emergence in ground over the course of an ongoing career. To a newcomer or stranger such ground formulation is a critical problem. There can be no immediate access to ground in its <u>temporal emergence</u>. Neither the <u>direction</u> of movement (towards or away from the normal), the <u>pace</u> (rate of movement) or the <u>distance</u> covered (within or across the boundaries) can be known. Nor can the precise nature of ground be known. In consequence the newcomer has only a limited access to motivational reservoir and therefore is denied the appropriate selection from the range of <u>ground-based strategies</u> since the variety of contextual motivations that may be selected from the underlying reservoir is unknown to newcomers. The in-group world has knowledge both of <u>deep structure</u> (ground) and equally critically its moving or <u>emergent career</u>. Both of these are inaccessible directly to outsiders.

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Processes : Anonymisation

It has been noted in other research that in pupil
formulation there are tendencies to reification in the
construction of pupil identities (Sharp and Green) and to
closed or 'stabilised' typifications in the formulation of
deviant Other-roles (Hagreaves). Such views are perhaps
over-geneneralised in apparently not taking account of their
ongoing and situated use. In the present research it can be
seen that the structuring of pupil identity in its ongoing
emergence is not always apparently in a manner which seeks to
reify deviant identity. It has been noted how the 'structuring
of normality' often appears to be an under-reacting form of
'societal reaction'.

In the present conceptualisation of this research it may
be the case that the reference here to ground formulation is
equivalent to the notion of 'reified' or 'stabilised'
formulations. They are in effect a form of dismissing Other to
a form of anonymity. Yet at the same time there is perhaps
some ambiguity in such use of ground construction as ground
might also be regarded as an individualised form of Other
formulation since it is apparently a process of responding to
the perceived 'real' or 'deep structure' of Other rather than
to the 'surface' figure manifestations as a stranger would be
obliged to do ! (Indeed previous comments have suggested that
the in-group knowledge of the deep structure and even of moving
deep structure is perhaps an important aspect of Other which
outsiders would fail to ('see').

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The present research began by referring to the work of Schutz in identifying an apparent continuum between individualisation and anonymisation in Other construction. There is an apparent tension along the supposed continuum between individualisation-anonymity forms of Other construction in the shifting intimacy of relations with Other as the framework moves from contemporary to consociate relations. Which then is to be regarded as the individualised form of constructing Other ? The surface (figure) or the deep structure (ground) ? Perhaps Schutz's notion of individualised construction presupposes that there is a 'real' Other independent of either 'surface' or 'deep structure'.

The present account has suggested three possible categories or degrees of anonymity in Other formulation :

1.   episodic (pupil generalised within a temporal or action event boundary)

2.   trans-episodic (pupil generalised across situational and temporal contexts)

3.   trans-personal (pupil generalised as an impersonal type)

As the framework of formulation moves from 1 to 3 the construction of Other increases in anonymity. It must be remembered of course that even type 1, the episodic, is a form of anonymisation in generalising Other across time. It involves placing a boundary around a temporal unit or interactional sequence such that the multiple minutae of pupil's actions are interpreted as a whole and thus as an action or interactional unit while it is yet emerging or even sometime after it is complete. If we recognise type 3 as the most anonymous form of typification then it can be seen that

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perhaps much of what has been encountered in this research has been moderate in its anonymisation. In fact ground formulation is a middle type (type 2). This suggests then that person formulation is <u>not</u> an undifferentiated continuum as it appears in Schutz's account but possibly a framework having identifiable boundaries at points of increasing generalisation or anonymity as the focus of construction moves <u>from</u> the person or Other in episode (episodic) <u>to</u> the person or Other-in-general (trans-episodic) <u>to</u> persons or Others-in general (trans-personal).

It should be recognised of course that typification is a <u>dynamic</u> process often involving movement from one form of construction to another. Thus typifications (whether of 'deviant' or 'normal' pupils) become individualised when used in specific contexts of action. They may perhaps be reified in the course of contemporary relations and perhaps in the third party exchange situations of staffroom life but they are perhaps transposed and individualised in the consociality of interaction.

It is important then not to confuse <u>anonymity</u> with <u>reification</u> (as perhaps Sharp and Green may have done) but to recognise that the use of even reified constructs may have very specific and individualised forms and occasions of use.

However, it has been suggested that there may be a tendency for teachers to differ in the extent to which they appear to remain in type 1 or move towards type 2 in the early days of formulation. This provides a possible conceptual basis for differentiating teachers as on the one hand those who tend

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to operate <u>within</u> episodic parameters (the episodic formulator) who show reluctance to move towards categorising the Other in personal terms and on the other those who appear more readily to move beyond the episodic parameters and see <u>transepisodic</u> or personal implications in relation to events (the trans-episodic formulator). The former seems in effect to engage in 'societal reaction' contingent largely upon currently perceived phenomena (therefore non-personal or context -based) while the latter engages in 'societal reaction' to phenomena perceived beyond the episode (person-based). Thus one teacher may move into person formulation after extracting every identifiable episodic variable from the situation. Another may continually resist the use of person formulation so thus retaining a more individualised and episodic view of Other as constructed in the unique consociate relations of each event rather than a more anonymised Other as in the contemporary relations perhaps implied by ground. However, it can nevertheless be seen that all teachers engage in movements between episodic and trans-episodic formulation. It seems to be a fundamental feature of the ongoing processes of classroom life and the construction of pupil careers.

Normality and Deviation

The present account has constantly taken issue with the more traditional views of deviance and accounts of research into it. In traditional frameworks the deviant episode is seen as critical because it is the <u>point</u> of emergence. It is seen

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to be the point of boundary crossing. The antecedent processes are rarely introduced as 'natural' elements of the social construction of deviance. There is often a post-hoc investigation into the presumed trans-episodic 'factors' as predisposing 'because-of-motives'. This proceeds with little attempt to explore by what processes these antecedent phenomena appear within the episode. Thus there is a tendency to see both the episodic and the trans-episodic in terms of the rule-transgression. However the present research suggests that teachers, in their 'societal reaction' see deviance in both episodic rule-transgression terms and simultaneously in relation to an ongoing trans-episodic framework of personal ground or pupil identity. It is perhaps the teacher then who is the means by which the episodic and the trans-episodic fuse together at the point of 'societal reaction'.

It seems repeatedly that in this research it has been noticeable that the teachers' attention is person-focussed rather than rule-focussed in formulation. Of course the research method itself may partly account for this. It approaches formulation through persons with an overt interest in a continuing sample of specific pupils rather than through a sampling of deviant incidents or events. Nevertheless, when teachers make reference to rule-breaking incidents the 'real' issue is usually seen to be a more fundamental one of rule-breaking against a backcloth of ongoing person formulation. Episodic deviance seems to be thus immediately related to a person formulation context which often diffuses the episodic rule-breaking and puts into sharper focus its

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trans-episodic features of relativity and thus of a more
fundamental inter-personal boundary between the normal and the
abnormal and their associated motivational reservoirs.

The apparent tendency for teachers to operate with a
recognition of the implications of labelling suggests that the
issue for the sociology of deviance is not the matter of mere
rule-breaking and the societal reactions to it but a more
complex process of interpreting the nature of the boundaries.
Labelling accounts tend to treat 'reactions' to rule-breaking
as a process of victim creation. However teachers seem to show
a remarkably measured sense of boundary differentiation seen in
their recognition of the implications for enduring Other-role
identity beyond the immediate figure rule-breaking. Thus they
often appear to attempt to deliberately manage their reactions
to figure-based rule-breaking (surface reactions) and
simultaneously the ground-based person formulation implications
(deep structure reactions).

Another indication of the greater complexity of processes
beyond those often suggested by Labelling theory is the
frequently recurring phenomenon of teachers giving much
attention to the pupil's reaction to the deviant incident as a
reference point for typification. This is perhaps equivalent
to 'societal reaction' of Labelling theory but is seen in
effect to focus upon the episodic reaction of the pupil under
scrutiny and not , as is usual , the onlooker's reaction. The
present analysis suggests that any account of 'reaction',
whether of the deviant or the onlooker, should take an episodic
frame of reference and so adopt a dynamic or process view of

the entire episodic unit of the event over the course of its emergence.

The present research suggests this occurs in relation to the processes of figure-ground already outlined. Ultimately of course the 'societal reaction' is to be found within the onlooker's perception of pupil reaction to deviance. Thus whether the pupil's response is seen as episodic (in figure terms) or trans-episodic (drawing upon deviant ground) will indicate whether its motivational base is seen to lie outside the episodic parameters. Thus the perceived ground may perhaps be more important than the current figure. The trans-episodic phenomena may be seen to be manifest in an episodic instance and so may be taken as underlying theme.

The present account then suggests the complex processes of interaction in the construction of pupil careers involve the inter-relations and tensions between figure-ground, surface and deep structure, the episodic and trans-episodic, individualisation-anonymity ,consociate and contemporary. However, most central of all has been the attempt to explore the significance of processes of relativity and emergence. The ongoing account has given prominence to the trans-episodic parameters of emergence over the four years of the fieldwork. There has also been an attempt to recognise intra-episodic processes of emergence as perceived events are seen to become episodes and their parameters defined or constructed as teachers impose temporal and spatial boundaries in their ongoing accomplishment of the social construction of reality.

Chapter 11

NORMAL CASES

The analysis so far has generated a theoretical account of what appear
to be the fundamental parameters in the frameworks operated by teachers
for constructing pupils in the course of ongoing processes of Other
formulation.   It has concentrated on a particular analysis of two
critical cases as exemplars of pupils at the outer boundaries of these
· parameters.

Since teachers appear to operate an abnormal/normal boundary as a critical
element of classroom reality it has been appropriate to examine pupils
on either side of the boundary. So far this account has focussed upon
one pupil (as deviant case) in each school who occupied a position
beyond this significant boundary. A detailed emergent and ongoing analysis
of each has been attempted so as to discover the processes by which such
pupils are 'manceuvred' into, or across, the fundamental normal/abnormal
boundary and by which their occupation of such a position is maintained
continued or discontinued over a longitudinal time scale. So as to
give proper attention to the moment by moment processes of emergence
as they occur within each case over a full four year period of schooling
it is necessary here to limit the examination of cases in breadth across
the sample in order to focus instead upon an in-depth analysis of within-
career profiles of these critical cases. Accordingly it has been thought
inappropriate to consider more than one deviant pupil career for each
school. It is recognised however that the generalisability of such
accounts generated from single cases may thereby be limited. However,
the pursuit of cross-sample generalisability would have had to have
been made at the expense of a full and proper documentation of the long-
itudinal and developmental course of pupil careers. It would have
required the present analysis to unneccessarily condense the emergent
patterns at the expense of an 'adequate' representation of a genuinely
ongoing and dynamic process and so would have encouraged the omission of
important parts of what is after all a continuous process occurring moment
by moment over the four year time-scale of each pupil career and of
the research. The competing tension between the demands of cross-sample
generalisability and adequacy of within-case emergent authenticity require
sacrifices to be made in one direction or another. (1) The selection

of a critical case is therefore a crucial element in any claims for gene-
ralisability, representativeness, and for adequacy. Although the
typicality of a single case will always be problematical, it is not the
concern here to make a contribution to the development of generalisable
theories but merely to explore a framework of possible processes as they
appear to emerge or be manifested over the longitudinal time-scale of a
particular case. The appropriateness of such an account to other single
cases will always be a matter for empirical investigation. (2) Since
in each school only one pupil occupied (phenomenologically) the status
of critical case, and was clearly allocated by teachers to a deviant
position, then it was appropriate to examine each of these pupils as
a critical case in some detail.

Having already examined critical cases of 'abnormality', attention may now
be directed to the analysis of processes that underpin the maintenance
of 'normal' pupil careers across the critical boundary in the 'normal
sector' of teachers' apparent construction of classroom reality. Two
cases from each school have been selected as exemplars of 'normal' careers.
The selection of cases for analysis was on this occasion made more
problematic by their being any number of 'normal' cases available for
consideration since most pupils in the sample occupied 'normal' positions.
However, since in the phenomenological reality of classroom life teachers
seemed to treat certain pupils as though they occupied significant
normal positions as apparent personifications of the 'normal' category
of pupil, it seemed appropriate to select these cases for detailed
analysis.

It is recognised of course that in a sample of 50 pupils the occurrence
of individual differences within any perceived distribution of normal
pupils must mean there is likely to be a complete range of pupils within
the category of normal cases (3) stretching from the normal/abnormal
boundary as far as the upper end of the distribution (4). For example:
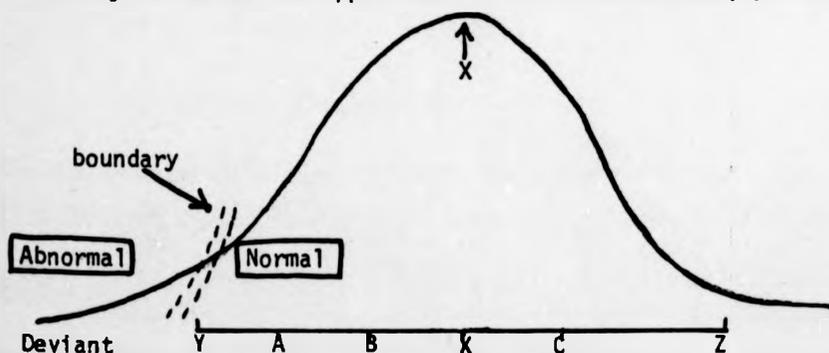
Although the present account has selected (or rather teachers have differentiated) pupils at position X it is nevertheless recognised that pupils along a continuum from Y to Z all experience 'normal' careers and will perhaps do so in a variety of forms and ongoing patterns (over a longitudinal time scale). However, it is intended here to identify only the parameters of pupil formulation and not to offer a complete account of intra- normal career variations.

It is not then an intention of the present research to provide a fully developed account of the emergence and maintenance of normal career patterns but to explore the dynamic frameworks underpinning pupil career maintenance processes. Since teachers seem to differentiate some pupils as Personifying 'normality' then it seems appropriate to search these cases for an indication of formulation processes as they occur in pupils whose status as normals is quite overtly and unproblematically acknowledged by the teachers over much of the four year longitudinal time scale (5). It will be left for future work to examine the possible variety of normal careers and career patterns.

The analysis now continues   with an account of 'normal' career emergence in two selected cases in each school:

In School A: the cases of James and Louise

In School B: the cases of Sally and Dawn

The four normal cases will be examined in order to investigate the formulation processes apparent in teachers' attempts to get to know, and maintain classroom relations with, these pupils in the ongoing stream of classroom life. The account of two deviant cases has led to the suggestion of a theoretical framework recognising distinctions between:

- normal and abnormal
- figure and ground
- episodic and trans-episodic

It has already been seen how these distinctions are manifest or constructed by teachers in their dealings with abnormal or deviant pupils.

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The focus of analysis now turns to examining how teachers encounter
and construct normal pupils (6) and by what processes of emergence
and maintenance such careers are sustained over a four year period.
In order to consider this the four normal cases will each be
examined in turn.

The four cases have been subjected to detailed analysis with the data
for each pupil being examined in each successive interview over the
whole of the four year time-scale. There is inevitably a mass of
data which could be presented here (even though throughout the research
there has been very much less talk arising in interviews about the
normal pupils as compared with the deviant pupils). Nevertheless,
within the recognised limits and conventions of thesis writing it
would still not be possible to present here a full account of these four
cases as they evolve over a four year time-scale. It would also
perhaps be a rather tedious account which would appear somewhat repetitious
to the reader when apparent common patterns among the four cases began
to be repeated from one case to another and even within each case
year after year. It should be recognised of course that there is
problematicity in making assumptions about the equivalence of apparent
common patterns both within and across cases. In accord with the
phenomenological framework of this research   the uniqueness of individual
cases and of individual contexts as they occur for each individual
case should be recognised and allowed for by the research methodology
and the procedures for analaysis. Indeed it is in the present
researcher's view exactly this tendency to over - generalise across
samples, across 'systems' and across 'society' in traditional sociology
that failed to take account of Schutz's 'postulate of adequacy' and raised
questions about the correspondence of social scientist's second order
constructs with those of the first order interpretations of social
actors. One is conscious then of running a risk of damaging
phenomenological reality, both within and across cases, in attempting
here to reduce teachers' ongoing construction of reality in relation
to four cases of pupil career emergence over a long time-scale to
a mere few pages of commentary. However, the justification for this can
be made in terms of the present account being no more than exploratory
and not intended to offer generalisable theory across samples and
across timescales, and being an attempt only to explore and outline the
apparent frameworks or boundaries of formulation rather than offer
a fully developed theory of the processes of operation within these
identified parameters.

The analysis of the four 'normal' cases has been guided by the principle of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1968). The detailed collection of interview talk and data from a four year period of continuous research has inevitably generated an extensive mass of data. It has seemed from the analysis so far that a critical phase of formulation is that of the point of <u>ground emergence</u>. Accordingly particular attention has been given to the early point of emergence whenever a pupil encounters a new teacher and thus when the attempt to construct the underlying pupil ground is perhaps most likely to be taking place. In addition, this research has regarded it as critical or problematic to discover parameters within which formulation occurs in the <u>dynamic processes</u> of classroom life. This suggested a second principle of selection from the notion of theoretical sampling. It was important to focus particularly upon <u>situated</u> formulation - those instances of teacher talk or interview data which were related to the pupil interacting or acting in specific situations. Thus to focus upon contextualised talk and so make some attempt to reduce the possible 'third party talk' element (Hargreaves 1977) that might otherwise generate trans-contextual and thus trans-episodic forms of pupil formulation. It was a particular interest of the present research to understand the processes of person formulation as they occur within authentic classroom episodes. By giving prominence to the selection of accounts of classroom episodes it seemed likely to generate data in which the boundaries between the episodic and the trans-episodic would become an issue for teachers in making sense of the episodes in question.

Consequently, adopting the procedure of theoretical sampling it is possible to focus on those 'phases' of emergence that appear to offer the most appropriate means for examining the present theoretical concerns of the research. Thus attention will first be given to discovering how 'normal' pupils appear or emerge to teachers in their early encounters and initial exploratory dealings. The focus will then move on from these initial teacher explorations to consider how processes of formulation operate in the ongoing stream of classroom life and in the continuing school career of each pupil as it evolves over the four year time-scale of this research.

The analysis begins with the case of James, a pupil who over much of his career seems to be viewed as a normal pupil by most teachers.

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Chapter 12:

School A -   James

1.   Initial processes of emergence

8.9.77

The earliest interview data indicates James at what seems to be a
tentative phase of initial formulation:

" Hardly know he's there. I had to think twice before I realised
  who he was. Not much to say about James. I don't know him yet."

James then in some respects seems to be viewed like Alan, the deviant
case from School B who is also seen as 'quiet'. But unlike Alan
there seems to be no deviant base presumed in this early formulation.
Teacher could be assuming a provisional normal base formulating
from an assumed normal ground. Or even from an anticipated ground
but with pupil as yet being provisionally formulated only within
the parameters of each episode - one episode at a time. It may even
be pre-ground formulation (1). Teacher presumably, in saying she
doesn't know pupil yet is saying she is unable to formulate a trans-
opisodic generalisation of him.

It can also be seen that there is another similarity with Alan.
Teacher can't recall him. Thus like Alan he is perhaps in some sort
of formulatory suspension. He has not yet acquired a trans-episodic
identity. However, at this point in his career there was only one
dimension known about Alan: his deviance! And so an immediate
potential abnormality was recognised in Alan, even though at the
time it may have been regarded as a possible segmental facet of a
pupil who could turn out to be normal. But for James the formulation
seems to be quite clearly normal. (2) Perhaps teacher is at
this point anticipating a provisional normal ground and therefore
a normal motivational reservoir (3).

As the first interview continues it seems even more evident that a
normal base or ground may be in operation. The pupil is now referred
to as:

        'Bright, Intelligent. Little thinker.'

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Thus, the previously noticed 'quiet' is now linked to what may be a normal base. Pupil is a 'thinker'. There is no means here of knowing what teacher's underlying meanings are at this point but there is a suggestion of conformity to pupil role as distinct from the disturbing 'quiet' of Alan and its implications of deviation from pupil role. The 'quiet' of James however is not the non-participative 'quiet' that Alan is simultaneously regarded as experiencing in School B.

This seems apparent as teacher now formulates an episode which could be a figure illustration of the trans-episodic ground formulations now emerging:

> 'We did some flash cards yesterday. James was picking them .....
> everybody else. Little thinker'

Thus the framework for teacher's formulation has moved to a trans-episodic base. She formulates from a trans-episodic to an episodic framework. Teacher presents an account of a pupil who is experiencing a normal episode and so perhaps begins to generate provisional ground straight away. This may then be a gradual building up towards a firm general ground (4).

Nevertheless, although apparently viewing this from a normal base it seems that teacher could also be operating a potential deviant ground 'search'. But the 'search' it seems is conducted from a quite safe normal base and any deviation accommodated perhaps as mere segmentalism:

> 'I know them all. I've got a visual picture of what they've been
> like over the last two days. But the ones that stick and the ones
> we talk about .... the ones obviously that keep cropping up in the
> staffroom ..... and they're obviously the ones who're in trouble
> (5). James and Mark .... I was more concerned about their
> quietness.'

When teacher says she 'was concerned' it seems to suggest it was located within a recent definable temporal context now past and over with. No strong trans-episodic implications are suggested by the divergence.

In fact it is immediately followed by what seems to be a neutralising remark:

> 'James was just quiet.'

The 'quiet'ness of this pupil then is to be regarded not at the outer limits of the boundary of the framework as might 'the ones .... who're in trouble' but 'just' in the category (6). The potential abnormality that might have been recognised is instead immediately neutralised (7) it seems. And apparently accomplished by the process of Other matching with more divergent or deviant pupils ('the ones who're in trouble').

15.9.77

The headteacher has less knowledge of the pupil at this time. It seems then that she has not yet begun ground formulation:

'I don't know anything about James Ryan at all'

Thus neither ground nor episodic constructions are offered. It seems to be quite clearly at this point non-formulation. Thus a genuine pre-formulation.

The class teacher F however in the second week now sees the ground of a normal pupil rapidly emerging:

'Yes. I do know him a lot better. A very quiet little boy. Very artistic. He's super. He just gets on with whatever you want him to do.'

It seems the emergence of normal (8) ground is perhaps now well underway: 'he's super' and 'just gets on with whatever you want him to do.'

The previous 'quiet'ness which caused some moderate concern is already transformed into a thoroughly normal trans-episodic framework:

'He's very shy. But it's not a shyness that you would worry about. It's just his quiet personality. His mum's the same. I've met his mum. And she's very nice as well. They're very quiet. He's just the same.'

It seems that 'quiet'ness then can be located by teachers either on the normal or abnormal side of the boundary. Its meaning when used by teacher seems to depend upon whether it is seen to rest upon a normal base. It is 'not a shyness that you would worry about'. And 'it's just he's a quiet personality'. Thus teacher seems to be saying that's all it is. Nothing more. Such normality seems to be being formulated with the additional aid of a family equivalent of the 'sibling phenomenon'.

(This is also the case with the pupils Dawn and Sally in School B and the other pupil in School A, Louise. It seems to be a quite common process). On this occasion it is maternal matching (9). Teacher seems to see confirmation of ground upon meeting parent: 'I've met his mum. They're very quiet. He's just the same.'

4.10.77

By this time normal ground is now stable:

> 'Mixes well with other children'
> 'Never does anything completely out of the ordinary'
> 'He responds as you'd expect him to respond to most situations'.

This seems to suggest a secure normal ground. There could hardly be a clearer statement of conformity. It is seen now to be trans-episodic as an underlying structure applying to this pupil in most situations.

The ground is even more precisely formulated:

> 'Thoroughly average. Normal.'

A clear base for the 'normal' ground is now recognised.

From this point then normal ground is unproblematically seen to be operating and now becomes a continuing framework for teacher's formulation of this pupil. All following accounts of formulation now seem to operate from a secure normal ground. Each episode apparently being seen to rest upon a normal ground. Thus from this point the conceptual interest of the research now is redirected to examining occasions when this position changes. Consequently, so as to avoid repetition, and with a concern for theoretical sampling this analysis will take particular account of those occasions when pupil is seen to cross a 'boundary' point when the normal framework of formulation is suspended:

1. episodically within a suspended deviant episode
2. as pupil is seen to move into deviance for a series of episodes (extended episode) or limited phase
3. with a qualified or modifying normal base   by viewing deviation in pupil's actions as an indication of either a mere segmental divergence or typical episodic divergence and so retaining normal ground as base identity.

It seems that in operating from a normal ground, all teacher formulations now treat pupil as operating from within a normal motivational reservoir. Therefore attention will mainly be given from this point to those occasions when non-normal motives are sought by teacher as James's career now unfolds over the next four years.

Up to this point has been seen the emergence of a normal Other. A normal motivational base or reservoir is now seen to be in operation for this pupil. He is seen to be quite 'normal' or 'average' and so perhaps occupies a position around the mid-point of teacher's perceived distribution of pupils. It seems teacher has adopted normal ground quite unproblematically for this pupil. Apparently beginning with pupil as un unknown Other and so from a position of pre-formulation moving into episodic and finally trans-episodic constructions, it seems the teacher has arrived at a point at which ground has emerged for this pupil. It is   possible now to examine how ground appears in teacher's formulation of the pupil beyond this point. In the theoretical sampling of critical weeks attention now focusses upon the use of ground.

The next reference to James in the interviews with this teacher occurs six weeks later. His   omission from the next five interviews of course reflects both the dominance of the abnormal pupil Gavin in the teacher's experience of classroom life with this cohort over this time and the probable simultaneous submergence of the now perceived normal pupil James. In the next reference teacher now makes ground comparisons between pupils using the ground which has become settled for James:

> 'He's a listener rather than a talker. And he's a thinker rather
> than a doer. Just the type he is. No concern. He's that sort
> of ...... That's why Gavin and he just don't seem to get together.
> But it seems to be dwindling a bit anyhow that relationship.'

This is a fortuitous and quite spontaneous relating of the two critical cases from the present research sample. Teacher is surprised that James and Gavin ever did have a relationship since she recognised significant differences in them. They are apparently seen as different pupil types. Of course, this is not in itself evidence that the two pupils are seen as fundamentally different in ground terms as a normal and an abnormal type. Within the context of the account itself no reference is made to Gavin's normal ground. Presumably then it would be equally possible for two different normal types to be incompatible and so not hit it off. However, it does   seem to be a quite probable indication of this

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pupil having a normal career. The two pupils could be incongruous
precisely because they are perhaps seen to be operating from different
ground positions. The teacher's recognition of the phasic features of
the relationship is also quite consistent with what may be seen as a
'natural' resolution of the incongruity: 'seems to be dwindling
a bit anyhow that relationship.'

It seems that here is an indication of the possible workings of classroom
or school 'social structure' in the teacher's recognition of the different
positions occupied by two pupils within the reality of this social
world. The ground constructions are recognised within this world to be
in some respects incompatible. The use of ground here then seems to be
in operating or defining the 'social structure' of classroom life. The
recognition of 'structure' is further demonstrated as the 'deep structure'
of ground is used to interpret certain episodes of classroom life. (10)

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

Once ground is settled it seems teacher may then draw upon it to interpret
classroom reality. It has already been seen in examining the deviant cases
how teachers appear to operate a 'surface' and a 'deep structure' notion
of reality in which 'surface' appearances become transformed from the
mere episodic by the recognition of the 'deep structure' of trans-episodic
reality. For deviant pupils of course this can often result in the
transformation of a potentially normal sequence of actions into a deviant
episode by its bracketing with a perceived deviant underlying base to
pupil's motivation. A significant issue in normal cases seems to be an
inversion of this process with the teachers' use of normal ground to
neutralise pupil actions in what might otherwise be perceived as potential
deviant figures or episodes. This can be examined in the next account.
It begins with an interviewing prompt from the researcher's participant
observation notes, attempting to discover what teacher had made of, or
even seen in, the activities:

> (Researcher observation of James engaged in activities with two other
> pupils, Andrew and Richard).
>
> I: I wondered in fact whether James was being sort of led by the
>   other two or ....
>
> T: Perhaps he just enjoys being led. Maybe he likes taking a back

seat. He's an only child and I don't think he's quite used
to dominating. He wasn't sort of taking a back seat. He
was just a quiet type. And he can lead when he wants to.'

