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How effectively can nurture groups be used in improving outcomes for young children with emotional, behavioural and social difficulties in primary schools?

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Abstract. Emotional, social, behavioral, and mental health disorders in young children are increasingly prevalent and may have long-term effects, persisting from preschool into primary school (Carroll & Hurry, 2018). Such challenges can significantly impact children's ability to adapt to the classroom and access learning opportunities. To address these challenges, Boxall (2002) developed the concept of nurture groups, where a small group of students is removed from their regular classes for a limited period during the school year to model positive attachment relationships, develop emotional literacy, and provide opportunities for social learning while maintaining access to education (Loinaz, 2015). This literature review aims to explore the effectiveness of nurture groups in improving outcomes for young children with emotional, behavioral, and social difficulties in primary schools. The study reviews existing literature, examining the positive effects of nurture groups on children's well-being, while also critiquing current research. The results suggest that children with a broad spectrum of social, emotional, and behavioral difficulties may benefit from nurture groups, thereby making a strong case for creating nurturing schools. However, one potential concern is that some students who thrive in nurturing schools may struggle when they return to mainstream classes. Therefore, further comparable studies on a larger scale are required.

Keywords. social, emotional, and behavioral difficulties (SEBD), nurture groups (NGs), attachment theory.

1. Introduction

Social, emotional, and behavioural issues have a wide range of definitions. Children with 'emotions or behaviours' which differ so far from the norm that they interfere with the child's development and growth, as well as the lives of others, are generally described as having 'social and emotional difficulties' in the UK (Membride, 2016). Definitions across the world emphasise similar characteristics, namely: reactions from children which are considerably different to age-appropriate normative responses, and which result in deficits in children's social, educational, and developmental progress. Anxiety, phobias, and sadness are examples of emotional issues, whereas aggressive, agitated, rebellious, oppositional, and confrontational behaviours are examples of behavioural challenges. Social, mental health, and emotional

disorders are now commonly referred to as: ‘social, emotional, and behavioural challenges’, rather than the more specific term ‘socio-emotional and behavioural problems’.

Regardless of how challenging it is to put concepts into practice, the evidence suggests that young children are today more likely than ever to have emotional, social, behavioural, and/or mental health issues; these often become evident during pre-school years, persisting into primary school, and can have long-term consequences (Carroll and Hurry, 2018).

In terms of contributory factors, there is some evidence to suggest that children’s social, emotional, behavioural, and genetic traits, such as their disposition and temperament, are linked to these challenges (Biran et al., 2014). If young children are exposed to adversity in the form of family neglect and abuse, racism, inconsistent parenting, poverty, social marginalisation, and familial separation, they are more likely to have difficulties as a result of their weak emotional bonds with their primary carers. These difficult societal situations have been shown to have an influence on the bonds between main carers and the children they are responsible for. Many researchers conclude that some young children are more susceptible than others to emotional, behavioural, and social challenges; these include children in foster care. Problems with attachment are exacerbated by experiences of poor attachment in their initial home setting, and by the difficulty of building strong and positive bonds during their time in care (Sloan et al., 2020).

2.Literature Review

2.1 What are ‘social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties (SEBD)’?

As part of the Special Educational Needs (SEN) framework in the United Kingdom, SEBD is an essential but problematic umbrella concept which is frequently referred to various different terms. It is difficult to arrive at a universally-accepted description of what constitutes social, emotional, and behavioural issues in children (Zhou, Ntoumanis, and Thøgersen-Ntoumani, 2019). ‘SEBD’ is a term with wide scope for interpretation, and there is a lack of consensus on it, along with uncertainty associated with its application. Due to the lack of a universally-agreed description, subjective complaints and behavioural descriptors are often used in attempts to diagnose, assess, and prevent SEBD.

The Code of Practice (Kwok, Gu, and Kit, 2016) demonstrates that educational psychologists (EPs) play a significant role in the assessment of SEBD, despite the lack of clarity in this area. However, the Code of Practice (Barlow et al., 2016) does not specify the elements which may be relevant to an individual child’s issues, or which methods of evaluation should be used. This may facilitate more subjective identification of problems, depending on how EPs personally interpret a child’s issues and demands; this means that SEBD theories may follow either a medical model or be attributed to social causes.

