Surviving permanent exclusion, returning to education: exploration of three young women's stories of redemption, resignation and reconciliation

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Abstract

The outcomes for children and young people (YP) who have been permanently excluded from school are bleak, few return to education. Stories of those excluded are primarily negative and focus on the exclusion event. This research focuses on the stories of YP who have returned to education following permanent exclusion from school and explores how they understood, experienced and relayed their stories. Three young women's narratives were gathered through unstructured interviews, their stories were taken back for further information gathering, exploration and deconstruction of terminology/phraseology where possible. A final meeting was arranged to take back and re-present their stories through drawn representation. The stories were analysed for content and function and found to present three differing typologies of redemption, reconciliation and resignation. Themes, event narratives and meta-narratives/discourses were identified and explored within the stories, including what helped/hindered the participants in accessing education. Commonalties identified across all three stories include descriptions of their actions as 'naughty'/'good', personal responsibility/blame for exclusion, a want for education, descriptions of growing up, family and peer influences and educational practices and discourses. The findings are analysed against previous literature and potential implications for child and educational psychologists are discussed.

Key words: school exclusion, narrative, young women, typology

Definition of 'exclude' from the Oxford English Dictionary: deny someone access to a place, group or privilege'.

Synonyms: keep out, deny access to, shut out, debar, bar, disbar, ban, prohibit, embargo, reject, blackball, ostracize, banish.

Contents

General Introduction

I am presenting an exploration of three young women's stories about their permanent exclusion from school and subsequent return to education. Their stories are as thought-provoking for their uniqueness as they are for their commonalities. However, I cannot provide to you their stories in their entirety; rather, I am providing the reader with an exploration of my thoughts on the stories the YP told me at a particular time and in a particular context, drawing from a narrative psychological lens and my own epistemological stance. However, I ask the reader to bring their own lens, not to take my interpretations as facts or truths but discussion points to spark thinking about the YP you may come across who have been or may be at risk of being permanently excluded from school.

My interest in the field of inclusion and therefore by default exclusion has shaped my thinking with regard to this research. As, among other things a teacher, Inclusion Officer and now as a Trainee Educational Psychologist (EP) the exclusion of pupils from schools and their subsequent outcomes remains as pertinent now as it did when I joined the world of inclusive education twenty years ago. However, I feel exclusion has increasingly become accepted as routine practice which concerns me, as I have witnessed the impact to be inordinately negative. This negativity is evidenced in the research and supported by the statistics - once permanently excluded, an individual's prospects are bleak (Macrae, Maguire and Milbourne, 2003, McCluskey, Riddell and Weedon, 2015).

For EPs with a key role to promote client well-being and ensure all YP have positive outcomes, the trajectory for permanently excluded pupils is therefore a concern (BPS, 2002, HCPC, 2016). Previous research has tended to focus on the negativity of the process and how it can be prevented; therefore, I wanted to consider an alternative perspective. The research base indicates we know little about students who 'survive' and return to education, particularly girls, an understudied group in the field. This thesis is concerned with their stories; how they came back from permanent exclusion, how they viewed their experiences and positioned themselves now and at the time, how they interpreted their actions, feelings and thoughts and those of others around them. My interest in the normalisation of the approach sparked a Foucauldian-esque curiosity, around how socio-political discourses have developed, shaped and legitimated exclusion as a disciplinary response to YP who are deemed not to behave and act as expected (Foucault, 1977, Drewery and Winslade, 1996). Therefore, I have also aimed to explore the impact/influence of discourses on the YP's stories as mediated through institutional policy and/or practice.

Chapter 1 Literature Review

1.1 Chapter Overview

This literature review aims to provide a backdrop to the present study, therefore, in addition to considering what exclusion is and the relevant research focused on YP who have been permanently excluded, the study is contextualised with a review of the educational landscape and wider societal meta-narratives.

Therefore, firstly the definition of exclusion in policy and its application in practice is considered, including the statistics and trends. Then, so as to analyse how exclusion has developed over time a wider review of exclusion as part of the education system is included, broadened to review even wider potential influences, meta-narratives/discourses which may be relevant to the topic. Then the review considers relevant studies of YP who have been permanently excluded. Finally, the rationale for the current research is presented.

Throughout for ease of writing the term 'school' refers to all mainstream educational establishments including maintained local authority (LA) schools, free schools and academies, unless otherwise specified. Additionally, 'headteacher' is used to refer to the school leader responsible for the school unless otherwise specified. For reference, a glossary of terms is provided.

1.2 Exclusion in Policy

Exclusion is a disciplinary sanction applied in school by headteachers to pupils whose behaviour is considered unacceptable. In practice exclusion means that the pupil is barred from the school. Fixed term exclusions refer to an exclusion from a school for a set period of time (Department for Education, DfE, 2017a). In the case of permanent exclusion the pupil is removed from the school roll and prohibited from returning (DfE, 2016). The DfE (2017b:6) state that:

> permanent exclusion should only be used as a last resort, in response to a serious breach, or persistent breaches, of the school's behaviour policy; and where allowing the pupil to remain in school would seriously harm the education or welfare of the pupil or others in the school.

Expectations around the use of exclusion are outlined in government guidance. The most recent guidance, entitled 'Behaviour and Discipline in Schools: Advice for Headteachers and School Staff', states that the school behaviour policy "must set out the disciplinary sanctions to be adopted if a pupil misbehaves" (DfE, 2016). The guidance document highlights a range of disciplinary measures expected in "good schools", including in "more extreme cases" temporary or permanent exclusion (DfE, 2016).

1.3 The Application of Policy - Exclusion in Practice

So, the guidance states exclusion is only used in "extreme cases", perhaps as a result of dangerous behaviours. However, both research and government statistics indicate that rather than serious incidents, permanent exclusion is most frequently used as a punishment for disruptive behaviour and

failure to comply with school rules (Gordon, 2001, Maag, 2012, DfE, 2016). Recent DfE (2017c) reports indicate that persistent disruptive behaviour accounts for over a third of all permanent exclusions (34.6% in 2015/16), described by the DfE (2017a) as "challenging behaviour, disobedience and/or persistent violation of school rules" (refer to Table 3, DfE, 2017a:17-18).

One could consider therefore, that persistent disruptive behaviour would lead to repeated disciplinary sanctions, including repeated fixed term exclusions ultimately resulting in permanent exclusion as "a last resort" (DfE, 2017b). In line with this assumption, a number of authors in discussing the topic suggest that exclusions can become an inevitable consequence of disciplinary procedures which act upon pupils in a linear, sequential way within schools (de Pear, 1997:19). Applying such 'linear' logic it is perhaps understandable that permanent exclusion is described in the literature as "the end of the disciplinary line", "a last resort school response when all else seems to have failed", "the limits to an adult's tolerance", "following a wide range of disciplinary sanctions and preventative strategies" (de Pear, 1997:19, Jull, 2008:14, Hayden, 2003:627, Gazeley, Marrable, Brown and Boddy, 2015:488 respectively). However, there are other authors who have highlighted, that permanent exclusion is also used as a much earlier response by schools (e.g. Gordon, 2001, McCluskey *et al.*, 2015).

1.4 Prevalence/Trends in Government Figures – An Analysis

According to official government statistics, permanent exclusion figures over the last decade have remained relatively stable within a general downward trend. Most recent government statistics indicate permanent exclusions have increased slightly from 0.07% of pupil enrolments in 2014/15 to 0.08% in 2015/16 (DfE, 2017c).

However, previous figures indicated that the general pattern was that figures were decreasing and had 'fallen considerably', from the highs of the 1980s and 1990s. For example, 1997/98 figures indicated that 0.16% of the school population had received a permanent exclusion, decreasing to 0.06% in 2012/13 (DfE, 2014).

The breakdown of the statistics to specific variables highlights trends that have changed little over recent years. Patterns include: the majority, over 80% of permanent exclusions occur in secondary schools; boys are over three times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than girls; pupils with special educational needs (SEN) (with and without Statements of SEN/Education Health and Care Plans - EHCP) account for 7 in 10 of all permanent exclusions, pupils with SEN without statements/EHCPs have the highest permanent exclusion rate and are around 7 times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than pupils with no SEN[1]; and as an indicator of socio-economic status, pupils known to be eligible for/claiming free school meals are around four times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than those who are not eligible (DfE, 2017c). There are also indicators that Black Caribbean pupils and pupils of Gypsy/Roma heritage and Travellers of Irish heritage are significantly and disproportionately more likely to be permanently excluded than the

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[1] Data related to SEN requires cautious interpretation as categories of need have changed over the period of data collection, see the SEN Code of Practices (DfES, 2002, DfE and DoH, 2015).

school population as a whole, but as the populations are relatively small these figures should be treated with some caution.

Relatively recently, Daniels (2011:4) in his paper tracing the prospects of permanently excluded pupils over a two year period, states in reviewing the trends in government figures:

> It would seem reasonable to suggest that, at the level of overall analysis, little has changed in the last 10 years and that whatever it is that drives permanent exclusion is a fairly durable feature of English schooling.

Daniels appears to be suggesting that the stability in the figures indicate that permanent exclusion is an inevitable end for a certain population. I feel his statement is representative of current thinking, and, on face value, appears logical. But, just as the assumption that practice follows policy and exclusion is applied in a linear fashion, his supposition is contestable. Firstly, the rigorousness of the data to conclude stability requires interrogation, secondly, the equity of applicability requires analysis and, thirdly, the necessity of exclusion as an approach is debatable. Taking the first point, there is a growing body of research that indicates the figures provided by the DfE represent a considerable underestimate of pupils who are effectively/practically excluded from school(ing). Some authors have suggested that there is a significant number of 'informal', 'unofficial' exclusions (Children's Commissioner, 2013, Carlile, 2011). It is suggested such 'hidden' exclusions are a consequence of government set reduction targets which when first introduced Gordon (2001) prophesised would mean schools resort to more voluntary, unofficial and/ or informal exclusions. Gazeley *et al.* (2015) describes current government figures as the "tip of the iceberg" because "policy focus on decrease rates of permanent exclusion has encouraged a shift away from permanent exclusion to the use of other sanctions and approaches" (pp488).

A number of researchers concur with Gazeley's supposition and Gordon's prediction that official figures mask what is happening in practice and there are significant, though by their nature an unquantifiable number of informal exclusions (Carlile, 2011). For example, students who have been effectively 'excluded' by being told not to return to their school, those who may never have attended the school at which they are on roll, instead attending alternative provisions (AP) such as Support Centres (formerly known as Pupil Referral Units [PRUs]), and those who have been withdrawn voluntarily by parents who when faced with school leaders emphasising the stigma of exclusion and the difficulty the parent may have in finding another school agree to withdraw their child (Daniels, 2011, Gordon, 2001, Carlile, 2009). It is also noted in some research papers that there may be other unrecorded forms of exclusion from school due to for example illness, truancy or because their families have traditionally not attended school (e.g. Gordon, 2001). Furthermore, the use of 'in' school 'inclusion'/seclusion units endorsed in policy (see DfE, 2016) where pupils are effectively isolated from school within school could also be considered exclusionary. Thus the true extent of school exclusion may be far greater than the official statistics suggest.

The second point, I feel is that Daniels' conclusion rests on an assumption that exclusion is applied fairly and equitably. Whereas, evidence indicates application of exclusions is idiosyncratic, prevalence rates differ from school to school and LA to LA, suggesting schools and LAs interpret and respond to

behaviour and government behaviour policy guidance differently (Ofsted, 1996, Imich, 1994, Lloyd, Stead and Kendrick, 2003, Gazeley, 2010). For example, following their research across high and low excluding schools Rendall and Stuart (2005:6) summarise that "more often than not it is the tolerance level of the school to manage challenging behaviour that determines whether or not a pupil is excluded". Rendall and Stuart (2005) conclude that the majority of pupils who were permanently excluded (14 out of 17) could have been well provided for in their school. Two studies analysing the incidence of exclusion in the mid-1990s, one large scale Ofsted review and one of a specific LA indicated that a minority of schools were responsible for a majority of exclusions (Imich, 1994, Ofsted 1996). More recently the suggestion is that the idiosyncrasy continues, that some academy chains are applying exclusion liberally (Stewart, 2012, Young, 2016). It is also noteworthy, that the socio-economic status of the school's catchment area is not an indicator of high exclusion rates (Gazeley *et al.*, 2015, Imich, 1994). Therefore, research indicates application of exclusion may be in many cases unnecessary with a 'postcode lottery' level of inevitability.

Critics have argued that in part Government guidance is responsible, as it is open to interpretation, over simplistic and endorses a reductionist within pupil approach and a 'closed school system' ethos (Maag, 2012, Rendall and Stuart, 2005). In so doing, it is suggested the complexity of the situation and the purpose a students' behaviour serves for the individual are overlooked. Reflecting on current guidance, the expectation is that pupils complete work and conduct themselves in a regulated manner, if they do not teachers have the power to punish and "good schools" use punitive and reactive approaches. The terms 'discipline', 'punish' and 'power' are repeated throughout current DfE (2016) guidance. In response to previous DfES 2004 guidance to schools regarding behaviour, Parsons (2005:188) noted the tone and orientation was "controlling and oppositional". Parsons challenged the nature of the procedures in the guidance designed to be supportive. However, a decade later it is difficult to recognise/interpret anything within current guidance that could be considered supportive. Cole (2015:33) concurs, stating in his review of current DfE policy that there is "only brief one-sentence references to unmet needs".

Finally, in considering the need/necessity for exclusion, I feel it is helpful to broaden analysis to consider the application of exclusion not just in England but internationally. England's exclusion rates are the highest in Europe leading authors to question whether pupils in England are intrinsically more challenging (Parsons, 1999, Gordon, 2001). In sum, the evidence suggests that particular pupils do not behave any worse than their peers. For example, Maag (2012) suggests that in America, where the figures mirror England's, Black pupils are much more likely to be excluded, but there is no evidence that they misbehave at a higher rate than their Caucasian peers. Furthermore, exclusion as a tool to improve misbehaviour has been found to be ineffective. Research in England and the US indicates that exclusion does not decrease the incidence of misbehaviour nor does it lead to improvements in behaviour, rather exclusion solves the problem of 'misbehaviour' by removing/barring the pupils (e.g. Maag, 2012, Imich, 1994). Given the body of evidence suggesting the majority of exclusions could be prevented the key question may be why/how has exclusion

become so embedded it is now considered a "durable feature of English schooling" within a climate of pupils rights and 'inclusion' (UN, 1989, UNESCO, 1994).