Here then the raising of a potentially ambiguous figure by the researcher
is given a normal interpretation by the teacher in spite of its
potentially(though moderately)divergent alternative interpretation.
An ambiguity of figure can only be given meaning or resolved by
selecting its underlying motivation. In this case teacher selects
two non-deviant motives and so its seems is operating from a framework
of normal ground:

' Maybe he likes taking a back seat'
' He wasn't sort of taking a back seat'

The teacher appears to be implying that there is nothing significant
to be seen beyond this. Thus a quite normal situation is apparently
being recognised. It is not to be viewed as indicative of any divergent
trans-episodic reality.

This motivational formulation then opens out into a statement of ground:
'... and he can lead when he wants to'. By relating the episodic with
trans-episodic constructions a potential episodic divergence is
apparently transformed into normality. (11)

From this episodic formulation merging into the more generalised
transepisodic there is then a further move into the increasingly more
general ground.

'That's why it's not worrying because he does not look for other
pecple to relate to. He doesn't just isolate himself'.

Here the general normal ground is introduced to indicate the underlying
base to teacher's formulation of the episode and it's relation to teacher
strategy:

'That's why it's not worrying'

It seems teacher has no concern and is viewing the episode in relation
to a trans-episodic formulation of the pupil in which normality is seen
to prevail.

A new teacher takes over the class in Term 3. The pupil's identity
again goes through processes of emergence. The teacher however
has previous knowledge of him from an earlier part-time attachment
to the cohort group. In the short time-scale of this term he again
seems to arrive at a fairly normal position within teacher's framework
of formulation:

'He's a nice enough little boy. And he works nicely .....
He'll answer you. He's not rude or anything. But there's
never anything from him.'

Thus some apparent neutralisation occurs by stating how 'he's not rude
or anything'. Although diverging in his non-response he does not
operate from a motive beyond the typical episode from a broader ground
base. It is seen to be limited in its deviation to the typical episodic
context. Thus it again receives some neutralisation.

Year Two

James moves into his second year in school and on to a new teacher.

Initial processes of emergence

The new teacher begins with an apparent normal formulation:

20.9.78

'Reasons things out well ..... Very nice boy. You know. Pleasant.
And he does his work well.'

It seems that a normal ground may be emerging.

19.10.78

It seems a month later the normal ground is well established but with
some qualification:

'He'll give a straight answer James. But he doesn't embroider
round. You know. Expand it ..... () .. A nice enough boy
James. He's quite a pleasant child. But.....as I say,
give an answer. But no further. You've to sort of draw it
out of him if you want more.'

A suggestion then that the dominant ground or framework of formulation

is that of the normal pupil ('a nice enough boy'). It seems teacher
sees an underlying normality is present. A structured normality perhaps.
Pupil is seen to have a tendency towards deviance. But it is neutralisable.
Teacher strategy may normalise the situation! (12).

However, the crucial point here is that it is only the secondary response
which is deviant! The primary response is seen to be apparently normal.
The teacher works on a sequential intra-episodic framework of primary and
secondary response expectations. Since it is only the secondary response
which diverges then it is possibly viewed only as contingent deviation.
There is both normality and abnormality in the situation. Perhaps then
within the intra-episodic framework teacher holds a dual 'image' of
pupil containing elements of both normality and abnormality.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

Two weeks later teacher encounters a deviant strand in James:

   'I've found a streak in James which is a bit uppety. For instance,
   Andrew was off for one or two days. And his mummy told me he was
   coming back the next day. I happened to come in the classroom and
   said Andrew was coming back the next day. And James said: How do
   you know that? In a sort of tone as though I'd no right to know:
   How do you know! It was a side of James I hadn't realised.'

This account suggests two quite significant points. First the reference
to the deviation as a 'streak' is perhaps a very clear suggestion of
a segmental formulation or trait. That deviation may be viewed in
segmental rather than core terms. Second, that since a deviant
segment is suggested then by implication there must by now be a
fundamental ground. Since the previously referred to deviance is
regarded as segmental then the implicit fundamental ground seems likely
to be that of a normal pupil.

The pupil may have a normal identity then but he is certainly not a
normal-ideal. Here a segmental ground diverging into deviance is recognised.
Whether it is deviance or divergence is perhaps not clear. It nevertheless
is certainly recognised as having a definite trans-episodic form ('a
side of James'). In this way then it seems to be not a threat to the

normal base. It is postulated only as 'a side' and so appears not
to threaten the core typification.

It is important to recognise then not only that one segment of Other may
be viewed as deviant or divergent even within a normal base but also that
it may be emergent over a time-scale. Either its presence may not be
permanent or its being revealed may be a matter of emergence over time.
This is a case of one term emergence. For one whole term the deviant
side has been submerged or hidden.

The same newly discovered deviant segment is seen in another episode:

> 'There was somebody had dropped something. And I said: "I'll
> have to get somebody to pick these papers up. And he turned
> round: Well I'm not going to do it, he said. I thought: Charming!!
> But he's just started this. Well, this has just become apparent
> to me. This side of James.'

Again there are signs of an underlying normal base by implication since
the divergence here is both segmental and emergent.

For almost a term this 'normal' pupil has retained a normal career but
has now exposed a deviant segment at this point in time. Presumably
teacher is left not knowing whether this is a permanent feature which has
been carefully hidden or just a passing feature. Thus it can remain:

- episodic (as an extended episode or phase)
- typical episodic (restricted to specific contexts)

or become a new segmental ground. This is then a significant figure-ground
phenomenon. Movement or emergence is itself a figure-ground phenomenon
since the wider temporal perspective is not known from the mere
observation of figure at a particular point in time. (13)

The normal career continues for the rest of the year with this teacher.
There is an occassional appearance of the divergent segment in specific
episodes. However, such deviation is seen to be restricted to:

- segmental role limits
- episodic limits
- intra-episodic limits of within-episode emergence.

Year Three

The pupil now moves on to his third year in school and to a new teacher. Again the initial processes of normal ground emergence may be viewed.

Initial processes of emergence

11.9.79

It seems a normal base is immediately in operation as the new teacher begins to formulate James as a normal pupil:

'He's lovely. He's there and gets on with his work.'

Teacher's comment suggests pupil is seen to have settled into a normal pupil role. He is apparently perceived from a normal base straight away. Already the pupil is formulated within a trans-episodic framework. An instance of quite rapid ground emergence, It seems he then submerges into the anonymity often experienced by normal pupils and only 'surfaces' again several months later in the teacher's recounting of a classroom episode.

The appearance of ground in the intepretation of classroom episodes

This is perhaps a classic indication of normal ground in operation. After the rapid ground emergence it can be seen that the pupil experiences the quite common submergence of an ultra-normal pupil and only 'reappears' five months later in the spontaneity of unstructured interview talk. Once again it is the abnormal pupil Gavin who dominates teacher's classroom concerns over this time and so the research interview talk too

'He does talk sometimes. Normally he's very quiet. You wouldn't hardly know James was there. But there was somebody there having a real good gossip. And when I looked across it was James talking.'

This occasion then seems to be viewed as a mere episodically limited divergence ('normally he's very quiet') from an otherwise normal framework or base of formulation. It can be seen too how the framework is perhaps less that of rule-transgression than of the person formulation model (within a quantitative distribution) of divergence. The pupil's

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infrequent divergence is seen to be only 'sometimes' against an otherwise dominant conformity. The present incident is seen to be episodically bounded then which therefore insulates the normal base. This is further neutralised as the account continues:

'Not normally like that. He's human. The same as all the others.'

The interpersonal boundaries are restated here to include an occasional episodic divergence as normal for everyone!

It is even further neutralised by recognising the structurability of the situation:

'You wouldn't (have to) say any more (than once). You set James his jobs to do and James gets on with them usually.'

The typical teacher strategy in the typical episode is seen to neutralise the potential episodic and infrequent divergence. Clearly teacher sees the divergence only in 'surface' terms. She is able to see beyond it to a 'deeper structure' which she is able to tap in order to restructure the situation. And so it seems that in formulating this episode teacher is simultaneously aware of both the 'surface' and the 'deep structure' features.

The formulation of only one classroom episode in this pupil's third year amply demonstrates how normal ground operates as an underlying structure to such an episode. Teacher sees beyond the immediate episodic figure to a transepisodic reality of a normal pupil against which the potentially divergent episode, begun here as figure, is replaced by the underlying ground of normal identity. This ends the Year 3 career. The pupil's limited appearance in interview data is an idication of pupil ultra-normality and his submergence into anonymity with this teacher at least. By contrast, after almost disappearing in Year 3, it can be seen how pupil now swings back into prominence.

Year Four

As the pupil moves into his fourth school year and on to a new teacher there is an opportunity once again to examine the emergence of ground.

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Initial processes of emergence

Teacher begins with a quite tentative and seemingly provisional formulation:

> 'Seems to be coping. I think he's a bright lad actually. Seems to be able to take in what you're saying and act upon it without too much distress.'

A quite clear normal ground then. But it is presented in an apparent phasic or provisional framework of emergence. The present continuous tense is used: 'coping', 'taking things in'. It seems teacher is either perhaps being pedantically cautious in the first interview (as might well be expected in view of the potentially threatening nature of research interviews!) or is quite clearly operating a phasic or episodic framework in which the construction of Other is very much a provisional one in a situation which teacher recognises to be moving, changing or emergent.

26.9.80

A few weeks later teacher is still fitting together what are seen to be both normal and divergent facets of James:

> 'I find it very difficult to work James out. He doesn't give a lot away. He doesn't <u>say</u> a great deal to me'

So far the pupil is abnormal. At most the pupil's reticence is just divergence in terms of <u>frequency</u> ('not a great deal') rather than <u>category</u>.

The pupil is also seen as inconsistent. Perhaps a deviation from a consistency 'norm'.

> 'He's inconsistent. Sometimes he'll say quite a bit about nothing at all. But when I <u>want</u> him to actually talk to me he won't. I get sort of stinted answers. He's a difficult character to read.'

Pupil resistance seems to be noted by the teacher. There is no continuing abnormality but what may be episodic divergence. This leads to a ground of some divergence however: 'He's a difficult character to read.' There is here perhaps a suspicion of abnormality. But most significant of all is the indication that teacher is still searching for pupil's underlying base. It indicates quite clearly that a significant feature

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of pupil formulation is the search for an underlying structure or
stable framework, and that in this case teacher has not yet found one:
He's inconsistent ... He's a difficult character to read'. There
are signs then of possible continuing tensions between the normal and
divergent elements which teacher is presented with and which as yet
have not been possible to resolve by the formulation of a stable
underlying identity.

The next account shows teacher attempting to discover, operate or resolve
the ambiguities of pupil identity in a specific context:

> 'When I saw him looking across I thought: He's sitting there
> waiting to see what's going to happen to Jason. Is he going
> to get away with it? Or is he just interested in what's going
> on around him? It was unlike James. James isn't that sort
> of boy. He doesn't sort of sit and and daydream and look
> around much. He tends to get on.'

It seems teacher recognises ambiguity in the figure of this episodic
formulation. Its meaning depends upon the motive imputed. Within this
episode there are two motives introduced by the teacher. One is potentially
deviant ('is he going to get away with it') and the other is potentially
normal ('is he just interested in what's going on around him'). In the
interpretation of this episode, faced with the choice between two motives,
teacher relies on a transepisodic or ground base:

> 'It was unlike James. James isn't that sort of boy.'

Not only is there an apparent confirmation of normal ground for this
pupil but also an indication of its episodic use in providing a perceptual
base to permit the selection of an appropriate motive from its trans-
episodic motivational reservoir. In so doing the episode loses its
ambiguity and is transformed into one of normality. An indication then
either that normal ground is now recognised to be pupil's underlying
identity or of its provisional acceptance in this episode as the appropriate
framework to unravel the potential ambiguities on this occasion.

Whether it now becomes the stable or permanent base remains to be seen.
On this occasion however it demonstrates how the underlying 'structure'
of a situation can inform the ambiguities of surface figures!

Normal emergence seems to continue. The pupil's resistance is seen to be most definitely only episodic since the phase or episode is coming to an end:

> 'I've been trying to get underneath this veneer. I think I'm getting there'

Teacher recounts the incident which indicated the apparent ending of the resistance phase:

> 'I picked him up on a spelling point and pretended to throttle him. I said: You've got it wrong again!! And he smiled! We've cracked it. Well, I suppose in terms of James we've cracked it. There was a smile and he gave a little bit. So I think we're beginning to get through the veneer.'

This formulation shows how a figure construction may have little meaning without a recognition of the underlying ground. The interpretation of this figure is made in relation to ground. The deep 'structure' is perhaps an ever present phenomenon in classroom life. Slight changes in figure are given meaning by relating to ground: 'And he smiled. We've cracked it. Well, I suppose in terms of James we've cracked it.' In the above account can be seen how surface figure always rests upon deeper but often unstated ground. Additionally in this account can be seen how teacher's use of the notion of 'veneer' suggests an underlying reality beyond the surface appearance (14).

7.11.80

It has seemed so far that James is apparently on his way to becoming viewed as a normal pupil. His perceived resistance has merely seemed to delay its appearance. However, at this point in the Year 4 career teacher now seems to discover that the resistance may be a persisting feature:

> T: I've accepted that the veneer is there to stay. There's no way we're going to crack it down at all.
>
> I: What makes you think it's there?
>
> T: Because I've met his dad. And I get the same impression talking to his dad. There's this cool veneer.

So family matching provides the basis for ground verification as it often seems to in this research for both normal and abnormal pupils. (15)

Teacher already has provisional or tentative ground quite well established
but it is seemingly given additional assurance by confirmation of
family matching. (16)

Teacher's account of parent continues:

> 'But underneath it all he cracks and tells a joke. For two or
> three seconds he lets it slip and is himself. But then it's
> back again. And James is exactly like his dad in that respect.
> And so I've thought: Well, I've seen his dad. Now I know
> what James is like and it's just one of those things. So that's sorted
> that one out.'

The important thing is then that normalisation is seen to be assured
on several counts:

1. That it is seen to be 'a veneer'. It is not regarded as a 'real'
    or permanent phenomenon. The ground is recognised to be there
    underneath when 'he lets it slip and is himself.' Once again it
    can be seen how ground is a crucial element of the construction of
    reality.

2. The fact that parent provides a perceptual yardstick for it to be
    'sorted out' and in addition perhaps removes the potential abnormality.

By redefining pupil as part of his 'family' then the ground is extended
beyond the individual Other to the family group and so its uniqueness
and potential pathology is lessened. It is important to recognise that the
boundaries of ground are apparently constructed not just at the individual
but extend into his family, as is the case with the sibling phenomemon.
In this way, as in the traditional literature of sociology the family
may perhaps be regarded as occupying a significant position within the
'social structure' of society. As some writers have recognised in respect
of the 'class system' the family and not the individual is more appropriately
viewed as the basic 'structural' unit of 'society' (Parkin,1971).

At this point in his Fourth Year the pupil seems to have arrived at a
stable identity. Teacher has accepted that this is how pupil is. All
is seen to be well. Parent is like this too so there is nothing to be
concerned about. A normal base is arrived at. (17)

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

As this pupil was not at the time selected as a normal case for
illustrative or exploratory purposes he was not followed through for
more intensive or systematic observation. Consequently his chances of
appearing in time sampling observations or the researcher's participant
observation notes were, as with all pupils, a random process. During
this teacher's remaining time in school the pupil does not appear in
another contextual formulation. The teacher's last interview reveals
the continuing but stable ground already identified:

> 'I can't say a lot about James. Our relationship seems to have
> peaked. At this stage we seem to have gone as far as we're going to
> go. The holding back business at the beginning was fair enough.
> But since then he's opened up a little bit. So I don't think
> he's holding back'.

An emergent or developmental perspective is apparently operated by teacher.
There are possible indications of submergence. Although some of the
anonymity may be due to pupil's perceived enigmatic nature, and apparent
resistant strategies, teacher acknowledges that pupil has 'opened up a bit'.
Perhaps the fact that teacher 'can't say a lot about James' is indicative
of the processes of submergence that often seem to occur with such
'ultra-normal' pupils. Teacher apparently accepts that the interpersonal
resistance can now be seen to be a ground-related phenomenon since
its personal phasic basis is ended. Since it is not moving further it
perhaps becomes increasingly seen as a ground phenomemon.

New Teacher - Term 3

The pupil again seems to experience a normal identity. To avoid repetition
much of the data will be ommitted.. The final interview with this teacher
seems to sum up a quite normal pupil:

> 'Just good all round. Even games and things like that'.

Perhaps a model or even 'ideal' pupil: 'just good all round'. It seems
he is here being formulated as 'ideal' at least in an academic and so
possibly segmental role. The apparent significance of 'even games' can
be seen because it is regarded as a sort of boundary. A significant
test. Thus:

'His build doesn't sort of lend itself. But he still tries very
hard. He puts even effort into that though it's more difficult
for him'

Thus the normal ground is seen to provide a basis for motive imputation
even in this typical episode where the boundaries of normal motivation
might be seen to be stretched to their limits. The normal ground and
its motivational reservoir is seen to apply even there! A clear
case of normality operating as the dominant framework of formulation.

Perhaps even more significant here is how the underlying structure or
basis of interpretation is person formulation. Even in this possible
academic categorisation. The critical thing here is seen not to be how
good he is in different academic categories but how such categorisation
is apparently regarded as a mere segmental formulation founded upon
the more critical underlying base. It is the base of pupil motivation
which is seen to be critical and so transforms the mere surface academic
category of 'good all round' and 'even games' by the recognition of
the motivational base upon which such formulation is seen to rest. As
with the deviant pupils already examined there is a clear indication that
person formulation of a dominant (normal or abnormal) master status
category takes precedence as a base for academic formulation which in
turn often appears to be treated as a subordinate or segmental element
in Other interpretation.

Chapter 13

School A - Louise

A second pupil is here presented to provide an additional opportunity to
examine career emergence and maintenance in another pupil occupying the
apparent position of representative normal type. Like James she also at
times appears to be viewed as an ultra-normal pupil. Although a full
analysis of this pupil's career has been made it is inappropriate to here
present the complete analysis to the reader. Consequently where a
repetition of apprently similar processes to those experienced by James
would arise then these are omitted in the present account. Instead the
different forms of career development and maintenance are given prominence
so as to indicate the variety of patterns possible within a 'normal'
pupil career.

Year 1
Initial processes of emergence
This pupil is so clearly viewed as a classic normal case that she seems
to rapidly become submerged into the classroom 'culture'. Her virtual
omission from the interviews or disappearance in the first two months
suggests an ultra-normal pupil who is quickly absorbed into an anonymous
ground. She doesn't appear in interview talk until two months into the
research.
7.11.78
Then,when she does appear, it is only to state what seems to be a clear
normal ground :

    'A pretty average kid. Sort of a norm. She copes with most things'.

A clear formulation of normal pupil role and the emergence of a ground
framework.

Teacher notes a quite modest academic segment too :

    'She gets there in the end but she's a bit slower than the others'.

Perhaps then somewhat diverging from 'the others' in academic terms. At this point it seems teacher has begun to identify segmental role categories for this pupil. Both in academic and general pupil role there is normal ground, but perhaps operating at different segmental role positions within the normal range of pupils. In general pupil role the personification of the normal. In academic role diverging from the norm.

The appearance of ground in the intepretation of classroom episodes

The pupil has apparently begun a normal career then. From this point onwards she is interpreted from normal ground. This is particularly noticeable in the teacher's use of normal base to interpret an ambiguous episode. Since these have already been encountered with James, there is perhaps little to be gained by repeating again the similar processes as they occur with Louise.

Term 2

In the pupil's second term there is a spontaneous confirmation of this pupil as a similar type to the other normal pupil, James:

> 'I think she's a bit old-fashioned. Like James in a way.
> She likes things you wouldn't expect a five year old to like'.

A confirmation of equivalence of these two pupils perhaps but also some uncertainty of teacher's meaning here (1). The reference to old-fashioned suggests a possible divergence from the norms of 'a five year old'. But in what direction ? Towards the 'ideal' pupil? Or in a negatively deviating direction of divergence? Earlier references suggest the pupil is seen as 'mature' and that perhaps the implied divergence is towards that of an older age group. Indeed on another occasion the paired pupil is described as 'advanced beyond his years'.

Throughout Year Two again the pupil appears to be viewed in a similar way and from a normal framework. This account now picks up the pupil's career in Year Three.

Year Three

Initial processes of emergence

Again the pupil's 'normal' status is confirmed:

> 'Getting on like a house afire. But I wouldn't say there's
> very much ......really there shouldn't be very much with any
> of them. Except our friend'.

In this account is a statement of apparent conformity to pupil role
and so a suggestion of 'normal' category ('Getting on like a house
afire'). There is also here a spontaneous confirmation of the apparent
'social structure' of the classroom and its boundaries. Teacher refers
on the one hand to the majority of pupils, apparently occupying the
category of normality ('there shouldn't be very much with any of them' -
apparently meaning not much to be concerned about) and on the other
the deviant pupil Gavin, whose status within the taken-for-granted
world of the school's 'social structure' is seen to be so widely
recognised that teacher refers to him only in terms of implicit meanings ('our friend').
Louise then by implication is with the rest 'of them' within the
boundaries of normality (2). Up to this point in Year Three it seems
normal ground has been emerging. In the next account can be seen how
normal ground operates beyond the point if its emergence.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

8.11.79

Two months later the pupil is referred to in terms of apparent ultra-normality:

> 'I find she's fine. She tries very hard. Getting on quite nicely
> I would think. I wouldn't pick her out in a hurry at all'

It seems teacher is quite clearly viewing this pupil as experiencing a
normal career: 'She's fine (and) getting on quite nicely'. Also an
implication of submergence is suggested here 'I wouln't pick her out
in a hurry at all'. The teacher's meaning is not entirely clear here
but it seems to be congruent with the present notion of submergence. This
can be seen more clearly as the account continues and teacher recounts
an episodic figure occurrence when probed about her observations of the
pupil that morning:

I: This morning?

T: She didn't stand out at all. I never noticed her. And I think I would've if things had been wrong with her.'

This is a clear statement of the apparent 'scanning mechanism' and of normal 'submergence'. In fact the pupil now submerges for the next six months in disappearing from the interview data. It suggests that perhaps the average or normal pupil may often be perceived in ground terms. Perhaps barely impinging upon teacher 'consciousness' in figure terms. This would seem to correspond with the anonymity of typification recognised by Schutz (Schutz and Luckman, 1973). But it is certainly the case that it is not just reification of deviant identity that leads to anonymisation (as was apparently claimed by Sharp and Green). A continuing feature of formulation suggested in this research data is that anonymisation is a process more likely to occur to 'normal' pupils.

Year Four

Initial processes of emergence

Again the pupil appears to be viewed as one who conforms to classroom life in much the same way as previously. Once again there is data which seems to confirm processes of submergence, as can be seen in the next account.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

17.10.80

As the process of random selection throws up Louise as a pupil to be the focus of a time sampling observation teacher is required to take note of the pupil at the moment of the buzzer:

'I didn't see her at all, I'm afraid. I didn't hear her at all. She was here this morning. Yes, I just didn't see her come out from the games lesson'.

This teacher's response to the time-sampled moment is again quite congruent with, though not in itself evidence of, the processes of submergence. ALthough teacher was alerted to look out for this pupil she was still quite unnoticeable in spite of the time sampling method on this occasion

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encouraging increased selective attention to this pupil (3).

The same indication of submergence is seen as the account continues:

'Louise is one of ....No.   No...... I'm getting her muddled
with Michelle. I've got two girls in my group, Louise and
Michelle, and I muddle them all the time. I even wrote
the wrong name on the maths book this morning.'

This account suggests distributional submergence as pupil appears to
experience some anonymisation in formulation. Another instance occurs
later.

23.1.81

The next account confirms once again the pupil's position as an ultra-
normal:

'She's sort of Miss Average. The sort of girl who just gets on
with it. Chatters quite a bit. But nothing really outstanding.'

It also suggests something of the processes of person formulation occurring
with normal pupils. The comments that pupil 'just gets on with it'
and 'nothing really outstanding' suggest that processes of submergence
may be operating. Pupil is perhaps then being viewed with some anonymity
as teacher experiences pupil within contemporary relations as one who
is known to be not only within the parameters of normality but a representative
type of ultra-normal pupil at the modal position.

The processes of submergence are further revealed as the account continues:

'Unlike Kate there's no sort of distinguishing features about her.
I mean, when you look round and see their faces, her face is one
that you would just pass. I quite often confuse her with another
girl. With Michelle. Because she's another Miss Average.'

This indicates the apparent submergence of pupil into the anonymity of
contemporary typification. It also suggests that the earlier notion
of a 'scanning mechanism' or 'scanning process' may be an authentic
empirical process and not merely a hypothetical speculation of early
theorisation. In this account then teacher seems to suggest personal
anonymity.

However, it would be too easy to assume teacher's meaning corresponds with the present developing notion of submergence as a process experienced by ultra-normal pupils. It is not inconsistent with it of course but there can be an alternative interpretation. The submergence may be a largely visual phenomenon of <u>perceptual</u> anonymity rather than <u>personal</u> or <u>formulation</u> anonymity.

<u>New Teacher Term 3: Initial processes of emergence</u>

<u>20.5.81</u>

As a new teacher takes over the cohort group in the final term there is again a continuing difficulty of recognition:

> 'I keep getting her mixed up with another girl. I mix her up with
> a girl called Michelle. Facially they look alike. And I don't
> really know her. She hasn't made a great deal of impression on me
> so far'.

At this point in emergence it perhaps is inappropriate to consider this an instance of submergence. That teacher 'doesn't really know her' may be quite consistent with the anonymity of one who would later submerge into the mid-point category of pupil parameters(as one who does not make an 'impression'). But it is perhaps important to distinguish the initial anonymity experienced by such a pupil in early processes of emergence from the later submergence. (4)

<u>The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes</u>

<u>19.6.81</u>

As the year comes to a close there is an indication of teacher operating the normal ground and its motivational base to interpret the pupil within a VTR session. The normal base is used to interpret an episode in which pupil is caught taking time out from the work assigned to the group and therefore when the episode might be thought to have ambiguous and possible divergent implications:

> 'Louise seems to have just had a break. I don't think there's
> anything. Children all have sort of breaks in concentration.
> She's not one who wastes a lot of time. She will just sort of turn
> back into it.'

The figure appearance of this episode then is potentially ambiguous.
It could perhaps be seen divergently but teacher offers immediate
trans-episodic neutralisation by:
   - interpersonal normal bracketing ('children all have sorts of breaks
                                             in concentration')
   - normal motivational reservoir selection ('she's not one who wastes
                                             a lot of time')

and even draws further from normal motivational reservoir to predict a
typical normal outcome: 'she will just sort of turn back into it'.