Severe Emotional and Behavioural Disorders (SEBD) is a term used to describe children with special needs who exhibit behaviours which hinder their ability to learn; they are characterised by their inability to maintain focus and conduct social interactions appropriately. Carroll and Hurry (2018) contend that additional resources are required to satisfy the social and behavioural needs of these children as a result of these variables. Observations are therefore subjective and dependent on the environment in which they are made.

Concerns regarding school-based behavioural issues often lead to disputes over what constitutes ‘undesirable behaviour’ (Membride, 2016), and the nature and causes of these challenges. Children may find it challenging to build relationships at school, meaning that they are classified as previously indicated, although behavioural features noticed are ultimately subjective and context-dependent. The DSM-IV (The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of

Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition) includes a variety of examples of emotional disorders, including anxiety, behaviour, and attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (Humphrey and Hebron, 2015); examples of these emotional disorders are included in the fifth edition, which includes hyperkinetic disorder, conduct disorder, and psychological problems such as social anxiety.

Mitchell, Kern and Conroy, 2019 hold that the term 'SEBD' does not include pathological diseases and psychiatric concerns; it spans a continuum ranging from undesirable behaviour to mental illness, with serious conditions excluded from the criteria. During the first year of secondary school, boys are three times more likely than girls to be diagnosed with one of these disorders. Students with SEBD are more likely to exhibit behaviours which are challenging to control both at school and at home, and these challenges are more likely to have persisted over time, causing problems in long-term interactions with both adults and other children. For the most part, children with SEBD come from households which are both economically- and socially-impooverished.

2.2 Educators' and policy-makers' concerns for pupils with SEBD

Kwok, Gu, and Kit (2016) describe the level of challenge in obtaining data on the positive impacts of professional interactions with parents of children with SEBD, and the fact that educators' contact with parents can be challenging to establish. There are various reasons for this, including the fact that these parents themselves had a bad experience of school. This study's authors recommend that professionals maintain awareness of how vulnerable these families may be.

More beneficial effects are demonstrated when families and children are fully involved in early intervention programmes (Armstrong, 2014), indicating the importance of activities of this nature. If long-term outcomes show that students can become fully-integrated into society, demonstrating a successful transition to adulthood, schools can be considered successful.

SEBD students are more likely to engage in drug misuse, criminal behaviour, and experience low employment rates, according to a summary of international data (Anderson, 2020). Biran et al. (2014) report that students who have been referred to a specialist SEBD service were found to lack ambition in relation to their future opportunities, saying that listing 'being in care' on their CVs when applying for jobs is the "kiss of death".

Successful early intervention programmes potentially exert a significant influence by improving the quality of life of children and families in need, but these measures are seldom implemented until children are at least nine years of age (Zhou, Ntoumanis, and Thøgersen-Ntoumani, 2019). Armstrong (2014) also suggests that, due to the legal requirement to offer education outside of school, there is minimal preventative effort made by local authorities. In order to prevent cases of permanent exclusion and long waiting lists for services, early intervention is essential; whilst rendering the condition more manageable, early intervention is also acknowledged to prevent subsequent escalation of problems.

Education for children with BESD and other special educational needs has been classified as a priority for the UK Government since the late 1990s. The concept of 'inclusive education' varies from that of integration in that it emphasises the school's responsibility to cater for individual children, restructuring school processes to maximise all students' involvement. Anderson, (2020) argues that the likelihood of exclusion is decreased when a school adopts an attitude which supports the policy of inclusion and accommodates the requirements of students with SEN. Research findings demonstrate that schools whose values are based on a commitment to treating all students as equal members of the school community fare better in supporting students with special educational needs (SEBD).

2.3 *The provision of nurture groups*

Explaining these challenges, Loinaz (2015) suggests that, if the primary attachment link between a child and their primary carer is weakened due to the influence of challenging socio-economic circumstances in the family home, other factors may include poverty, racism, and social marginalisation. Emotional, behavioural, and social issues experienced by children negatively impact their capacity to access opportunities and adapt to the classroom.

The concept of nurture groups was devised by Boxall (2002) in response to these challenges; this enables a small group of students to be removed from their regular classes for a limited period during the school year in order to model positive attachment relationships, focus on the development of emotional literacy, and provide opportunities for social learning while continuing to provide students with access educational opportunities (Loinaz, 2015). The concept of a 'key adult' is an important element of an attachment theory-based strategy to create relationships and routines in a safe and predictable school setting.