1.5 Exclusion as Part of the Wider Education System and Broader Influences

Over the last century exclusion has become a standard, legitimate, legal disciplinary practice in the English education system (Parsons 2005, Gazeley *et al.*, 2015). Figures recorded by the Government, indicate a relative stability in numbers suggesting perhaps that exclusion is an unfortunate but perhaps inevitable 'end' for a certain population of the school. However, as described, research indicates that official figures are potentially a significant underrepresentation of exclusionary practices, there are inconsistencies in the application of exclusions across LAs and schools and in many cases exclusion is unnecessary (e.g. Rendall and Stuart, 2005). Although the DfE figures appear relatively stable now, there has been one significant increase in recorded exclusions in the 1980s and 1990s, which is worthy of brief analysis.

The rather dramatic increase in exclusions followed the introduction of the Education Reform Act 1988, which hailed the introduction of national tests and accountability standards in terms of pupil and school performance, heralding in the age of the league table. This competition based, market model mirrored more general developments in England at the time. Interestingly, however, the education reforms followed the 1978 Warnock report built on by the 1996 Education Act which cemented in law another significant change to English schooling, the right of all children to be included in 'ordinary' schools, in line with a global drive towards inclusion (UN, 1989, UNESCO, 1994). Hence the late 1980s and 1990s forced schools to contend with two potentially conflicting agendas, to retain pupils whilst also raising standards (Hartnell, 2010, Carlile, 2009, Macrae *et al.*, 2003). During the then emerging competitive market model one perhaps could consider those with poor behaviour who may disrupt their own and others' learning as a bad investment of resources, especially if considered 'low ability'. Indeed, what followed was a rapid increase in exclusion figures.

The next government, a Labour government, pledged to reduce exclusion and introduced an array of initiatives to support this aim under the banners of 'Every Child Matters' and 'Removing Barriers to Attainment' (DCFS, 2010). A significant body of research from the time indicated exclusions could be reduced and avoided through systemic, multi-level approaches which one could theoretically structure using a Bronfenbrenner-esque model (e.g. Hartnell, 2010, Hallam and Castle, 2001, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003, Hart, 2010; Lawrence and Green, 2005). Reviewing the studies key success factors included: whole school ethos and commitment; multi-professional working, school and parents/carers working together to support pupils at risk; a flexible, relevant and differentiated curriculum; flexible decision making involving a range of staff; an ordered and structured physical environment and teachers being receptive to receiving support and training in managing challenging behaviour (Hartnell, 2010, Frederickson and Cline, 2009, Hart, 2010).

However, there continued to be a reluctance to maintain pupils who were at risk of exclusion and those who had been excluded (Hayden, 2003). One could attribute the hesitancy to be a consequence of the Labour government maintaining their predecessor's policies of league tables,

national tests, parental choice and attainment targets, perhaps, as a nod to the global drive to compare and boast about England's academic credibility. However, within an inclusive drive, exclusion as a practice sits uncomfortably and requires justification. Carlile (2009:314) suggests the justification of permanent exclusion lies in pathologising and apportioning blame/fault with individuals "who 'pathologically' do not fit within an education system dedicated to 'full inclusion'". Carlile reflects on school practices of behaviour logging which could be considered to be reductive, individualising processes that contribute to pathologisation. Therefore, although the research base around prevention highlights a holistic, systemic approach, in order to justify exclusion in an inclusive ethos and to continue to meet accountability standards, individuals may be pathologised and individualised as a problem.

Following the Labour government, subsequent coalition and Conservative governments have driven the schooling system to become fragmented with increasing numbers of autonomous academies and free schools delivered on competitive market principles, their performance measured by academic attainment, in particular academic GCSEs, their key performance indicator (KPI) (Gazeley *et al.*, 2015). In conjunction with the market model, a philosophical shift has taken place including the change of terminology from the holistic DCSF to the narrow DfE, an increasingly punitive leaning behaviour guidance and a mental health/medical model of behaviour (Cole, 2015, DoH, 2015). The inclusion agenda has been veritably muted and the focus has been on KPIs, KPIs, KPIs.

To ensure KPIs are met, schools have become increasingly focused on an unrelenting academically focussed curriculum with as much time as possible dedicated to teaching key academic subjects (Macrae *et al.,* 2003). Vocational courses which were identified as successfully decreasing exclusions over the last couple of decades are not now recognised as contributing to attainment data and school performance. As a consequence, researchers have found that school leaders are reluctant to spend money on such courses (Gazeley *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, studies have found schools have been generally reluctant to work with Key Stage 4 pupils at risk of or already permanently excluded from another school because it is the period most closely linked to GCSE exams (KPIs) (Gazeley *et al.*, 2015, Hayden, 2003).

Researchers are finding evidence that schools are 'opting out' of inclusionary practices (Galton and MacBeath, 2015, Lawrence 2011). In practice schools have the power and control to select children, consequently, pupils at risk of exclusion may be quickly rejected and those already excluded may find it very difficult to return to mainstream schooling unless academically able (Gazeley, 2010, Carlile, 2009). As a result, those pupils who are excluded/at risk often now find themselves in 'alternative provision' (AP) because of the lack of acceptance by schools and/or the lack of flexibility of provision within schools and the reduction in local good practice across schools working to support pupils at risk of permanent exclusion (Gazeley *et al.,* 2015, Gazeley, 2010). Perhaps then it is also unsurprising that the number of pupils attending special schools has also increased (DfE, 2015).

Furthermore, teachers as key stakeholders may be increasingly reluctant to take on the challenge of potentially disruptive pupils as the introduction of performance related pay means teacher pay is

reliant on their pupils' academic progress. This development, it has been suggested has led to a narrowing of the teacher's role and an associated resistance to address behavioural problems (Macrae *et al.*, 2003). For example, Lloyd *et al.*'s (2003:89) study around preventing exclusion found teachers felt under constant pressure in relation to tasks such as teaching and pedagogical duties which were considered "the proper work of schooling". Gazeley's (2010) study of professionals and parents involved in the school exclusion process found pupils in the exclusion process were considered by teachers as primarily the responsibility of other professionals. However, those "other professionals" have also decreased in number with LA funding cuts. LAs that were previously considered to have a role around monitoring and reducing exclusions now have limited influence over academies and free schools and limited capacity (Gazeley *et al.,* 2015).

Therefore, exclusion has developed over time, driven by government policy to become a normal, accepted practice endemic in today's schooling system, accepted and legitimated by government policy and endorsed by powerful and trustworthy school leaders to retain their school's credibility and status. KPIs related to attainment are significant disincentives to schools to manage and address behaviour which could be considered a significant barrier to teaching and attainment, concurrent judgements of effectiveness and individual teacher pay. The achievement of KPIs could, therefore, be considered an influential reason for the quick fix response of removal of pupils through exclusion.

The backdrop of discipline and punishment maintains the system and is legitimated and reinforced in virulent media campaigns which attribute blame to individuals and their families (Hayden, 2003, Parsons, 2005, Hayward, 2002). Discourses, of anti-social and deviant however, are not just sensational media stories but frameworks that invoke fear and panic and allow us to categorise, judge, pathologise and blame (Drewery and Winslade, 1996, Foucault, 1977). Research has found teachers are not immune to such discourses, Gazeley (2010) for example, found her respondents most commonly attributed pupil difficulties at school to difficulties at home. Previous studies have found that students may be labelled dangerous/troublemakers due to teacher perceptions of their race or class (Maag, 2012, Fitzpatrick, Cote-Lussier, Pagani, and Blair, 2015). Furthermore, parents are not immune either, as Rendall and Stuart (2005) suggest schools with high exclusion rates can be perceived by parents as having high expectations. Therefore, perhaps exclusion has been retained as it may be perceived to protect the public from those 'deemed' dangerous/troublemakers.

Discourses of pathologisation and blame overlook the influence of staff stereotyping, discriminatory institutional practice, reductive government policy and societal inequality. However, whilst currently privileged, the dominant discourses are not without challenge. For example, NUT (2017) state: "the accountability regime placed on schools by Ofsted and the DfE contributes to behaviour problems", "the narrowing of the curriculum and constant drive towards testing leads inevitably to disaffection and boredom amongst pupils and disruption in the classroom". Furthermore, following Cole's (2015) review of education policy he advocates for a return to the side-lined agendas of inclusion and Every Child Matters that valued individuality and acceptance, to prevent exclusion.

1.6 Review of Research Focused on Excluded YP

In addition to the body of research around how to reduce exclusion, there is a significant number of studies focused on the pupil at the centre of exclusion which sit primarily within three areas: impact of exclusion, risk/protective factors, and pupil views.

It is notable that the research considered spans over twenty years and the majority available is well over a decade old. As noted, the research has dwindled and I feel there are two main reasons for this linked to the reported exclusion figures. Firstly, exclusion was a 'hot' topic when the figures increased suddenly in the 1980s and 1990s spawning a wave of studies, particularly focused on prevention. Reviewing the literature around what could be done to reduce exclusion perhaps suggests it has hit saturation point, what worked then is as relevant now as it was 20 years ago (Frederickson and Cline, 2009, Hallam and Castle, 2001). Secondly, as the figures have settled, interest has waned, perhaps as noted because it has become normalised, accepted and considered an inevitability for some.

1.6.1 Impact of Exclusion

The damaging impact of exclusion is acknowledged to be wide ranging, from the financial costs to the public purse, to the educational, personal and social impact on the individuals (Parsons, 1999, Macrae *et al.*, 2003, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015). The immediate impact on pupils and families is well documented, for example, YP not in school are more likely to make poor academic progress, often involved in crime and socially isolated (Macrae *et al.*, 2003, Daniels, 2011). For example, Rendall and Stuart's (2005:179) study found pupils felt unhappy, lonely, isolated, bored and wanting an education, whilst their parents described the "devastating effects" on their family such as difficulties with child care and worries about the future.

In addition, permanent exclusion is strongly linked with long term social exclusion including becoming NEET (Not in Education Employment or Training), having mental health difficulties and becoming part of the criminal justice system (Gazeley *et al.,* 2015, Lawrence, 2011, Youth Justice Board, 2001, Hallam and Castle, 2001, Macrae *et al.,* 2003). In his longitudinal study Daniels (2011) traced the prospects of permanently excluded pupils over a two year period, by interviewing LA staff, YP and their parents at the start and end of the study. Daniels maintained contact with 75% (141) of those initially interviewed. The quarter they struggled to follow up were considered more seriously disengaged. Of those who maintained contact, a fifth felt exclusion had had a positive impact, however, half felt exclusion was damaging, and described feeling stigmatised, cut off from friends and having lost opportunities. Daniels stated that only a minority of participants (without specifying numbers) achieved part/full time work. Daniels suggested family networks and staff in AP aided resilience but that many (no figures were recorded) retained limited horizons, lacked self-belief and marginalisation increased.

1.6.2 Risk Factors/Likelihood of Exclusion

In addition to the trends identified from DfE statistics a number of studies have identified both risk and preventative/protective factors related to likelihood of permanent exclusion (Hayden, 2003, Gordon, 2001). For example, the Youth Justice Board's (2001) analysis of interviews and a nationwide survey of risk and protective factors of 14,500 secondary school aged pupils found 14 risk factors identified as significantly increasing the odds of being excluded, and protective factors found to reduce risk. They identified the risk factors most closely linked to being excluded from school, as: being male, non-white and older and having fewer rooms in the household, having moved house many times and having no car in the household.

It has also been suggested that risk factors are cumulative (Weare, 2015), although there is no agreement on a specific 'tipping point' (Youth Justice Board, 2001). It is noteworthy that three factors identified are individual, demographic factors, non-white, older and male, the other three are household related and could be considered indicators of poverty. The link between poverty and exclusion has been highlighted by researchers, for example, Macrae *et al.* (2003:92-93) in analysing exclusion studies concludes excluded pupils are "overwhelmingly" from families under stress, experiencing unemployment and suggests exclusion is a "cost of being poor". In addition, the risk factors identified overlap/correspond with the figures for youth offending, substance abuse, young parenthood, and adolescent mental health problems and analysis of the literature around risk factors and exclusion reveals that excluded pupils also may have identified (or unidentified) needs (Youth Justice Board, 2001, Lawrence, 2011, Hayden, 2003). For example, Rendall and Stuart (2005) noted that pupils in their study often had poor literacy skills, and poor cognitive skills in particular verbal skills which impacted on their ability to express themselves. More recently there has been a focus on identifying mental health needs (e.g. Cole, 2015)

Therefore, it is possible to create a profile of a pupil likely to be excluded. However, profiling, like statistics can reduce individuals, 'capture and fix' using Foucault's terminology and situate the 'problem' within the child/YP, reinforcing a pathologising blaming discourse, feeding media representations and ignoring systemic, policy and institutional influence (Parsons, 2005, Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015, Foucault, 1977, Carlile, 2009, Macrae *et al.*, 2003).

1.6.3 Pupil Views

The voices of pupils who are at the centre of exclusion are something of a rarity across the literature. Even studies focused on exclusion have omitted the views of pupils themselves. For example, Lawrence's (2011) study of the reintegration of pupils from PRUs to schools suggested factors at the pupil, parent and systemic level impact on reintegration, however, pupil views were not directly sought. Whereas, other researchers have focused their research on pupil views, for example, Pomeroy (1999:466) eloquently describes her reasoning for gathering pupil views:

> as the recipients of policy-in-practice, they possess a knowledge of the educational system which is not necessarily known to teachers, parents or policy makers. In

order to fully understand an educational phenomenon, such as exclusion, it is important to construct this understanding from all relevant perspectives.

Pomeroy's (1999) study of the views of 33 permanently excluded YP found complex and varied responses, not a generalizable identity or profile. Pomeroy's (1999) study identified issues of power, value and dependence, her participants positioned themselves within school as the lowest on what they perceived to be a hierarchy, with teachers at the apex followed by pupils who were considered 'more able' or 'better behaved'. Pomeroy's (1999) participants described teacher behaviours as communicating to them that they were not valued or liked. Pomeroy's findings have been replicated over the last 18 years with consistent patterns found across subsequent studies of excluded pupils indicating pupils would like positive teacher relationships, a breadth of curriculum and to be respected and valued regardless of academic ability (e.g. Munn and Lloyd, 2005, Farouk, 2017).