The pupil then is being viewed from within the framework of normal ground
as teacher imports into the interpretation of this episode the trans-
episodic framework of pupil and its associated motivational reservoir
from which meanings can be selected to impute into 'surface' appearances
of pupil actions the 'deep structure' of their underlying base. This
final instance of normal ground in operation ends this brief but necessary
scrutiny of significant processes, and their points within a longitudinal
time-scale, in the emergence and continuity of a second pupil in
School A who experiences a 'normal' career.

Chapter 14

School B

Next two normal cases from School B are considered: the pupils Sally
and Dawn. This allows a broadening of the empirical base upon which this
account of normal pupils rests and so makes some attempt to reduce the
untypicality of data in theorising from one school as a single case.
It also permits an intra-school comparison of the present two normal
cases with the previously considered deviant case in School B: Alan.

Sally

Year 1

Initial processes of emergence

6.9.77

As the pupil begins her school career it is possible to examine the processes
of emergence in early pupil formulation.

It seems that formulation begins immediately from a potentially normal
ground:

> 'She's a fairly confident little girl. She went round the other
> classes. She hasn't realised which group is which. Which most
> of them haven't. Which I think is good'.

This suggests a pupil who is categorised as part of a general (and by
implication normal) pupil cohort. She is included in the interpersonal
set 'most of them' suggesting perhaps at the moment the teacher sees the
cohort as a rather undifferentiated group who are as yet not formulated
in differentiated ground terms.

The pupil is formulated segmentally in a provisional form 'fairly confident'
which suggests the beginnings of ground emergence.

In fact pupil is seen to be unexpectedly normal. In the formulation
of this pupil the teacher approaches with a ground framework derived
from previous knowledge of her family. Compared with parent this

normality is surprising to the teacher:

> 'Mrs Hopkinson had always been a rather unusual woman. She's
> certainly a one off. And Sally in fact from starting school
> seems to me to be so ordinary'.

The pupil is provisionally regarded as ultra-normal then: 'so ordinary'.

Here the sibling or family rule is apparently being operated. It
proves to be incongruent! An indication that teachers operate a rough
notion of equivalence in family and sibling relations. Or at least
they may approach pupil with high expectations of family and sibling
congruence. Hence this early provisional ground is already expressed
in terms of family as referent.

The retrospectively constructed ground certainly shows signs of a
generally conforming pupil:

> '.....would sit and enjoy everything and smile about things. And
> really accept everything in such a pleasant way. She'd be able
> to sing or dance or something very confidently. And do it in
> such a conforming way that it is almost as if she's a reaction
> against her mother's. As if she's trying very hard to be just
> normal. And just sitting there as being a conforming member of
> the group. Too conforming really when she first started. For
> a four year old.'

It seems pupil may already be viewed as a normal (1). The conformity of
the pupil here leaves little doubt that teachers recognise the general
ground of motivation for this pupil. This is not just a normal pupil
but one who is trying to be ultra-normal. This is seen as a quite
overt pupil strategy! At this point it seems the pupil strategy is
at odds with what is expected by the teachers. It has been noted how
'In the early years of Infant school, the boundaries between school
and home are softened to ease transition' (Woods, 1980b,p12). Yet pupil
is apparently seen to be adopting strategies more compatible with older
reference groups at the time.

Here then, in addition to the appearance of what seems to be normal
ground, teacher recognises pupil may even be a sophisticated role-taker
engaged in the fitting of a normal performance to the perceived
expectations of teachers. A quite overt role-raking framework is in
operation in this formulation. It is interesting of course how teachers

are already looking beyond appearances to deeper realities. Not just what pupil is seen to be actually doing. But the motives and general interactional base upon which it is presumed to rest.

The formulation at this point also becomes ambiguous. It is not clear within which base parameters teachers are interpreting this pupil Teacher now has begun to operate the cohort or age group as a general Other against which pupil is compared. Is this then a divergence of a different sort as pupil is apparently incongruent with the age base or general ground of her peers and apparently more congruent with an older age set? In some respects then this is perhaps seen as positive divergence. But although within an emerging and developmental framework it may be regarded as a positive divergence it can at the same time be just as negatively divergent in terms of her own peers. (Thus perhaps just as 'dysfunctional' in managing classroom life!) What then does it mean? As yet it is not clear. Perhaps it is just exploratory. However, it seems up to this point a normal ground is more than just provisionally established. It can be seen as the interview proceeds further how teacher now draws upon a motivational reservoir in the interpretation of classroom episodes.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

In the same interview teacher recounts an episode involving the whole family apparently formulated from a normal framework:

> 'Mother'd taken her down (to the dentist) before school this morning to get an emergency extraction so that she could have her in school for nine o'clock (2). And come really obviously not well enough to come to school'

Here then is an instance of drawing upon the trans-episodic normal base to impute a motive to this episode. There is a potential ambiguity or tension within this account because of competing motives. The teacher's interpretation of the episode ('to have her in school for nine o'clock') seems to elevate this motive as dominant over a potentially divergent and solely episodically rooted motive ('obviously not well enough to come to school'). So probably the meaning really does come from the implied normal ground. Since there are two competing episodic motives here, one normal and one divergent, and since the first can also be seen to have a trans-episodic base than this perhaps would lead to

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its dominance. (3)

<u>28.9.77</u>

Two weeks later a further example of normal ground apparently in operation
can be seen:

> 'I   never see Sally. She's so capable. I don't know if
> it's capable. But she's involved in all her own activities'.

Signs of possible submergence are to be seen: 'never see Sally'. A
phenomenon which is congruent with, and empirically appears to be
frequently experienced with, the ultra-normal pupils in this research. (4)

In this episode a normal ground is invoked ('she's so capable') but
used only tentatively and so then discarded. However, in continuing to
search for an appropriate motive teacher still selects from the same
normal motivational reservoir ('she's involved). After one motive is
selected and discarded she then selects an alternative but from the
same motivational reservoir. And so it seems normal base is in operation.

As the account continues the submergence is further elaborated:

> 'I hardly see her at all. If you didn't make an effort to look
> out for her and see what she's doing you wouldn't know she
> was there'.

This appears to be the quite common submergence into ground formulation
and anonymity of an ultra-normal pupil (5).

The same point is made again but this time perhaps with possible 'ideal'
implications emerging:

> 'She spends (her time) with the other children. Reading or
> something. And she'll sit in a table with I3s and join in their
> activity quite happily. She fits in so well.....it's like
> into the classroom. Unless you do look you don't notice her.
> She doesn't ever stand out'

Thus   a clear description of the process of submergence! Teacher's
account is quite overtly in terms of submergence: 'like into the classroom'.

Also an indication of the 'scanning mechanism' which has been suggested earlier (as though teacher's perceptual set was 'programmed' to look for striking phenomena,or that which might 'stand out').

Here there is an implied use of an older age-group as referent. What is not so clear of course is what norms are operating for pupil formulation in such vertical group situations. Are they age or cohort-related or is there a cross-group combined-age vertical group norm?

As the interview continued there was an attempt to test this out in the next interview probe:

    I: You don't think of her as an I1 then?
    T: I don't think of her very much at all

Thus   the reply confirms the total submergence of a normal pupil within vertical group parameters.

6.10.77

The following week there is an indication of the quite unique formulation framework that seems to operate in vertical group contexts.

So far in this research,processes of submergence have seemed to operate for normal pupils. Pupils are seen to be so convergent that they seem to blend into the background of anonymity as though at the modal position within a normal distribution. However, in a vertical group context taking in three separate cohorts the normal parameters might be expected to be more complex:

1. Perhaps as a pupil reaches ultra-normality she either has to diverge more towards the 'ideal' so as to fit the vertical group mode position.

    Or
2. Maybe such a pupil is seen to be interactionally more sophisticated in recognising the complexity of teacher expectations and so deliberately adopts a modal in preference to an 'ideal' position within a recognised broader range of parameters.

Or

3. Teachers are so pressured by a wide spread of pupils that it is easier
   for pupils to get lost or to submerge.   (6)

The teacher's account suggests approach 1. as pupil is seen to diverge
towards the I2s and I3s:

> 'She refers to her 'drawer' and her 'writing book' and 'reading
> the book' and things. The same vocabulary as the older children
> are using. So her sentences don't pick her out immediately as
> an I1.   You tend to accept her more as a school child rather than
> another I1.'   (7)

Here then the pupil seems to merge in as a 'normal' pupil for the
vertical group (and so within the vertical group parameters) and
possibly even as an 'ideal' within the I1 cohort parameters. In a
vertical group context, as might be expected, teachers are likely
to see an entire vertical group developmental range of pupils as the
parameters of classroom life. But the problem here is to know whether
pupil merges or submerges as an 'ideal' or as a 'normal'. An age-
range ideal presumably is not likely to submerge but would be prominent
or outstanding. By implication then any submergence would suggest
a 'normal' framework of formulation. The pupil's apparent submergence
here then suggests teacher is operating a 'normal' category and so within
vertical group rather than cohort parameters. Is it possible that
teachers of vertical groups switch between the different parameters
of the vertical and the cohort group? (8)

This interview, as it continues, indicates how a normal pupil is seen
to encounter what for the school is a significant point in a pupil's
career. That of starting school dinners:

> 'At dinnertime, she's just started this week, and we haven't
> had any bother at all with her. (Started) on Monday. Settled
> straight in. Just no bother at all. Her mother's been asking
> for a few weeks. We've said: Wait. And fortunately she was
> one of the mothers that's accepted it'.

It seems here both pupil and parents are regarded as part of a normal
set. Teacher seems to be dipping into normal motivational reservoir
to interpret pupil's 'no bother at all' and mother's 'accepted it' (9)

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At this time as normal ground is seen to be in operation it can be seen how two recurring aspects of the ultra-normal pupil appear.

First is the recognition of the category 'sensible':

'Sally is proving to be quite a good worker and a good little girl. And she's very sensible'.

This becomes elaborated later.

Second is the use of ground in the recognition of a normal deep structure beyond certain ground elements which might otherwise present ambiguity:

'She's quiet. But she makes sure she's in everything'

It can be seen then how the potential divergence of being 'quiet' is for Melanie neutralised by a normal motivational base: 'makes sure she's in everything'. How different the base to Alan's 'quiet' was in the same school! (10)

16.11.77

In the next account can be seen the genuinely emergent nature of Other formulation as teacher reviews earlier pupil conduct and sees a developing role-taking in pupil. The earlier view of pupil trying to be normal is now emerging as a more complex phenomenon. Thus teacher may be revising ground at a deeper level.

Ground then is revisable perhaps although not likely to be fundamentally changed. Only modifiable perhaps in a congruent direction:

'I thought at the beginning that she was so much of a conformist. That she lacked individuality. But certainly she's the sort of child who, when you get to know her, she has depths. And I think she's just conforming because of perhaps a sort of mature concept of what school's about and she thinks that this is the way you operate successfully'.

Here the pupil is once again seen to be perhaps diverging in a positive direction towards the ideal: 'Because of perhaps a sort of mature concept of what school's about'. But teacher sees beyond the mere

conformity as she reviews pupil as role-taker:

> 'In a way she was sensible when she was conforming. But I think
> that now she has more depth than that. It isn't just a role-
> playing thing or a performance. She really does know what
> it's about'.

Thus a more interactionally sophisticated phase has taken over. It began

as mere conformity:

> 'At that stage she conformed to the pattern of school. And at
> that stage I wouldn't have said that she really knew why she
> was doing it'.

Teacher views this in relation to a wider motivational base or ground
incorporating the whole family:

> 'It was just that she knew why she was doing it. That it was
> just that she knew what sort of behaviour ...... things were
> expected of her and possibly that these were things that's
> been imposed on her in a way by her mother and older brothers.'

Thus the whole family 'team' is invoked. Beyond what on the surface
may seem to be mere conformity or pupil engaging in 'superficial'
behaviour lies a deeper structure in the interactional network of the
family-sibling group which provides its underlying base. This suggests
once again that it is really the deep structure that gives meaning to
teacher's intepretations of situations.

It can be Seen in these accounts how there is a reconstruction of previous
formulations. Thus processes of emergence in formulation have continuity.
The social construction of reality encounters a continuing reconstruction
as different 'layers' become revealed at different times (11). It seems
a genuinely developmental framework or phasic viewpoint is operated
by teacher. The picture isn't just a flat or even still image.

The first phase is now seen to be over:

> 'Now I feel quite sure that she isn't just a child who conforms
> because other people tell her to do something. She really
> knows why she's doing it. And she understands why. And I
> think this is where we say children are sensible. That if
> they do something they do it because they understand why the
> instruction's being given'.

This account not only indicates a new phase but presents a view of
a frequently occuring phenomenon with ultra-normal pupils: Pupil is
'sensible'. It seems in this account that teacher may be making her

own distinction between 'surface' and 'deep structure' of classroom meanings and using this as a basis for making distinctions between pupils in their capacity to recognise deeper meanings. Her account of the 'sensible' pupil refers to pupils who are recognised to be responding not just to the surface instructions or meanings (as figure) but to the deeper meanings (as ground) (12).

New Teacher - Term 2

Initial processes of emergence

As a new teacher takes over the class processes of emergence can again be examined.

19.1.78

New teacher begins with an exploratory attempt at formulation:

> 'Very very quiet. She's hardly spoken to me. Whether it's shyness or she just doesn't like the upset from another teacher ..... she's having to adapt again and finding a difficulty. Don't know. It might be me I've not given her enough time. I might not have sat with her enough and encouraged her to talk to me.'

A new teacher faced with quietness in a child ('very very quiet') inevitably explores both ground and episode. Here she searches possible ground: 'whether it's shyness'. And then as alternatives, two episodic themes:

> 'the upset from another teacher'
> 'it might be me'

Obviously teacher has no means yet for deciding. This is the first week. All three are plausible reasons.

28.4.78

Towards the end of the term there are indications of both normality of ground and submergence:

> 'She's not a problem child. She's very difficultu to talk about because she's so conscientious in all the work she does. And her approach in school. I've never had any problems with her since I came'.

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A statement of apparent normality by indicating which side of the critical boundary she is on: Pupil 'is no problem'. Also signs of submergence as perhaps pupil is viewed as a member of the ultra-normal category: 'it's very difficult to talk about.'

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

At this point, as the interview continues it can be seen how pupil is viewed in submergent terms. A recurring feature of classroom life for the ultra-normal pupil. Also as several teachers express similar formulations it can be seen how ultra-normality seems to be a widely shared category. Part of the apparent taken-for-granted world of staffroom culture.

The first teacher to express it is B, a member of the team working with another vertical group in the same 'open' area:

> 'I cannot say a great deal about her. She joins in. She
> responds. And she conforms. She's got smiling eyes. But
> I can't say that she's outstanding really. She's
> outstanding in the fact that she's not outstanding I
> suppose'.

The submergence and apparent anonymity of ground seems to be confirmed also by Teacher N:

> 'She's got nothing very special about her at all. The only
> thing is that she does always look happy'

Here is an indication then of how 'average' or ultra-normal pupils are perhaps perceived by other teachers who are not attached to the cohort group - in apparent greater anonymisation. What a contrast with the position of such abnormal pupils as Alan in the same school, or Gavin in School A, who so dominate staffroom conversation and its taken-for-granted world that their public reputations are widely recognised within school culture (including teachers, parents, dinner staff and pupils)

The possible submergence next becomes an overt theme of researcher probing as the interview proceeds:

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I: Can you think of a situation of her being 'not outstanding'?
Perhaps merging into the background, if that's what you were
implying?

T (D): It's not as bad as that. I don't find her as bad as that anyway.
But perhaps that's because she knows me a little better than she
knows B or N'

It seems class teacher does not regard pupil submergence as 'merging
into the background' then. Perhaps this is either because to merge
into the background would be to regard it as a positive process whereas
it may instead by viewed more negatively by the teacher. Thus
of not seeing. Or perhaps this is after all 'professional' exposure
against the ideology of 'child-centredness' which is dominant in the
school. To merge into the background would be to deny pupil individuality.
Thus a 'child centred' ideology would be resistant to formulations
in which a pupil is viewed with the anonymity of a mere contemporary. (13)

The class teacher continues, elaborating her own view of the pupil's
anonymity:

> 'She's sort of a model child really. If you could have a
> model child! She's my idea of a model child. She's got
> the enthusiasm but she's not pushy. She's not too quiet.
> She's just average at everything. I mean she's not
> brilliantly clever. And she's not terribly poor. She's
> my ideal model child really. If I could build a model child.'

Year Two

Unusually for this school, in operating vertical grouping, the sample
cohort of pupils now get another new teacher. This is because
the previous term's teacher was in effect only temporary. It is possible
again to examine how formulation proceeds as a new teacher attempts
to get to know this pupil.

Initial processes of emergence

Again it seems that teacher is immediately operating a tentative normal
ground:

'There's nothing outstanding about her. She's quite normal.
In a way nothing. Not like Alan, you know his moods. They're
quite interesting. It depends what mood he's in. But Sally's
always bright and ready to work.'

And so quite fortuitously the abnormal case is invoked as a comparative
referent: 'not like Alan'. Her normal motives can be regarded as
operating from a predictable base: 'always bright and ready to work'.
At this point then it seems evident that teacher has recognised a normal
ground for this pupil and it can be assumed to be already in operation.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

As the same account continues it can be seen that teacher is using normal
base as an interpretive framework:

'Doesn't really object. She'll do it if she's told to.
If she's wanting to do something else she won't do it
straight away. But she will do it because she's been
told to.'

This reference to a divergent tendency is presented within a recognised
intra-episodic framework ;'she will do it'. As such it is viewed
as a predictable event and no more than temporary divergence. The normal
base can presumably be invoked to give it meaning during the intra-
episodic delay when the surface appearance otherwise suggests divergence.
(14).

6.10.78

The next account probes teacher's reference earlier in the interview to
the   pupil being 'nice'. It introduces again a suggestion of the
scanning process (earlier hypothesised as a possible teacher perception
strategy) and the submergence that seems to occur frequently or perhaps
even continually with pupils who are perceived to be in the ultra-
normal category:

I: Nice?

T: Pleasant girl. When you're looking round the room she's always
a smiling face. Like Lisa M's the same. Whereas if you
compared them like .....Alan K's the one who was sitting.
He'll be slumped and: 'Ooh, what's she going to do with us
now?' kind of. Whereas Sally's eager and waiting. And
smiling.

Here there are a number of significant points. First a suggested
'scanning process'. It seems that teacher regards the scanning as
significant enough to talk about in interviews. Second it is an ongoing
process that allows the scanning of significant interpersonal boundaries
apparently perceived in the level of anonymity in types of response
exemplified by Sally and Alan. It also spontaneously and quite fortuitously
provides a referent in the form of the abnormal case who once again is
recognised to be beyond a boundary. Finally Sally is seen to be
in some respects perhaps an 'ideal' pupil, and certainly is viewed
from a normal base.   (15)

17.1.79

The next account indicates teacher recognising the underlying normal
trans-episodic base which is seen to help pupil out in a time of special
difficulty:

> 'Sally lost a lot of school time last term, But doesn't seem
> to have particularly bothered her. She had to move into a
> different house because their house was badly burnt. So she
> wasn't in school. But that hasn't unduly troubled her. She
> mixes in again.'

Although she has a family setback her sound base maintains normality
throughout the phase.

As the year continues she appears again to submerge into anonymity only
featuring in interview talk when prompted and in consequence merely
confirming the generalised normal base formulations for this pupil.

Year Three

The pupil moves into her third year in school and on to another teacher.
Again this is quite unusual for children in a vertical group. But as in
the previous year the class teacher moves. On this occasion it is a
change of role within the school, moving into the nursery. The new
teacher however herself leaves after a few weeks. Later in the pupil's
third year teacher S who was with the sample cohort as a part-time
teacher in Year 1 of the research has now taken over the class.

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She adopts a developmental framework in formulating the pupil over an emergent time-scale (16):

> 'I don't think Sally's got on quite as well as I would've expected her to. Perhaps because of the circumstances of that particular group. I think that's a lot of it'.

It seems however that the pupil's divergence is largely neutralised by invoking the 'circumstances of that particular group' and so leaving the pupil's own normal base intact. The divergence then is perhaps seen largely as episodic (within its temporal or maybe its contextual parameters so long as the circumstances persist). It seems that the teacher's perception of the pupil's personal base is not affected at all. The normal base is seen to persist through this extended episode.

Teacher then refers to the specific impact of changing teachers on Sally's developing academic ground:

> 'I think her work's been on a plateau for so long. And now they're just beginning to go forward again really'.

In Sally's case teacher sees 'a plateau'. She formulates the pupil's academic career in developmental or emergent ground terms. (17) This is then further probed:

> I: Why should it have affected Sally?
> T: Just perhaps because she hasn't been stretched enough.

This account suggests teacher is operating a trans-episodic developmental model of how such a pupil might be expected to develop. Thus teacher expectations provide a framework which formulates pupil in a generalised form across a time-scale of several years. The power of ground to provide a view of reality far beyond the immediate can be seen here. Teacher is recognising an aspect of pupil which was seen to underly pupil's present actions and performance and which was not being brought out. (18) This is now probed further:

> I: Are you saying that perhaps Sally's the sort of child who would be missed?
> T: Well, she may be in that she's getting on quite nicely anyway. She wouldn't be a lot of bother in the classroom. And she wouldn't demand a lot of teacher's attention. And as her work

> is at a reasonable level it wouldn't cause anyone a lot of worry.
> And so it would be allowed to sort of flatten onto a plateau
> I would think'.

There is here not only a confirmation of what seems to be submergence, as it has been identified in this research, but it becomes a feature of teacher's own accounting system - an explanation for this pupil's suspension 'at a reasonable level ......()... and so it would be allowed to sort of flatten onto a plateau'. The probing here comes close to being a leading question. The answer, which is so elaborately developed, may of course be no more than teacher giving researcher what is apparently his unstated agenda. But the depth of teacher's reply seems to be far more than might be expected if this were merely the case. The account is taken far beyond such an interpretation. (19)

Pupil finishes the year with a clear statement of normal ground. Thus pupil's Infant career finishes with Other-role formulation indicating normality.

12.6.80

> 'Sally would get on alright anywhere I would think'

This same framework of apparent ultra-normality seems to underly teacher's comment in the next account, a month later.

12.7.80

> 'She's sensible. And reliable. That she's enthusiastic about
> doing her work. Can certainly be trusted to get on. That she's
> reached a satisfactory level in all her work.'

What could be a clearer statement of normal ground to end her Infant career! Additionally it is made by a teacher whose knowledge of the pupil extends back to Year 1 and so perhaps is operating an underlying 'deep structure' extending over three years. This may perhaps be a spontaneous validation of the present researcher's assumption that for much of her school career this pupil was viewed as an ultra-normal or 'average' pupil.

Year Four

The pupil and her cohort group now go into the Juniors. There is an amalgamation of Junior and Infant schools to become an all-through Primary at the very point of this cohort's transfer. 'Spatially' and 'organisationally' the pupils remain in the same classroom area or workbase which most of them have been in for the last three years. They are given a new teacher who is new both to the profession and to the school.

Initial processes of emergence

The year begins with teacher perceiving Sally as a normal pupil in much the same way as previously noted with other teachers. Consequently the details are Omitted here so as to avoid repetition for the reader. Pupil is first identified as a conforming pupil, contrasted against Alan the deviant pupil, and even identified as 'about the middle' in the rate at which she 'sits up straight' when the class is requested to do so. (20).

As teacher is questioned about the pupil being in the 'middle at sitting up straight' there are indications of both divergence and normality. There is apparently a continuing ambiguity or figure-ground tension:

> I: About the middle?
> T: She sort of drifts along a bit. It's usually cause she's
>   talking. (21) I don't think she hears necessarily
>   the first time. She will do it.

There seems to be a possible neutralisation by invoking a non-deviant motive: 'it's usually cause I don't think she hears necessarily the first time.' Thus normal ground is seen to underlie it. Additionally, there is an intra-episodic recognition of normality being present within the episode and being likely to emerge before it is through: 'she will do it'. Thus normality can be relied upon to emerge within the episode. (22) It seems teacher operates an intra-episodic emergent framework of normality.

<u>The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes</u>

<u>23.9.80</u>

The next account is an academic formulation. It seems pupil is being
interpreted   within a normal framework as teacher indicates her
allocation to an activity group:

> 'In green group. She could be in blue group more or less.
> So I'll probably move her. Because I wasn't sure about her
> at first cause I didn't think I knew her well enough. Although
> she's quite capable of writing she didn't seem to do a great
> deal .....'

This seems very significant. The academic formulation here suggests
pupil may be viewed as a possible 'ideal' in terms of 'capability'
but in behavioural output she is less than 'ideal'. Thus the person
formulation seems to be critical at this point. It is what teacher
bases grouping on. Not upon segmental academic ground but on the
underlying normal motivational reservoir!

It seems Sally is viewed within a normal framework:

> 'Sally is Green drifting into Blue. She's sort of going
>   turquoise at the moment'.

This normal formulation is used to interpret the grouping sytem with some
'intelligent' flexibility (23):

> 'I've also given Sally (the odd exercise) as well (as the Blue group).
> Not the other Greens. Just Sally at the moment. Partly because
> she tends to work with Michelle who is Blue group. And she's put
> a spurt on. So it seems appropriate for her to do that really.
> And she's managed it'.

Sally then is seen as perhaps 'average' but oriented towards 'ideal'
She is differentiated from the other more average Greens and attached to the
Blues and so is perhaps diverging positively in the direction of the ideal
end of the distribution.

The next observation is a VTR entry into some live episodic interaction.
The incident seems to be one of some divergence:

> She'd be carrying on a conversation as to the effect of: You
> get here, there and everywhere !'

The apparent motivational base operated by teacher in the interpretation of
this episode is task and pupil-role related and therefore any potential
divergence is possibly neutralised. Teacher is able to supply a motive
from a normal ground or base and introduce it as a likely interpretation
of the episode (in which it was not possible, because of the position
of the microphone, to hear what pupil said). The ground then provides
teacher with a base from which to fill-in the likely meanings. (24)

The pupil is next seen to enter a deviant episode:

> 'There's Sally having a quick sulk. I hoiked her out of the line
> for making too much noise. That was her voice. Yes, always
> shouting. That was a quick flounce. But soon over. She doesn't
> bear a grudge. She bounces straight back !! I don't think she
> can control it. But it doesn't stop you, every so often having to
> take measures'.

Here then is an episodic instance of segmental divergence of Sally
having a quick sulk. Teacher reacts to it with a segmental ground-
based strategy: 'I hoiked her out of the line for making too much
noise'. Teacher obviously sees it as no more than a typical episodic
deviation. It seems that the deviance here is viewed as an instance of
rule-braking. Pupil has overstepped the line (too much noise). It seems
teacher brings to the situation, as a basis for formulating her strategy
the knowledge of pupil's trans-episodic Other-role. For the teacher
the incident is interpreted   from an enduring segmental
deviant ground: 'always shouting'. It thus has trans-episodic connections
or continuities (25).

However, the broader trans-episodic base also provides some neutralisation
of the incident. The motivational reservoir which teacher draws upon is
that of the normal pupil: 'she doesn't bear a grudge'. This is seen
to produce a typical intra-episodic sequence: 'she comes back' and
'but soon over' (26). The normal ground and its motivational reservoir
provide predictive intra-episodic sequences of actions.

22.5.81

Next an account of normal ground in use. Here it is being used to interpret
an episode of some surprise to the teacher:

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'When I looked up Sally had gone. So Sally had gone with Michelle
who she's been playing with. Unusual that she would go without
telling me. They mention going anywhere.'