The goal of a 'nurturing room' is to provide a home-like learning atmosphere, complete with comfortable seats, a kitchen in which students can prepare meals, and a study space where they can complete schoolwork. A wide range of activities are carried out to assist youngsters in developing trust, self-esteem, communication skills, and confidence. Group activities, games involving turn-taking, emotional literacy, official curriculum-related tasks, and the 'nurture breakfast' are examples of activities are included.

According to the nurture group theory of change, children's emotional and social well-being can be improved by strengthening their attachment bonds, which in turn, leads to improved behaviour and, ultimately, higher academic achievement. With regard to nurture groups, there are differences, but the long-term goal of improving children's educational performance is consistent across all models.

The Boxall Measure (Warin and Hibbin, 2016) is a diagnostic and developmental stranded measure, designed by Boxall to track children's baseline academic scores and growth through time. Using Boxall's 'Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire' in conjunction with this has become a common means by which to track the progress of children supported by nurture groups. There are currently more than 2,000 nurture groups in the UK (Barn, 2015), while only 32 were operational in China in 2016.

Different nurture group variations have been reported, as previously mentioned. 'Variant 1' is an option in which groups of ten to 12 children are cared for by a teacher and a teaching/classroom assistant in a nurturing environment. When feasible, students return to their regular classrooms for periods such as registration, assembly, lunch, or home time, after spending most of their school weeks in this group. Children often attend the group for a period of two to four terms before returning to their normal school setting.

However, 'Variant 2' nurture groups differ in terms of organisation and structure from the conventional format; a group of children aged five to six participate in morning sessions of the nurture group, while an older group of children aged seven to 11 participate in the group's afternoon sessions. For many schools, this is the best option, enabling them to serve a larger number of students while also providing them with the opportunity to participate in their regular classrooms with fellow students.

The Nurture Group Network (NGN) has described both Variant 1 and Variant 2 nurture groups as being of high quality. 'Variant 3' groups, according to the NGN, are those which diverge substantially from the standard ideas and practices of nurture provision, such as those which concentrate on social and emotional issues, but do not teach the curriculum in the same style as Variant 1 and Variant 2 groups. For the purposes of this definition, 'Variant 4' refers to

groups known as ‘nurture groups’ but do not in practice follow the ideas of the group. Variants 1 and 2 are used in China's nurture groups.

2.4 The theory of attachment

Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory relates to the significance of emotional attachments, focusing on the ways in which different people behave when they are in need of comfort and/or feel threatened. Due to their innate desire to be near to an adult, it has been hypothesised that children begin to seek out adults from their earliest days. The development of a secure connection is more likely in conditions in which the caregiver is attentive, responsive, consistent, and compassionate.

Davison and Duffy (2017) argue that children should learn to manage their relationships in situations in which they cannot rely on their carers to provide sensitive, consistent, and regular responses. On the basis of Bowlby's study, Barn (2015) identifies three types of attachment styles: insecure avoidant, insecure ambivalent, and secure. In these conditions, a child's anxiety is heightened when they do not have access to their carer, yet the carer's return does not reassure the child that their needs will be met. In contrast, a child with an avoidant attachment positively avoids their caregiver.

Many people believe that strong interpersonal bonds are essential for children's social and emotional growth and development; as an example, Bosmans et al. (2020) argue that, if a child can carry out the following actions whilst feeling safe, they are more likely to comfortably explore their surroundings, develop and enhance social skills, and regulate their emotional reactions. Those who have not had the opportunity to form strong and lasting bonds with their carers are less able to control their emotions, cope with stress, and form meaningful relationships. They may also have low self-esteem and confidence, feeling that they are unworthy of affection, attention, and care, and that others are not trustworthy, safe, or dependable. Some of these challenges can be exacerbated in school situations, as students need to develop social and emotional abilities in order to overcome barriers to learning.

Flores and Porges (2017) contend that concerns regarding children's attachments have been connected to increased disadvantage, and their occurrence is likely to be associated with certain populations, such as foster children and young people.. Purnell (2018) highlights the particularly difficult conditions affecting this group of young people, which include neglect, abuse, and witnessing domestic violence. These issues are often compounded by trauma and loss experienced as a result of being separated from their family and placed in care.