For example, Hilton's (2006) analysis of the views of YP who had been excluded highlighted the participants like Pomeroy's considered themselves disliked and disrespected and of a low status and worth in comparison to 'good' pupils. Hilton's participants described difficulties with the school work within a curriculum they felt was irrelevant and devalued more practical/vocational studies, they described a resentment of persistent assessment, a lack of support and felt the teachers' strict/rigid manner led to hostility. Similarly, the participants in Hartas' (2011) study indicated that they did not feel they belonged in a school culture that celebrated academia when they did not feel academic. McCluskey *et al.*'s (2015) study of 48 YP's experiences of exclusion mirror Hartas' and Hilton's findings, the YP felt disrespected, not listened to, not supported and not wanted. Gordon's (2001) review of research that involved in-depth interviews with excluded pupils and their families about their exclusions highlighted a perceived unfairness and a want to be 'normal' and go to school. Gordon's participants highlighted a particular difficulty adjusting to secondary school, which they felt contrasted to the family like role/ethos of primary school. A finding reflected in Farouk's (2017:20) study of 35 excluded 15-16 year olds, who described difficulties with the "institutional and impersonal nature of secondary school" in contrast to the "child centred and personal" culture at primary school.

As the majority of those permanently excluded are boys, studies of girls' experiences are rarer. However, two studies of excluded girls' experiences also echo the previous studies findings. Clarke, Boorman and Nind's (2011) study of the 'voice' of teenage girls excluded from school highlighted difficulties arising due to not being able to have a voice when staff did not listen, disrespected them and/or they had difficulty accessing learning. Sproston, Sedgewick and Crane's (2017) study of 'autistic girls and school exclusion' found themes related to inappropriate school environment, including pressures of mainstream classes, tensions in relationships with staff and peers and problems with staff responses, including a perceived lack of respect, being ridiculed and staff not listening.

The majority of the research tends to be semi-structured interviews, primarily focused on the exclusion, highlighting the negativity of the YPs' experiences. However, the studies also provide enlightening responses as to what helped them and what they feel would support them in education and potentially prevent exclusion. The majority of participants highlight positive experiences at school

related to positive teacher relationships; feeling respected, listened to and valued (e.g. Hilton, 2006, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015). The participants' responses of what helped them thrive or fail in school could be considered to reflect a humanistic framework of value, belonging and competence (e.g. Maslow, 1943, Anderman and Leake, 2005, Wilding, 2015).

1.7 Theoretical Considerations

Analysis of the literature and policy reveals a number of theoretical constructs evident in different aspects of the literature base. For example, analysis of current policy indicates an apparent influence of behaviourist approaches of punishment for 'poor' behaviours (see DfE, 2016). In addition, review of previous research around prevention advocates for systems theory approaches (e.g. Hallam and Castle, 2001, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003). Furthermore, a review of studies of pupil views indicates pupils would like a humanist framework to their education (e.g. Hilton, 2006, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015). I also feel studies of pupil views hint that their experiences focus on 'problems' and perhaps from a narrative theory perspective the stories told and heard about them are problem focused and their identities potentially 'totalised' (White and Epston, 1990). However, whilst I acknowledge the utility in applying theoretical frameworks to research, such as to understand how prevention may be 'best' structured, I am cognisant of the potentially reductive risks of imposing theoretical/psychological frameworks and therefore throughout this research I have consciously and deliberately prioritised the voice and meaning-making of the YP over the voice and meaning-making of the theorist/professional (Foucault, 1977).

1.8 Rationale for This Research – A Need for an Alternative Perspective

In considering the literature in the area of exclusion, it is apparent that exclusion as part of English policy has become an accepted and normalised part of school practice. However, it remains a contentious issue, as it effectively 'others' pupils from the normality of schooling in England and for the majority has significantly negative long term effects.

Whilst recognising the negative consequences for the individuals one could consider that the current competitive climate in education leaves schools with little/no incentive to maintain 'disruptive' pupils who may impact on the academic grades of their peers which in turn impacts on the teacher's salary and school's status. Although I feel this leads to a number of questions about what we as a society value in terms of the role of education and our YP, exclusion, competition and an unrelenting academic focus is now well engrained in the education system and would require rather a seismic change in our societal philosophy of education. Whilst exclusionary practices continue they prove a significant challenge to those of us who work with schools to support pupils perceived at risk to support them in enacting their right to education and to achieve positive outcomes, and ensure their human rights to be cared for, respected and valued are enabled (UN, 1989, BPS, 2002).

Review of the research highlights that the views of excluded YP gained over the years consistently highlight commonalities about how the YP feel about exclusion processes and what they feel could/would help/hinder them in accessing education. In addition, another body of research suggests the consequences of school exclusion reach much further than the individual and their education,

impacting on families and communities, for example through youth crime and parental employment. However, there appears limited dovetailing of research to consider more broadly excluded YP's views about their lives beyond education and how exclusion has impacted on their families and their place in the community and/or vice versa. Studies have indicated that YP do not consider their 'educational' lives in isolation but tend to evaluate their life situation and wellbeing with respect to three spheres of life: home, friends and school (Turtiainen, Karvonen and Rahkonen, 2007).

Therefore, I am curious about pupil's views that go beyond exclusion and education, how they have made sense of their exclusion as part of their life, how they have framed their sense making, what influence and impact exclusion has had on their families and their place in the community (Frank, 2013). I feel YPs stories of their experiences could reveal a rich picture of their lives, their intentions, hopes, fears and expectations for the future with all the complexity of family, community, and educational impacts and influences (Drewery and Winslade, 1996, Warham, 2012, Billington and Todd, 2012). Furthermore, given stories are inseparable from, influenced by, selected and rejected and ascribed meaning within their socio-historical/cultural backdrop one would expect the YP's stories to reveal the influence of educational and media discourses (Bruner, 1986, Brown, 2011, White and Epston, 1990).

I have a particular curiosity about the stories of the minority of YP who have 'survived' permanent exclusion and returned to education as they have avoided the slippery slope towards further social exclusion and overcome what the research indicates is a very negative process (Youth Justice Board, 2001, Daniels, 2011). Whilst exclusion continues to be an accepted part of schooling for EPs working to support YP in gaining positive outcomes these stories could provide a unique perspective and helpful insights that may help EPs support YP to re-access education. Therefore, I am interested in their stories, how they have made sense of their experiences, what familial and/or environmental factors have contributed, what helped and/or hindered them in being able to re-access education in practice and what effect educational and wider discourses may have had on their stories. As such, my research questions are:

1.9 Research Questions (RQ)

- **RQ1:** What are the stories of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education?

- **RQ2**: What do their stories suggest helped/hindered them in their return to education?

- **RQ3**: What do the stories reveal about the impact of meta-narratives/discourses?

RQ1 is the primary RQ and RQ2 and 3 are subsidiary RQs.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter follows my journey from design to doing, from my selection of research methods chosen to fit the RQs and my world views, to designing and implementing an ethically sound and credible study. Learning from my pilot study is included as it shaped and refined my approach to data collection and analysis.

2.2 My Epistemological and Research Stance

Fundamentally, I believe human action and interaction is socially constructed, that there are multiple, equally valid, socially constructed realities that have different meanings to each individual dependent on personal experience and socio-cultural context (Bryman, 2004). I believe our understanding of our own and others' lives is constantly shaped by our interactions with the people and socio-cultural environment within which we are situated. Furthermore, within the socio-cultural context I believe there are inherent power structures that are both discursively and practically constructed. These inform and influence our understanding of ourselves, our experiences and our social positioning (Burr, 2008). The everyday stories we tell and hear about our lives reflect not only our individual meaning making but also the social structures and discourses in which we are embedded (Mertens and McLaughlin, 2004, White and Epston, 1990, Brown, 2011).

- *Where does my epistemological stance fit?*

As I believe discourse(s) shape our understanding, meaning making and experience I could be termed a macro-social constructionist (Burr, 2008). In addition to my belief that discourses influence our stories I also feel practical social structures such as institutions can shape, determine and restrict how we construct the world (Burr, 2008). Therefore, I may be considered to be a macro-social constructionist with a critical realist slant (Burr, 2008).

- *How my epistemological leanings have impacted on my choice of RQs*

My aim in this research is to explore YP's stories of exclusion from school institutions. I am particularly interested in what their stories can reveal about political and social influences/discourses (RQ 3). From a critical realist positioning I am also interested in how the YP may have accepted or resisted their positioning as excluded from school and how exclusion may have impacted and shaped their constructions of their lives (Burr, 2008).

- *How my epistemological leanings have impacted on my approach to research methodology*

I acknowledge I will be influential in shaping the YP's stories through my questioning and the data will be co-created with the participants (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005, Ponteretto, 2005). To acknowledge and reflect upon my involvement in the research process I have actively recorded my thoughts and feelings through the process and have included reflective boxes throughout this thesis.

2.3 Research Design

In light of my epistemological leanings and my RQs the research lends itself to exploratory qualitative methodology (Mertens and McLaughlin, 2004). I considered the benefits and limitations of potential qualitative approaches to answering the RQs. For example, I felt the research could lend itself to Interpretative Phenomenological Approach (IPA) which could allow an exploration into the lived experience of the participants and the phenomena of exclusion (Willig, 2008). I am, however, interested in more than the moment/situation of exclusion. Therefore, I felt the RQs were too broad for an IPA approach. I felt thematic analysis could be a helpful approach to identify patterns/repeated subject matter to answer RQ2 and RQ3. However, focused thematic analysis would likely miss/overlook the whole story and the function of the story. Reflecting on the RQs I felt they lent themselves to narrative methodology. For example, RQ1: *What are the stories of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education?* lends itself to a story with a beginning (pre-exclusion), middle (exclusion) and end (post-exclusion) that could be gathered through narrative interviewing.

I also felt narrative interviewing, inviting YP to tell their stories would be accessible to young participants and repeated interviewing would allow me to take-back my findings and their co-constructed story to check both mine and their meaning making (Bruner, 1991, Hiles and Cermak, 2008, Morgan, 2002). Furthermore, narrative analysis would permit analysis of the whole story and could provide information about what helped/hindered the participants in accessing school (answering RQ2) and potentially reveal meta-narratives/discourses, thereby answering RQ3 (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998, Riessman, 2002, Phoenix, 2008, White and Epston, 1990). However, as well as the benefits of narrative methodology I was aware of potential problems summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Narrative methodologies pros and cons (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Willig, 2008, White and Epston, 1990)

Pros:	Cons:
- Provides rich insight, detailed in depth stories - Provides personal insider perspectives. - Uses language of the participants - Exploratory - led by the participants - Flexible – approach can change - Accepts political and social context - Accepts biases	- Small numbers – limited breadth - Not generalizable - Lengthy process - Value laden and subjective: Interview context and researcher's questions/focus contribute to the narrative produced; interpretation is researcher led - Participants may consciously/subconsciously aim to please - Only parts of experiences can be captured at any one time - Transcripts cannot entirely capture what

	is conveyed in an interview

2.3.1 Designing/Planning for a Narrative Approach to Data Collection

To gather the YP's stories I planned a three-stage interview approach to ensure adequate time for: rapport building; questions; sharing of stories; reflection; clarification and deconstruction of terminology/phraseology used; sharing of findings; and, re-presentation/taking back of the stories (Morgan, 2002, Winslade and Monk, 2007, Earthy and Cronin, 2008).

Each individual session was planned to allow time for debriefing after the interview to allow participants time to reflect on the process and ask any questions they may have. The interview approach was summarised in an information sheet for participants (Appendix 1) and for parents (Appendix 2).

I developed an opening statement to summarise the purpose of the interview and invite the participants to tell their stories (Silverman, 2001, Bryman, 2004, Bell, 2002, Appendix 3). My intention was not to structure the interviews and their stories as I wanted the participants to freely express their stories how they wanted (Squire, 2008). Therefore, I did not plan to use any prescriptive tools such as a pre-defined story frame as I felt it may be too structured/formulaic and might inhibit story telling, potentially focusing too directly on the exclusion process. However, I was cognisant that some participants may need some prompts and therefore, developed a prompt sheet (Appendix 3). The prompts were designed to help me request more information without directing the participant(s), to support the participant's reflections and potentially aid deconstruction of phrases/terms to help reveal underlying assumptions and 'unpack' discourses (Winslade and Monk, 2007). Therefore, I phrased the prompts using an open-ended, curious, non-directive phrasing which borrowed from narrative counselling/therapeutic language (e.g. Drewery and Winslade,1996). I aimed to keep my input and direction to a minimum and to use the questions/prompts flexibly dependent on responses rather than in a 'recipe' style, thereby allowing the participant to lead the interview and for me to follow their direction.

However, I was aware that participants might be reluctant and/or unused to discussing their experiences and/or the one to one interview approach might be intimidating, so I also planned to offer alternative/augmentative techniques such as a non-language based approach of drawing (e.g. Bagnoli, 2004, Bagnoli, 2009, Bruner, 1991).

The first interview was planned to gather the main story, which I acknowledged from the outset would be a co-constructed story between myself and the participant.

I planned a second interview for a number of reasons. Firstly, to ensure the participants had ample time to express their stories in case they/we became tired/fatigued, upset or were interrupted at the first interview. Secondly, to enable both myself and the participant to reflect on the first stage of the interview, thereby giving me the opportunity to ask further questions to clarify, explore and/or

deconstruct/'unpack' terminology or phraseology used in the first interview (Winslade and Monk, 2007). Thirdly, the second interview allowed the participant to raise anything he/she felt they had omitted in the first interview or wanted to elaborate on from the first part of the interview to support gaining a rich picture (Earthy and Cronin, 2008).

I planned a third meeting to re-present/'take-back' the stories to the participants to ensure they were comfortable with the co-constructed story gathered and to share and test my initial findings and global impression (Squire, 2008, Morgan, 2002).

2.3.2 Planning for Participants – Selection Criteria

To ensure I had sufficient numbers for the pilot study, the main study and to cover potential difficulties in access/availability in terms of ill health, holidays or withdrawal. I initially identified eight participants. To enable time for thorough data collection within the time frame of the research, 3 YP were invited to take part, with another 1 being asked to be part of the pilot study. Participation was planned on a 'first come first served' basis.

To answer the RQs I felt I needed participants who satisfied specific criteria. The first criterion was to have been permanently excluded from school and to have since returned to and been consistently in education and/or training for a minimum of three months. I felt a minimum stipulation of 3 months ensured the pupil was settled in their new educational placement.

The second criterion was based on age. YP aged 14 and over were targeted as DfE (2017c) data indicate that the majority of YP excluded are 14, in the secondary schooling stage.

I had no criteria related to ethnic or socio-economic status or gender due to the small number of potential participants. I was concerned that to limit the potential pool of participants could jeopardise the numbers who could meet the criteria.