This seems to be viewed as an episodic divergence of a quite moderate
kind resting upon normal ground. It is perhaps an implicit element of
teacher's account here that she regards the fact that 'they mention going
anywhere' as a 'normal' (ie routine) rather than 'abnormal'
phenomenon. (27)

Teacher continues the account:

'I was quite surprised actually. I was amazed !! Usually Sally
will come and annouце: Oh I'm just going to so-and-so. And
if you say: No you're not! Then she doesn't go'.

Thus teacher has apparently restated the normal (i.e. conformist pupil
role) ground.

The incident is then further elaborated:

'I think she'd interpreted the situation as being: Well, I'm
playing a game so .... She's obviously not in one of these
moods where you have to sort of sit down and ask, sort of thing.
This is perhaps typical of her. She didn't expect that I
would be cross. Because of the way she answered me. With a
big grin on her face.'

Teacher here seems to suggest she is relying on episodic cues (as figure)
to interpret the situation ('big grin'). It would have been possible,
in interpreting pupil's account, to have related to either a deviant
ground or a normal ground! But of course here it is interpreted from
a normal base. Teacher assumes that pupil had intepreted the situation
as routine: 'didn't expect that I would be cross'. (28)

14.7.81

The expected segmental divergence is again remarked on in a VTR playback
session. It seems teacher approaches the situation with segmental ground
as an interpretative base. Consequently the mismatch is remarked on:

'There's Sally. She's not talking then. And Kirstie
seems to be talking to her'.

The expected segmental divergence is anticipated from a framework of ground and so causes episodic surprise once again when it does not occur (29).

In fact teacher switches immediately from the VTR episode to reaffirm the very trans-episodic segmental ground:

> 'Oh, still as noisy as ever!! She's changed very little. It's usually her that has to be reminded to pipe down a bit or to get on. She still enjoys working. She's very enthusiastic about everything.'

Thus the segmental ground is still retained (30). And the normal base or ground as master status is also reaffirmed as the predominant underlying theme: 'still enjoys working' and 'very enthusiastic about everything'.

In the final account the class teacher, through her knowledge of school records, and in addition to (or perhaps as a consequence of) her access to school 'culture' (and therefore to the pupil's 'official' status) over her time in this school sees the normal core ground plus segmental deviant ground as a continuing base to pupil's identity:

> 'What I remember she's always been similar. Enthusiastic. Lively. Talker !! Interested in what she's doing. Keen to work. Keen to get on.'

In this final summing up by the Year 4 teacher, and in the last formulation for this pupil the segmental divergence can again be seen to be dominated by a continuing and predominant Other-role of normality which has accompanied her over her school career.

Chapter 15:

School B - Dawn

A second example of normal pupil in School B is now considered. However,
once again it is recognised that many processes appear to be similar to
those already presented for other pupils. Consequently this account of
the four year career will be highly selective while still attempting to
retain the longitudinal and emergent character of the pupil career.

Year 1

20.9.77

Initial processes of emergence

The pupil appears to be viewed straightaway as one who is conforming to
the framework of classroom expectations:

> 'She likes singing. She's asked if she can sing in front of
> the group. And she's always smiling. She's very happy looking.
> And today she was sitting with her reading book. Quite a
> difficult reading book. Next to an I3 pretending that she
> was reading. With her marker. Moving the marker along. I
> haven't seen the other I1's doing that'

In addition to signs of conformity is the suggestion that teacher is here
operating a framework for formulation within parameters extending across
the vertical group. It is possible then, as was indicated in the case
of Sally, who was also in a vertical group context, that the parameters
of formulation in vertical group situations extend beyond the pupil's
own cohort to that of the whole vertical group.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

It can be seen from this point how a ground for the pupil is now regarded
as established. The following extract from the same interview, suggests that
the emergent ground, and its associated motivational reservoir, now plays
its part in decisions about starting children on reading schemes:

> 'I'd say Dawn is more or less now (ready to start reading). But
> I like to give them as much pre-reading as possible. Lesley is
> more forward. She wants to perhaps a little more than Dawn.
> Maybe it's just that Dawn is quieter. But she's pressurising
> me. Dawn hasn't, and yet she's able to match certain things.

But she hasn't got quite the same pushiness as Lesley has for it
just yet. Dawn has (shown signs). She's shown an interest. But
she's still very worried about making a mistake'.

It can be seen then how person formulation is used as a basis for
decision-making. In terms of 'readiness' then it seems Lesley is more
positively diverging towards the 'ideal' end of teacher's possible distribution.
(1) Dawn is perhaps in a more middle position thus: 'Lesley is more
forward .... () .... she wants to perhaps a little more than
Dawn.' It could be that here when it comes to what may often be
viewed as an 'academic' categorisation teacher may actually be reacting
to such underlying motivational formulations as 'wants to' rather than
to mere 'academic' categories. Thus it is not just a cognitive formulation
but a total person formulation which seems to guide teacher's actions.

In terms of temperament too it seems Dawn displays some of the interactional
strategies associated with the submergence of a mid-position normal
pupil: Dawn's quieter ......().... she hasn't got quite the same
pushiness yet'. It seems teacher formulated this within a continuing
emergent framework: 'Hasn't got the same pushiness yet ... () ... She's
shown an interest. But she's still very worried about making a mistake'.
It can be seen then that teacher's view of this as a continuing or
developing phenomenon ('yet' and 'still' indicate processes of emergence)
becomes the basis of her present strategy:

> 'This is one reason why I wouldn't put her on as well yet because
> I would hate there to be any failure for her yet. Because I
> don't think she's able to take that. She's still finding her
> feet a lot'.

And so teacher strategy appears to rest upon and take account of the framework
of person formulation, and especially of its dynamic and emergent processes.
It takes particular account of formulating a total person and attempts
to transpose this, by role-taking, (taking the role of pupil as other)
into a future situation in order to predict how pupil might react to the
reading scheme ('I don't think she's able to take that') (2).

9.3.78

After going through the first two terms with an apparent stable normal
ground teacher now notices some change in the pupil:

591

'I would say that she has withdrawn quite a lot recently. She
doesn't work with other children like she used to then. She
tends to be very much on her own'.

Faced with apparent changes in pupil's 'surface' actions the teacher
presumably recognises incompatibilities or incongruency with the present
established base.

Presumably the newly recognised divergence could in turn become a possible
new ground (3). It does seem however that ground may be absent from
this formulation. There are no obvious references to it at least! It
is possible that teacher now views pupil's present appearances as a
provisional indication of episodic or phasic divergence. The question
is whether teacher now suspends ground in anticipation of a possible
retyping (reformulation of ground) or whether she merely insulates
ground, and attempts to look for, and bracket it within, episodic
boundaries or parameters. (4) This will become more apparent as the account
continues.

It does seem, as teacher continues, that there is now an attempt to
explain the divergence in episodic terms:

'Her mother a few weeks ago came in and said had I noticed any
change in Mary. That she was much more aggressive than she was
at home towards Dawn. So that could have something to do with
it of course. And she's keeping out of her way and keeping
out of others'.

The teacher here seems to be making use of typification exchange between
herself and parent to explore the causal structure of what seems to be
a mere episodic form of divergence. First then the 'because of motive'
is offered. Her sister's aggression 'could have something to do with it'.
Then the pupil's inter-personal response to this is suggested: 'she's
keeping out of her way'. It seems teacher may be making a distinction
between the perceived 'structural' paramters and the perceived personal
or interpersonal parameters of the phase or episode. Her accounting
succeeds in provisionally restoring the normal ground as a deep structure
which is temporally disguised (for the duration) by the divergence which
proves to be episodic or is seen likely to be: 'could have something to
do with it'. (5)

Several other times in her career Dawn is seen to experience a potentially

divergent phase. It seems however that the stable ground is resistant
to revision. In each case the divergent phase is suspended or insulated
from ground by recognising its own separate phasic structure and
causal framework. For example, as Year Two begins:

> 'She's always been a bit of a wanderer. And wandering around.
> But at the moment she's just coming round into any little
> corner she can to be by herself. And she hasn't got any
> confidence at all in her work at the moment. And she did
> have before.'

Teacher's recognition of its phasic framework can be seen in her attempt
to explain it and construct a phasically contingent set of strategies:

> 'I think I'm going to have to give her extra attention. I
> think it's possibly because of me. We've been very tied
> up with this Space project this half term. And I think
> that reflecting on it I probably let her slip through.
> And she needs a lot of attention. And her sister has
> gone up into the Juniors. So this may be a lot to do
> with it. That she does need this extra attention.'

Here then it seems teacher sees two elements of causal 'structure'
that may account for this divergence and so justify her treatment of
it as episodic:

1. the Space project 'probably let her slip through'
2. the pupil's sister having 'gone up into the Juniors'

The teacher's strategy seems to be linked more to the episode's perceived
causal 'structure' than to the personal ground of the pupil. Thus for
the duration of the phase teacher intends to 'give her extra attention'.

Later on in Year Two another episodic divergence is noted (28.2.79):

> 'The last week or so .... well the last few days has been very
> uppety. Highly excitable and could be to do with moving house.
> She's possibly a little bit uncertain in her new surroundings.
> It's a flat that she's moved into. Perhaps her mother's often
> saying not to make too much noise. I don't know. But she is
> certainly an awful lot noisier than she ever was'.

Teacher sees the pupil's moving house as apparently providing a causal
framework which generates a divergent episode. Obviously teacher is
seeing it as temporally situated within 'the last few days'. It seems

teacher's operation of normal base throughout this episode results
in her seeking its causal structure within its own episodic parameters.
It is seen to relate to the 'moving house'. This gives it both <u>causal</u>
and <u>temporal</u> structure together. It thus seems to be viewed as potentially
unthreatening to the established normal ground.

After the divergent phase occurring as the Year Two career opens, when
the pupil's sister moves up into the Juniors, it seems the phase can be
seen to have now come to an end as teacher indicates once again a pupil
conforming to the classroom world:

> 'She stands out because she's so quiet. And she's so satisfied with
> her own company. And yet at the same time she is well-liked
> by other children. And she gets on well with other children
> herself.'

Teacher sees pupil as 'so quiet', a phenomenon which, if viewed from the
deviant base of Alan, would no doubt be seen as abnormality and a cause
for concern. But a striking point here is the power of the normal
ground to provide a normal base to this formulation of Dawn. It transforms
it. The motivational base is seen to be quite normal:

> 'she's so satisfied with her own company'
>
> 'she's well-liked'
>
> 'gets on with other children'.

It seems all is seen to be quite normal. There is now nothing to cause
concern to teacher.

1.3.79

Later in Year Two the pupil experiences a deviant incident. Teacher
recounts an episode which had occurred that morning:

> 'Something happened today. I've never noticed her do
> anything like this before. She'd had her milk in the morning.
> And I happened to walk past. And I saw her starting another
> bottle. And I said: I thought you'd had your milk this
> morning? And she said: Yes. I have .... and put it down.
> But there was no attempt to cover up anything. Straightaway
> she admitted. And I really appreciate that in her. She
> loves milk. She loves food.'

Teacher obviously was faced with a potentially deviant incident here as

pupil engages in an act of rule-breaking. Although the teacher's account
here indicates it is viewed as a rule-breaking incident there is still
a suggestion of the presence of normal ground. It seems to be implicit
as teacher attempts to neutralise the incident: I've never noticed her
do anything like this before'. This appears to set a framework of normal
trans-episodic ground against which the incident is to be interpreted.
It perhaps proves to be an insignificant incident when viewed against
a prevailing backloth of normal ground.

More important however is how the incident is seen to unfold within the
emergent intra-episodic framework. The teacher sees normal ground (and
its motivational reservoir) underlying the manner in which pupil
responds to the investigation of the incident:

> 'There was no attempt to cover anything up'
> 'Straight away she admitted'
> 'I really appreciate that in her'

It seems that teacher sees normal ground operating beneath all this. Teacher
is not perceiving the event as a mere surface figure but is apparently
recognising a more dominant underlying phenomenon of ground. Then almost
as an afterthought adds a further neutralising element: 'She loves milk.
She loves food.' It seems again that teacher is recognising an
absence of malicious motives (that would operate in the case of abnormal
ground) in the episode and suggesting instead what may perhaps be
viewed as a 'normal' framework of motives.

On those rare occasions when Dawn encounters a deviant incident the
normal ground is used to interpret her actions and to construct it within
a motivational framework. This can be seen again in the Final Year:

> 'She got into trouble this morning. Not off me either.
> She's working quite well. As usual. There's her and a couple
> of her little buddies had gone over this area here to work.
> Now I can't see them from where I am if they go over there.
> But being three Red Group that I would normally have thought:
> Well fair enough'.

Again it seems the emergence is seen to be episodic only, since teacher

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appears to present the normal trans-episodic ground here as a framework against which the divergent episode is to be viewed. Thus apparently treating it as a mere episodic figure as though the more significant reality to take account of were the trans-episodic ground. The incident is further elaborated:

> 'Apparently, one of them, who's a bit silly at times, has been encouraging everybody to have a little look around. So they got told off. So she's going to have to do a little bit of work for me this afternoon. I wouldn't imagine that she was actually doing a lot to contribute towards it. But she'd been sitting having a good laugh at it. And she'd have got involved with the other two!'

The deviant incident here is seen to have a causal structure in which another pupil is seen to have been a likely influence: 'one of them, who's a bit silly at times, had been encouraging everybody to have a little look around.' The role of Dawn in the divergent episode is seen to have been marginal. This is perhaps a process of neutralisation by recognising Other as occupying a role of episodic marginality. (6)

Here then in the recounting of this episode the account has jumped forward to examine another instance of deviance which could be viewed as having equivalence with the earlier one in Year Two. It is necessary now to return to the proper temporal sequence of the pupil's career. The longitudinal account is now picked up again in Year Three.

21.11. 79

Dawn on a number of occasions is selected as a 'sensible' pupil. (7) It seems to be an indication of normal ground in use and especially of ultra-normal position within the pupil distribution:

    I: I wondered why you'd picked on Dawn
    T: Because I thought that she would be able to be .... she'd be
        sensible enough.

Here is a recurrence of the term 'sensible' which has often appeared in relation to the presumed ground of the normal, and especially ultra-normal, pupil. It suggests that the pupil is continuing to be viewed as a typical normal. More significantly it actually becomes the basis of teacher's method for selecting a pupil in this episode as one who would be sensible enough'. (8)

However, the outcome is somewhat divergent:

> 'But she wasn't. She was putting the hoops over. The idea
> is for her just to hold the hoop so that there's something
> red. But she copied other children. Now that is unusual
> for her. She often isn't affected by outside influences. I
> don't know. She must've been quite giddy and off balance.

Clearly then the divergence here is given an episodic interpretation:
'must've been quite giddy and off-balance'. Thus teacher preserves
a normal ground. Instead she hypothesises an episodic theme to account
for the divergence.

This is further probed as the interview continues to explore the basis
of teacher's selecting pupil and to reveal any underlying relationship
with ground structure:

> I: You chose her because you thought she'd be sensible?
> T: Yes. Not sensible. But I thought that she wouldn't be playing
> around with them and jumping in and out of them. That she'd
> hold it and children go to her. I was surprised by that ...
> (she was influenced by) the atmosphere as well. If you
> remember I said that the children were very high that day.
> And I think it was just an atmosphere that she tuned into'.

Again then it seems that the teacher has a normal ground in operation
as the basis of the selection. Therefore there is surprise at the
divergence. However, she affirms very strongly the episodic theme
rather than personal ground as the underlying structure of the event:

> 'The children were very high that day. And I think it was just
> an atmosphere the she tuned into'.

The parameters of the situation (as episode) are what is invoked to
interpret and account for the course of this event. The pupil's personal
normal ground is apparently preserved.

On this occasion then the pupil appears to have been selected at least in
part as a 'sensible' pupil but the episode proved to be divergent. On
a later occasion, in Year Four, a similar selection occurs quite independently
by a different teacher but on this occasion it results in a more predictable
and ground-congruent episode:

'She's been doing jobs all morning. Because she's reasonably
sensible. So she's been sort of going to places like upstairs
in the libarary. And putting books back that we were finding.'

Teacher's action towards the pupil (teacher strategy) is based upon a
normal ground of 're$\overset{a}{\text{s}}$onably sensible' (9). It is not clear of course
how teacher's use of 'sensible' corresponds with the category of
'normal' pupil in general or with the ultra-normal category in particular.
There is perhaps an implication that the term 'sensible' might apply to
all pupils diverging positively within the pupil distribution towards
the 'ideal'. If so then the ultra-nromal would then perhaps be a critical
boundary as it would be the first position to which the term 'sensible'
could be applied in moving from the deviant to the ideal ends of the
distribution. This is perhaps evident as the teacher now identifies
the critical boundary or border line between the 'sensible' and
the 'non-sensible':

> With some of them, if you send them on a job, and they
> realise when they get there they've either forgotten, or
> they're not sure what to do, they'll just plonk the thing
> down and walk off. Whereas Dawn would ask somebody around.
> She wouldn't just leave it and wander back to me. So she's
> sensible in that way.'

Here then is the boundary between the 'sensible' type who 'would ask
somebody around' (normal-ideal motive) while the non-sensible type would
'just plonk it down' (divergent motive). (10)

Having moved into Year Four to illustrate a second occasion in which the
use of the category 'sensible' was apparent, it is appropriate now to
return to the longitudinal presentation of this pupil's career and now
follow the Year Four processes of emergence and maintenance over their
course.

Year Four

Initial processes of emergence

4.9.80

In the first week the new teacher appears to have adopted normal
ground for this pupil. The following account is of a 'normal' pupil.
who can be relied upon to operate within normal role parameters:

> Dawn's about a middle sort of person. I think she could work in a
> reasonably sort of average group of about five .... six children.
> She'd be alright'

Teacher seems to be forming a view of Dawn as a 'middle' category of pupil.
The formulation here is quite tentative:

'about a middle sort'
'I think she could work in a reasonably sort of average group ... '

This tentativeness is quite constant with the early exploratory work done
by teachers in constructing provisional formulations of pupils.

The reference to pupil as a 'middle' or 'average' person is then probed:

> I: Average? Middle sort of person?

> T: They're the children who're coping more or less with the
> work I would expect from that age level. They seem to be
> coping quite easily with what I call sort of mid.... You
> always get a middle sort of level in your class. And then
> you get them rising above and dropping below. And they're
> about there. They're sort of children who you work steadily
> with and improve steadily with'

A clear account of a normal pupil. In this case it suggests teacher's
notion of interpersonal relativity in a pupil distribution. It also
recognises a 'level' of work,   a pace of work ('work steadily') and
a developmental dimension of Other role ('improve steadily'). This is
quite a clear and sophisticated account of the many facets of Other
role implicit in teacher's apparent use of 'normal' ground.

The appearance of ground in the interpretation of classroom episodes

As the account continues there is an indication of the fusion of academic
and personal ground. The interview attempts to probe the basis of teacher's
allocation of Dawn to a pupil group:

> I: A middle sort of person? Does that mean that you had some
> difficulty in deciding whether she should be a Red or a
> Green?

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T: Yes. I did at first. I think I was expecting more of her
    than she's capable of doing. Once I found out what level she
    was on ..... she's quite capable of doing the work at her
    level. I think I was pushing too high at first.

The inter-dependence of academic and personal ground is then indicated:

'I think she definitely needs to be in Red group. Because of her
attitude. I know that I can't leave her as much ..... as I
would ..... And I've found now that talking to her a little
bit more she's coming on quite nicely. So she's not doing too
badly.'

It seems then rather than academic 'ability' it is 'attitude' that
places the pupil in her group. (11) Teacher is perhaps here indicating
the motives presumed to operate as pupil ground: 'I know that I can't
leave her as much .... as I would.' It seems too that teacher has
evolved a strategy for maintaining what she perhaps regards as accept-
able ('not doing too badly') development: 'I've found now that taking
her to one side she's coming on quite nicely.' Additionally, in both
these formulations, of motive and strategy, there is a temporal and
emergent dimension. Teacher has come to a realisation, after some
exploration or testing out the pupil in context and now discovers an
appropriate strategy and its base: 'I know now' and 'I've found now.'
It seems then to be a matter of emerging ground over time.

14.1.81

In the second term of Year Four there are signs of the submergence that
have continued to appear with such ultra-normal pupils as Dawn:

'Dawn seems to be running true to form. Getting on quite nicely.
She's about what I would consider ..... Doing quite well really.
I don't worry too much about her. She's OK.'

An indication of a submergent ultra-normal pupil: 'I don't worry
too much about her.' The same view is extended as the account continues:

'She always seems fairly quiet to me. She doesn't really
stand out.   Because you know she's not extrovert in any way.
You don't seem to notice her very much somehow. She sort of
fades into the back-ground because .... you know there's
nothing peculiar about her. Or nothing absolutely brilliant
about her. She seems very ordinary in a way. Normal.'

There perhaps could hardly be a more spontaneous 'validation' of the
concept 'submergence' (12). Teacher actually uses the concept of
'backgound': 'She sort of fades into the background.' The pupil
seems obviously to be recognised as an ultra-normal type. There is
'nothing peculiar' and 'nothing absolutely brilliant about her.'
The teacher's final summing up refers to pupil as 'very ordinary'
and 'normal.'

As the year comes to a close the head teacher, who has known the pupil over the four year period, reviews her career:

> 'Dawn is a quiet girl. I think there would be many instances for her to recede into the background.'

An account perhaps of teacher's own recognition of possible processes of submergence. Yet this may be a reference to some notion of 'personality' rather than a recognition of the processes of anonymity submergence that have often featured in this analysis.

As teacher continues she relates this formulation of pupil to notions of types of school 'organisation ':

> 'I think if Dawn had gone into a sort of organisation where there was a formal timetable and work was structured, and at certain times she'd been expected to do maths, and at another time had been given a title that she had to write about, I think she would have found that difficult. But she's able to offer talents in a variety of ways.'

It is not so clear what is meant here. Perhaps the teacher is claiming that a school organisation and culture that focusses on individualised person perception, curriculum organisation and pedagogy allows her to present 'talents in a variety of ways.' Thus the ground-based formulations that may encourage pupils to 'recede into the background' are discouraged by this school's organisation and ideology.

To present this account teacher must be relying upon a base and its motivational reservoir. Which base is it? Apparently that of a normal pupil. But that it would have led to submergence perhaps. Perhaps teacher is presuming that the ultra-normal pupil in a 'traditional' organisation would never have achieved the individualisation so highly valued in her own version of school ideology. A school ideology that is seen to allow her to 'offer talents in a variety of ways' even as an ultra-normal and 'quiet' pupil.

Teacher concludes the formulation:

> 'She's creative and is able to support certain activities with the other things that she's good at. And I think that at the end of it comes out making a contribution that makes her noticed.'

Perhaps this is exactly it! Teacher seems to be concerned to avoid
anonymity in this case either as an ultra-normal or as a 'quiet'
pupil. Certainly there is nothing in this final formulation to indicate
a concern for a 'quiet' pupil. Only of 'making her noticed.'
Thus she seems clearly to be formulating against a presumed normal
ground that is recognised to be likely to generate anonymity of
identity. In effect the pupil is perhaps recognised to be a
critical case for the particular 'ideology' and 'culture' of the
school! Ultra-normals are perhaps a continuing critical case for
child-centred schools to deal with. The teacher's final comment
suggests a strategy oriented to the avoidance of pupil anonymity
with a form of social organisation which will allow her to make
'a contribution that makes her noticed.'

Additionally, of course, the ongoing formulatory time-scale can be
seen in teacher's operating a developmental framework. A temporal
or emergent framework is used in making reference to a school
organisation that will allow pupil identity to emerge over time
and so 'at the end of it' to come out 'making a contribution.'
The final summing up in fact of the highly participatory school
'culture.' The very'culture' from which an extreme divergence in
the deviant case of the pupil Alan, causes the school such concern.

In qualitative research of this sort, although it is not the intention
to produce 'findings' generalisable to other cases, the problematics
of within-case generalisation nevertheless becomes an issue. In the
case of the two deviant pupils selected as critical cases for scrutiny
in this research there was never any reason to doubt their correspond-
ence to the sociological categories of 'deviance '.   The disruption
and disturbance they presented to teachers and to classroom life
in general was empirical verification of their status of deviants.
Although the form of deviation from social context appeared different
in each of the two cases; the concern shown for each pupil as a pro-
blematic case was evident throughout the entire school 'community.'
Their apparent position within the 'social structure' of the school
was treated as an empirical justification for regarding these pupils
as deviant cases. They were recognised as such in 'what everyone
knows.' Their deviant reputations seemed to extend out even beyond
the 'community' of teachers to school ancillary staff, to the pupils,
and to many of the parents.
In the case of the 'normal' pupils, the extent to which it has been
valid to regard the analysis of 'normal'or 'average' pupils as exposing
a shared set of underlying meanings is perhaps more problematical.
It cannot be assumed that there was a common set of meanings operated
by teachers across the two schools, or even by different teachers within
the same school in their use of such formulation categories as 'normal'
or 'average.' (1) It was not the concern of this research to expose
the basis of such terms but merely to explore their use by teachers
within the social contexts in which they occurred. Indeed, the account
presented here examines each case not only as an embedded set of meanings
within the social context of a particular school, but also within
its temporal context recognising that meanings are not necessarily
constant over time but may have an emergent and perhaps continually
evolving usage over the course of a pupil's career. However, the
frequent occurrence within the career of the normal cases of successive
teachers using terms such as 'average' or 'normal' in reference to
the same pupil does perhaps increase grounds for suspecting a possible
common set of meanings within the same school 'culture.'
Although there is some problematicity in extracting common patterns
of meaning from different schools, teachers and pupils, the occurrence
of some within-case coherence for each pupil gives some grounds for
suspecting possible common meanings.

The present research has sought to identity the parameters apparently
operating in the course of teachers' formulation of pupils. The analysis
of the present data has suggested that teachers operate a notion of
pupil differences and a framework of differentiation which might be
represented diagrammatically in the form of a normal distribution
extending from a 'deviant' negative pole to an 'ideal' positive pole
and with the majority of pupils occupying the main section of the
curve around a mode point of normality. Certain pupils indeed are
apparently seen to personify the mode position and are referred to
overtly in the course of interviews as 'average' or 'normal' pupils.
In the present research their unique modality has been referred to
in the concept 'ultra-normal.' The normal or norm position occupied
by such pupils seems to operate as a significant point in relation
to which teachers locate and formulate other pupils in a process of
norm matching. This is apparently a different framework to the process
of formulation suggested by Becker (1952). Indeed whereas the teachers
studied by Becker seemed to operate an'ideal' pupil as the yardstick
of classroom life, rather than the average, it seems in the present
sample that the average pupil occupies a position which is viewed as
the 'model' pupil of classroom life. The view was expressed by a
teacher in referring to Sally, one of the 'normal' pupils from School B:

> 'She's sort of a model child really. If you could have a
> model child! She's my idea of a model child. She's got
> the enthusiam but she's not pushy. She's not too quiet.
> She's just average at everything. I mean she's not brill-
> iantly clever. And she's not terribly poor. She's my ideal
> model child really. If I could build a model child!! '

This view suggests almost a relocation of the goals of classroom
life away from the positively divergent 'ideal' pupil, as though
perhaps to the more attainable mid-position 'normal' or ' average'
pupil as the 'model.' (A similar view is suggested by Baudelot
and Establet (1977) ,but arguing that the 'middle class' child is
the yardstick).