All stakeholders associated with young people should be aware that physical and mental health problems can result from abuse of this nature; equally, a child's hyper-arousal, low attention span, and bonding problems can result from these experiences. There are a number of programmes which can support foster children and their carers in enhancing their bonds. Although attachment theory has been contested (Flores and Porges, 2017), attachment theory is now generally accepted as crucial for schools, reflecting an agreement that children have several simultaneous attachments that might alter over time. By offering safe attachment opportunities for children, schools may also play a vital role in helping them to form safe attachments. The development of school-based therapies which focus on the development of children's attachment connections as a method of helping them access study opportunities is an essential support measure for young people who have been abused, neglected, and/or face challenging socio-economic conditions. The provision of a supportive group atmosphere is an example of these initiatives.

2.5 The effectiveness of nurture group provision

There is currently a plethora of information on the concept of nurture groups. The relevant extant body of literature falls into three broad categories, dating back to the mid-1970s. There are descriptions of nurture groups which focus on aspects such as their theoretical foundations, their component aspects, their composition, their operations, and their intended impacts.

There are also research studies which explore the viewpoints, experiences, and attitudes of parents and children; the efficacy, impact, and results of nurture group services are examined in the third study. This second type of research study is the primary focus of this article, and is explored in more depth below. Before and after testing by the use of a variety of measures including the Boxall profile and the Difficulties and Strengths Questionnaire (Robling et al., 2016) and Self-Esteem Behavioural Indicators are common in these research studies, but not exclusively so, according to the reviews of them undertaken by Purnell (2018).

The Boxall profile (Robling et al., 2016) has both a diagnostic and a developmental strand, which have traditionally been used. The diagnostic strand includes 34 questions which describe behaviours likely to limit a child's ability to participate fully and effectively in school life. Self-limiting traits, under-developed behaviours, and unsupported development are the three categories used to classify these items. As a child matures, their ability to function emotionally, social, behaviourally and intellectually in school evolves; the 34 items comprising the developmental strand describe elements of this process. Items are arranged into two categories: experience organisation and control internalisation.

Priority areas for intervention, such as social skills, should be established for each child, and then addressed according to their individual requirements. There are 20 statements on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Robling et al., 2016), the responses to which can be summarised to give an overall 'total difficulty' level broken down and scored into the following subscales: peer problems, conduct problems, emotional symptoms and hyperactivity. In order to determine the frequency with which students exhibit behaviours linked to high self-esteem, educators use the Behavioural Indicators of Self-Esteem (BIOS) scale. In all, there are 13 questions, with responses ranging from 'never' to 'always', which are then rated; the average of these scores is used to calculate an individual's level of self-esteem.

Investigations currently available assess impact on outcomes by following various cohorts, however there is no control group in these studies. The outcomes of a research study involving 36 children being supported by nurture group services in six schools in one local authority between 2006 and 2007 were reported by Kuravackel et al. (2018). Pre- and post-tests were completed with an eight month interval, accompanied by surveys for staff and parents, in the study design, which included regular evaluations (Vandepitte et al., 2016).

The pre-intervention mean average score of 63 was compared to the post-intervention mean average score of 35; this demonstrated improvements according to the Boxall profile's diagnostic component. Children's self-esteem improved in all schools, with a pre-intervention mean average score of 33 and a post-intervention mean average score of 42, according to the BIOS. The research study found that both parents and teachers reported noting a positive influence on their children's attendance at nurture groups, despite a limited drop-out rate.

Cohorts can be studied by the use of a variety of different control groups (Odoardi et al., 2015). More than 300 children who participated in nurture groups between 1984 and 1988 were involved in this research study; more than 87% of the students returned to their regular classes within one academic year, according to the findings.

Preliminary results of an ongoing longitudinal research study involving 342 pupils in 25 secondary and primary schools in eight local education authorities were reported by Kuravackel et al. (2018). All 342 children were compared to those in two control groups, which included 216 children in nurture groups. ‘Matching’ was used to determine whether the students in the nurture group fared better or worse than those in the control group. Children in Control Group 2 had no social, emotional, or behavioural disorders and were regular participants in the full curriculum. Educators completed a strengths and weaknesses questionnaire and a Boxall Personality Profile for each participant child.