2.3.3 Designing/Planning for a Narrative Approach to Data Analysis

I considered a range of potential narrative analysis approaches but ultimately the RQs influenced the type of analytical approach required (e.g. Riessman, 2002, Andrews, Squire and Tambouku, 2008, Emerson and Frosh, 2009, Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, Hiles and Cermak, 2008). To answer RQ1 I needed to analyse the whole story, therefore, discourse based approaches focusing on the minutiae of conversation were dismissed. I also ruled out approaches that removed my input such as Labovian type methods that effectively remove context and treat narratives as 'monologues' as I felt such an approach was not faithful to the co-constructed ethos of the interviews and my belief that stories are always situated (Bruner, 1986, Patterson, 2008, Hyvarinen, 2008). I sought an approach that would retain the integrity of the whole story for analysis to answer RQ1, allow analysis of content to answer RQ2, allow evidence of the context, including my input, and also allow analysis of the influence of wider/broader socio-political influences to answer RQ3 (Phoenix, 2008). Therefore, the framework that I felt best suited my RQs was the holistic-content approach as described by Lieblich *et al.* (1998). The holistic-content approach allows exploration of the whole story and links/associations within

allowing all the RQs to be answered (Hiles and Cermak, 2002). In practice, the holistic-content framework involves analyses of stories for: repeated subject matter (themes), event narratives (focused on an event), key narratives (well-honed narratives that may appear repeatedly), relational narratives (characterised by relations between two people within the story) and canonical narratives (narratives of normative cultural expectations) (Phoenix, 2008, Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, Bruner, 1991). I expanded the analysis to include analysis of the over-arching themes of the story/typology (Frank, 2013) and to enable RQ3 to be answered, I expanded my analysis of canonical narratives to include analysis for meta-narratives and/or discourses.

The approach also allows narratives to be analysed for function/purpose, that is, the motive behind how the participant positions themselves, what their intentions appear to be and how the story's told, including implicit content, contradictions and what was not said (Phoenix, 2008, White and Epston, 1990). Therefore, I felt the approach might provide helpful insights into both the content of the YP's stories and their meaning making within their stories.

2.3.4 Designing/Planning for Ethics and Quality

The study was designed with due regard to the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC) (2016) Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics and the British Psychology Society (BPS) (2009) Code of Human Research Ethics. I planned to ensure the study met the standards for informed consent, confidentiality and participant well-being in both the design and conduct of my research. My research proposal was reviewed through the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Approval Procedure and authorised before I commenced the research.

I planned to self-analyse for quality referring to guidance in the literature (Tracy, 2010, Yardley, 2000, Carter and Little, 2007). In particular I aimed to achieve Tracy's (2010) eight "criteria for excellent qualitative research". Tracy suggests the topic should be *worthy*, relevant, timely, significant, interesting and able to offer a *significant contribution* which were key considerations in my choice of topic. I planned to be *rigorous*, systematic, transparent and justified throughout this research. To ensure I achieved *trustworthiness* I planned to systematically and explicitly record my step by step approaches to ensure consistency and *coherence* through the research and allow replicability of procedures (Earthy and Cronin, 2008, Hiles and Cermak, 2002). For reference, an overview of the research process is provided at Appendix 4.

To ensure *transparency* with the participants and achieve what Tracy describes as *sincerity* and *credibility*, I planned to seek the participants' opinions throughout the data collection phases including 'taking-back' their stories and seeking their views on my findings (Morgan, 2002). To keep the voice of the participants at the forefront of the research I also planned to re-present the participant's views using their language however, I acknowledged from the outset that the participants' stories would be a co-construction with myself (Billington, 2012).

I planned to be continually *reflexive* making explicit my thoughts and feelings through thought bubbles in my research diary and on transcripts, and through the use of reflexive boxes in this thesis. I also planned to frequently reflect on the RQs and the *ethics* of the process to ensure the focus of my

explorations and interpretations was justified and ethical. I have also aimed for *resonance* through thick description and an 'aesthetic, evocative' representation, which I hope I have achieved.

2.4 Research Implementation

2.4.1 Finding Participants and Gaining Informed Consent

During the early planning stages of the research I made contact with a LA exclusion lead who identified eight potential participants. Following ethics approval (Appendix 5), I contacted the LA lead and was provided with details of establishments to contact.

I arranged to meet with the Head of Engagement at an area Further Education (FE) college who introduced me to Liam (pseudonym) who agreed to take part as my pilot study and Bryony (pseudonym) who gave consent and agreed to take part in the main study.

I also met with a headteacher (HT) at a school for permanently excluded YP who ushered me immediately into a room with four students. I had planned to discuss the research individually with each YP so that they could keep their participation private if they wished. However, given I was face to face with a group of potential participants I felt I should use the opportunity to share the gist of the research (using the information sheet as a guide) and allow them to ask any questions. The YP quickly became animated and volunteered their stories. I gave the YP information sheets (Appendix 1), parental information sheets (Appendix 2) and consent forms (Appendix 6). I asked the YP to read the information, discuss with parents/carers and/or staff if they wished and I would return later in the week to see if they had any questions.

As arranged I returned to see the YP. Three YP shared that they were keen to participate and had parental permission but had not brought back the consent forms. I was confident the YP understood the purpose of the research and had made an informed decision as to the expectations of them. I clarified with them who they could speak with in between interviews if they found talking about their experiences uncomfortable/upsetting. I arranged with the HT to return the following week to collect consent forms. Several weeks passed and no consent forms returned. I reaffirmed the consent forms were a necessity and the YP expressed their annoyance as they wanted to tell their story. However, the following week Summer and Katie (pseudonyms) returned their consent forms.

I had anticipated that participants would primarily be young men as boys are overrepresented in the exclusion figures (DfE, 2017c). However, only the pilot study participant Liam was an 18 year old man. All the participants in the main body of the study were young women, Summer and Katie, aged 15, and Bryony aged 18 at the onset of the study. They were all white British, in full time education and living at home with parents/carers.

It should be noted that through the course of Bryony's first interview it became apparent that although Bryony had been told she was permanently excluded she was given one last chance to return to her previous school to complete her education. Therefore, her exclusion was not permanent. Whilst I was not expecting any participants to have returned to their previous schools I had not specified in my criteria that pupils would not return to their previous school. I also felt that the ethos of my research

was not to judge/decide whether Bryony's construction of permanent exclusion was acceptable or not when she felt she had met the criteria for the study.

During the course of the interview two participants expressed that that they had particular difficulties which they framed/described as "learning difficulties" and "mental health". However, they expressed they did not need any adjustments making in terms of accessibility to the environment and/or the interview process. All of the participants voiced that they felt able to express their stories verbally and did not want to draw.

2.4.2 Setting

Interviews took place in the participants educational settings; a member of staff was aware the interviews were taking place and I ensured the participants were comfortable in the environment.

Summer and Katie were both attending a specialist AP. The provision had 50 pupils on roll aged 14-16 years. The literature for the provision states that it provides "an alternative education for students who are at risk of exclusion due to their challenging behaviour". It delivers both GCSEs and vocational courses.

The school was in a warehouse within an industrial and commercial area. Although it had been agreed there was a room that could be made available, in practice we used a range of different rooms. The HT offered her office for Summer's second interview but stated she would be "in and out" I asked Summer if she would prefer to sit elsewhere and she said she would and we found a quieter area. We ensured staff knew where we were. There was often a level of background noise and some disruption/interruptions which when evident on the audio-recordings are recorded on the transcripts.

Bryony and Liam (the pilot participant) were attending a large FE college that served a large town and its surrounding area. The college literature states it "delivers vocational and A level courses to school leavers and adult learners". At the time, there were around 10 000 learners on roll. Bryony and Liam's interviews took place in a quiet unused classroom in the college, next to the staff area.

2.4.3 The Pilot Study – Learning and Methodological Refinements

The pilot study allowed me to test the effectiveness of my planned data collection and analysis techniques in answering the RQs.

Liam agreed to be my pilot participant and gave consent to take part. When we met we went through the information sheet together and at the start of the interview I reiterated the purpose of the interview and the research. Liam stated that he felt he understood the purpose of the research and the opening statement was clear. He told me he was comfortable talking about his experiences and did not want to draw.

I audiorecorded the interview, I hoped to record non-verbal communication and other contextual notes during the interview sessions. However, during the interview with Liam I felt that to maintain rapport and especially eye contact, taking notes was not appropriate. I therefore made field notes as soon as

possible after the interview. After the interview I asked Liam if he felt the opening statement, prompts and questions were clear. He told me he felt able to get his views across.

My interview with Liam took much less time than originally anticipated (15 minutes, rather than an hour). Therefore, I was concerned I would have little useful data. However, rudimentary transcription (writing out briefly in note form what was said from the audiorecording) and elementary analysis highlighted event narratives around exclusion, patterns within the transcript including helps/hindrances in accessing school, and areas I wanted to seek further clarity on including terms/phrases for deconstruction. Therefore, my fears were somewhat allayed. Unfortunately, Liam was not available for a second interview to ascertain the utility of allowing time for us to reflect back on the first interview, to seek further clarity, deconstruct terminology or phraseology he used and allow him to raise anything he felt he had omitted in the first interview or wanted to elaborate on. Due to time constraints I could not wait for his availability. Nevertheless, I felt the second interview would have been helpful as planned to clarify queries I had and to desconstruct terminology/phraseology he used.

I then transcribed Liam's interview fully. I was aware transcription would be a lengthy process; I found it cumbersome and clunky. For example, I found I was not consistently recording non-language communication such as changes in volume, sighs and laughter. Therefore, I developed a transcription code drawing from the conventions developed by Jefferson (2002) and Du Bois (1991) (Appendix 7). I also broke the process down into 'listenings' with a purpose so that I was able to record increasingly greater detail including everything heard such as pauses, non-words and incomplete utterances. (Appendix 8).

After having thoroughly transcribed and reflected on my field notes I felt there was still a lack of captured nuance such as whether my feeling was that he appeared relaxed/uncomfortable for example. Although I was aware as noted in Figure 1 that transcripts cannot entirely capture what is conveyed in interviews I felt aspects of our interaction were lost/missing, the transcriptions felt lifeless and did not reflect the rich picture of the interview I had hoped for. Therefore, to support the reader's picture I planned to include a brief description of my impression of each participant's presentation to interview in the findings.

In practice, transcription entailed repeated listenings and was labour intensive. However, I felt I was immersed in the data, knew Liam's story well and able to reflect on Liam's motives and intention not just the content of his story. I recorded comments about narrative type and function next to my transcriptions (Lieblich *et al.,* 1998, Bruner, 1991). However, I felt my initial note making was unsystematic/messy. Therefore, to support a systematic approach I developed a table for considering the different aspects of Liam's story, including overarching theme/typology, repeated subject matter (themes), event narratives, well-honed/repeated narratives and meta-narratives/discourses (RQ3). In order to answer RQ2 I analysed the transcription as I would a theme, highlighting areas of the transcript related to RQ2, that is what may have helped/hindered in Liam returning to education.

Although I felt the systematic approach helpful to focus and clarify types of narrative, at times during analysis, I felt I was losing the overall story and focusing too much on specific aspects of the narrative such as themes/events. Therefore, to help me retain a holistic picture I drew Liam's story to provide an overview. Drawing helped me consider the story through a picture book/story lens. I could graphically see how and where in the sequence of events, smaller self-contained stories sat within the whole story. Furthermore, it made me think carefully of the characters' positioning and their feelings as I had to draw facial expressions. Whilst I recognise such an approach adds another layer of interpretation I found it helpful to ensure I did not lose sight of the whole story. I also felt the drawings provided an accessible way of taking-back the participant's story, to seek their views as to whether or not they felt it was reflective of what they had told me or missing/ misrepresenting anything. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to test the utility of this approach with Liam.

Nevertheless, the pilot study shaped my thinking and as such I refined my design and resolved to:

- continue to offer the opportunity for drawing
- ensure time after the interview to capture contextual notes
- continue to offer the second interview
- use my transcription code and systematic transcription process (Appendices 7 and 8)
- use a table to record specific types of narrative and their function
- use a thematic analysis approach for RQ2
- draw out the story to give an overview and a tool to re-present the story to the participants

2.4.4 Data Collection

An overview of the data collection time period, place and duration of interviews is included at Appendix 9.

To ensure 'process consent' at the start of each interview I re-explained the research, issues of confidentiality, consent and potential disclosure to ensure the participants understood and continued to give consent to take part. Although all issues were covered in the information sheet I wanted to be confident that the participants were clear what was happening in the interviews and what would happen to the information.

In addition, at the start of each interview I reassured the participant that they did not have to talk about anything they did not want to. I clarified with them who they could speak with in between interviews if they found talking about their experiences uncomfortable or upsetting. I also ensured there was time within each interview session for debriefing to allow any queries to be raised.

> Reflecting after the interviews I felt the term interview seemed too formal as the 'interviews' were conversational and fluid. I considered altering the terminology but opted to maintain the term interview as I had used 'interview' in the information sheets.

After each first interview, I rudimentarily transcribed the interviews and highlighted terms for deconstruction and areas I wanted to seek clarity on at the second interview.

I was able to conduct second interviews with Summer and Katie. I again discussed consent and asked if there was anything else they wanted to tell me. I requested further clarification/detail and shared terms from the first interview for deconstruction. For example, Summer used the term 'naughty' regularly in her first interview, therefore, at the second interview I asked Summer "what does naughty mean to you?"

I returned to see Summer and Katie for the third and final meeting to review my initial analyses and re-present their stories. They both expressed they were comfortable with my findings and happy my drawings represented their story.

> After the third meetings I wished I had planned a fourth meeting to reflect together on the re-presentation of their story. However, as it was not planned I did not feel it was appropriate to add an additional meeting and felt I could be crossing the boundary from interested researcher to becoming intrusive.

I was unable to meet up with Bryony after her first interview as she did not attend on the day/time we arranged. Although Bryony told staff she was happy to be contacted, I was unable to make contact with her directly and therefore did not conduct any further interviews with her.

> After the interviews I felt Summer and Katie were clear and confident in telling their stories. I wondered if this was a positive side effect of meeting them regularly to collect parental consent forms. Whereas in comparison, Bryony gave consent herself. I wonder if Bryony's story would have been different if she had had the time Summer and Katie had to reflect/prepare to tell her story. I also wonder if she would have felt more invested and attended for a second/third meeting.

2.4.5 Data Analysis

The first stage of data analysis involved thorough transcription of the audio-recorded interviews. Interviews varied in length from 15 minutes to an hour (see Appendix 9). I followed the transcription process developed in the pilot which ensured I was systematic across interviews, paced myself and committed enough time to the process (Appendix 8). Although time consuming, as expected, transcription allowed me to get close to the stories, to listen carefully for not just what was said but how it was said and what was not said.