The category 'sensible' has often been applied by teachers to the
'normal' pupils in this sample. This suggests that normal pupils
might in general be being viewed as 'sensible' as though a polar
opposite type to deviant pupils. Although the term 'sensible ' is
sometimes also applied to pupils not categorised as 'average' it
seems to occur less frequently and less consistently. One interpreta-
tion of this might be that 'ultra-normals' in sharing and conforming
to many of the teachers' expectations of classroom life (as a 'model'
child) are viewed as 'sensible' in not being prone to either the

negative or positive divergent extremes of the 'deviant' or even the

'ideal' pupils of Becker's (1952) teachers. Another interpretation may be that in a continous distribution the ultra-normal or mode pupil is the first point along a continuum extending from 'deviant' to 'sensible' in which the ultra-normal is the boundary point beyond which all pupils are seen as 'sensible.' The first point perhaps at which the category 'sensible' begins to apply acrosss the positive pole of the distribution.

The present research has suggested fundamental distinctions operating between 'normal' and 'abnormal' pupils and in the ongoing processes of classroom life a distinction between the episodic and the trans-episodic dimensions of their interpretation. A distinction was suggested earlier between two categories of abnormality as evident in the postulated Pathological and Divergent models for formulating pupils. However, in the examination of cases as the analysis proceeded it has become apparent that the divergent category of abnormality has no long-term career implications for pupils. Such forms of negative divergence can be experienced by both 'normal' and 'abnormal' pupils. These divergent occurrences are usually perceived in themselves as short-lived, temporary and without a trans-episodic ground base. Such divergence is equally congruent with a 'normal' as with an 'abnormal' career and its trans-episodic base or ground. The critical boundary of formulation then is that which invokes the abnormal pathological model and its trans-episodic base. It can 'operate' beneath an act of perceived deviance, perceived divergence or even of perceived normality. It is clear than that the interpretation of acts at both 'deep' and 'surface' levels is critical. This interpretive work and its practical 'accomplishment' by teachers is a fundamental process of classroom life. It is the interpretation of present episodes as representing surface (or figure) elements of reality and the recognition of their continuities or discontinuities with trans-episodic (or ground) forms that seems to provide a 'mechanism' by which pupil careers are constructed. A process indeed of 'accomplishment' ! It is the teachers' active interpretation of the 'surface' reality and what is seen to be its 'deeper' structure that is a critical process .

The present data reveals that in teachers' interpretation of classroom reality two opposing processes are perceived. The processes of convergence towards, and of divergence away from, conformity to classroom norms (2). Since the 'normal' or 'average' pupil seems to be a critical point and yardstick in the construction of classroom reality then the processes of convergence and divergence may perhaps operate in relation to the normal pupil as a significant reference point. Pupils appear to be constructed as though their actions may be interpreted as positively

or negatively oriented in relation to it. In this way then the notion of 'normal' or 'average' is not a mere descriptive category within Something akin to a normal distrib ution but it becomes a critical point for teachers' construction of reality and classroom dealings. A significant boundary or yardstick - the very notion of sociological norm which conveys not only the notion of patterns of behaviour commonly occurring within a given population but also the prescriptive implications conveyed in traditional notions of 'norm' as socially 'required' conduct (Durkheim, 1933, p4). As behaviour is oriented towards the sociological norm it can be regarded as <u>convergent</u>, while its negative divergence from the 'norm' can be termed <u>divergent</u>. The use of 'norm' can be seen as a <u>process</u> rather than as a <u>structural</u> notion as it has often seemed to become in modern useage in the literature of sociology (Parsons, 1966, p18). Durkheim's own discussion of norms seems to give greater emphasis to norms as processes (p.102-3). In this research the major structural elements are apparent in the notion of 'surface' and 'deep' structure when episodic actions are seen as in continuity or discontinuity with trans-episodic ground.

It has become evident in the present research that an additional process is in operation with those pupils who occupy a mode position as 'average' or 'normal' types. It seems that pupils whose convergence reaches a point of ultra-conformity with classroom 'norms' experience processes of anonymity that are here termed 'submergence.' Conformity to either such a degree or to such a continued extent seems to result in processes of anonymisation in which pupil is experienced largely in ground terms. Recognising the two significant classroom processes already referred to as divergence and convergence then it may be regarded perhaps as a process of further convergence. Thus as pupil actions or behaviours become convergent to the extent of ultra-conformity then its perception or formulation by teachers appears to experience processes of submergence. The processes of submergence appear to be unique to those pupils   occupying the position of ultra-normal or 'average' pupils (3).

The present research then has distinguished a number of <u>critical boundaries</u> operating in classroom life:

1 between abnormal and normal pupils

2 between episodic and trans-episodic constructions of reality

3 between figure and ground

4 between 'deep' and 'surface' structure

Additionally, it has recognised <u>fundamental processes</u> of:

1 divergence

2 convergence

3 submergence

The 'average' or 'ultra-normal' pupils might then be viewed as an
additional critical boundary point as they appear to personify both
the sociological 'norm' of classroom life and the point at which
convergence becomes accelerated or transformed into submergence (4).

The present research has sought to make a contribution to the field of
sociology of education by developing a framework for understanding
the processes by which pupils are formulated by teachers in the ongoing
processes of classroom life. The attempt to explore this issue has
generated three sets of concerns which might be followed by future
researchers and which have been examined by the present researcher in
the particular social setting of two Primary schools as the pupil
careers of a specific cohort of children in each school began to emerge.

1 It has attempted to explore a framework for understanding
Other formulation as a total process in classroom life rather
than offering a separate account of either 'deviant' typ-
ification (Hargreaves, 1975) or of 'academic' typification
which is implicit in the literature on self-fulfilling pro-
phecies and teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968;
Brophy and Good 1974). It seeks to examine Other-formulation
in its totality and thus to consider processes by which both
'academic' and 'deviant' typification proceeds as an element
in total person formulation. It therefore attempts to relocate
research in the fields of deviance and academic typification in
a framework of Self-Other interaction and person formulation.

2 The exploration of such processes has suggested that the
phenomenon of deviance may be more appropriately viewed
within a framework of Other-formulation and especially in the
recognition of episodic and trans-episodic Other-roles. That
is by formulating the actor within a framework of <u>role</u> rather
than the more widely used framework of <u>rule</u> (and rule-
transgression). It suggests that rule-transgression takes
inadequate phenomenological account of the observational
position or standpoint adopted by teachers themselves as they
continue their ongoing relations with pupils in classroom
contexts.

3   The research has sought finally to take proper account of the
     temporality of teacher-pupil interaction by examining a range of
     temporal processes. It has focussed upon :

     -    longitudinal monitoring of pupils over a time-scale which
          takes account of the long-term nature of teacher-pupil
          relationships

     -    the ongoing dynamics of pupil formulation by examining
          these interpersonal processes as they are constructed and
          revealed in ongoing moments of emergence and continuity in
          classroom life and so attempts to recognise 'the evolutionary
          and developmental nature of teacher-pupil relations in the
          classroom setting' (Ball,1980,143) rather than adopting the
          traditional frameworks which have tended 'to treat and portray
          classroom relationships as fixed and static patterns of
          interaction' even when used by researchers within the ethno-
          graphic paradigm.

<center>Footnotes</center>

Introduction:The Research Issue

1.   Or by constructing an 'Other'. Whether the Other is
        constructed as a type is empirically problematical,
        although highly probable.

2.   In this sense the approach has been different from others
        such as Hargreaves (1975) who have approached deviance from
        a tradition in which it is conceptualised as the breaking
        of rules. Such approaches however might be seen to be
        phenomenologically questionable in providing genuinely
        interactional accounts of deviance as a <u>process</u>. Here the
        approach is to begin with teachers construction of pupils
        as 'Others' and to examine deviance within the dynamic
        processes of Other construction.

Chapter 1 :Review of the Literature

1.   Though of course pupils, parents and even ancillary staff
        such as 'dinner ladies' contribute to it.

2.   Although Rist claims to be identifying the nature of the
        'process' of teachers forming 'expectations' he does seem
        to limit his research to his <u>own</u> observations and
        inferences of how teachers <u>apparently</u> effect the processing
        of pupils. Yet Rist does not, it seems, attempt to check
        out whether teachers actually <u>do</u> use processes
        corresponding to those claimed by his observations. Thus
        its empirical validity appears to be somewhat questionable.
        Although he makes formal recording of classroom events and
        practices (in written form) and also informal observations
        in the form of a written report after each period of
        classroom observation, such data does remain the
        interpretations and constructions of an observer. One
        feels that such apparently 'objective' data has, in the
        absence of empirical verification, a problematic relation
        to the 'subjective' processes of teachers operationalising
        their expectations.

3.   Nash went no further than the stereotyped and artificially
        constrained repertory grid technique drawing upon the
        personal construct theory of Kelly. The method assumes a
        <u>static</u> model in attempting to analyse a <u>dynamic</u> process!
        In sampling teachers' constructs independent of situations
        (without at least some direct reference to situations or
        contexts) Nash is assuming teacher constructs are
        trans-situational. This must be a matter for empirical

investigation of course. The present research has attempted to plot the course of teacher construct development as an ongoing and situated process.

4. Throughout the research Nash's field notes are presented as though they were valid accounts of classroom reality without reference to teachers' constructs. Yet perhaps a more appropriate use of field notes would have been (as has been attempted in the present research) merely as a starting point from which to explore and probe the teachers' meanings by depth interviews and not to treat the meanings of classroom life as self-evident.

5. Nash continually offers his own account of classroom life as though it were not at all problematical. Yet these accounts are nothing more than Nash's perceptions of what he sees happening during the lessons he observes. This then is an omniscient observer stance (Douglas,1971, when 'the analyst is really drawing on his own mind for the social meanings he is using to explain the actions of his social actors',p5-6). In research about teacher constructions

    an observer's own constructions cannot take such a prominent place but might merely serve as an instrumental means in eliciting the authentic participants' interpretations. Otherwise such researcher interpretations seem to be much less valid even than those that could be made in a FIAC analysis of classroom interaction (or other coding systems such as those used more recently in the ORACLE research – Galton and Simon,1980;Galton,Simon and Croll,1980) which has often been claimed to lack objectivity (Delamont, Hamilton 1976). But at least a FIAC analysis is not rooted solely in the meanings and perceptions of the observer. Although FIAC categories have to be applied and therefore depend on subjective perceptions of the observer at least there are specified criteria for coding. Therefore at least some of the process is open to a partial monitoring by the reader. *(FIAC – Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories)

6. It is thus in opposition to the generation of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1968) which has influenced the process of theorisation in the present research. For Sharp and Green however the notion of Grounded Theory is not regarded as pertinent because of the supposed doubtful validity of first order data which in their view may always be contaminated by false consciousness.

7. But then this is fine according to hypothetico-deductive

theory construction. The real test then would have been to attempt to collect 'evidence' that would have allowed the rejection of the theory.

8.   Nevertheless its authenticity is still limited as it does not relate to the dynamics of classroom life in its full ebb and flow but only to highly controlled testing situations.

9.   Perhaps the same could be said in criticism of the phenomenological methodology being employed here and where the researcher engages in interpretation. Is there then only a difference in the form of the data from which interpretations are made? Thus ethnomethodologists interpret from 'live' data (Cicourel,1968) while phenomenologists perhaps interpret from interactionally 'dead' data (Hargreaves,1975). The interviews commonly employed within phenomenology however do allow some exploring of meaning,(i.e. Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories) especially through the participants' further elaboration of meanings, and therefore of their own accounts.

10. That is it introduces a comparative basis to typification which is non-naturalistic. By contrast, in the present research, it seems teachers quite spontaneously often introduce their own comparative referents. Authentic referents are likely to be more 'valid' than those imposed by researchers.

11. Thus the mid-point is hidden. Pupils are typified at either end of a continuum. The methodology precludes what the present research has apparently found i.e. that pupils are actually typified around a mid-point or 'norm'.

12. One is aware of employing blunt-edged tools, in a manner which has been described by Hammersley (1980) as 'trawling'. In this respect the limitations of one's own method must be acknowledged. Thus the researcher is his own instrument and simply as sharp and incisive or blunt and skimming as he is at the time of the interview.

13. Is there any gain in the separation of second order from first order construction ? It seems there is likely to be since the process of theorising then becomes separated from the process of data collection. Therefore theorising can be discarded or reworked as appropriate. Whereas Ball's interpretation like Nash's is treated as 'data'.

14.   It is probably accurate to claim that on the contrary
        phenomenologists have been as rigorous as behaviourist
        psychologists in the recognition of the need to reject
        'mind'(Filmer,1972,132). Both have in effect concentrated
        on <u>behaviour</u>. Phenomenologists have treated talk as
        'behaviour' and so examined at worst the products of 'mind'
        but only after they have been emitted.

15.   In differentiating the <u>source</u> of typifications this then is
        to allow the possibility of <u>external</u> suppliers of, or
        influence on, typifications to appear. It must be
        recognised that even when typifications appear to arise
        spontaneously within classroom contexts the original source
        could always have been from any number of external sources.
        Even when there is an identifiable source within the school
        the ultimate source may have been outside school. For
        example it may be brought in by a teacher who knows the
        pupil as a neighbour (as has often been the case in the
        present research sample), or imported by parents and
        offered in typification exchange with teachers. In such
        ways it might be suggested that in-school typifications
        could have continuities with 'social structures' beyond the
        school itself. Thus the identity of a pupil in the 'social
        structure' of the local 'neighbourhood' may intrude upon
        the classroom and staffroom processes of typification.
        Although such relationships can be 'explored' it is only in
        their appearance within teacher talk that they can be
        examined <u>empirically</u> in the present research.

Chapter 2 : Research Design

1.   In this way then elements of 'social structure' both beyond
        and within the school may be present in the social
        processes of typification. These may be 'explored' as
        features of the social reality of schools, as they
        empirically manifest themselves in the data. Thus the
        arguments of Sharp and Green, and Woods, that
        phenomenological inquiry fails to take account of 'social
        structure' is accommodated inasmuch as it has empirical
        manifestations. But otherwise such relationships may only
        be 'explored'.

2.   Thus the two schools may be categorised crudely as follows
        :

		Infant	Junior
School	A	*Structured	Open
School	B	Open	Structured

> * i.e. in terms of socio-spatial organisation,
>   pupil grouping and aspects of ideology

In School A the pupils move from a Structured to an Open context as they pass from Infant to Junior.   In School B the movement is between an Open and a Structured context.

3. In accordance with the naturalistic methodology   being employed it was inappropriate to either urge headteachers to change their practice so as to make earlier decisions about pupil allocation.   Additionally it certainly was inappropriate to request that this be made known to the teachers any earlier than normal practice as this was not only non-naturalistic but could have encouraged additional processes of preliminary typification.

4. In practice though it was realised that the loss was not significantly great   as   teachers   often   began   their preliminary typification construction of pupils months or years before in the course of :

    - their experience of pupils in public settings e.g.
       lunchtimes, playground, assemblies; or as neighbours

    - their exposure to staffroom and school culture and so **to**
       the reputations of certain pupils

5. But perhaps the usage by Schutz is intended to refer to phenomenological 'space' as the spatio-perceptual boundaries of human interpretative processes.

6. Perhaps a significant use that could be made of these categories is as an operational measure for empirical testing of theories of typing.   For example the 'stage' theory of Hargreaves (1975) and attempts in the present research to generate a sequential process or developmental theory of typing.   In Hargreaves' account there does not appear to be a statement of the empirical or operational criteria for coding the <u>stages</u> of tyification. Was the 'low degree of anonymity' and the 'high degree of fullness' implicit in their analysis? Certainly it seems to offer a basis for identifying the emergence of a construction of Other along a contemporary --- consociate continuum.

7.　　　Perhaps this is where the process of 'Norm Matching' appears. If teachers begin with general contemporary constructions of typical Others (e.g. 1st Year Infant children in the School A catchment area) then teachers are constructing typical or normal Others by invoking their normative knowledge. It would seem that this is how the process of Norm matching might be introduced. Perhaps then early typification would be by Norm matching against the typical pupil of the catchment area. This would lead to :

　　　1.　　Some who differed so much from the norm that they would stand out 2. Many who could not be talked about because they as individuals were not known, except as general types corresponding with the typical norms to be found within the teachers' experience of typical children.

　　　It is possible then that Norm matching will mark the often early phase of contemporary typification. Norm matching will fade as pupil becomes known as a consociate. According to Schutz's categories, as soon as teachers begin to relate to pupil, even though they may not yet 'know' the pupil, they begin to share a community of space and time and so immediately experience consociate relations. However it is likely that these are not to be regarded as discrete categories but as a bi-polar continuum. Therefore the move will be in the direction of increasing individuality of construction and decreasing anonymity. A process indeed! But note how for many pupils after two days the teachers appear to have nothing to say about them. Although by then apparently in consociate relations with teacher they are still known as anonymous types. Perhaps then Schutz's later use of the anonymity - individuality continuum was a recognition of the oversimplicity of the contemporary - consociate (spatial) continuum. These empirical instances certainly raise the problematicity of mere spatial boundaries in defining categories.

8.　　　This of course is a conceptual distinction arising within the conceptual framework of Schutz. But empirically it remains to be seen whether there are always actual differences between typifications as they directly emerge from, or are presented within, the context of consocial relations and those within contemporary relations. It may be that they are the same formulation i.e. the same message but in a different mode of transmission. And yet for Schutz the essential differences are in their degree of anonymity and individualisation. Perhaps it is necessary to clarify the variety of elements contained within these

distinctions. Thus typifications may perhaps vary in the :

(i)   consociality / contemporality of the contextual
        source of Other construction

(ii)   consociality / contemporality of the contextual
        context of their transmission or invocation

(iii)   individuality / anonymity.

9.   This aspect of typification has been explored intensively
        by Hammersley (1980) in examining the staffroom as a
        significant arena of exchange.

Chapter 3 :   First Steps in Analytic Description

1.   There often seemed little point in attempting to generate
        categories relating to data when there were always about
        ten or twelve further interviews awaiting transcription and
        which may have contained data which could have invalidated
        categories.

2.   Other researchers have identified 'normal' and 'average' as
        significant categories employed by teachers.   Hargreaves
        indicated the early use of 'average' in the tentative
        construction of preliminary stages of typing and not as a
        persistent feature of typing as is being claimed here.
        Sharp and Green have identified the 'normal' pupils as an
        identity of the majority of pupils who form part of a
        'bedrock of busyness' occupying a 'social position (in
        which they) are invisible to the teacher and can be handled
        with little reflection'.   In the present research it is
        being claimed that these pupils are not 'invisible' to the
        teacher but appear to act as a significant yardstick.
        However, in the analysis of normal pupils later it can be
        seen that in the course of interactional dealings in
        classroom life such pupils do seem to become 'submerged'.

3.   Here it can be seen that typifications may function
        differently. Some seem to have dominantly descriptive
        functions whilst others appear explanatory. This may then
        indicate varying types of typification or merely varying
        contexts of use.

4.   These encounters were selected by the teacher or by the
        interviewer importing incidents observed in the course of
        participant observation.   Here though is a difference from
        the observations by Nash, Lacey, Hargreaves, Ball , whose

own observations are often presented as data. In the present research the interviewer's observations were not regarded as data but as mere prompts or focii for generating teacher talk more closely focussed on, or rooted in, authentic interactional encounters.

5.   This perhaps provides some indication of what the teachers thought the interviews were about. Often there is no way of knowing how they are perceived by the interviewees. Perhaps then the teachers regarded the interview as in some respects requiring insightful and powerful observations of their pupils rather than the common-sense observations they were making. This was a tension throughout the research as teachers were apparently loathe to accept that their routine talk could be of any research value. Frequently over the entire research period they would ask what I wanted i.e. what exactly I wanted them to talk about. I always resisted by trying not to guide the areas of their typification in order to preserve the naturalism. However, it has to be acknowledged that on such occasions as these at least the teachers may have been typifying according to those aspects of pupils that they believed I might regard as important. It is possible also that the teachers' reluctance to continue weekly interviews was a reflection of type stabilisation occurring across all pupils and so there was little new to add each week to their accounts of the pupils.

6.   This is not unlike the method of triadic elicitation except that it is a 'natural' sorting process and therefore perhaps more authentic. However it proved more difficult and rarely produced clear boundaries. As such it perhaps indicates the possible damage to reality produced by methods which by their very nature do produce clear-cut boundaries and yet must lack authenticity within the less clear-cut naturalistic processes of classroom life.

Chapter 4 : From Key Linkages to a Framework of Models

1.   In the course of Self-Other interaction, Self engages in a process of constructing Other as one to be interacted with. When teachers engage in the Other construction of pupils it appears that the process proceeds by invoking norms against which some comparison or matching is made. The 'idea' of the 'normal' pupil appears to be used as a yardstick and unit of comparison in pupil formulation.

2.   Perhaps the major reference point for teachers would depend on their ideology. Thus if 'norm'-oriented or 'ideal'-oriented they would differ in their orientation to

Other construction as either 'idealistic' or 'realistic' and so invoke comparison against an academic 'ideal' or against an attainable (for these pupils) norm.

3. In some respects then it can perhaps be considered to be a sliding boundary. There may appear once again to be some overlap with the major model of 'Normal' distribution, as it could perhaps be seen that such cases appear at the extreme end of what might otherwise be seen as the 'Normal' range of pupils. But the distinction lies within the construction of the teacher. The Other is constructed with an implied dichotomous framework in which the pupil is seen to lie beyond the 'Normal' and within the 'Abnormal;' category, even though the boundary itself may have a less clear form.

4. Within such processes then perhaps 'social structure' appears in the social setting. The teachers' consciousness begins to relate with 'collective' consciousness or structural elements of prevailing definitions of the social world.

5. These aspects have been explored by others e.g. Hammersley (1980); Lacey (1970)

6. This would perhaps amount to the same degree of generalisation (i.e. the failure to look for individual differences) that is found in the operation of 'social class' generalisations that lead teachers to have expectations about a catchment area.

7. But the bi-polarity here is consistent with the 'normal' distribution centred around an average or mid-point. The significant issue is that the <u>focul point</u> lies around the <u>centre</u>. Teachers attempt to ensure pupils fall within the central band. Whereas in methods of bi-polar measurements the <u>focul points</u> are the <u>ends</u> of the continuum. In this respect it is not really an equivalent bi-polar instance.

8. This might perhaps mean then that on becoming Deviant there are three stages:

```
Norm Matching --->Divergent --->Pathological
     (1)              (2)             (3)
```

But for normalisation there are just two :

```
Pathological --->Norm Matching
     (1)              (2)
```

(thus missing out the Divergent model which may act as a half way point in the invoking of pathological typification through the use of the Pathological model)

9.   Note how this pupil is apparently experiencing simultaneously an Abnormal Divergent career and an Abnormal Pathological career. Thus the emergence of deviance proceeds on several fronts and relating many aspects of Other simultaneously.

10.   Perhaps then 'career' is only a researcher concern in constructing the identity of a pupil over time. The data does however indicate how the teachers themselves have not just an 'organisational' member's interest in the progress of pupils through the year groupings of schools but naturalistically employ longitudinal frameworks in their typification of pupils.

11.   Here it is important to make a conceptual distinction between varieties of contemporary :

      1.   Those Others who have never been experienced by the constructor in consociate relations (known only by reputation)

      2.   Those Others who have been experienced at some time in consociate relations and therefore transformed from consociate to contemporary for carrying a construction of Other forward into future contexts of usage.Then the present consociate Other is perhaps compared with contemporary Other (which is itself embedded in earlier consociate relations in which the typifier has participated).

12.   For example :

      Generalised talk is invited by the interviewer asking

            What is Alan like? Tell me about Alan. What sort of

pupil is he?

Contextual talk is invited by the interviewer asking

> What was Alan like in situation X (e.g. assembly, dinnertime, or other specific contexts)

Chapter 5 : A Test of the Models

1. It is always possible that in the course of analysing the data it gets strained into an inappropriate framework. Thus it is perhaps unrealistic to look for or assume a single model to apply to both schools. Two models might be more valid. The general patterns identified from School A were in fact at first difficult to see in School B perhaps for reasons of data straining. However, in recognition of the danger of this, a continual use of negative case analysis has been made in order to expose the models and frameworks to the possibility of refutation.

2. This may be a simplistic or reified use of the term 'school' as though it either were or ought to be a consensus of shared values, interpretative procedures and processes. An attempt has been made later to examine teacher differences in typification, not merely as an additional variable in understanding the processes of Other construction, but to recognise as problematical the uncritical employment of commonsense categories such as 'school' as though their meaning were not in need of empirical clarification.

3. This then is examining the extent of generalisability within a single case and its applicability across the members of the social setting.

4. But it may be more appropriate to start afresh again in the manner of

> the formulation of the original model. Thus:

1. Identify the range of typifications

2. Categorise them

3. Build model

Without the extensive use of negative case analysis this would in any case be essential. However, the continuity between the two schools by both the members' perceptions of continuity as a common institution, the continuity of a single sample of pupils continuing through, and the reorganisation of the two as a single all-through Primary school meant in effect that the move over into the Juniors was perhaps then hardly any more significant than the move into the next year group within the Infants school.

5. There is some indication in previous research of the importance of advance information. It is implicit in Rist's account of teachers sorting out pupils in the kindergarten and drawing upon welfare records to engage in pupil formulation.

6. It could then be :

   1. Closer scrutiny

   2. The selective interpretation of observations arising from the scrutiny.

7. Thus there is a meeting of a contemporary (received) typification and a constructed consociate typification. Negotiation proceeds.

8. When a motive is supplied then the base of typification is no longer tentative. Therefore in this case the typification must be being presumed to apply.

Chapter 6 : Theoretical Interlude

1. The researcher was conscious of the need to adopt the standpoint of the 'stranger' (Schutz,1964) and thus recognise the phenomenological value of not acting as a member but suspending belief in the taken-for-granted world of school.

2. Sociological research itself may be regarded as a form of interpersonal 'reaction' which disturbs the phenomena of the everyday world. Perhaps the construction of a typification, if only in the course of a research interview is a minimal form of 'reaction' since it requires interaction of the interviewee with constructed 'Other' who is transported into the situation as an abstraction. A stronger form of interpersonal 'reaction' would be when the

teacher engages in overt action, acting either in communicating to other members of the 'natural' setting or by acting as a consequence of the typification.

3. However, these are additional reasons for rejecting deviance as a focus of the research.

4. Otherwise it would be to presuppose that all deviant imputations do relate to rule infringement. Whether the logic of sociological theorising can trace a person formulation process ultimately to a rule-breaking situation is not the point. It must be a phenomenological question whether actors in the course of person formulation do relate to rule-breaking situations. The importing of rule-breaking situations as a reference point should be by the constructor and not the researcher.

5. This may be especially problematic if 'societal reaction' is adopted as an operational definition of deviance. If it were discovered that Infant schools ignore for young children what in the case of older children might invoke a 'societal reaction', then to research into classroom events through the concept deviance would be problematic. The possibility of only a moderate 'societal reaction' might make it empirically inaccessible. Perhaps even more important, it would be problematic in its construct 'adequacy'.

6. It is important to make clear that these cannot be regarded as instances of deviance in the conventional sociological sense. Deviations mey merely be within the normal distributions of individual differences. At least a different use of deviance might be recognised here i.e. as the antithesis of normality. If deviance research is about the breaking of rules then is the analysis of normality about conformity? While there is an inherent rule-following aspect of the analysis of normality within sociological theory it is perhaps not central. The concept of role rather than rule has received more significant attention within the notion of normality in sociological literature. Perhaps then it is possible to distinguish two sociological treatments of Deviance :

1. Deviance ------ Conformity
(Rule-   (Rule-
 transgression   following)

   i.e.   Deviance in traditional structural analysis as a
          logical category - a case either is or is not

deviance (Merton,1957)

2. Deviance ------ Normality

    i.e.   Deviating/Deviation as a process in the same way as normality can be considered a process - the dynamic treatment of deviation in interpersonal contexts as role -related. Whereas in recent approaches to sociology the use of 'role' has become a 'redundant concept', the everyday construction of Other in taking the role of other or role-making (Turner,1961;Coulson) has here been regarded as a more appropriate framework.