Children in nurture groups outperformed those in mainstream education in terms of the emotional and non-social and behavioural controls, according to a snapshot analysis by Vandepitte et al. (2016). Only a small percentage of children, between 8% and 9% in the nurture group were rated as abnormal/borderline on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), compared to 84% of children in Control Group 1. A statistically-significant difference was identified between Control Group 1 and the nurture group by the third term, when the percentage of students in the nurture group decreased from 75% to 63%. The Boxall Profile indicated statistically-significant mean improvements among these tests. Nurture groups were also well-received and regarded as having a favourable effect on children's development, according to qualitative data collected from parents and educators.

Quasi-experimental research by Robinson (2017) is considered to be the most rigorous research data currently available, despite its design flaws; the research involved a total of 221 children and young people. Among the 32 schools, 16 of them had nurture group provision and 16 were matched with schools without this provision; these children received their education, with 104 children attending the groups.

The study's findings indicate substantial benefits of nurture groups in comparison to control groups on all five strands of the Boxall Profile, with significance levels ranging from 0.03 to 0.01. This demonstrates that there was an improvement, although it was not statistically significant in the SDQ results; meanwhile, the Behavioural Indicators of Self Esteem (BIOS) scores showed significant differences between children in nurture- and control groups ($p = 0.001$).

Basic literacy abilities and ‘early reading readiness’ were examined using a consistent Baseline Assessment for Early Literacy completed by instructors. Understanding of printed matter, developmental activities, early reading abilities, and phonological awareness are all included in the four sub-sections of the test. The results showed that children who participated in the nurture groups had made statistically-significant advances following their baseline evaluations. Unsupported development was the greatest predictor of baseline improvements, accounting for ‘nearly one-quarter’ of the variation; these factors, together with the organisational structure of experience, contributed to half of the variation in baseline growth, according to multiple regression analysis.

Children's social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties appear to improve as a result of their participation in nurture groups; these improvements are generally sustained, and have a positive effect on their academic performance as a result of their increased ability to access the curriculum.

3. Critical discussion

Children in China's elementary schools were studied in a non-randomised control group study to evaluate how the nurture group programme affected their academic performance. As one of a limited number of large-scale, non-randomised controls of nurture group provision,

the study adds to the body of knowledge in the field by providing one of the most comprehensive analyses currently available. Apart from the lack of a randomised controlled trial in this study, the findings appear encouraging and contribute to a growing body of data which supports the belief in positive benefits of these groups, despite the methodological limitations of this investigation. This study also indicated that the effects were strong, with an average improvement of one standard deviation across a wide variety of developmental results, constituting a significant finding.

In the light of these encouraging findings, there are four factors to keep in mind; there remains a lot of work to be done to understand exactly how and why these positive impacts have been achieved, notwithstanding the findings of the present study. Research into nurture groups emphasises the importance of strong classroom relationships for children; if strong attachments genuinely make a difference, then further research on this topic should be conducted in a school setting.

In the matter of supporting young children who have been traumatised, the England-based Attachment Aware Schools programme has made a significant contribution by combining a whole-school training programme on attachment, trauma, and attunement-informed practice with the evaluation of attachment-based interventions, for example nurture groups and 'Theraplay'. Independent assessments (Odoardi et al., 2015) and academics participating in the programme such as Vandepitte et al., (2016) report promising results which require more in-depth study.

For the third time, there are indications of a broader background for the way in which attachments are developed. Rather than relying on a deficit model for nurture groups, schools and parents are now collaborating to devise practical solutions for strengthening the bonds between students and their families. The importance of interaction between teaching assistants, nurture group instructors, and parents or principal carers was emphasised in the nurture group process assessment which preceded the current study as one of the largely-untapped areas of nurture group provision. By spending time with parents and carers and inviting them to breakfast and other activities, the nurture groups featured in this research study supported and equipped the parents and principal carers with the skills to use similar classroom practices in their own homes.

Parents, primary carers, and significant others play a vital but under-studied role; particularly in the case of young children in care, this is of paramount importance. To help children with attachment issues in schools, English National Health Service (NHS) has issued guidelines for practice in England, entitled: 'Children's Attachment' (Dixon-Woods et al., 2016). All staff who interact with children in care should have access to attachment training and should work collaboratively in order to manage and intervene in children's attachment challenges.