To ensure I was systematic in my analyses, to ensure consistency in approach across each participant's story and enable replicability I gave each reading an analytical purpose drawing from the holistic-content approach (borrowed loosely from the Listening Guide, Woodcock, 2016, Appendix

10). In practice this entailed making comments alongside the transcription drawing from the holistic-content approach suggestions (see example Appendix 10a), identifying:

- repeated subject matter (themes) and overarching theme/typology (Frank, 2013)
- event narratives (EN) including turning points (TP) that marked a signifcant change (Riessman, 2002, McAdams, 2008)
- key narratives (repeated well-honed narratives)
- relational narratives (characterised by relations between two people within the story)
- meta-narratives/discourses/canonical narratives and/or breaches thereof (Phoenix, 2008, Lieblich *et al.*, 1998, Bruner, 1991, Hyvarinen, 2008).

I also made comments about the function/purpose, that is, the motive behind how the participant positioned themselves, how they told their story and what their intentions appeared to be (Riessman, 2002, Hiles and Cermak, 2007). Instances that appeared contradictory were noted as were reflections around how something was said, implict content and what was not said (Phoenix, 2008, White and Epston, 1990). I then transferred my comments about narrative type and function into a table and added to it throughout the analytical process (see example Appendix 10b).

It should be noted I only analysed the first interview for 'themes' within the stories because the first interview focused primarily on the story whereas the second interview involved more direct questioning, clarification, elaboration and deconstruction. The transcripts of the secondary interviews however contributed to the overall analysis.

In addition, although I used a systematic approach to analysis I repeatedly returned to the transcripts, notes in my research diary and the audio-recordings and considered the whole transcription, themes, aspects of the transcriptions such as ENs, and then returned to the whole transcription and aspects again. I also drew the whole narrative to provide another perspective on the whole story (Appendix 11).

In order to answer the subsidiary RQs, I reviewed the transcripts with the specific RQ in mind. After consideration of the whole story I deemed it would be beneficial to consider what in general helped/hindered the participants in accessing education not just returning to education as I felt there were patterns emerging across the stories more generally than just around the exclusion events. In part I feel this was because two participants indicated they had encountered multiple permanent exclusions. I then stripped out aspects of the transcripts I considered to help/hinder the participants accessing education and analysed those selected parts of the transcripts for patterns/themes (see example Appendix 10c).

After analysing each story individually, I analysed for commonalities across all three stories looking directly for similarities across the RQ findings. To help categorise, make sense of and interpret the commonalities I found Bronfenbrenner's (1994, 2005) ecological systemic model a helpful framework to consider systematically multilevel aspects of the stories. The aim of applying the framework was not to limit interpretation but to help systematic analysis.

Chapter 3 Findings and Interpretation

3.1 Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to present my findings and interpretation of the participants' stories following analysis. In developing this chapter I have been mindful that I have wanted to reveal both my findings around the patterns and details within the stories and my interpretation of the whole story. Whilst writing the chapter I was reminded of Wavell's (1944:15) foreword to his anthology 'Other Men's Flowers'. Wavell borrowed the title from a quote from Montaigne: "I have gathered a posy of other men's flowers and nothing but the thread that binds them is my own". I feel similarly, that I have taken stories from three participants that I am aiming to showcase. However, I am not presenting full stories but my interpretation and to do so I have had to cut my posy to size. I have removed aspects in order to expose patterning and features of their intricacy, complexity and diversity whilst simultaneously attempting to maintain their holistic beauty, integrity and life. I hope I have added more than I have removed.

- **Findings around RQ1:** What are the stories of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education?

To summarise the whole story for the reader, for each participant I have provided a synopsis of their story using their phraseology as much as possible and without any interpretation. My drawings of their whole stories are also enclosed at Appendix 11 for reference and selected pictures are included throughout where I have felt they may contribute to the reader's picture/sense-making. A summary of the participant(s) presentation, how they told their story is then included for two reasons. Firstly, to support the reader's picture of the participant(s) as I felt through the transcription process nuances of our interactions were lost. Secondly, because the participant's demeanour and their physical/emotional stance was influential in shaping my thoughts around their purpose/motivation in telling their story. I have then included my thoughts about their intention in telling their story, that is the function/purpose of their story (Riessman, 2002).

Themes within each story are then considered, beginning with a tabular overview of the themes and subthemes, each titled using the participant's words. References to the transcripts are provided throughout[2], for ease of reference each overview/summary table includes page number references to Appendix 12 which includes additional evidence/information such as transcript extracts and supplementary vignettes. It should be noted my "hmms" and other noises/encouraging comments are removed from vignettes to aid clarity.

The themes and subthemes are then presented in turn with vignettes from the transcripts, excerpts from the drawn story and my interpretation of the function/purpose in expressing the theme/sub-theme within the story. Where ENs, TPs, well-honed recurrent narratives and/or relational narratives

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[2] Transcript references begin with a number to denote the number of the interview, 1 for first, 2 for second, followed by a letter to denote who was speaking e.g. K for Katie and then the line of that transcript. For example 2S37 indicates it was the second interview with Summer and the quote/reference is from the 37th line of that transcript.

were identified as/within a theme/sub-theme they are included as appropriate with transcript vignettes and my interpretation.

Finally, for each participant I have then summarised my interpretation of their stories in my global impression, including my interpretation of the over-arching theme/typology of their story.

- **Findings around RQ2:** What do their stories suggest helped/hindered the participant in accessing education?

To answer RQ2 I have summarised in table format what I have identified helped/hindered the participant as a topic/theme, numbered H1, H2 etc. and entitled using the participant's words. Appendix page numbers for additional evidence are also provided within the summary table. Each topic/theme is interpreted in turn with supporting vignettes and pictures.

- **Findings for RQ3:** What do the stories reveal about the impact of meta-narratives/discourses?

Similarly for RQ3, for each participant I have summarised in table format identified meta-narratives/discourses, numbered M1, M2 etc., titled using the participant's words and with Appendix page numbers to additional evidence provided. Each theme is interpreted in turn with supporting vignettes and pictures. The implications of meta-narratives/discourses are discussed including potential issues around power and positioning as I was mindful of Holloway's (1989:59) comments that "Discourses are always produced (reproduced or modified) specifically in relation to others."

- **Findings of commonality:**

Following presentation of individual findings I have then presented the commonalties across the stories, across the helps and hindrances and across the meta-narratives/discourses, each summarised in tabular format then discussed in turn.

The findings are then summarised and discussed in Chapter 4.

Katie's story of returning to education

following permanent exclusion

Synopsis

Katie is 15, she lives with her Mum, older brother and sister. Katie was "really good" in primary school as "nobody were naughty there". At secondary school she wanted to be like the older pupils and so was like them, "proper naughty" and a "twagger" (truant). Then she got excluded. She was horrible to her family, arguing with her mum and her Nana wouldn't speak to her. She then completed a trial period at a new school but was not accepted and so refused to attend school instead being home-educated, until, an education welfare officer (EWO) visited who told her if she didn't go to school her Mum would get in trouble. So, Katie rang school, made a meeting and ever since went and "loves it". She feels she has grown up, "pulled herself back" to make her family proud. Now, her and her Mum are "like best friends" and her Nana's buying her handbags.

Presentation

Throughout Katie was confident and animated. Only when talking about past actions and/or the impact on family was she quieter.

She regularly emphasised her descriptions with absolutist statements/declarations e.g. "never"/"always" and reaffirmed her statements with codas such as "so it's all good".

Intention

Katie's intention in telling her story seemed to be to celebrate her success, which she measured by the transformation in how she is seen/perceived by herself and others. I also felt her narrative functioned perhaps indirectly to help Katie put her past behind her and focus on her present, her re-acceptance back into family and education.

> 💭 I initially worried Katie was telling her story to fit my needs. However, my fears were allayed during her second interview when she re-stated and elaborated on aspects of her story. I was pleased she considered her story as a success not for me but for her.

Themes and Sub-themes	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
1 - *"I used to be like really naughty"* (1K357)	189-192
1.1 *"I were right good"* (1K131)	189
1.2 *"being a sheep"* (1K8)	189-190
1.3 *"I were proper naughty"* (1K213)	190-191
1.4 *"~just don't see the point of being naughty anymore~"* (1K359)	191-192
2 - *"Looking back at myself then it's like woah what were you doing?"* (1K361-1K363)	192-193
2.1 *"Picture me two years ago"* (1K50)	192-193
2.2 *"I never learnt anything"* (1K503)	193
2.3 *"I would be able to do it now"* (1K239)	193
3 - *"I pulled myself back"* (1K205)	194-196
3.1 *"it used to stress my mum out"* (1K195)	194
3.2 *"lately my Nana's been buying me new handbags"* (1K459)	194-195
3.3 *"I used to be evil, horrible to my brother and my sister"* (1K573)	195
3.4 *"now I'm like with em everyday"* (1K637)	195
3.5 *"I've loved it here"* (1K219)	195-196

Theme 1 - *"I used to be like really naughty"*

Theme 1 encapsulates Katie's descriptions of her/her actions as changing across time from good, to bad, to good again.

● **1.1** *"I were right good"*

Katie describes being "good" at primary school, reinforced through restating/rephrasing and using absolutist terms. She even declares she was *"teacher's pet"* (1K4) suggesting she was not just good, she was exemplary.
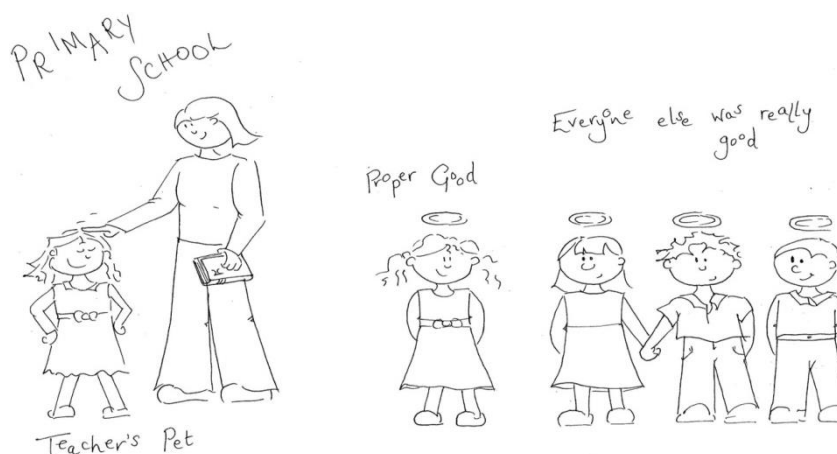
Katie suggests she was 'good' as there was no alternative, "*nobody were naughty there*" (1K121).

Setting the scene of her actions being *"right good"* lays the foundations for a dramatic change in direction of her story, it also illustrates she was 'good' in the past so she can/could be 'good' again.

- **1.2** *"being a sheep"*

1.2 encapsulates a turning point (TP) for Katie, triggered by exposure to older peers at secondary school. Katie stated she *"just wanted to..be naughty"* (2K32), so when she saw peers who were 'naughty' she followed. Her phraseology suggests some inevitability in her 'becoming' naughty and perhaps her 'exposure' to older peers provided the right conditions for a move to 'naughty' (Matza, 1964).

Katie prepares the audience gently, using metaphorical phrasing *"being a sheep"*, then sums up the change and consequence:

"*cos I'd seen all't big kids being like that, I thought I wanna be like that, so I were like that, then I got kicked out*" (1K22-1K26).

- **1.3** *"I were proper naughty"*

Katie describes her actions in secondary school as 'bad' explicitly and implicitly. Her descriptions e.g.: *"hide under't tables"* (2K26), *"never used to do any work"* (1K20), *"hit teachers"* (1K357), indicate her actions were defined by non-conformity to school rules. She uses terms such as *"horrible"* (1K375),

"evil" (1K657) suggesting she was more than merely 'bad'. The language seems harsh/strong, but, it effectively enhances the contrast in her/her actions then to now.

There is, however, evidence of exceptions in an EN:

"I were actually doing proper good, I'd been like I didn't get kicked out my lessons all day that day .hhh and I got.. a teacher's pass, do you know to go to't toilet (swallow) and I were walking back." *(2K255-2K259)*

"Mr Burke if you've ever heard of him erm he seen me and he were like "you're twagging", I said no I'm not and then he just grabbed me <u>by arm</u> and took me o took me to his office and they tried to say I were twagging and even Mr Joe said that he gave me't pass to go to't toilet with and they were still having a go at me so I freaked out and I got I got kicked out for that" (2K263-2K269).

Katie sets the scene as abnormal/exceptional, but, Mr Burke did not see the exceptions he saw Katie the "twagger" (Walther and Fox, 2012). Other studies have found pupil reputations can elicit negative responses from staff and their identities can be totalised by their behaviour (Winslade and Monk, 2007, Maag, 2012, Fitzpatrick *et al.,* 2015). Katie's totalised/fixed identity seems to have influenced how she has told her story as she has downplayed exceptions and has framed her actions simplistically perhaps because that's how Katie felt she was perceived by others. Oversimplifying may serve as a protective mechanism to overlook incidences of unfairness, and now, the function may serve to allow her to separate and distance herself from past actions.

- ● **1.4** *"~just don't see the point of being naughty anymore~"*

Katie describes a TP whilst being home-schooled:

"welfare officer came out and said obviously if I don't get myself in education, my Mum would be getting fined and all stuff'd be happening so I thought nah I can't can't have that happening to my Mum, so I rang up, and asked see if I could have a meeting, I had a meeting the next day and I came straight back day after and then ever since I've just came" (1K66-1K80)

The EWO triggers Katie into becoming agentic, she declares how she took control by presenting the narrative in a step by step way. Previous studies have found taking responsibility is key to change behaviour (McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten and Bowman, 2001, McLean, Wood and Breen, 2013). However, situating the TP within the context of Katie's story suggests the TP was a contributory factor in a set of circumstances that combined to give her the impetus and opportunity to return to education. Katie indicated she had enjoyed home-schooling, had learned, had *"grew up"* (1K513), but was becoming bored, aware of her isolation (2K165). She also states *"I'm nearly 16, I don't need to be childish anymore"* (2K136), perhaps her taking control reinforced that she was 'growing up'.

The application of life-stage terminology to herself/her actions e.g. *"childish"* (1K245), *"like a six year old"* (2K26) allows Katie to make sense of her previous behaviours as part of growing up/a phase of

development. Therefore, allowing her to separate/distance herself from past 'childish' actions because now she has "grown up".

Theme 2 - *"Looking back at myself then it's like woah what were you doing?"*

Throughout Katie's narrative she is reflective, demonstrating how she has made sense of past events and her current self which serves to reinforce her argument she has changed/transformed.

- **2.1** *"picture me two years ago"*

To illustrate how much she has changed and perhaps seek ratification/affirmation she invites me to reflect on our current situation:

"..picture me two years ago I wouldn't have been sat here speaking to you now, I'd be like (finger gesture) fuck off" (1K50K).