Labelling theory has embraced both views of deviance. The present research has located its position within the second use, as a process of deviating or in deviation from a 'role'.

Chapter 7: A Framework for Exploring Classroom Episodes

1. This is explored later when the tension between ground and figure is examined. Any unanticipated figure will usually be incompatible with the previously assumed ground and so is likely to lead to a suspicion that Other is operating from a different ground and its corresponding motivational base. A different motivational reservoir will be in play and so form the basis of teacher's new 'accounting system'. (The notion of figure and ground is treated later in this section)

2. It needs to be remembered of course that while there are simultaneous processes of relativity in classrooms as all participants formulate the interpersonal, spatial and interactional boundaries, teachers are not just 'ordinary'participants. They are not merely an active self relating to Others but are placed organisationally in assymetrical relations with pupils as having negotiative rights in attempting to impose a definition of the situation on the participants. Consequently they may be thought to have additional powers of definition, monitoring and evaluation of pupils as Others.

3. See later in this section for account of figure and ground.

4. The notion of 'master status' seems equivalent to these conceptualisations of Other-role.

5.   The concept of 'identity' is more usually used as a
      Self-concept rather than to refer to an Other-role. It is
      the intention here to regard it as a notion of <u>Other</u> as a
      <u>Self</u>. Thus <u>perceived Self</u> is the focus of the present
      research in an attempt to discover the processes by which
      teachers form constructions of their pupils as acting
      Selves and whom they construct as <u>Others</u> in their
      interaction with them. The present use is that of McCall
      and Simmons (1966,64-65) in referring to the concept of
      'personal identity' as a view of Other 'which is derived by
      identifying him in terms of a set of categories referring
      to unique individuals ... Personal identities serve as the
      pegs upon which social identities and personal biographies
      can be hung. If an individual could not be recognised from
      one occasion to another as the same person, no stable
      relationship could be constructed and therefore there would
      be no social identities at all'

6.   It can be seen that there is an inherent tension within
      this process pulling in both directions! But there is no
      reason why this should not be so. It is after all a
      continuing <u>process</u> of pupil pulling one way and teacher
      attempting to pull in another. An ongoing struggle or
      negotiation in fact!

7.   A similar use of **the** concept <u>identity</u> used as an <u>Other</u>
      concept as in the present research.

8.   Once again references to the implicit <u>boundary</u> between
      normality and abnormality. It may be assumed to be
      interpersonally located between in-group and out-group.

9.   Here then is a similar concern for viewing deviance within
      the framework of <u>person formulation</u> rather than what seems
      to have been a <u>traditional interest</u> in the acts of
      <u>rule-breaking</u> and their consequent <u>societal reactions</u>. In
      such a way the directing of research focus upon the
      <u>consequences</u> of deviation may define the possible
      <u>antecedent</u> processes of person formulation as beyond the
      parameters of inquiry.

10.   Indeed it often seemed that the present research activities
      were lent greater legitimacy by the teachers whenever in
      the course of negotiative encounters research goals were
      cast in a sociology of 'child development' framework. The
      ideological sympathy for 'child-centredness' and 'child
      development' often seemed to provide a means of negotiating
      entry to the in-group of teachers and reducing my own
      uncertain and marginal position as researcher!

Chapter 8: The Dynamics of Career Emergence in a Critical Case -Gavin

1. The notion of marginality has boundary implications of course with its assumption of extreme 'distance' from the mainstream culture of a group. However, although at some distance from the 'centre' a position of marginality would still be on the 'normal' side of the 'outer' boundary.

2. The use here is that of the language of Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger,1957). Presumably in this example all elements of the formulation are assumed to be congruent.

3. It can be seen then that the concept definition of the situation is central to this research. Although it may often appear to have a somewhat loose usage in the literature it is recognised here as of central importance in relation to the processes of person formulation. Thus in considering notions of definition of the situation there are temporal dimensions to be taken account of. The present analysis suggests that the participants' definitions of the episodic and trans-episodic parameters of the situation are critical.

4. It is still not clear of course whether the abnormal/normal boundary can be considered to be located outside (Fig1) or at the extreme confines of the 'normal distribution' (Fig 2). As the following diagrammatic representations suggest there may be a more moderate form of deviation, already conceptualised as abnormal divergent, which lies within the normal distribution :

Abnormal

Fig 1

Path.   Div.   Normal

Abnormal

Fig 2

Path.   Normal

Abnormal
Div.
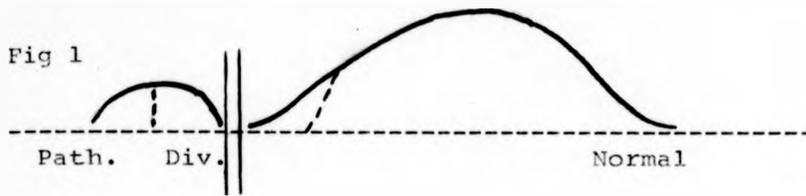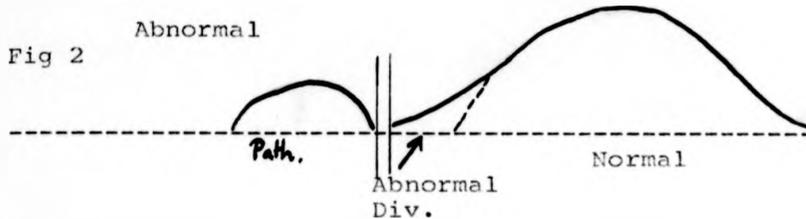
5.   However all indicate the operation of an underlying
      deviance for both pupil and his family. A ground is
      clearly in operation. But from time to time this is
      suspended as some deviant figures are seen to be mere
      episodic.

6.   It is possible then for two figure formulations to appear
      identical or equivalent but in spite of having what seem to
      be similar 'surface structures' are transformed in their
      interpretation by resting upon a different or 'deep
      structure' of normal and abnormal base:

Figure:	Consociate	Consociate
Ground:	Deviant	Normal

7.   Perhaps then it really is a matter of <u>appearance</u>. Thus
      whether it is <u>seen</u> to be modifiable or changeable.

8.   This is a process widely recognised within Labelling Theory
      accounts of deviance. Once the deviant role is allocated
      then a deviant motive is often presumed present even when
      the actions of Other may 'appear' innocent. It contributes
      to the processes of deviance <u>amplification</u> (Wilkins,1964)
      and <u>secondary deviation</u> (Lemert,1967).

9.   The formulator this time, as reported by the teacher, is the librarian in the local library. Thus it is an out-of-school source of data which feeds into school 'culture'.

10.   This may be similar to the manner in which 'schizophrenics' are perceived. While a schizo-type of Other may be viewed as operating from a duality of grounds we expect 'normals' to operate within certain boundaries and not to switch from one side to the other!

11.   The processes by which a victim begins to suspect Other is a confidence trickster also would operate in a similar manner.

12.   The processes by which teachers construct notions of in-group, normal distributions, and out-groups beyond the boundaries of 'normality' may be veiwed as akin to the notion of constructing a 'set'. Thus processes of relativity may perhaps proceed through the construction of 'sets'.

13.   The concept of relativity seems to have more usually referred to what is here regarded as the horizontal dimensions of reality. It is suggested here that teachers are operating both horizontal and vertical dimensions in their formulation of pupils.

14.   It might be suggested then that there are three planes of potential movement in the dynamics of pupil formulation (in early schooling at least):

      - emergence

      - relativity (in relation to cohort)

      - relativity (in relation to changing

        or developing cohort)

15.   The perception of Other at figure level is perhaps more open to flexibility of interpretation since a perceived deviant figure can be ambiguous as resting upon either a deviant or a normal ground. Is there perhaps a separate boundary for ground and for figure? :

Overlapping
at Figure level   Boundary

Figure: Abnormal ———————————— – – – Normal

Ground : Abnormal   Normal
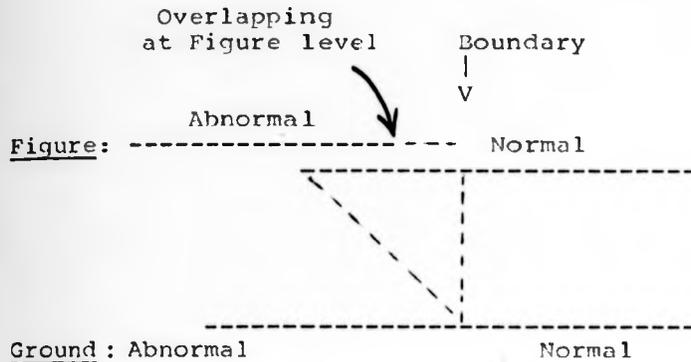
In the overlapping figure area there is more scope for flexible interpretation as deviant figures can be seen as episodic while resting upon a nor- mal ground or as mere ground-based abnormality.

16.   This suggests there might be segmental ground formulations constructed with particular specificity for a number of different contexts. If so then it might be assumed that they all share a common base or core ground and motivational reservoir as represented in the diagram below :

Situational modifications of core deviant ground in situations V,X,Y,Z All attached to deviant ground and related to common motivational reservoir.

17.   Perhaps all 'normal' situations are always suspended ground cases i.e. seen to be structured or suspended normality. For example, in Year 1 Gavin was seen as quite 'normal' in the context of storytime.   Was this a normal ground or a 'structured' or 'suspended' form of ground?

e.g.

```
----------------                    ----------------
| Situation X |                     | Situation Y |
----------------                    ----------------
              \                      /
               \                    /<--- 'suspended' i.e.
                \                  /      only loose ties: 'structu-
                 \                /^      red' normality which
Deviant -------->\               /        by episodic means
                 \----------------------  invalidates temp-
                 | Bedrock Ground |       orarily the potential
                 ----------------------   deviant base
```
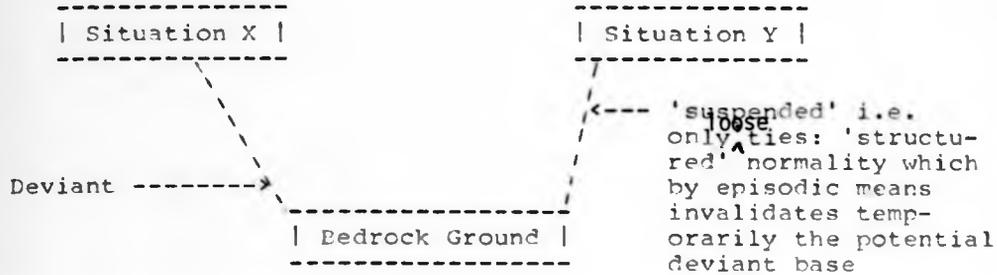
18.   Note how important it is to distinguish the <u>episodic</u>
      <u>Other-role</u> and the <u>trans-episodic Other-role</u>. Although the
      episodic deviant other-roles here are both formulated and
      communicated in this episode it is widely recognised that
      their trans-episodic other-roles are quite clean! And it
      is actually done by relating to the deviant trans-episodic
      Other-role of Gavin which becomes the major <u>episodic theme</u>.
      Thus it can be seen how trans-episodic theme for a person
      can become the deep structure basis of the episodic theme
      of these events.

19.   Perhaps   then   <u>ground</u> may be regarded as   a   sort   of
      <u>macro-identity</u> or <u>macro-theme</u> for persons. A permanent   or
      enduring   entity.   While   the   short-lived   phases
      (e.g. 'mood') would be a <u>micro-theme</u>. And so we are
      provided with 'theme' for <u>differering</u> units of temporality
      e.g. :

```
                              ------------
                              | Episodes |
                              ------------
micro        Figure-------------------------------------------------->
*
|
|
|
?            Phases :        ___ Mood X ___          ___ Mood Y ___
|                          /              \        /              \  micro?
|
v
macro        Ground------------------------------------------------> macro
             ---------------------------------------------------------
             | Deviant Identity and Motivational Reservoir |
             ---------------------------------------------------------
```
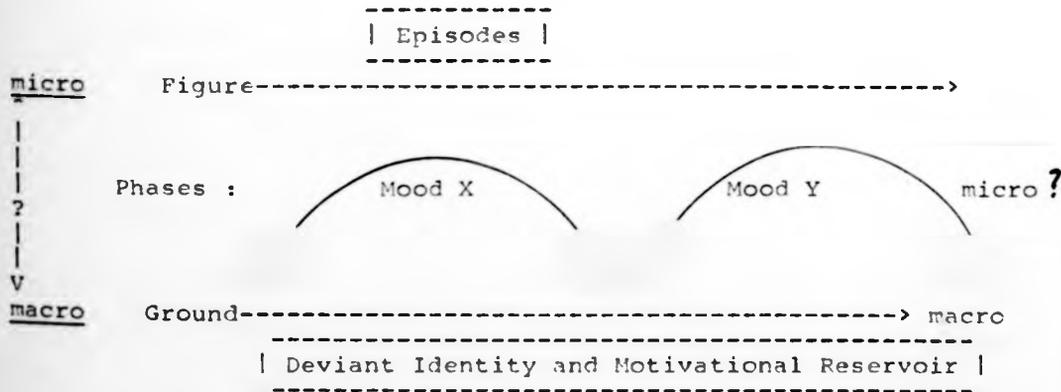
20.   It must be acknowledged that the methodology employed in
      this   research has produced an emphasis on   person
      formulation. Many of the interview opening   questions

consisted of a request for person formulation data
e.g. 'How's X been today?' However, it seems unlikely that
an entire interview following such an opener would push
teachers into a person formulation framework. The
open-ness of the interview allowed teachers to introduce
wide-ranging talk. But perhaps the talk is always
constructed in relation to an unstated framework which is
not always clear. Since the present research was focussed
upon a sample of specific individual pupils and their
continuing careers through school then perhaps person
formulation becomes a covert agenda of both researcher and
interviewee. Similarly if a research framework has a built-
in implicit focus addressing itself to questions of 'social
control' as in Sharp and Green then perhaps social control
then becomes an ever-present though covert base for talk.

21.   There is ambiguity here. Are such incidents treated
        episodically in terms of episodic theme or as figure with a
        latent deviant ground not needing to be stated?

22.   Perhaps there is even further deviance here. Is there a
        category of further out! Is there perhaps a point further
        out beyond the motivational reservoir where the Other's
        perception of 'reality' is regarded as abnormal i.e. the
        deluded? the world of the complete outsiders?

23.   This view might be represented as :
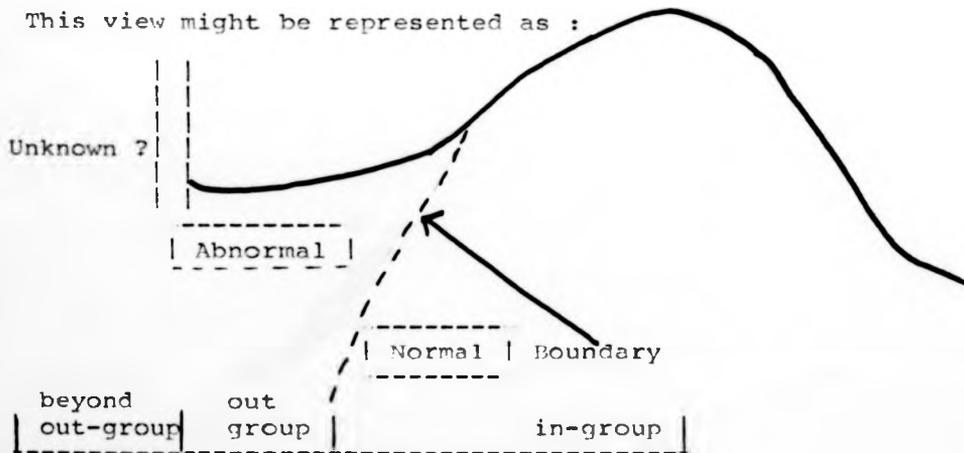
        This would confirm the previous uncertainty about the world
        beyond the boundary and perhaps indicate a third
        interpretation additional to the two offered in footnote
        4 Ch 8.

24.   It is in this sort of framework that perhaps the notions of congruency raised by Festinger in his account of Cognitive Dissonance might operate.

25.   Such a 'team' notion has been outlined by Lacey (1970).   It is   perhaps   worth   noting   then   the   significance   of interpersonal boundary which has rarely   been   explored   in the   existing   literature   on   the   area   of   'home-school relations'   e.g. Davie,   Butler   and   Goldstein   ; J.W.B.Douglas ;   Wiseman.   It   can   be   seen   to   have   a figure-ground dimension too!

26.   Perhaps the   'professional'   viewpoint   of   an   educational psychologist or   any medical diagnostician may be viewed as one who   is   trained   in   ground   identification   i.e.   of looking through   the   figure (or symptom) to the underlying ground.   It seems that perhaps   whenever   a   'professional' diagnoses a   case   he observes or notes the figure symptoms and extracts the ground from it as the deep structure which cannot be observed directly but which has   to   be   inferred from figure.

27.   Parents too   are likely to recognise the 'truth'.   Children who are the   subject   of   the   ground   search   are   perhaps different from the mentally ill in not being a party to the truth search   nor   required   to   renegotiate   an acceptable self.   Is it the teachers who do the renogotiation?

28.   There   may   be   parallel   processes   for   other ground-into-hypothetical-situation   prediction e.g.   Job selection/Personnel Recruitment   -   the   recruitment interviewer is   presented   with   ground   from   the   written application and reports from referees ;   in   the   interview only figure   can be seen ;   it allows impressions of ground (formed in contemporary relations) to be   checked   out   (in consociate   relations)   Selection   for   academic streaming/pupil grouping Streaming   is   an   organisational acknowledgement and   management of ground.   It thus becomes institutionalised ground.   Perhaps   the   basic   ground   is operated at   the   point of   stream allocation and then it is given segmentalised   role   interpretation   through   figure exploration in   the consociality of teacher-pupil relations in specific classes e.g.   in a Maths lesson   or   a   History lesson.   All   situations   of selective perception such as a salesman engaged in a sales pitch ;   a   politician   engaged in   presenting   an   'image' (such   as   Michael   Heseltine speaking with 'conviction' about the inner city   as   though he were   a   convert   to   a   new   set   of   'values'   yet the occasional references to private investment   'indicate'   or 'betray' the basic ground is perhaps still there!).

29. In this account can be seen the apparent 'professionalism' of teachers in recognising the labelling implications. Perhaps then deviance is not simply a matter of rule-breaking and the societal reactions to it but a more complex process of interpreting the nature of the boundaries. Labelling accounts tend to treat all rule-breaking reactions as victim creation. Yet here the teachers seem to show a remarkably precise sense of boundary differentiation in practice. Perhaps a tolerance threshold? Or a final boundary? Perhaps then there is a perimeter 'fence' within which Labelling implications can be 'professionally' accommodated and then perhaps there is the final boundary beyond.

30. Is there then a distinction between the episodic and the trans-episodic in relationship between academic (segmental) and basic ground? Thus at the episodic level of action there is perhaps no difference. But at a trans-episodic level of anonymity there may be a difference. This difference is not likely to be recognisable in the individuality of consocial relations.

31. For most children of course the teachers will begin from an assumption of total normality. Thus total normality will occur immediately as the presumed motivational base. Teachers will assume normal motivation until proved to be inappropriate. However the 'sibling phenomenon' may result in the assumption of a deviant ground in some cases as the presumed trans-episodic ground for the family and so transferred to the pupil immediately.

32. In terms of present conceptualisation such 'person talk' may perhaps now be regarded as either episodic or groundless suspension.

33. The nature of placement processes has been explored by Leiter (1974) although his teachers operated apparently on the basis of academic types for allocation of pupils.

34. The work of Festinger on Cognitive Dissonance seems to have implications here.

35. Thus not 'avoidance of provocation' but perhaps a similar process of neutralising or minimising deviant outcomes.

36.   It seems that the real issue is how teacher formulates
       pupil. Whether he is seen to be in academic role or in
       deviant role at the time. Thus it matters not whether the
       context is academic. What matters is whether pupil is
       formulated as operating within an academic or a deviant
       role and therefore from a base which is deviant
       (fundamental ground) or academic (subordinate segmental
       ground). The dynamics of the process are evident then in
       the teacher's casting Other in role. This is the critical
       process.

Chapter 9:   The Dynamics of Career Emergence in a Critical Case -
Alan

1.   It seems possible that there could be a participant's (first
       order) theory of: Master Status ; Primary and Secondary
       relations ; Other constancy ; and situational
       modification.

2.   And so the processes of typification may be seen to have
       continuities with even the physical aspects of 'gesture'
       which of course are to be found in G H Mead's original
       account of social interaction. It can be seen that
       typification cannot be separated from the entire range of
       interpersonal processes such as: role-taking ; the
       interpretations of 'gestures' ; self-presentation ;
       alter- casting.

3.   It may be the case that ground formulations are in effect a
       form of dismissing Other to a form of anonymity as though
       to view Other as mere contemporary. Yet at the same time
       ground also might be regarded as an individualised form of
       Other formulation since it is a process of responding to
       the perceived 'real' or 'deep structure' of Other rather
       than to the mere surface figure as a stranger to the social
       setting would be obliged to. Thus there is an ambigity
       along the apparent continuum in moving from individualised
       to anonymised or from consociate to contemporary
       relationship with Other. Which then is the individualised
       form of constructing Other? The 'surface' (figure) or the
       'deep structure' (ground)? Perhaps Schutz's notion of
       individualised construction presupposes that there is a
       'real' Other. The present attempt to distinguish between
       the 'surface' and the 'deep structure' of formulation seems
       to raise as problematic Schutz's apparent assumption that
       Other may be constructed in individuality independently of
       either 'surface' or 'deep structure'.

4.   There are perhaps continuities here with Matza's (1964)

notion of 'drift' in relation to movement of actors in and out of deviant roles. Perhaps for Matza the drift of an actor into a deviant episodic figure is in effect a process which has implications for the emergence of the 'deep structure' or ground of Other-role perception.

5. There are perhaps continuities here with Schutz's (1964) notion of 'layers of relevance'.

6. It is clear then that there are two poles present in action : the episodic and the contextual. In moving from the general to the specific there are then <u>two</u> dimensions to specificity of action i.e. situation and time. Thus it seems likely that references to specific action will employ both contextual-transcontextual and episodic-transepisodic references.

7. In traditional frameworks of deviance research the deviant episode is often seen as critical because it is viewed as the point of emergence or the point of boundary crossing. The antecedent processes are rarely introduced. There is usually a post-hoc investigation into the presumed trans-episodic 'factors' such as the psychology of 'personality' or the sociology of 'home background' as predisposing because-of motives. This proceeds with little attempt to explore by what processes these antecedent phenomena appear <u>within</u> the episode. Thus there is a tendency to see both the episodic and the trans-episodic in terms of the deviant rule-transgression. However, the present research indicates that teachers see deviance in both episodic rule-transgression terms <u>and</u> in trans-episodic personal terms too. It is perhaps the teacher then who is the means by which the episodic and the trans-episodic fuse together at the point of societal reaction.

8. The processes of figure-ground operation can be seen to be ongoing or moving. Adopting the 'psychology' of figure-ground as a framework it can be seen that the 'sociological' figure-ground is a moving phenomena. Thus, as teachers look beyond the episodic figure towards the presumed trans-episodic ground (sociological), the presumed ground <u>perceived at that point</u> becomes perceptual figure while the episodic figure becomes perceptual ground.

9. It can be seen that <u>person-formulation</u> rather than societal <u>reaction to rule-breaking</u> is the key to the process. It seems also that the temporality is critical. What seems to be significant is the formulation of Other-role <u>at the</u>

time. Such episodic formulation of Other as perceived to be in one role or another at the time seems likely to invoke the broader processes of person formulation at trans-episodic levels.

10.   It may be possible to make a distinction between the absence of ground at different times in the processes of emergence. Thus in early formulation the groundlessness probably rests upon an assumption that ground will emerge in the near future (i.e. quasi-anomie). Whereas in later formulation the recognition that there is no stable or predictable ground present to discover will lead to anomie per se.

11.   Perhaps here then it is necessary to recognise a sort of meta-deviance i.e. that of failing to maintain a consistent self. This is the fundamental link with anomie. Anomie in effect may perhaps be viewed as meta-deviance.

12.   The apparent processes of cognitive dissonance and congruence. What can now be viewed as a 'developmental' process was happening when they thought all the time it was something else. It thus becomes much less dissonant to perceive when viewed as a process of maturation. In effect then it can be recast as a whole process and so cognitive dissonance is avoided or overcome.

13.   It will be necessary to examine the 'normal' cases to explore this possibility.

14.   Perhaps 'revision of ground' or 'ground revision' is a more appropriate term since it conveys the implication that Other has changed. The more usual term 'retyping' has a possible ambiguity suggesting the perceiver may have changed his mind!

15.   This is similar to the notion of 'avoidance of provocation'.

16.   Here can be seen a continuity with the work of Hammersley (1980) and the processes of staffroom typification. Does all early typification perhaps begin with the receipt of communal ground? Or do teachers vary in their independence of communal ground?

17.   Both the received communal ground and the episodic

alternative share a specificity. Ground is delimited (therefore specific to person) while episode is situated. Perhaps here can be seen the exploratory work of formulation as teacher searches between the two poles of ground and episode to produce a mid-position of segmentalised ground or situated episode.

18. The notion of typical episode is to be seen as a generalised formulation of Other across specifiable contexts of action. Perhaps more appropriate terms would be 'typical episodic setting' ; 'typical setting' ; 'situated episode' ; 'generalised episode' ; 'figurative episode' ; 'illustrative episode' ; 'characteristic episode' ; 'bounded episode'.

19. It should be recognised that the term segmentalised ground might be just as appropriate here. It is very close to the notion of typical episode. They refer to different aspects of the same thing with either ground or episodic phenomena given prominence.

20. The conceptual difference here may not be possible to resolve since they may be seen to overlap. The segmental role formulation is Other in specific contexts of interaction whereas typical episode or episodic setting is an emergent context or setting with evolving time and situation paramount. Perhaps ultimately then it is a question of focus. Whether teacher approaches formulation through casting Other in role or in giving prominence to emergent actions over a temporal unit, episode or setting. The use of episodic establishes continuities with notions of figure while ground conveys notions of 'deep structure'. There is then a boundary perhaps between the 'surface' and 'deep' levels of formulation to take account of. Consequently motive must be considered critical. If teacher draws upon 'deep structure' and motivational reservoir then it is clearly a ground formulation. If within episodic parameters then it must be seen as relating to Other in specifiable episodes. In the present case it seems to be predominatly person formulation which receives greater focus and an implicit motivational reservoir appears to be in operation. Perhaps the focus here is towards segmental ground rather than towards typical episode.

21. Is there perhaps a process operated by teachers equivalent to that of researcher's 'trawling' as identified by Hammersley?

22.   It is appropriate to attempt to clarify a conceptual
        distinction. It may be that typical episodes and segmental
        grounds are two sides of the same coin. When teachers
        construct with the increasing specificity of typical
        episode they are conjuring up the total situation in both
        its episodic and its segmental aspects. They construct or
        invoke a cognitively consonant formulation. Thus it will
        have perceived congruent or consonant features of both
        surface and deep structure and of episodic and ground (in
        typical theme or segmental ground) relations.