Social workers and other professionals who work with children in foster care do not appear to have had the opportunity to:

- a) be adequately trained in the core principles of attachment theory
- b) gain an understanding of school-based interventions which potentially benefit the youngsters they are in charge of, and
- c) form meaningful relationships with the children they are responsible for.

It is hoped that this research will enable young people in care not lose out on new educational chances; the study seeks to build on previous work which emphasises the importance of this issue, and urges researchers to collect more data on this subject.

In terms of evidence, no randomised controlled experiments have previously been conducted on nurture groups. Because a large number of nurture groups have been formed, Robinson (2017) argues that conducting a comprehensive study is difficult because of the challenges in randomly assigning children to intervention or control groups.

With regard to current nurture groups and new groups provided under China's Signature Project, evaluations have already been conducted. The current study team was unable to conduct a randomised controlled trial (RCT) because the selection of these schools had already been determined prior to their commissioning.

This study is additionally constrained by the use of pre-determined teacher-rated metrics. As a result of this, RCTs cannot be used, although this may be avoidable if service providers and commissioners work with researchers earlier in the process. A comprehensive RCT assessment of nurture groups in China could have been established in the majority of cases, including this one, while ensuring that the amount of support given was maintained, and continued to be directed towards those schools with the greatest need of the intervention. In order to develop rigorous, evidence-based educational and social interventions, it is necessary to improve coordination and standardise methods across governments, independent research teams, and service providers, which is significantly beyond the scope of this current study.

4. Conclusion

Children with a wide spectrum of SEBDs may benefit from nurture groups, according to the findings of this study. This aligns with the findings of prior research which looked back in time, and sheds light on how nurture groups can exert differing impacts on students based on their socio-emotional and behavioural characteristics, particularly in the matter of their ability to maintain favourable outcomes. A strong case can be made for the creation of the 'nurturing school' as a result of successful non-profit initiatives (Kwok, Gu, and Kit, 2016). A potential issue with mainstream classrooms, however, is that some students who progress well in the nurturing school context may not be able to cope if they are transferred to the mainstream. This could be interpreted as an indication of the context-dependent nature of nurture groups, and the necessity for mainstream classrooms to be reimaged in light of a knowledge of educational nurturing.

Although randomised control trials are clearly a tall order, with a significant population already in need of this support, future studies using the strategy of Sosu and Ellis (2014) will significantly improve this domain; the inclusion of confounding factors has provided a pause for thought regarding the broader advantages of nurture groups for young people with lower baseline scores. Including a control group is another benefit because it contradicts claims that maturity is the most influential concern in change because of the gap between control and intervention groups in the pre- and post-trial evaluations.

Overall, this review finds significant evidence of the positive effects of nurture groups on young people's well-being; the study's findings were bolstered by the two robust investigations undertaken by the authors (Vandepitte et al., 2016). As a result, there is a risk that any gains may be viewed as the result of confounding variables, rather than the positive impacts of the groups themselves. Student-teacher and/or student-peer connections, as well as the children's natural maturity throughout their time in the course, are examples of their benefits. As a result, the implications for practice remain that nurturing groups might be provisionally advised as an intervention to minimise presenting SEMH difficulties in children. Practitioners may benefit from an enhanced evidence base to guide their practice and support

recommendations for the use of nurturing groups as a positive intervention when studies are given after a weights of evidence (WoE) evaluation.

Secondary review research has also influenced measures which have been successful when compared to mainstream methods; for example, the increasing application of attunement concepts which complement the basic psychology of nurture groups i.e. attachment theory. Relationships and stable bonds are evidence of this.

However, it is important to note that this evaluation took into account only one research study with a small sample size which addressed the review issue. The promotion of attunement principles for use in nurture group education is one of the recommendations for practice that may be repeated by this review. In order to enhance the generalisability of research findings on NG techniques which promote SEMH, it is recommended to complete comparable studies on a larger scale. Qualitative studies which focus on the well-being of children in nurture groups which have been proven to exert positive outcomes should be carried out in order to identify the features of these groups which are associated with these evident benefits.

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