Katie's reflections on her past self paint a picture of contrast, someone who has "grown up" (1K349), from a past "evil, horrible" self (1K573). This perhaps allows Katie to separate/distance herself from her past (McLean *et al.,* 2013).

- **2.2** *"I never learnt anything"*

Katie reflects on the impact of her actions on her learning (1K495-1K499) and on her family (see 3). Her story suggests she had little awareness/insight at the time of the consequences/impact of her decisions/actions (1K259-1K261). Perhaps space and time have allowed Katie to reflect on her journey to now.

- **2.3** *"I would be able to do it now"*

Katie expresses a wish to start secondary school again (1K175-1K179).

She states she could do it, reinforcing how much she has changed and could prove it:

"I would be able to do it, not like I'm saying I wunt, but naah just too many .hh they've all teachers have changed head teachers have changed, everythings' changed so..nah I'd rather stay here" (1K665-1K673).

Katie is stating she 'could' but won't, due to the changes at her school. This allows Katie to retain her current positioning of doing well, protects her from potential failure and maintains the agency she has shown as the key decision maker in her life. Her expression seems tentative, perhaps reflecting some caution and recognition of fragility in her current position.

Previous studies have also found excluded pupils have relayed a wish to start again and a want for education despite negative experiences (e.g. Munn and Lloyd, 2005)

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Theme 3 - *"I pulled myself back"*

Three is a well-honed narrative, Katie has redeemed herself.

3.1 *"it used to stress my mum out"*

Katie's Mum is a key character, influential in Katie transforming (see 1.4) and in expressing faith that Katie could 'pull herself back' from the "wrong road" (1K197-1K201). Katie indicates their relationship though repaired was previously in difficulty:

"..when I were naughty we didn't have that much of a good relationship, arguing all the time" (1K419).

Whereas now she states: *"we're like best friends"* (1K423), *"I'd do owt for her anything, I'd die for her"* (1K445).

Katie's expression of her feelings for her Mum seem dramatically effusive, though perhaps reflect relief their relationship is repaired.

● 3.2 *"lately my Nana's been buying me new handbags"*

Nana broadens Katie's story to allow consideration of how she was perceived within her family:

"my Nana, erm..she..she like didn't talk to me at all, when I really cos my Nana .hhh like cos my sister were good my brother were good, oh my brother were alright, .hhh they were good n my Nana's like oh she's ~little brat out of em all nnow~" (1K325-1K333)

Katie's story highlights her behaviour has a direct impact on her family relationships and her positioning within the family.

Nana contrasts Katie to her 'good' siblings, perhaps suggesting Katie had breached her role in the family. Katie's quietness in expressing how her Nana considered her perhaps indicates embarrassment/shame.

Evidence their relationship is repaired and Katie is re-accepted into the family is reinforced symbolically through Nana's actions of buying her things.

● 3.3 *"I used to be evil, horrible to my brother and my sister"*

Katie's story indicates she ruptured and repaired her relationship with her siblings. It also suggests she used her siblings as comparators to reflect on missing out on social events arranged through school indicating her exclusion from school excluded her from wider social participation (Razer, Friedman and Warshofky, 2013):

"cos my family seen my sister at prom, and ..~I don't think any of them are gonna see me at prom~" (1K181-1K183)

● 3.4 *"now I'm like with em everyday"*
Katie evidences rupture and repair of her relationships with same age peers. Their reintroduction into the story broadens the picture Katie is presenting, to include a peer group she previously rejected for

older peers. In doing so she appears to be developing an image/picture of 'normality'. Previous studies have highlighted excluded pupils want for 'normality' (e.g. Gordon, 2001).

- **3.5 *"I've loved it here"***

Katie regularly refers to loving her current placement, reinforcing her focus of her story as positive. Katie's positive declarations contrast to her description of secondary school where she described not feeling wanted: *"there were just summat that didn't want me to be in that school"* (1K167).

Katie's current education experience reflects that Katie has found what excluded pupils in other studies want: to feel valued, listened to and have an appropriate curriculum (McCluskey *et al.*, 2015, Nind, Boorman and Clarke, 2012).

My Global Impression

Katie's story is primarily a story of redemption, transformation from 'bad' to 'good' (McAdams *et al.,* 2001, McAdams, 2006). She presents her story as that of then and now, reflecting and distancing herself from a previous self. She positively frames her story and positions herself as the central decision-maker that led her into naughty/bad behaviour but that also ultimately led her to pulling herself back. She simplifies her actions/herself into binaries which aid contrast but overlook/minimise exceptions and perhaps reflect her previous 'totalised' problem identity (Winslade and Monk, 2007). Her use of language is at times evangelical and the story has a somewhat religious tone as I feel she presents herself as resurrected/reborn from a past of horrible evilness, returned to her family/flock and the normality of same age peers and education. She is stating loudly and clearly – look at me now!

What helped/hindered Katie in accessing education

Help/hindrance Topic	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Teachers	**H1** *"she were like a proper nice teacher"* (2K239)	197-198
Realisation of purpose of school	**H2** *"I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do"* (1K471)	198
Targets and Trust	**H3** *"I only got kicked out once and they still didn't let me back into the school"* (2K297)	198-199
Emotions	**H4** *"I was angry"* (2K303)	199
Belonging	**H5** "*there were just summat that didn't want me to be in that school"* (1K167).	199
Peers	**H6** "*I just wanted to be like them"* (2K8).	199-200

- **H1** *"she were like a proper nice teacher"*

Katie's story suggests teachers could be a help or hindrance. She describes hating teachers (2K245-2K247) who she felt did not listen to her, spoke to her disrespectfully (2K104) and did not want her (1K163-1K169).

Katie's descriptions echo those of participants in previous research (Sproston *et al.*, 2017, Razer *et al.*, 2013, Pomeroy, 1999, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015). As described in the EN (see 1.3) she appears to have been seen as a problem and provoked negative responses from staff, as found in other studies (Gordon, 2001, Maag , 2012, Fitzpatrick *et al.,* 2015). I also wonder if Katie's experience is reflective of the changing/narrowing teacher role and an associated resistance to address behavioural problems (Lloyd *et al.*, 2003, Gazeley, 2010).

When asked what could have helped her at school Katie relayed an example of a 'nice' adult, who was there for her, who she could talk to and work with (2K221-2K241). She also describes 'loving' her current placement *"because of the people"* who are *"nice"* and *"helpful"* (1K58-1K60). Overall, being cared for and feeling belonging seem key factors in Katie engaging in education, echoing the views of excluded YP in many other studies (Pomeroy, 1999, Hilton, 2006, Nind *et al.*, 2012, McCluskey, *et al.*, 2015, Clarke *et al.,* 2011).

- **H2** *"I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do"*

A reason Katie gives for engaging in her current placement is realising and doing what Katie states she actually wants to do perhaps indicating she felt she has not had such opportunities in the past. Previous studies of excluded pupils have also found participants want a purposeful and relevant curriculum that links to future employment (Hilton, 2006, Munn and Lloyd, 2005).

- **H3** *"I only got kicked out once and they still didn't let me back into the school"*

Katie describes being set targets to be able to join a new school. She describes adhering to the targets but the school did not, and would not accept her. Katie's not being allowed to get into school is potentially indicative of what researchers have found to be an apparent increasing unwillingness of schools to reintegrate permanently excluded pupils who may impact on the school's academic ratings (Gazeley, 2010, Lawrence, 2011, Galton and MacBeath, 2015).

Similar practices of being set unachievable targets have been reported in other studies and considered to contribute to exclusion (Sproston *et al.,* 2017). Katie describes her scenario led to anger (2K303) and perhaps more broadly a mistrust/lack of faith in educational establishments which likely impacted her decision to be home educated. The scenario exposes an inconsistent and untrustworthy system, within which students like Katie are relatively powerless. Katie, however, enacted agency by withdrawing.

- **H4** *"I was angry"*

Throughout Katie's story she describes school invoking "anger" due to school not following through with trials (see H3), exclusions (1K259-1K263), and because of the way teachers communicated: "*like it's ~the way they talked to me it's like ..get away from me~*" (2K104).

As noted in H3 Katie's anger could be considered an understandable response to unfairness. Anger has been described as resulting from social circumstances for example Oolup, Brown, Nowicki and Aziz (2016:280) describe anger as "socially instigated through the perception of threatening, frustrating or stressful circumstances and environments". However, although described as socially instigated, influenced by circumstance and environment, researchers suggest anger is considered an individual's problem (e.g. Gilles, 2011). Perhaps, Katie's 'anger' reinforced her 'problem' identity in the perception of staff as seen in the EN in 1.3 (Winslade and Monk, 2007).

- **H5** *"there were just summat that didn't want me to be in that school"*

Summat doesn't want me here
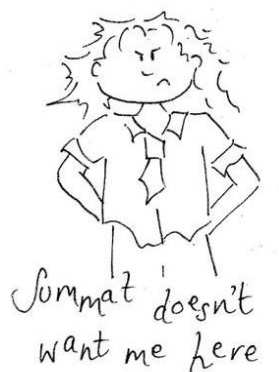
Reflective of many other studies of permanently excluded pupils Katie's story indicates she felt unwanted and rejected by school (Hartas, 2011, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015). Katie expresses that at subsequent schools she "*didn't wanna be there*" (1K267) and rejected them through her behaviour and refusing to attend, perhaps before they had the opportunity to reject her.

Katie evidences happiness at being at a school that gives her a sense of belonging, evidenced by nice staff that care and provision of subjects she wants to do, again, mirroring previous research (McCluskey *et al.,* 2015).

- **H6 *"I just wanted to be like them"***

The behaviour of peers in school were both a help and hindrance to Katie accessing education. As noted in theme 1 Katie describes being good at primary school because: "*nobody were naughty there"* (1K121-131). She then describes being drawn to older peers at secondary school who she saw smoking and 'twagging' and wanted to be like them (see 1.2). However, copying their behaviours led to exclusion. Katie's descriptions of a pull towards peers engaged in 'naughty' behaviour reminded me of Matza's (1964:46) descriptions of exposure to 'delinquent' behaviour being a trigger for involvement. Matza (1964:56) also suggested that many YP withdraw from 'delinquent' behaviour as they near adulthood just as Katie changed her focus when she described being "nearly 16" and needing to "grow up". Although Matza's theory is over fifty years old, Young, Fitzgibbon and Silverstone (2014) in their review of gang behaviour highlight that recent government data around 'offending' behaviour patterns mirror Matza's descriptions of a drift in and out of delinquency.

Meta-narratives/discourses evident in Katie's story

Meta-narrative/discourse identifed	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Acceptable behaviour	**M1** *"I were proper naughty"* (1K213)	201
Family	**M2** *"~ little brat out of em all"* (1K333)	201-202
Mum	**M3** *"my mum's everything to me"* (1K445)	202
Right road/wrong road	**M4** *"she was like you're going up the road th you're going up the wrong road"* (1K197)	202
Growing up	**M5** *"when I grow up"* (1K96)	202-203
Deserving	**M6** *"I didn't deserve to be in that school then"* (1K657)	203
Brainy	**M7** *"sometimes people aren't that brainy"* (2K309)	203

- **M1** *"I were proper naughty"*

Katie's story reveals cultural norms for acceptable, 'good' behaviour e.g.: "*there everyday, always 100%, I were right good"* (1K127-1K131) and bad, naughty behaviour e.g.: *"I never used to go to my lessons"* (1K16), *"I never used to do any work ..and then I used to get out of control"* (1K20). Katie's story also reveals behaviour is defined by conformity to school rules reflective of current policy which indicates that pupils should complete work and conduct themselves in a regulated manner or be punished (DfE, 2016).

Her 'bad' behaviour also led/contributed to conflict and rejection from her family (see 3.2). Katie's non-conformity in school could be considered non-conformity to society's rules reflecting a traditional meta-narrative that schools are considered to reflect society's standards/expectations (Dewey, 1997, Foucault, 1977). Perhaps Katie's family's response was due to fears of stigma of the whole family due to her non-conformity to society.

- **M2** *"~little brat out of em all"*

Katie's story reveals that children should also be 'good' in their family. As such, the converse is true, and when Katie was "bad" she breached her role, she was as an aberrant figure in the family and was rejected by some members of her family (see 3.2). Katie's description of her rejection by family members indicates discomfort, she speaks quietly. Research indicates family is an important source of social appreciation for YP; perhaps the loss of family support left Katie feeling isolated (Turtiainen *et al.,* 2007).

Katie's story also reveals that when she re-positioned herself as good she was re-embraced into the family (see 3.2) and stability returned.

- **M3** *"my mum's everything to me"*

Katie's narrative reveals a common narrative of Mum, someone who looks out for her daughter and is a daughter's best friend (see 3.1), someone who should be worshipped and adored by her daughter (e.g. Hurn, 2010). Therefore, by 'stressing her Mum out' (1K195) and *"arguing all the time"* (1K419) Katie breached her role as a daughter. Her reparation of their relationship and their current positive relationship is effusively described, perhaps indicating relief at the repair of breach, return to stability in their relationship and resolution of conflict.

- **M4** *"she was like you're going up the road th you're going up the wrong road"*

Katie's story reveals her Mum used a common idiom of a right and wrong road readily apparent in the media and literature including the Bible and Dickensian tales. This common narrative seems to have helped Katie make sense of her situation and influenced how she framed her story. The metaphor and Katie's quote of how her Mum used it *"do you wanna pull yourself back"* (1K199) implies personal responsibility. Katie in her story positions herself as responsible for both faults and taking control. Attributions of personal responsibility are commonly evident in redemption stories (Jones, Destin and McAdams, 2018) and McLean *et al.* (2013) found in stories of adolescents being able to 'desist' from delinquent behaviour.

However, I also wonder if a reason for Katie's 'change' is the fear the metaphor invokes of remaining on the 'wrong road'. Katie's narrative reveals the wrong road leads to unemployment (1K405-1K409) which is perceived negatively in the media and by the current Conservative government whose most recent rhetoric of 'skivers and strivers' also echoes a right/wrong road metaphor (Monbiot, 2015). Katie's story reveals she wants to be a 'striver', on the right road which she indicates will lead to "nice family" (1K405) *"nice job, nice house"* (1K407), the social norms and markers of adulthood (e.g. Hogan, 1978, Marini, 1984). She is positioning herself within a normative, hopeful narrative that is accessible now she has redeemed herself and is on the 'right road'.

- **M5** *"when I grow up"*

Katie's story reveals norms of being a 'grown up' and essential steps to 'growing up'.