23.   Similar notions of boundary are apparent in the work of
        Bernstein (1971) where the construction of reality is
        examined in relation to notions of the 'classification' and
        'framing' of perceived coherent wholes, and the insulation
        of separate elements between and across boundaries.

24.   This appears to be a 'natural' (i.e spontaneous)
        comparative framework. It was not generated by the overt
        agenda of the interview but of course may have been invoked
        by the unstated research concern to examine the emergent
        careers longitudinally.

25.   A previous instance of this phenomenon was encountered
        earlier. A significant part of typification then must be
        the teacher's election to perceive either figure or ground
        in relation to a specified Other. Thus current events can
        be seen as either an individual occurrence or as part of a
        recurring pattern.

26.   So much of the talk about Alan is formulated at a
        generalised level. This may indicate a continuing
        anonymity in Other-role casting.

27.   It seems that there is a similar segmental ideal in Gavin.
        It would be simplistic of course to suggest that painting
        and such creative activities are a natural haven for those
        perceived as deviant. But there may be a relationship here
        in terms of a sociology of knowledge and notions of
        hierarchy within curriculum organisation. It may be that
        'creative' areas of the curriculum offer opportunities for
        teachers to underreact in their perception of deviant
        incidents and so to practise selective 'societal reaction'
        according to a perceived hierarchy of salience in relation
        to different curriculum areas. The same notion of
        hierarchy may also lie behind the emergence of deviant
        ground. Although there is no data in the present research
        to permit an exploration of this it may be that the casting
        of Other in deviant ground terms does spring from notions

of master status of Other in the salient classroom activities of, for example, a 'core curriculum'. Thus there would then be a relationship between a notion of 'core' curriculum and of 'core' typification.

28. It is important to emphasise the crucial element of 'social structure' as its 'common-sense' recognition by participants. This notion has been explored by Cicourel(1971) in an account of members' acquisition of common-sense awareness of social structures.

29. Rather than the conventional psychological interest in 'open-mindedness' where the perceiver becomes the focus of attention it is important to also consider what aspects of Other are considered 'open'.

30. See the four 'normal' cases given similar longitudinal analysis over the four years of the research. This is a fortuitous crossing of career lines within an interactional episode.

31. There is perhaps a psychological figure-ground process here. Possibly the rule-breaking/interpersonal boundary alternate as figure and ground. What might begin as figure soon becomes transformed into ground.

32. This can be seen in the case of Natalie and Louise in School A. Louise is one of the four 'normal' cases considered later.

33. This raises methodological problems in the validation of data interpretation in the present research. The procedure of negative case analysis as a verification process (Glaser and Strauss,1968) would perhaps suggest that an instance of apparent normal academic ground occurring for an otherwise deviant pupil might suggest that an all-pervading ground and motivational reservoir is thereby invalidated. However in postulating the 'offending' normal ground to be a segmental ground which is insulated from the otherwise deviant ground the all-pervasive deviant ground is preserved and accommodates the negative case! It is possible that the present account is raising a framework that is near to being beyond falsification. And so of verification.

34. There is a notion here akin to that of 'interaction set' (Furlong,1976).

35.   In episodic formulation then the   dependent   variable
        (i.e. outcome) is seen as   episodically   shaped   by
        independent variables which are   episodically   bounded.
        Presumably figures are   really seen as dependent variables
        which when formulated in trans-episodic terms and   thus   as
        dependent   upon   the   independent   variable   of   ground.
        However, in episodes the   episodic   theme   can   temporarily
        replace the ground as independent variable.

36.   The figure-ground issue here has implications for data
        collection. Non-   ethnographic   observation   and   data
        collection approaches all   acquire data without making a
        figure ground distinction. In   effect all data will be
        figure data and so interpretation requires the observer to
        substitute his own presumed ground in order to indicate
        patterns of meaning.   It   is clear that the method of
        paticipant observation allows the researcher to take the
        role of the   participants and so view the setting from the
        participants' standpoint thus permitting access to the
        authentic ground of the actors.   The   point has been
        well-made by Cicourel (1964),and more recently by McNamara
        who, aparently as an outsider to the paradigm, seems to
        express a view similar to Cicourel (who might be regarded
        as an in-house critic).

37.   Although it is not possible to discover here it may be the
        case that in this phase there is a ground suspension or
        provisional suspension as apparently occurs in the first
        few days of an encounter when there is   provisional
        typification before ground emerges.

38.   Other-roles then are quite complex in their formulation.
        They might perhaps be represented diagrammatically   as
        follows :

```
        Boundary?                    Or is it ?:

              |                            .-------------.
              |                            |             |
              |                            |             |
Normal        |        Abnormal           |    Core     |
              |                     Normal |    Ground   |
Segmental|  __._____   -----|    Abnormal |
Normalis-|  /  |                    |      |  |          |
ation   ._/    |_____|    |_|  ._____|
               Core Ground               ._____
                                              |
                                         Segmental
```
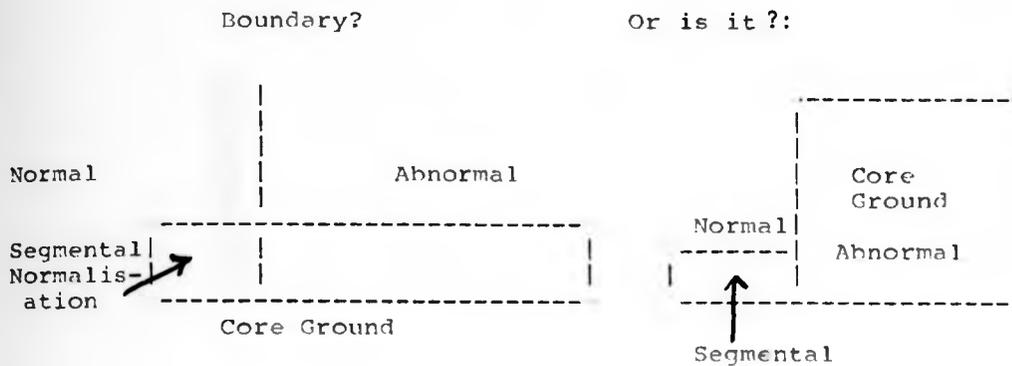
Both normal and abnormal grounds are recognised to occur simultaneously.

39.   The literature on academic grouping, streaming and sorting of pupils would perhaps permit a clearer analysis of issues if it were to take account of figure and ground. For example what facets of academic 'ground' are recognised by teachers? What generalised 'ground' differences in a pupil group ar seen? e.g. rate of development? level of development? . How do figure formulations lead to the construction of a deeper structure beyond supposed surface instances to permit the <u>selection</u> of pupils on the basis of ground imputation? Is academic like deviant ground seen to be a dominant or master status/Other-role? The present research suggests deviance is an Other-role which dominates over academic. But in other contexts such as Secondary schools of course it may be that academic ground is also a master status. It would then perhaps be necessary to relate person formulation to the ideologies of teachers. But it seems that in Infant schools in this research academic formulation and imputaion of academic Other-roles are subordinate to the more general process of normal/abnormal pupil Other-role formulation. However, in the selective kindergartens researched by Leiter (1974) in the USA, perhaps academic formulation was enough of a master status to operate as a basis for sorting pupils into distinct categories of academic Other-role.

40.   There may be similarities here in the apparent meta-deviance of the other deviant case Gavin who showed quasi-schizophrenic facets of Other-role in his frequent movement between grounds. In the case of Gavin this perhaps occurred more rapidly than seems to be perceived in Alan.

41.   Presumably each   party   has a view of Other which is at the
       time of invoking a psychological or perceptual figure while
       the competing view is ground.   The negotiation process
       itself proceeds   through invoking, as <u>psychological</u> figure,
       elements of <u>sociological</u> ground.

42.   It seems that such longitudinal overviews by teachers might
       be lost   if research methodologies themselves are   not
       longitudinal.   It is not possible to know of course whether
       a short-term set of interviews conducted at this point
       would have generated the same data.   In addition however,
       the   longitudinal framework and   continuing   research
       relationship provides a   common   time-scale   for   both
       teachers' and researcher's knowledge of Other and so
       perhaps generates it.   In this way then it would of course
       be a   move away from 'naturalism' since the teachers in the
       Junior department would not share the same time-scale.

Chapter 11:   Normal Cases

1. Thus either to seek generalisability across large populations or
    to seek within-case adequacy and emergent authenticity.

2. However it is a recognised feature of social scientific methodology
    that the in-depth study of single cases may expose processes that are
    otherwise missed by large-scale studies across vast samples.   Such
    research as Davie, Butler and Goldstein, (1972) although contributing
    to the generalised knowledge of pupil differences in schools, is
    unable to offer a developed account of the processes by which pupil
    differences are 'structured'.   The present study of two cases attempts
    to contribute to that understanding.   The point has been well made
    by Lacey (1970): 'Though I am presenting a case study of one school,
    its significance is not confined to the particularistic concerns of
    this one school.   It extends to general problems in sociology and
    education.   I agree with Frankenberg when he argues that an essential
    ingredient of the social sciences is .... "a methodology in which the
    discussion of small segment sof society in great detail is used to
    throw light on the general".   He continues, "It is my firm view
    that only the particularistic can illuminate the universalistic"
    (Quoted in Lacey, xvi, 'Taking the blame or passing the buck'
    paper presented by R Frankenburg to the British Association
    4th September 1963).

3. Whereas there was only one continuing deviant case in each school.
    Thus the inclusion of one deviant case for detailed examination in
    this thesis represents a 100% sample of deviant cases.

4. The present data suggests teachers use a framework for constructing a
    total pupil 'population' in a form which appears to correspond
    with the conventional notion of distribution.   Pupils are apparently
    perceived as a distribution recognising their individual differences.
    Normality is thus located around the mode point of the curve.
    Teachers' reference to 'normal' pupils then suggests a descriptive
    term indicating the typical pupils who occupy the mode position.
    However, it can be seen later how there is greater correspondence
    with the sociological notion of 'norm' since pupils at the mode
    position appear to represent a 'model' of expected behaviour
    The use by teachers of the term 'normal' suggests a normative framework
    is also operated in which 'normal' pupils provide a measure or
    yardstick in constructing the interpersonal boundaries of classroom
    life.

5. In this respect then they appear to be regarded by teachers as
    representative cases of normal pupils.   Perhaps as a mode position
    within their perceived distribution of pupils.   As such they
    appear to be regarded as a representative type of the normal category.
    In this respect the selection of normal cases is consistent with
    the phenomenological methodology advocated by Schutz (1963).   Thus
    the 'postulate of adequacy' requires, as a pursuit of scientific
    validity, that the constructs of the social actors schould be
    congruent with those of the social scientist.

6. The deviant case is likely to be a methodologically appropriate
    case for exposing the trans-episodic and episodic 'edges' of reality
    in much the same way as a natural occurrence of what is often

termed 'Garfinkling'. It is likely however that the normal pupils
who are immersed within the teachers' taken-for-granted worlds
may be more embedded within the common-sense world of classroom
life and so provide researchers with a more difficult task to
'lift' them from their embeddedness into a form in which they may be
scrutinised for analysis.

Chapter 12:   School A - James

1. At this point in emergence it is perhaps more appropriately viewed
    as <u>pre-ground</u>. Later, after ground has emerged and become used
    by teacher as a framework for interpretation of classroom episodes,
    the temporary absence or suspension of ground may then be viewed as
    <u>suspended ground</u> when formulation for the moment brackets the
    episodic from trans-episodic reality. For normal pupils it often
    seems that the pre-ground phase is absent since there is perhaps a
    tacit assumption of normality for most pupils and so an expectation
    of the normal reservoir to come. It may at this point then not
    be pre-ground but teacher operating on its assumed or anticipated
    emergence.

2. However, the fact that teacher 'hardly knows' James is quite
    consistent with the view that pupil may be being encountered one
    episode at a time. $_a$ That there is in fact as yet no trans-episodic
    construction formulted (to count as knowing James beyond immediate
    episodic encounters).

3. In the teacher's opening formulations it might have been expected that
    either normal ground would be immediately assumed for James, as
    for all pupils or a suspended but anticipated normal ground would
    be in operation. Thus the episodic would precede the trans-episodic
    as pupils are formulated within the terms of an immediate or
    episodic reality and then eventually located in a trans-episodic
    framework of ground.   Thus a possible phase development would be:

    1. pre-ground formulation of pupil one episode at a time (within
        episodic parameters only)

    2. typical episodic/segmental ground (from single episode to a
        group of episodes or a collection of episodes;
        context related or context dependent)

    3. ground/trans-episodic (person dependent; context free; the
        person's identity)

In the following extract from the first interview account of James
however all the phases are implied. For normal pupils, the phase
of pre-ground formulation may be a tacit normal base. Thus to 'not
know him yet' means perhaps not to be aware of anything that would
mark him off distinctively from the rest in trans-episodic terms.

Therefore it is perhaps a form of submergence, or to be more accurate
a form of pre-emergence. It is a form of anonymity, or even
pre-anonymity. Thus teachers will perhaps assume some provisional
base. For deviant pupils there is just ambiguity of base - it
could turn out later to be abnormal or normal! For normal pupils
there is perhaps an assumed non-deviant base. This would suggest

a major difference between the careers of normal and abnormal pupils.
For deviant pupils the provisional base is selected more tentatively
and with a more conscious provisionality. For normal pupils there
is perhaps a tacit normal base assumed. Not merely provisionally but
as taken-for-granted in the absence of any contrary preliminary 'advance
organisers'.* Research into the typing of deviant pupils (Hargreaves,
1975) has suggested a 'speculative' first phase followed by an
'elaborative' phase of type construction. In the case of normal pupils
though it may be that speculation is not necessary but that a tacit normal
base is assumed. The suggestion of an 'elaborative' phase in the typing
of deviant pupils would correspond with the idea of it as an exploratory
testing time to resolve the ambiguity of bases until teacher is sure
a deviant base is to be accepted or rejected. But for normal pupils
life perhaps begins with no ambiguity and therefore no searching
necessary. Perhaps just an anticipated normal base. The theory of
typing proposed by Hargreaves (1975) in relation to deviant pupils may
be limited to the case of deviant careers and not directly extendable
to the situation of normal careers. The theoretical framework of person
formulation proposed here attempts to relate both to 'normal' and
'deviant' pupils. A major problem however is to know when a pupil is
normal at this early phase of his career. Of course, it is not possible
for researchers to know. Perhaps teachers are in the same position !
It is just a framework that is provisionally adopted until it proves
to be wrong. Thus normal pupils begin with a framework. Whereas
suspected deviant pupils begin with no firm framework. A situation
perhaps of 'phenomenological suspension' or 'epoche' (Douglas 1971 p15)
The taken-for-granted is immediately put into a framework of doubt or
problematicity. (*Ausubel,D.P. Readings in School Learning,Holt 1969)

4. Of course such normal constructions could eventually be seen as segmental
ground and turn out to be attached to a deviant base. Their apparent
normality at present is no guarantee to which fundamental general base
they will eventually be attached. At this point in emergence the
outcome is perhaps quite open.

5. The context of matching here suggests the apparent total pupil formulation
framework. On the one hand 'the one's who're in trouble'. On the
other hand 'James and Mark.'

6. Though of course within-normal distinctions of average, ideal or below —
average are not the concern of the present analysis. Thus all formulations
that may suggest teacher's operation of an 'ideal' base are simply
here referred to as normal in an attempt merely to convey the
general parameters operated.

7. In this research the term 'neutralise' refers to a process of trans-
episodic neutralisation. Thus trans-episodic reality is imported to
neutralise the episode or typical episodes by recognising their continuities
with the trans-episodic. It is a form of trans-episodic bracketing.

8. 'Normal' is interpreted here as a pupil who conforms to (i.e. who fulfills)
teacher expectations and so 'adapts' to the norms of the classroom as
they appear to be operated in teacher's attempts to define the classroom
situation.

9. Both the sibling phenomenon and maternal matching seem to operate on the
assumption of family-transmitted ground as though a common ground can
be assumed in the absence of any 'evidence' to the contrary. It is
perhaps in effect the micro version of general stereotyping of population
categories as in 'race', 'gender', 'class', 'catchment area' stereotyping.

10. The process of Other matching can perhaps be regarded as a demonstration and use of the perceived 'social structure' of classroom life. An illustration of the 'boundaries' operating within classroom life and regarded as significant by teacher.

11. It is not clear in which direction the 'transformation' might take place. The process may be that of movement into either trans-episodic or episodic normality. Thus the transformed normality is in a temporal dimension which is unknown. However, the recurring dominance of trans-episodic ground throughout the data of this research suggests that a bracketing of the episodic with the trans-episodic here would result in the retaining of normal trans-episodic ground as the dominant element.

(The term 'bracketing is used in this research to refer to the notion of surrounding certain elements of knowledge as though imposing a boundary between the enclosed and other knowledge. In so doing it places the bracketed knowledge in a problematic relationship to other knowledge. The term is used by Douglas (1971) p22.

'Accepting presuppositions as necessary, there obviously remains that vast realm of common sense of everyday experience that can be phenomenologically bracketed, that is, toward which one can take a theoretic stance and reflect upon until the basic elements and relations of the phenomenal experience are discovered.'

In the present research it can be seen that the construction of pupils is an ongoing process in which episodically and trans-episodically bracketed phenomena are 'reflected upon until the basic elements and relations...are discovered.

12. This is where the position of the abnormal pupil in the classroom 'social structure' is different of course. With Gavin who occupies a position of deviant the teacher can't do anything with him! The deviance for him is seen to be operating at both 'surface' and 'deep structure' levels. For a normal pupil such as James it is viewed only as a surface phenomenon. It can therefore be structured by teacher because of the known underlying normal base.

13. This is perhaps important for 'developmental' settings. In schools the 'professional' ideology of training and the 'child-centred' and age-related 'structure' of schooling all perhaps alert teachers to anticipate development in pupils. Thus to formulate pupils within a developmental framework. For a normal pupil then there may be an assumption by teachers of both a normal ground and also an anticipated normal developmental ground. The ground of perception in school settings is likely to be a shifting phenomemon. Other formulation in schools seems to operate then in a number of dimensions. A distinction between 'surface' and 'deep' structure and perhaps simultaneously a 'deep' structure which itself is constantly on the move within an anticipated longitudinal time-scale. In other organisational settings, such as in industry and commerce, the notion of development is perhaps less

dominant in person formulation but may still be present in notions of anticipated increasing proficiency arising from 'experience'. Similarly in hospitals and prisons, anticipated 'progress' may be expected in some cases, while in others perhaps an anticipated deterioration may be a formulation framework.

14. Note how Alan in School B is not unlike James as described in this emerging phase of formulation. It is particularly evident in his quietness and 'resistance'. Is there perhaps a connection then between the formulatory framework and the ideology of a school? Is it just a matter of mere context that produces James in School A as a 'normal' and Alan in School B as an 'abnormal' pupil? The phenomenological position adopted in this research would not permit any postulating of more fundamental 'real' differences in these two pupils that might account for the differences in perceieved ground. However, it seems likely that the ideological context of each school would provide, as Sharp and Green have noted, the vocabulary within which talk about such pupils is offered. The formulation base or ground might be expected to have congruence with the underlying ideological 'structure' of the school and its cultural framework of taken-for-granted meanings. Hammersley (1980) has noted the function of staffroom talk as a process in generating this taken-for-granted 'world'.

15.. Other matching with parent is a continuing phenomenon. This was seen in Year 1. It seems when pupils present teachers with ambiguities then they need some means of resolving the total picture, as though perhaps asking 'Is he basically OK?' 'Or is he basically a problem?' The parental Other matching appears to play a part in permitting teacher to resolve the ambiguity in the direction of normality.

16. It may of course only be segmental ground as it is very specific in its reference. In this case the normality or abnormality of family will confirm ground. Compare the negative family grounds of Alan and Gavin with that of James. This is another route then by which 'family' influences schooling. It appears to be recognised as a means by which ground is transmitted. Ground is not only imported but it actually transforms an otherwise neutral figure. Such episodic figures can be transformed by the ground to which they are bracketed. The family ground is critical!

17. At this point in emergence there is perhaps some equivalence noticeable with the 'stabilisation' phase noted by Hargreaves (1975). A point at which the pupil's identity becomes confirmed and the base of formulation becomes settled.

Chapter 13: School A - Louise

1. On other occasions too this pupil is paired with James as a comparative
    referent. For example on another occasion when referring to the pupil
    apparently playing a rather passive role in a classroom episode
    the teacher sees her in the following terms:

    'More passive. But she took it in. She was contributing and
    enjoying it. Just very .... A watcher. Again a bit like
    James, I suppose in a way. She watches a lot'. The present
    pairing of these two pupils as 'old-fashioned' however is
    particularly significant. Whereas on many occasions the ultra-
    normal pupils appear as conformist because of their 'passive'
    or 'quiet' forms of self   presentation*, on this occasion it
    is another facet of Other construction which indicates their
    equivalence. Perhaps having some congruence also with the notion
    of 'sensible' which often seems to occur with the ultra-normal
    pupils.'

    (*The pupil Sally in School B however clearly is not viewed as
      'quiet' and yet is still viewed frequently as an ultra-normal).

2. Here then is the 'natural' social 'structure' of the classroom
    emerging. The teacher's construction of this pupil invokes the
    significant points in the social world of this classroom 'the rest
    of them' on the one hand and 'our friend' on the other hand. The
    deviant pupil, Gavin is brought into this formulation it seems to mark
    out the significant boundaries of social reality!

3. The account here also indicates the methodological attempts which have
    been adopted in this research to sample and cover the full range of
    situations and not just rely on the spontaneous 'naturalistic'
    observations of teachers which might otherwise disguise the parameters
    of everyday classroom life and make their accessibility to researchers
    difficult - especially with the known likely submergence of such
    normal pupils as Louise. The importance of taking account of
    'contextual variability' is fully recognised within the interactionist
    tradition. In the analysis of educational settings this tradition has
    been advocated by Furlong (1976) and more recently by Hammersley &
    Turner (1980).

4. There is a distinction suggested here between the concepts of <u>submergence</u>
    and <u>anonymity</u> or <u>anonymisation</u>.

Submergence

    Suggests after categorising a pupil as ultra-normal then
    the pupil experiences processes of submergence in which she
    is apparently discarded at <u>personal</u> level and pushed into
   anonymity as a consequence of categorisation.

Anonymity

    At this point is in a different <u>emergent</u> context of early
    recognition, recall and categorisation. It is preliminary to
    categorisation.

Neverthless, it is perhaps a reasonable hypothesis to assume those pupils
categorisable as ultra-normal may be the ones likely to first pass
through a preliminary process of anonymity.

Chapter 14:   School B - Sally

1.   In this research the category 'normal' includes the entire range
     of pupils occupying a position extending from normal to 'ideal'
     within the Normal Distribution. Thus normal = normal-ideal as
     represented below:
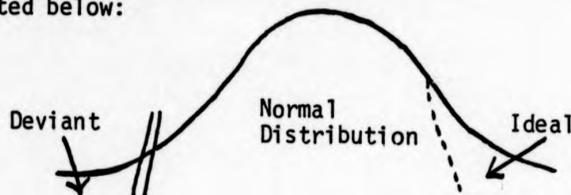
     It has been argued by Baudelot & Establet (1977) that such frameworks
     operate 'by confusing under the word norms the ideal and the average ...
     it imposes as an ideal to be realised by all, the average achievements
     of the middle class alone.' It may be possible to argue that
     between school differences in 'average' might produce 'social class'
     differences. The present framework however is of within school
     differences in which, like Nash 1973 pupil differences within cohorts
     are not easily categorisable in 'social class' terms.

2.   Here it seems parents are cast in a normal and possibly ideal framework.
     This suggests that the earlier reference to pupil when being compared
     to parent (as an 'unusual woman') was perhaps more subtle than it
     seemed.   It perhaps referred to some notion of 'style','personality',
     or 'individuality'. Whereas the pupil appears to be viewed as seeking
     personal anonymity/submergence

3.   This might suggest a possible interpretive 'rule' operated by teachers:
     When two competing motives are present in an episode then which ever
     has a potential ground source may perhaps be regarded as carrying
     greater significance.

     It suggests too how a general interpretive rule may operate within all
     formulation:

     That trans-episodic reality generally predominates over episodic
     constructions unless the latter is episodically bracketed from it.

     This process perhaps raises some question about the interpretation of
     motives as an overt or even covert means of 'measuring' parent attitudes
     which is often found in the traditional literature of educational research.
     In many cases a parent's motive for action is either taken-for-granted
     or merely dismissed. For example, in attempts to indicate the
     'influence' of parents' attitudes upon schooling outcomes for children
     such measures as frequency of visits (Davie et al 1972), number of
     books available in household (Fraser 1959), parental initiation of
     discussion in making an 'approach' to school about their child
     (Plowden 1967), are treated as though the motives for such figure
     appearances were self-evident. But the motive even for a school
     visit by a parent must be regarded as critical. Just as here the
     parent's motive for a child's coming to school is critical to the
     interpretation of the event.

4. The phenomenon of submergence is a process   congruent with the theoretical framework generated from this research and so its occurrence when spentaneously arising within teacher talk might be viewed as a possible partial validation of the present theoretical framework.

5. This submergence can be seen again at the end of the year when perhaps teacher's framework may have moved away from the Year 1 cohort towards the total vertical group.

6. Sharp and Green have expressed a similar view. They have claimed that the process of anonymisation is an inevitable feature of classroom life when teachers are faced with large numbers of pupils. But appear to have suggested anonymisation is experienced by pupils in abnormal categories rather than by normal pupils.

7. The process of Other matching takes place within extended or broader age and developmental parameters for vertical groups.

8. The selection of School B in this research sample provides an opportunity to examine the operation of ground in more 'open' contexts of schooling. In keeping with the S.I. framework which guides the present research it is recognised that the 'context' of interaction and the negotiation of meanings is a significant element. (Furlong, 1976; Hammersley and Turner, 1980). The particular significance of 'open'-ness of total context for the course of teacher-pupil relations has been widely recognised (Bernstein, 1967;1971; Denscombe, 1980).

   The present school is spatially, and in pupil grouping, more 'open'. A school which is 'open plan' and practices 'vertical grouping'. Perhaps one of the recognised and intended strengths of vertical groups is its encouragement of the open-ness of formulation categories. It may however mean a pupil such as Sally experiences additional processes of anonymisation. She is perhaps submerged because in this vertical group she is closer to the norms for I2s and I3s, whereas in a chronological form of grouping she would apparently stand out as 'ideal' against an I1 norm. It may then be the case that even stronger submergence occurs for ultra-normals in vertical groups! Yet there is no reason why this should be a 'problem', except that it would perhaps tend towards anonymisation of pupils and so would be a divergence from the individualisation so highly valued by 'child-centred' teachers. However it might not have any implications beyond the teacher's own formulation knowledge of the pupil. For the anonymisation tendency to be significant there would need to be a classroom situation in which pupils are teacher-dependent. In a vertical group and open-plan situation this would perhaps be less likely to be the case. Therefore teacher typification could be a less significant process since it has less 'power' to 'structure' pupil action. (A situation perhaps which has been referred to as characterising the more general processes of secondary socialisation (Berger & Luckman, 1971, p 162): 'The roles of secondary socialisation carry a high degree of anonymity; that is they are readily detached from their individual performers'. The view has been applied more recently in considering pupil strategies in schools (Woods, 1980). Pupils in 'open' contexts perhaps have greater possibilities for negotiating (or attempting to) an individualised self. Thus pupil 'self' and teacher typification in 'open' situations may be different processes to those operating in more 'closed' situations. In open situations there may be a submergence and anonymity at teacher perception level and yet a spontaneous child-centred individualisation of self-negotiation at pupil level of action. In fact this is very

often the very justification for vertical grouping - that even for
submerged pupils there is still greater freedom for pupils to negotiate
their own individualised
self. Anonymity in teacher's 'mind' only affects situations where
teacher judgement and person formulation attempts to 'structure' a
definition of the situation. These are likely to be at a minimum
in 'open' situations.