Katie suggests 16 is a significant marker for growing up and self-realisation reflected in her taking control and making choices (see 1.4). In addition, Katie's narrative suggests the prom, the dance to signify leaving school has perhaps developed into a formal marker of 'growing up', a rite of passage, or at least an essential step forward in 'growing up' that should be witnessed and ratified by both the school institution and the family group (van Gennep, 1960, Hockey and James, 1995). By being excluded, she is missing this ceremony, is positioned as an outsider to the norm and perhaps not achieving an essential step to becoming a 'grown up'.

Katie indicates being a "grown up" is in the future for her, and as noted at M4 if on the 'right road' is achieved through the social norms of employment, home and family (Hogan, 1978, Marini, 1984).

- **M6 *"I didn't deserve to be in that school then"***

Katie makes statements e.g.: "*just wont the right person to be in that school*" (1K659) indicating she felt she did not 'deserve' to be at school, despite her narrative implicating teachers, injustice and her peers in her exclusions.

Katie's narrative suggests school is a privilege for the 'good' not a right, echoing McCluskey's *et al.* (2015) findings. Given the current educational discourse of discipline and punishment, the perennial media panics about a lack of discipline in school and youth anti-social behaviour and a Governmental demand for individual 'responsibility' it is perhaps unsurprising that Katie considers herself to be undeserving and requiring punishment for not meeting expected standards of being good and able (Young *et al.,* 2014, Hayden, 2003). Such a 'deserving/'blame' discourse neglects the influence of institutional practices and policy, as evident in Katie's story (Munn and Lloyd, 2005, Parsons, 2005, Carlile, 2009).

- **M7 *"sometimes people aren't that brainy"***

Katie's story reveals she equates 'braininess' to 'goodness', perhaps reflecting common educational discourses that place high value on academic attainment and conformity (Parsons, 1999, DfE, 2016). The impact of which may be that Katie views herself as not good enough.

Summer's story of returning to education

following permanent exclusion

Synopsis

Summer is 15. She lives with her Nan and Grandad who she calls mum and dad. Her parents were not there for her as they were "too bothered about drugs". She comes from a "rough area".

In primary school she was one of the "brightest" in her year but got excluded for fighting protecting her brother from bullies. Summer describes herself as a "tomboy". She also describes being bullied because she was "different". Summer and her brother were taken into care before she left primary school. Many of her foster placements enforced strict rules and had "sky high" standards of behaviour that Summer felt she could never meet. At secondary school Summer got excluded/isolated daily. Following exclusion she was not accepted back into school because of her hairstyle. She refused to change it because she wanted to be different. She then attended a number of Alternative Provisions (AP). She prefers them because they are smaller and more accepting of difference. However, she does not feel the APs provide the "right education" and she feels she will have less opportunity to get into further or higher education.

Presentation

Summer seemed comfortable and relayed her story in chronological order in a stoic manner, often providing anecdotes to reinforce her argument/position. When she digressed/elaborated she got back on track.

Summer occasionally changed the tone of what she was saying. For example, she spoke quietly when describing incidents she perhaps felt uncomfortable with and when relaying more positive situations she spoke in a louder voice and her demeanour changed, she sat more upright.

When I returned to re-present her story she appeared dejected and told me she was feeling the pressure of GCSEs and leaving home at 16. Her demeanour changed when we looked at the drawn representation, she became animated repeating "*if you don't like it you know where the door is*" and at the end smiling stated "*That is my future!*".

> ☁ Aspects of Summer's story related to drug use and experiences in care made me uncomfortable and I initially questioned the authenticity of her story but I then wondered if my doubts were due to my discomfort.

Intention

I felt Summer's intention in telling her story was to affirm her 'different' identity within the context of a consistent mismatch of her experiences and expectations throughout her life that she herself was just beginning to acknowledge/understand.

Themes and Sub-themes	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
1 - *"different"* (1S171)	204-206
1.1 *"I used to get bullied for being different"* (2S253)	204
1.2 *"I like being different"* (1S171)	204-205
1.3 *"In this school we're all different"* (1S433)	205
1.4 *"I can't handle a large group of people"* (1S119)	205-206
1.5 *"I'm more like a tomboy"* (1S89)	206
2 - "*not.. like your everyday child*" (2S6)	207-210
2.1 *"I've been brought up around…a rough area"* (1S69)	207
2.2 *"naughty kids"* (1S383)	207-208
2.3 *"my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different*" (1S49)	208
2.4 *"people think it's because they're naughty"* (1S391)	208-209
2.5 *"little smack"* (1S762)	209-210
3 *"Supposed to be"* (1S197)	210-213
3.1 *"I was hoping you'd walk through that door.."* (1S688)	210-211
3.2 *"she'll say she's your best friend"* (1S199)	211-212
3.3 *"he used to hit us"* (2S498)	212-213

Theme 1 - *"different"*

Summer consistently describes herself as 'different', but her story indicates her perception of and response to her own perceived difference has altered over time.

- **1.1 *"I used to get bullied for being different"***

Summer describes being bullied in primary school because she was different due to her looks and her interests (2S253-2S263). Studies of bullying often indicate perceived difference is a reason pupils are bullied (NSPCC, 2016). Summer also describes trying to get peers to like her and getting into trouble which may also have contributed to her feeling she was different and/or being defined as different by peers.

Her description of her being bullied for being different and wanting to make friends provides a context/backdrop for her story, perhaps to illustrate her developing recognition of herself as 'different'.

- **1.2 *"I like being different"***

Summer's story suggests a navigation away from wanting to be accepted by others (1.1) to declaring she has accepted her difference, perceives her difference as positive and something that should be fought for. Summarised in an EN in the context of a reintegration following an exclusion:

"they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different, I like standing out" (1S169-1S173)

Her change of stance however, positioned her against the school establishment.

- **1.3 *"in this school we're all different"***

Summer draws parallels between herself and her peers in APs who she describes as 'different' (1S500-1S506). Her comparison to her peers helps her affirm/provide a reason for her/their collective failure to fit in the mainstream and perhaps reflects a kinship that they all belong together because they are all 'different'. A want/need to belong is consistently reported in studies of excluded YP (e.g. McCluskey *et al.,* 2015).
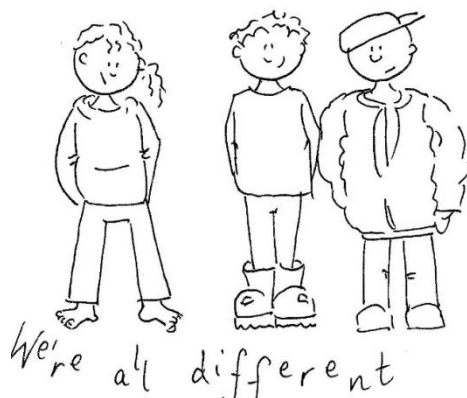
- **1.4 *"I can't handle a large group of people"***

Summer gives a consistent reason for being different as being unable to handle people/groups and thereby preferring isolation (1S117), smaller schools (1S148-1S153) and not going "*to town*" (1S123). Her reasoning may help her make sense of her situation, and that of her peers (McLean *et al.*, 2013).

- **1.5 *"I'm more like a tomboy"***

Summer positions herself as "different" implicitly, in her identification as a 'tomboy' and her description of how others would see her, e.g.:

"she's just like one of the lads and you don't see her she's not she doesn't like girls she's not, she's not friends with girls" (2S299-2S301)

This vignette suggests she cannot be both "one of the lads" and like/be friends with girls. She is positioned as an outsider to her female peer group perhaps contributing to her identifying as 'different' (Clarke *et al.,* 2011).

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Theme 2 - *"not.. like your everyday child"*

Theme two encompasses Summer's experiences and understandings of 'naughty'/'being good'.

- **2.1 *"I've been brought up around…a rough area"***

Summer describes where she comes from as a "rough area", justified with comments such as: "*people get killed" (*1S566)*, "bad things happen*" (1S79). She states "*it's normal to me*" (1S87-1S89) and events occur "*day in day out*" (1S568) suggesting she is describing her daily life, her culture and that her 'normal' is 'different' to the norm (Bruner, 1986). Summer's descriptions seem important to shaping her story, I think her purpose in sharing her background her 'culture' is because she is cognisant it has influenced her sense making of naughty/'being good' (Bruner, 1986).

I wonder if her descriptions are embellished for shock, to illuminate difference/contrast or to paint an appropriately dark picture.

- **2.2 *"naughty kids"***

Summer defines naughty as *"a problem" (*2S47), *"risky*" (2S51-2S53). She also relays that her nephew described her being naughty as *"cool"* (1S874), perhaps reflecting as Hayward (2002) notes that crime is packaged as 'cool' and exciting for youth.

Summer contrasts naughty to an everyday child who *"do as they're told"* (2S26) which is *"boring"* (2S28).

She does not question her nephew's perceptions and appears to identify with naughty, perhaps because she has been positioned as such at school/in foster-care. I wonder if her suggestion that everyday is boring is because it is not available to her because she comes from a "rough area" where risks/trouble is the norm (2.1).

- **2.3** *"my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different"*

Summer describes differing standards of behaviour at home, foster-care and school. Summer alludes to loose boundaries at home (2S423-2S424) but describes her foster-care as akin to "prison" (2S444), and school as controlling her looks and toileting/personal care. Her descriptions echo Dewey's (1997:61) reference to the restricting military regimes of school which limit movement and freedom.

Summer also states some rules can be broken (2S53-2S63), perhaps because she has been exposed to many differing rules she can compare, contrast and make an informed decision. However, her story indicates by breaking rules the consequences include movement of foster placement (1S43) and exclusion from school (1.2).

- **2.4** *"people think it's because they're naughty"*

Summer regularly reflects on differing perspectives around behaviour and acknowledges her actions may be perceived differently by different audiences, e.g. when describing fighting:

"in my eyes I wasn't doing it for my own like amusement, it was to protect my brother". (1S16-1S18)

She suggests "people" make judgements about 'naughty' but do not understand the underlying reasons which she suggests may be abuse at home (1S391-1S399). Summer seems to be expressing a 'theory' about such "people" derived from her culture and experiences (Bruner, 1986:49). She may be speaking from experience (1S654-1S656), though she does not directly discuss her own experiences, perhaps as it is too uncomfortable or 'unsayable' (Rogers, 2008).

Summer also uses metaphorical phrasing e.g. "*you can't judge a book by it's cover*" (1S391), which may serve to mask discomfort. As Bourke (2014:477) states "metaphors are useful when people are attempting to convey experiences resistant to expression".

Summer describes those making judgements as "posh", "stuck up" (1S423) indicating she feels there is a class issue in understanding/empathy which may reflect her experiences of adults in school/care. Previous studies have found pupils from different social classes elicit different responses from school staff and differing social norms can be a source of conflict between students and teachers (Jull, 2008,

Gillies, 2011, Fitzpatrick *et al.,* 2015). I also wonder if the academic focused teacher role is a contributory factor in Summer feeling a lack of empathy (Gazeley, 2010, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003).

- **2.5** *"little smack"*

Summer's reference to physical hitting/smacking/fighting is recurrent but not well-honed/consistent. Summer appears to hold a range of views and uses a range of terminology which she applies to different scenarios. For example, she describes 'smacking' as an aspect of parenting, e.g. *"Mum'd give me a little smack on't hand"* (1S752) and 'fighting' peers somewhat casually e.g. : "*so.. I ended up fighting with her"* (1S201) perhaps as she feels it was justified or the norm for a tomboy. However, her descriptions of adults (foster-carers) 'hitting' in foster care indicate she felt it was not acceptable and responded herself physically (see 3.3).

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Theme 3 - *"Supposed to be"*

Theme 3 reveals Summer's constructions of expectations of specific roles and her sense making when those roles are breached.

- **3.1** *"I was hoping you'd walk through that door…"*

…*"and give me a hug and say everything is gonna be alright Summer I am here now I said but never happened"* (1S688-1S690).

Summer provides a mini-narrative which reveals her construction of what a 'Dad' should be, that her Dad has breached. She describes feeling *"fed up", "hoping"* (1S688), indicating that it has taken time for her to accept him not fulfilling his Dad role.

Her story indicates she wants a Dad, she describes herself as a "Daddy's girl" (1S774) and calls her grandad 'Dad'. She also calls her Nana Mum (1S772) and her friend sister (1S1052). She has effectively replaced absent family members with extended family/friends who perhaps fit her role expectations more effectively than actual relatives. Her story indicates she wants a family around her, not just in role but in name. Previous studies have found YP place significant value on family, for

example Turtianen *et al.* (2007) suggests that although YP focus more on quality of relationship than structure YP continue to see mother and father as the ideal norm perhaps reflecting Summer's perceived need for both quality and structure.

- **3.2** *"she'll say she's your best friend"*

Summer's story suggests her sense making about friendships has changed over time in parallel with her sense making around herself (theme 1). Summer consistently indicates she values friendships, has a construct of what a friend should be expressed in Mini-Friendship Narratives (MFNs) (see Appendix pp211-212) but has experienced breaches, through loss and betrayal that led to fights and subsequent exclusions. Similarly, Pereira and Lavoie (2017) in their study of pupils with behavioural difficulties describe a key difficulty for their participants was dealing with 'friendship confusion' when expectations are breached.

- **3.3** *"he used to hit us"*

Summer provides examples of her time in foster care which highlight a lack of care, an asymmetrical power relationship and a vulnerability to her situation. Her descriptions help contextualise her story and illustrate her understandings/beliefs of what family/care should be. They also illustrate her understanding of justice/response to aggression and suggest she learnt to respond aggressively.

However, as an aggressive female child, she is breaching perceptions of girls as innocent and powerless, positioning herself again as different (Clarke *et al.,* 2011).

My Global Impression

I feel Summer's narrative is primarily a story of reconciliation, reflected in her grappling and reconciling the normality/difference of her experiences with her expectations. I feel her story indicates her sense making has been informed by where she is from, comparing and contrasting herself with her peers and reflecting on and questioning broader societal assumptions.

I feel she has made some sense of herself and reconciled her lack of acceptance by peers at primary school for being different, her lack of acceptance at secondary school for being different and has now embraced her difference with a strong position statement of *"if you don't like me you know where the door is"* (1S473).

What helped/hindered Summer in accessing education

Help/hindrance Topic	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Peers (and teachers)	**H1** *"I liked it there cos I had all my friends"* (1S233)	214
School policy	**H2** *"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet"* (1S127)	214-215
AP	**H3** *"I don't feel that I'm getting the right education"* (1S381)	215
Own emotions	**H4** *"I'm mainly here…because of my anger"* (1S479)	216

- **H1** *"I liked it there cos I had all my friends"*

Consistent with other studies of adolescents Summer consistently positions peer relationships as an important, if not the most important/valued aspect of school (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017, Farouk, 2017). However, peers were influential in hindering Summer's access to education, implicated in her getting into trouble (2S245-2S247), getting excluded (1S197), being able to return to schooling following exclusion (1S165-1S167) and not attending (2S211).