9.   It can be seen here how differently the normal mother and child is
     viewed from that of the abnormal pupil Alan whose starting dinner was
     seen as something of a confrontation at this time. Additionally there
     is a suggestion that the implicit motivational reservoir from which
     teacher interprets pupil's parents is distinctly normal for Sally 's
     and distinctly abnormal for Alan's. Although not made fully explicit
     there seems to have been a recognition of Alan's parents formulating
     the school dinner issue from a parental standpoint and being concerned
     with mother's walking backwards and forwards at lunchtime while
     Sally's was perhaps seen as more pupil-centred and thus prepared
     to accept teacher's judgement of pupil 'readiness'. Thus Alan's
     parent's are seen to have parent-centred motives. Sally's a child-
     centred motive. The very difference then it seems in this school
     between normal and abnormal! Thus the significant boundary here is
     rooted in the child-centred ideology. A classic celebration of
     deviance and its boundary as rooted at the heart of the 'culture'
     of the school! And so the negotiation of starting dinners proceeds
     on the basis of a normal ground for Sally.

10. Again, as in footnote 9, it can be seen here how the norms of the
     school appear as a framework to formulation in this account. It provides
     an empirical instance or validation of the view that within the school's
     culture a high value is placed upon pupil participation. The instance
     here shows how such segmental formulations as 'quiet' are ground-
     dependent. In the case of normal pupils they are to be regarded as
     merely additive to an existing normal ground. For deviant pupils
     they are also additive but to a deviant ground. Their meaning then
     depends on the context of use within a :

          - school culture (participatory/non-participatory)

          - pupil identity (and the ground or deep structure of Other formulation

11. A layered view of social reality has been postulated by Schutz (1964)
     in referring to 'layers of relevance' and 'graduated knowledge'. However,
     this was in claiming that a social actor constructs views of his
     world in a graduated framework according to its 'relevance to his
     actions' and its 'use' in 'furthering his purposes'. It thus implies
     a layering in respect of what is known at any one point in time. Here
     though different 'layers' are increasingly made available suggesting
     a more passive, or less active role of the actor.

12. Thus teacher's perception of the ground of pupil's perceptual ground
     is critical here! A double ground! This suggests a new angle on
     'sensible'. The individual who can employ 'common-sense' as the
     unstated deeper ground which only those who are 'sensible' can have
     access to. They perhaps don't respond woodenly to 'surface'
     instructions but recognise the unstated 'deeper' meanings. There is
     perhaps some continuity here with the work of ethnomethodologists
     (Garfinkel, 1967, McHugh 1968) in recognising the apparent method
     operated by members interpreting other members methods! In this case
     then it seems that the figure-ground dimensions actually form part of
     the members' own method. They make a distinction between those
     pupils who can see the underlying ground or even episodic theme
     (i.e. 'sensible') and those who operate only at figure or surface
     level.

13. There seems here to be an ideological linking with the anonymity – individuality of typification. In terms of a hypothetical distinction that might be made between school ideologies, according to the degree of person individuality acknowledged, perhaps schools may be said to differ in the extent of their formulation of persons. Thus:

Child-centred (Person focussed)

- rejects institutionalising of anonymity in contemporary formulations (such as in grouping by ability and age)
- Therefore open boundaries

- rejects notion of pupil as ground
  or at least would always act as though ground were open
 Therefore closure of ground resisted.

Subject-centred (Category focussed)

- permits 'appropriate' anonymity
  such as ability type or age group
  therefore closed boundaries
- pupil viewed as closed ground.

(Other writers have considered the significance of 'boundary' in the social construction of reality. It seems Bernstein's (1971) notion of a strongly classified environment would correspond with this notion of category focussed. This would be when the contents of categories were insulated from each other. Keddie's (1971) teachers appeared to treat streaming categories as providing 'closed' boundaries.

14. This seems to be a powerful use of normal base. Even when pupil is not immediately conforming to normal pupil role teacher can 'see' beyond the immediate moment to its imminent resolution as the episode evolves. Thus teacher constructs situation as it will become. It can be seen how a forward orientation and projection is given to figures by the underlying base or ground. Not only does ground give meaning to figure (as an immediate phenomenon) but also along a temporal or emergent dimension extending from how the situation is within a moving intra-episodic perspective to what it is likely to become.

15. Of course in such formulations one can be sure only of a boundary operating between the two pupils. The location of the boundary may be less clear. For example the relationship might take either of the following two forms :

1. Sally as 'ideal' and opposite to Alan as a deviant pupil

    Critical
    Boundary
    Deviant◄--------╫----------------------------►Ideal

The two are selected as polar opposite referents. Teacher formulates Sally by stating what she is most definitely not and so contrasting her with the polar opposite type.

2. Sally as a normal or perhaps normal-ideal where she is seen as part merely of a normal set on one side of the boundary and Alan on the other.

Thus Sally could be either:

1. the opposite to deviant
2. a mere non-deviant

The differentiation suggested between these two pupils can be seen to take a form in which a strong boundary operates between them. The recognition of fundamental differences indicates the formulation framework is treating the pupil grounds and motivational reservoirs as 'well insulated from each other by strong boundaries' (Bernstein, 1971, p49)

16. This is where the present research is genuinely longitudinal. It can be seen how, where teachers' knowledge of pupils extends backwards quite naturalistically as longitudinal, it provides an opportunity to formulate pupils across an extended time-scale perhaps greater than would be the case in short-term research.

17. There is here an indication of a genuine phasic framework operated by the teacher. A 'natural' developmental framework. Teacher at present appears to see a stability of segmental academic ground. Development is seen to proceed in steps as change is followed by a period of constancy. Thus in developmental terms there is no constantly changing Other but an Other whose form remains stable enough to know and be related to as ground for the duration and until the next step. It seems that the whole group is seen to be in this developmental suspension and now 'they're just beginning to go forward'. It seems that teacher is able to see this phase of development (the 'step' or the 'plateau') with quite clear temporal boundary markers to be able to know when movement starts and stops. As indicated in an earlier footnote (James, footnote 19) it can be seen how the developmental framework adds another figure-ground dimension to formulation. Thus teacher formulates pupil in terms of what will be or what pupil is thought to be capable of! There appear then to be two time-scales:

1. Figure (present episodic)
2. Ground (enduring trans-episodic with roots in past and generated from past)
3. Anticipated developmental ground (from present academic ground towards parameters of what is expected to emerge). This is like 2 but with a shifting base.

18. Here then is another feature of ground. Since it cannot be known until it is brought out then obviously once again it is very much a ground formulation. It demonstrates the very subtle differences in boundaries that exist. Perhaps an 'average' pupil and an 'ideal' pupil would look the same at this point in figure terms. But they would have different grounds. One an 'average' normal having arrived at the peak of development for the present, while another as ideal having reached the same point at the moment but being seen to have further to go. It is not clear how Dawn is viewed at this point except that ground is operating here.

19.   Here the dangers of anonymity and ' submergence' of the perceived ultra-
      normal pupil can be seen. It is apparently recognised by teachers
      at a first-order level of reality construction too. Not only is
      a perceived ultra-normal pupil perhaps 'reified' by the classroom
      processes and so a segmental academic ideal which is suspected to be
      a potential development for this pupil (as a hidden depth of ground)
      is not appropriately related to and extended, but it is also recognised
      by teacher as a first order account of the situation. It thus becomes
      members' method for interpreting the pupil career and its organisation
   within the emerging context.

      Additionally can be seen the problems of, or tendency towards,
      labelling or structuring of identity. It seems that a pupil with
      normal ground and potential segmental ideal will encounter processes
      which modify the ideal towards the perceived 'normal' master status
      or core typification. This framework perhaps has continuities with
      cognitive dissonance theory. The dominant element of Other is seen
      from an ultra-normal standpoint and therefore any potential divergence
      is always a threateningly dissonant feature of Other. The 'normal'
      pupil becomes the master status. Segmental ground gets modified by
      classroom processes (e.g. submergence) and also by perceptual and
      formulation processes too (i.e. of expectation and perceptual set).
      Thus the deep structure ideal academic segmental Other will not be
      known by a teacher merely operating normal ground as though pupil
      were ultra-normal and so will not cause concern. The self-fulfilling
      prophecy question must then be related to master status or ground
      and segmental ground questions.

      Additionally here again is evidence of the dominance of personal or
      pupil role over academic formulation. It is the pupil's role
      conformity (rather than her academic ability) which is recognised
      to be the reason for her being allowed to submerge. Thus submergence
      is recognised to be dysfunctional in this phase of her career.

20.   An interesting point here is the notion of 'middle at sitting up
      straight'. This is the sort of detail that doesn't get onto a
      written school report or record. Nor does it usually feature in
      observational research. But it is presented here by teacher as
      phenomenological reality! However, there are no means of knowing what
      importance it has to teacher.

21.   At this point, in addition to the normal base the teacher begins to
      recognise a segmental divergence in being a 'talkative' pupil. It is
      of course important to recognise that all such potentially deviant
      categories as 'talkative','chatterbox' or 'fussy', often used by
      teachers, have very little surface meaning without knowing the base
      from which they operate. When attached to a normal pupil as on this
      occasion their potential severity is neutralised. The teacher's
      formulation of Sally here as 'talkative' continues from this point
      throughout the year. In the interview data collected over this
      fourth year there are five separate references to it with accompany-
      ing illustrative episodes. To avoid unnecessary repetition the
      final reference only will be mentioned in this account later in the
      year.

22.   Thus teacher takes a total episodic view. The episode is interpreted
      in terms of its entirety and the recognised parameters of how it is
      likely to turn out. It seems intra-episodic emergence is a critical
      element of the process. Emergence has both its macro features (in
      ground emergence and maintenance) and its micro features within the
      recognised intra-episodic typical sequences of emergence both
      recognised and acted upon (as strategy) by teachers.

23. Teacher is apparently operating a deep structure sensitively to
     the intended educational advantage of the pupil. In much of the
     literature of sociology of education there is often a view presented
     of teachers as labellers of pupils - as though pupils are always
     victims of oppressive labelling. Here is an avowed claim to be operating
     the very opposite strategy by employing knowledge of ground.

24. The use of taken-for-granted knowledge as a member's means of filling-
     in meanings has been noted by writers within the ethnomethodological
     tradition. Garfinkel has referred to such processes as 'the documentary
     method' of interpretation (: 'The method consists of treating an
     actual appearance as "the document of", as "pointing to", as "standing
     on behalf of" a presupposed underlying pattern' (Garfinkel, 1962)),
     The term has been used more recently by Hargreaves (1975, 134).

25. This appears to be a form of divergence unusual with normal pupils.
     In most situations normal pupils are seen to be operating from normal
     ground and so occurences of divergence are interpreted from a normal
     base. The deviation then becomes viewed as a totally episodic
     phenomenon. It is, in effect, an apparent episodic suspension of
     ground in which the episode appears to be bracketed from the trans-
     episodic normal ground, as a suspended episode independent of core
     ground and 'insulated' from it. The trans-episodic normal identity of
     the pupil is thus preserved and unaffected or invalidated by the
     episodic deviation. However, on this occasion the ground is
     different. This normal pupil has acquired a segmental deviant
     ground (in relation to a tendency 'to make too much noise') as an
     addition to her otherwise normal core ground. Consequently this
     event is seen as a typical episode instancing the segmental deviant
     ground. In this case it is not bracketed from ground as a suspended
     episode but it is seen as an episode having continuity with ground
     (or the segmental part of it). It is a non-suspended form of divergence
     (with episodic-ground continuity).

26. It can be seen here then how the episode is constructed in terms of
     its typical intra-episodic sequences. Not only is there a general
     or ground-based notion of the typical episode (as static) but as
     a dynamic and sequential process i.e.

     Deviance ———→ Teacher strategy ——→ Pupil response 1 ('quick flounce')

                                                              ↓

                                         Pupil response 2 ('soon over')
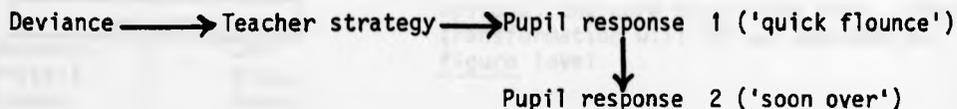
     The normal ground and its motivational reservoir provide predictive
     frameworks of intra-episodic sequences of actions.

27. In contrast to footnote 25 this is a form of suspended divergence. It
     is seen to be an independent episode in which, for the moment, the
     normal core ground has ceased to operate as motivational base.
     Thus ground has been suspended for the period of the episode.
     It is thus termed ('episodic divergence' occuring in a 'suspended
     episode'.

     (Footnotes 25 and 27 indicate how teacher formulation takes account
     of intra-ground distinctions in pupils, even within the category of
     deviant ground, according to whether the deviant ground is seen to be
     a core or a segmental phenomenon. Such distinctions are not
     just researcher's categories. They are recognised by teachers as
     operating within intra-episodic emergent frameworks. So the normal
   core ground will, over an intra-episodic time-scale, supercede

the deviance. Thus the segmental base lasts only for the typical
episode, or even for its beginnings. It becomes replaced within the
episode by a normal framework as the segmental ground deviance of
the typical episode becomes transformed into a normal episode resting
upon normal ground (see diagram B below). This has implications
not only for the problematics of categorising deviant episodes but
also for the methodology by which classroom data is acquired. Since
forms of pupil deviation may perhaps be viewed as having three
distinct ground bases (see diagram A below) it is important to gather
participants' accounts as a means of understanding the ground frameworks
adopted by the participants at a level 'deeper' than is conventionally
acquired in many methods of data collection.

A: Categories of Deviation (Figure and Ground defferences)

Ground	Figure	
Deviant Core	Divergence (quantitative framework)	(1)
	Deviance (qualitative framework)	(2)
Normal	Divergence	(3)
Deviant Segment (Normal Core)	(Divergence - not appropriate in this case as any divergence would be divergent from a normal base and so would be the previous category, 3)	
	Deviance	(4)

Thus pupil deviation may occur in two 'surface' or 'figure' forms
(divergence, deviance) each with two different ground bases. Their
surface manifestations may 'appear' equivalent. However, their
ground differences at a 'deeper level' appear to transform their
underlying meanings.

B: Episodic Transformation (from segmental to core ground)
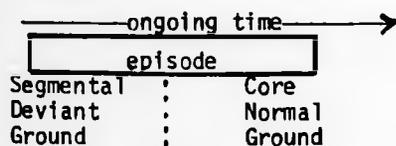
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————————ongoing time————————>          Within the same unit of time (i.e. an
     ┌──────────────────┐              episode) the core base takes over. The
     │      episode      │              transformation will not be apparent at
     └──────────────────┘              figure level
Segmental  :  Core
Deviant    :  Normal
Ground     :  Ground
```

28. Also of course the divergence in this episode is quite different from
     that of the previous one. In the previous one the underlying normal
     base is recognised as existing alongside the divergent incident.
     Thus normality will quickly be restored ('soon over'). For this
     incident there is a recognition that the episode is quite unique - most
     similar situations would have operated with normal motives and so by
     implication, or by inference, pupil is credited with, or given, the
     benefit of the doubt by assuming that pupil must have interpreted
     the situation itself as different. And indeed crediting the pupil
     with interpersonal sophistication of recognising episodic rules
     are in play: 'not one of these moods where you have to sit down and
     ask'. (It can be seen here how a 'grin' from a deviant pupil,
     such as Gavin in School A, might have been interpreted differently as
     perhaps a malicious act. An indication then of how the ground is
     important in even giving meaning to such figure episodes, events
     or actions as a 'grin').

29. Note how the segmental deviant ground is still retained as an enduring feature even when it is here potentially 'invalidated' by its non-occurrence. Thus ground must go through a process of initial verification or validation after which its trans-episodic validity is established and then apparently becomes resistant to future figure invalidation.

30. It is interesting to note how this is now the third time teacher has offered a figure observation of this pupil not being noisy! In spite of it being a segmental ground element for this normal pupil (with an otherwise normal core base) the segmentalised deviant ground element still persists. Once it has emerged as an ever-present frame of reference it is used as a ground phenomenon against which to view those instances of its non-occurrence. Once again its trans-episodicity confirming its deep structure or ground properties apparently insulated from 'surface' or figure events. It shows how 'conformist' pupils, even apparently ultra-normal ones like Sally, are not conformist all the time and even that their perceived Other-roles in classroom life can be quite complex (a view also recognised by Hammersley & Turner, 1980).

Chapter 15:   School B - Dawn

1.   These two pupils then indicate an apparent range of pupil differentiation
      to be found within a normal distribution but which it is beyond the
      scope of the present research   to investigate. It suggests an operation
      of the same normal ground for the two pupils but at different
      positions (or even emergent positions)   so leading to teacher's
      differentiation of pupils in their starting of a reading programme.
      The basis of the teacher's differentiation is not being explored here
      but it may not be so much a recognition of total ground differences
      but of emergent or developmental differences. Thus when Dawn
      develops or is seen to develop to the same point she too would
      start.

2.   Here can be seen the consequences for the academic of the personal
      in Other-role formulation.   Thus personal seems here to operate as
      the master status and so takes precedence. This can also be seen
      operating in Year Four when similar teacher decisions appear
      to be taken with person formulation apparently taking precedence
      over academic formulation.

3.   Certainly there is a quite different framework to the present formulations
      compared with an earlier reference in the same interview (not
      presented in full here) in which she was seen as 'quiet but confident'
      and yet now she 'has withdrawn quite a lot recently'. The same aspect
      of typification ('quiet' or 'withdrawn') is obviously now recognised
      to be founded upon a different base. Previously the base was:
      'but confident.' Now it is expressed in terms which suggest movement
      towards a negative boundary: 'withdrawn quite a lot.' Previously
      too she was gregarious: 'gets on well with her peers ' whereas now
      she 'doesn't work with other children like she used to.' It is
      important to recognise then how typification is not a static phenomenon
      but a genuinely emergent, dynamic and ongoing process. The search
      for clear patterns and phases in attempting to analyse a genuinely
      dynamic process encounters as problematic the separation of the
      enduring from the transient aspects of reality. Perhaps in the same
      way that the teachers too are continually presented with the pro-
      blematicity of ongoing pupil identities.

4.   This process of examining figure against ground as an attempt to
      identify the episodic and the trans-episodic boundaries of reality
      was referred to in the exploratory attempts to conceptualise the
      research concerns earlier as a process of biographical Other-
      matching. A matching of previous constructions of Other with
      present ones. At that time 'ground' had not been introduced
      as a conceptual means of referring to it or as an apparent means
      operated by teachers for managing or implementing the process.

5.   Thus it is important to take note of the two dimensions of perceived
      structural and perceived personal elements of action. This is
      perhaps the phenomenological validity of 'social structure' as
      it is operated at a common-sense level to construct or build upon
      what is perceived to be the basis of inter-personal action and
      interaction.

6. There is an implied position of 'marginality' here. In the established literature of traditional sociology the notion of 'marginality' has been considered in its reference to macro relationships operating between certain social status positions and 'social structure.' Here however the focus is not at the macro level but at the intra-episodic level of micro sociology. An apparent recognition of episodic marginality: "I wouldn't imagine that she was actually doing a lot to contribute towards it. But she'd be sitting having a good laugh at it. And she'd have got involved with the other two.' There is perhaps a very significant point here. It seems teachers recognise that events or episodes do not always have internal homogeneity but that the perceived roles and contributions, motives and intentions of various individuals will be different. In consequence, then, within the perceived parameters of the episode, in teachers' acting to-wards pupils in role they may often have to be treated as though there were episodic homogeneity: 'all three being together they all three got a hammering.'

It may be that as distinct from the teacher's adopting a strategy relating to episodic homogeneity there is in fact a recognition of individual differentiation and the typical motives and roles likely to have been played by the various participants. Thus ground and motivational reservoir no doubt are vital here. (The view of 'drift' presented by Matza (1964, p29) perhaps has continuities with the view being expressed here. In the case of 'delinquents' acquiring deviant identities through 'drift' however there is no separation of the roles recognised as being played by different participants in a deviant episode. Thus both the labeller's perception and the consequent 'official' strategy or action proceeds on the assumption of an episodic homogeneity).

7. At the very start of the pupil's school career the notion of 'sensible' also appeared in teacher's attempt to formulate the pupil's family group: "The two girls are very carefully shepherded by their mother. She collects them every day from school, lunchtime and afternoon. And brings them in and will most often bring them right into school. She isn't just content to leave them at the door. She seems to want to bring them in. Very sensible woman. Very articulate, easy to talk to. Can discuss things at a very interesting level but still seems that she wants to give her children this sort of support.'

This was expressed by the headteacher. The later use of sensible is by a teacher who would have no contact with the early Infant career. It could, of course, have been communicated through staffroom 'culture.' It is congruent with the notion of shared worlds and underlying purposes that later the Year Four teacher outlines as a boundary between the 'sensible' and the 'non-sensible.' It also indicates what may be an important but often unexamined aspect of 'home background' and the notion of a 'supportive' family background.

8. It is interesting here that Dawn is selected as 'sensible.' The previous normal case, Sally, has often been selected in a similar manner. The possible significance here is that Dawn who is perhaps more negatively divergent than Sally, is selected. Thus it may suggest that 'sensible' really is a mere normal and not an implied 'ideal' formulation. The final remark is quite consistent with such a view. Thus Dawn is not presented as a type of 'ideal' but as more modestly being 'sensible enough.'

9. Note how Year Three teacher had selected the pupil for being 'sensible'. This Year Four teacher quite independently does the same. A confirmation perhaps of either pupil consistency or of a school culture reproducing her as a 'sensible' pupil.

10. Teacher's view of pupil differences suggests a possible model as follows:


Deviant   Boundary of sensible?   Ideal

'non-sensible'
('would just plonk it down')   Mid-point   'sensible'
('would ask somebody around')
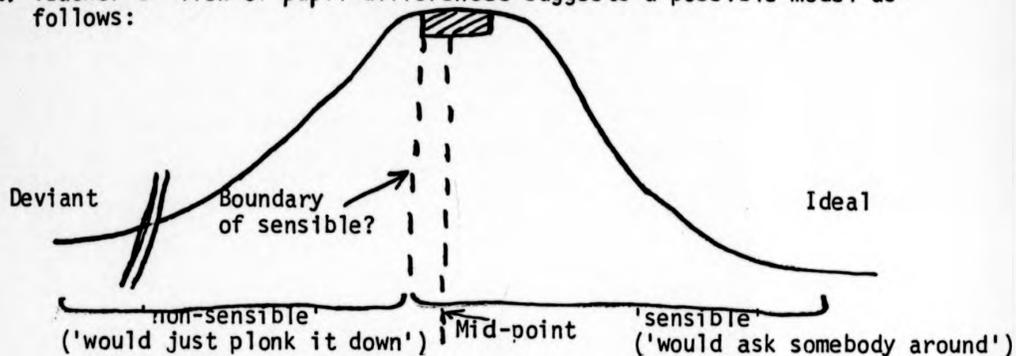
It can be seen now the 'sensible' and the 'non-sensible' both operate from normal ground. But again, ground is a significant differentiator. Thus, it seems likely that Alan, as a non-sensible pupil would be seen as a different type to other pupil's who, although within normal parameters, might be viewed as non-sensible. They would (as categories of non-sensible) presumably rest upon different grounds.

11. An apparently similar process as noticeable in Year One when, in the interview 20.9.77, it appeared teacher's decision about starting the pupil on a reading scheme took account of what appeared to be total person formulation rather than a mere 'cognitive' or 'academic' categorisation (see footnote 2). It can be seen then that person formulation is critical even in processes of academic grouping. The formulation of pupil Other-roles even in 'academic' contexts of school life suggests that person formulation may be a more dominant process. In the phenomenology of Primary teaching then the 'academic' does not perhaps operate as a significant category.

12. One measure of validity must be the spontaneity of members' corroborative accounts, especially when occurring in unstructured interviews. In the phenomenological position being adopted here the notion of 'adequacy' is also important. Here however there appears to be both 'adequacy' and its 'spontaneous' expression in members' accounts.

Final Review

1. The reputations of such pupils were rarely exposed or overtly present to permit an estimate of the sense of 'social structure' surrounding their identities in the way that was possible for deviant pupils. Additionally, of course, as is suggested by the present analysis, the processes of submergence contributed to the inaccessibility of their position to the researcher.

2. However, the norm is personified in personal rather than rule terms. The norm is statable in terms of the typical actions of a typical normal pupil. The work of Baudelet and Establet (1977) also supports the view of classroom norms being presented in personal rather than rule terms. However, their claim is that the 'middle class' pupil is the implicit 'ideal' especially in providing a yardstick for measures of 'intelligence.' The present research has not yielded data which either supports or challenges their assertion.

3. It seems that <u>submergence</u> may be viewed as a processual opposite to the process of divergence. As the formulation of Other recognises an increasingly greater orientation towards the normal then the processes of anonymisation begin to increase the submergence of pupil who then becomes less and less noticeable as teacher engages in classroom 'scanning.' (This was also found by Sharp and Green where teachers found 'normal' pupils to be sensible.) The processes may perhaps be represented diagrammatically as follows as the two axes to submergence and anonymity:

Deviant   Submergence (Processes of anonymity))   Ideal

-Divergence   +Divergence
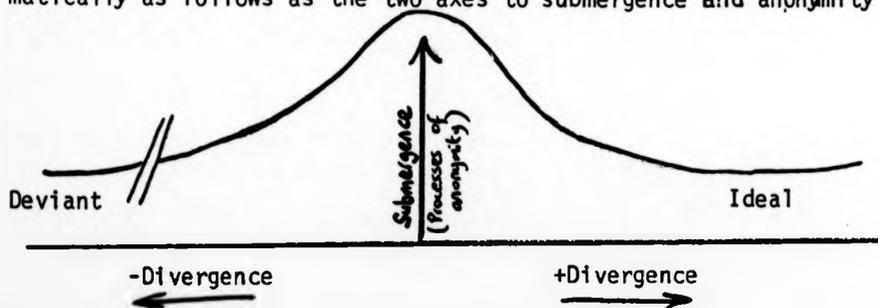
4. As pupils become convergent they can be seen to be norm-oriented. The more convergent they are perceived to be then the more processes of submergence and anonymity appear. Conversely, the more divergent a pupil is from the mode position the greater is the recognition of his individuality.

(Three distinctions can be recognised:

1 Divergence
2 Convergence
3 Submergence
  - the anonymity element as a development of 2)

Convergence   Submergence   Convergence

Divergence   divergence
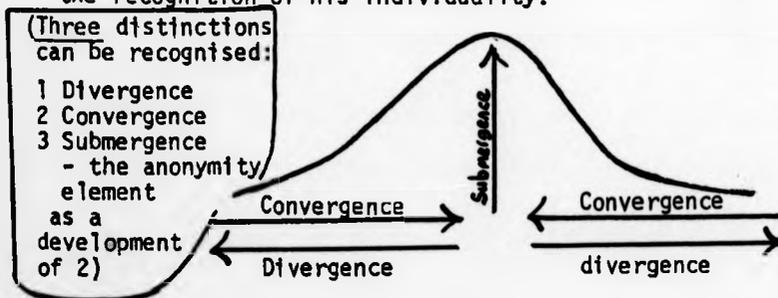
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