Summer's story also indicates that peer relationships were not valued by school staff. Summer positions teachers and their enforcement of school rules as against/barriers to peer friendships describing teachers who *"ruin it"* (1S844). Perhaps, Summer's story reflects the current dynamic in school, that the teacher's role is to enforce the academic, and therefore time spent on social relationships is not valued (Gazeley *et al.*, 2015, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003).

my best friend

- **H2 *"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet"***

Summer's descriptions of exclusions/incidents indicate direct links to school policies around illegal drugs (1S249), expectations about appearance (see EN), expectations about behaviour including fighting (1S197) and rules around accessing toilets:

"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet because it wasn't break time and if really needed to go I'd kick off and I'd just walk out and then I'd move on to human rights" (1S127-1S133)

This vignette reflects both her awareness of the 'right' and the lack of power to enforce her right in the institution. Her statement "*if I really needed to go*" indicates she would sometimes accept being told no and suggests she herself is 'reasonable'.
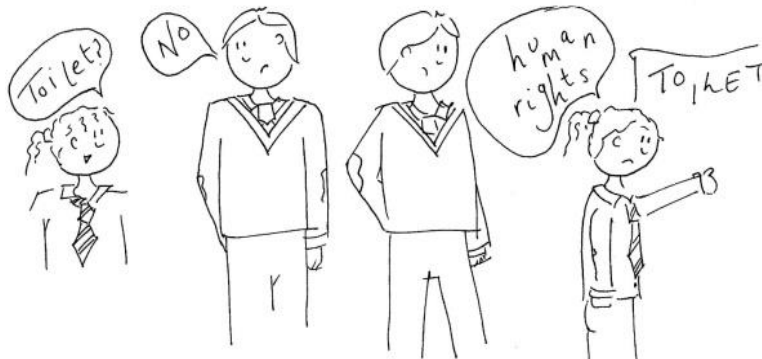
Overall, her story indicates exclusions were often the result of Summer's norms mismatching school norms and illustrate her powerlessness in school (Jull, 2008).

- **H3 "*I don't feel that I'm getting the right education*"**

Summer repeatedly states she wants an education (1S532, 1S463). She identifies a number of factors that help her accessing education, e.g. small groups of people (see 1.4), being able to express herself (see 1.2) and being accepted for being different (1S500). Summer's narrative indicates she wants kinship and to belong, something that has been consistently identified by pupils in the exclusion process (e.g. Munn and Lloyd, 2005, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015)

Summer also describes a number of factors that culminate in her concluding she is not *"getting the right education"* including less lessons and less breadth of curriculum (2S149-2S163). Similarly to previous studies she notes the curriculum is irrelevant to the job she wants to do (though she recognises she regularly changes her mind) (e.g. Hilton, 2006). Furthermore, Summer notes the placement is limiting her opportunities for further or higher education (2S175-2S187). Her theory is substantiated by evidence that indicates pupils attending APs have poorer outcomes than their counterparts in mainstream schools (McCluskey *et al.,* 2015, Education Committee, 2017).

Overall, considering the helps and hindrances Summer identifies in a school she would like/benefit from a flexible approach. However, the lack of flexibility within schools has been suggested to be a reason pupils are excluded and attend APs in the first instance (Gazeley, 2010, Macrae *et al.*, 2003).

- **H4 *"I'm mainly here .. because of my anger"***

Summer indicates she, herself, is a hindrance to her education, citing her anger and her mental health difficulties as the main reason she is in the AP (1S479-1S481). The labels she has applied to herself individualise and pathologise therefore, it is perhaps understandable that she has internalised the labels and attributed 'blame' to herself (Gillies, 2011). Even though as noted, there appear relational (H1) and institutional (H2) factors that have also contributed to her being in the AP. It is noteworthy that she states "mainly", perhaps she acknowledges but ignores/overlooks the other contributory factors as she feels she has no control over them or perhaps she has been told her personal difficulties alone are the reason she is there.

Meta-narratives/discourses evident in Summer's story

Meta-narrative/discourse identified	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Family Dad Sister	**M1** *"my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids"* (1S666) **M1.1** *"I don't even know how he can call himself a Dad" (*1S684) **M1.2** *"so I'd be protecting him and.. I'd get excluded."* (1S24)	217
Cultural norms	**M2** *"normal to me"* (1S89)	217-218
Education	**M3** "*more of a chance of getting into college or university"* (2S175-2S179).	218
Girl	**M4** *"I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person" (*1S89)	219
Friends	**M5** *"he was my best friend"* (1S818)	219-220
Behaviour &childhood	**M6** *"Just doing as you're told"* (1S45)	220
Adolescence and adulthood	**M7** *"halfway to being an adult"* (2S141)	220-221

- **M1** *"my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids"*

Summer's story indicates she has a construction of what family and family members should be and do, reflective of canonical discourses. Her story indicates she acts out her role as a sister and a daughter but has to negotiate breaches of role by her parents (Bruner, 1986).

Summer's story reveals that parents should: be there and care, and regardless of breach of role, her role as a daughter is to love them unconditionally reflected in her having 'love' and their names on a tattoo (2S588). However, she then states *"just in the small writing"* (2S590) perhaps reflecting her response to their breach and their adapted value.

M 1.1 Her story also reveals a Dad norm (see 3.1) and her experiences of her Dad breaching that role. Her mini-narrative about her Dad also reflects another common narrative of Dad as role model.

Summer reflects in her mini-narrative about a time she had to attend court and her Dad having previously been to court and states: *"I'm not going to follow in his footsteps" (*1S680).

M 1.2 Summer's story reveals she considers that to be a sister she is required to protect and look after her little brother (see 2.4, 1S18-1S24). I wonder if she felt a greater pressure to be protective and caring due to their parents not being there, perhaps feeling obliged to fulfil a parental role.

- **M2 *"normal to me"***

Throughout Summer's story, she refers to what's normal to her, she suggests her cultural norms, her daily life of drugs and violence are different to community and school norms where they are unacceptable (Bruner, 1986). The difference in norms has led to conflict with those in power in school, over fighting and having drugs, echoing previous studies, see H2 (Jull, 2008). Her descriptions of her conflicting normalities, provide a reflection on underlying ideas/principles/values in society that have shaped her story and perhaps made her consider her upbringing and ultimately herself as 'different'.

- **M3 *"more of a chance of getting into college or university"***

Summer describes wanting the 'best' education, which she states would be mainstream as this would give her more chance of getting into FE or University (2S175-2S186). A theory substantiated by data (McCluskey *et al.,* 2015, Education Committee, 2017). Her story reflects an achievement and aspiration discourse, that education improves lives which permeates education policy (Carlile, 2009, DfE, 2011).

She also suggests APs are not valued generally in society or by pupils themselves perhaps because the students are considered not to have conformed to the aspirational 'life chances' discourse.

- **M4 *"I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person"***

Summer's narrative reveals expectations and norms for being a girl, albeit a transgressive girl.

She identifies as a tomboy, and states that others would consider her as *"one of the lads"* (2S297). Reay (2001) in her study of girl identities suggests "implicit in the concept of 'tomboy' is a devaluing of traditional notions of femininity" and rejection of femininity. However, Summer's story indicates that although she does not identify as 'girly' it was in perceptions of others that she was considered not to like or be friends with girls. Summer describes that because she hung around with boys girls would laugh and "bitch" about her, separating her from the group. Summer also states she would *"beat em up"* (1S97) which perhaps reaffirmed her alignment with masculinity, rather than femininity.

Paechter (2012) notes in her studies tomboys are left alone by girls because they defend themselves,

perhaps also contributing to Summer's alignment with boys.

In addition, Reay (2001) notes girls avoid boys and I wonder if in identifying as a tomboy Summer was then avoided by girls by her association, as she states by hanging around with lads she was "like one of the lads". Paechter (2012) also suggests as girls take on masculine attributes their position with girls becomes increasingly precarious, perhaps for Summer expectation and actions contributed to her positioning as 'one of the lads'.

However, interestingly, Summer also describes that occasionally she can be a "pure girl" which she describes as being achieved through altering her appearance, *"nails done"* (2S301), *"hair done"* (2S303), reflecting a discourse of femininity being achieved by 'looks' (Dobson, 2014). She notes she has to choose on a day to day basis, it is not a boundary that can be straddled but an either/or perhaps because the gender norms for girls and boys remain deeply engrained in culturally available discourses.

- **M5** *"he was my best friend"*

Summer's narrative reveals a norm of what a friend should be (see 3.2) and expresses distress/upset when breached which is also evidenced in other studies (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017). Friend relationships may be of particular importance to Summer as her family narrative is somewhat spoilt by repeated family-relationship breaches (see M1).

- **M6** *"Just doing as you're told"*

Summer's story indicates there are cultural norms about behaviour expected of children. She describes differing understandings of standards of behaviour (see 2.1, 2.2) but indicates that regardless of differing local cultural expectations the norm is that to be positioned as 'good' children should be subservient to adults, reflecting a canonical norm of children as obedient and passive (Hockey and James, 1995). If children do not acquiesce to adult demands they are "a problem child" (MacLure, Jones, Holmes and MacRae, 2012). A positon which risks exclusion from norms including school and in the case of Summer as a Looked After Child (LAC) change of home, e.g.:*"I knew every*

Thursday was my deadline. If I hadn't been good and proved to them that I can be good then I'd be in a different foster home" (1S43).

- **M7 *"halfway to being an adult"***

Summer's narrative indicates she has a construction of childhood, adulthood and a liminal, transitional "halfway" stage in-between. She suggests there are no clear expectations for being "halfway", her options are to act as child or adult:

"you either want me to be a kid or an adult" (2S139)

"I've got people telling me that I need to act I'm only 15 I need to just be a kid while it lasts and then I've got my teachers and my Mum and stuff saying I need to start taking responsibility for what I do, learning how to .hhh survive like in my own house" (2S129-2S133).

As noted in M6 she equates childhood to subservience, her narrative also reveals she equates adulthood to survival, responsibility and independence, a common Western discoures and perhaps the dominant cultural narrative available for Summer to draw upon (Hockey and James, 1995). Summer's story suggests she has begun to take on 'adult roles' perhaps because she is cognisant she does not have a family to stay with past 16.

When I met Summer for the final time she described feeling the pressures of GCSEs and leaving home at 16 and appeared forlorn. The adult/independence discourse perhaps feels oppressive when one has limited options and a limited support network.

Bryony's story of returning to education

following permanent exclusion

Synopsis

Bryony is 18, she lives at home with her Mum and her brother who is disabled. Her sister has moved out after getting qualifications, a job and a car. Bryony feels her sister has "gone the right way" and she's "gone the wrong way".

Bryony was bullied in primary school until her Mum told her to "step up" to the bullies. She did and they left her alone. In secondary school Bryony received repeated exclusions for fighting. She enjoyed dancing and sports but felt the teachers and the older students were "rude". Bryony also felt her Mum was "having a go" and "pressuring" her but now realises she was "just being a Mum". Following a permanent exclusion Bryony realised she needed school and a job so went back to school and "basically bribed 'em", returned and put "her head down". Bryony now attends FE college and wants to be a carer. She wishes she could go back to school and do everything again as she has found college a "struggle" due to her learning difficulties and not getting help. She feels she needs to focus on the future not fighting all the time but also feels she is just a naughty, fighting person.

Presentation

Bryony started the interview nervous and hesitant, she stated she had not done anything like it before. Gradually she chatted more freely but frequently appeared despondent when talking about her behaviour and her current 'struggle'. She was louder when talking about her irritation with peers/school staff.

Intention

I feel her intention in telling her story was to reinforce her focus on the future and express that maintaining a future focus is a struggle due to her learning difficulties and because she is still a 'naughty, fighting' person. By telling her story I feel she is attempting to make sense of her competing/contradictory 'bitch/fighter' and 'caring/helpful' narratives/identities.

Themes and Sub-themes	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
1 - *"I am nice like that like if they needed something I'd help em out if I have it, but if if you are a bitch to me I'm gonna be a bigger one back."* (1B378-1B382)	222-223
1.1 *"I'd just fight ya"* (1B102)	222
1.2 *"I loved [dancing]"* (1B116)	223
1.3 *"I'd <u>say I am</u> a nice girl. I have got heart but I can be a bitch sometimes"* (1B352-1B354)	223
2 - *"I have to look.. forward instead of being, trying to be bad"* (1B230)	223-224
2.1 *"I just thought right I need to focus now on the future, not the.. not fighting all the time"* (1B136-1B138)	223-224
2.2 *"Sometimes I think I wish I went back to school did everything again"* (1B142)	224
2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"* (1B226)	224
3 *"I <u>always</u> think that she's having a go at me and that, but she's not, she's just being a Mum"* (1B260)	224-226
3.1 *"she just dragged me down to school"* (1B58)	224-225
3.2 *"she's just shouting at me but…no she's just trying to be there"* (1B272)	225
3.3 *"Mum has to be with him all the time"* (1B298)	225
3.4 *"She's gone the right way about it I've gone the wrong way"* (1B280)	226

Theme 1 - *"I am nice like that like if they needed something I'd help em out if I have it, but if if you are a bitch to me I'm gonna be a bigger one back"*

Theme one is focused on Bryony's multifaceted presentation of herself.

- **1. 1 *"I'd just fight ya"***

Primarily, Bryony describes herself as a 'fighter', which sits within a broader description of herself and her actions as 'bad', 'naughty'.

The beginning of Bryony's 'fighter' positioning is captured in a well-honed bullying EN (BEN):

"I went home everyday saying to my mum that I'm getting bullied and that and then .hhh my mum just had enough of it so she just dragged me down to school and then made me step up to them" (1B58).

Bryony's language indicates a reluctance, "*dragged me*", "*made me*", indicating she had no choice/agency.

Her story also reveals she did not become a fighter directly after the BEN. She had "quiet" years until year 9 (1B18) when she began fighting regularly, becoming a fighter, an identity she retains to this day (1B140).

I wondered if Bryony resorted to fighting as she had experienced it previously to be an effective response to peer issues. Perhaps, as other studies have shown her fights increasingly became about maintaining a persona than settling a direct issue such as bullying or name calling (e.g. Pereira and Lavoie, 2017). I also wondered given she described having learning difficulties if she values fighting as it is something she excels at. Similarly, Farouk's (2017) study found if pupils could not gain esteem from teachers and academic performance then they sought esteem through peers.

- **1.2 *"I loved [dancing]"***

Through her narrative Bryony portrays herself as active, describing loving dance (1B22), sports (1B120), partying (1B324) and being out of the house (1B330).
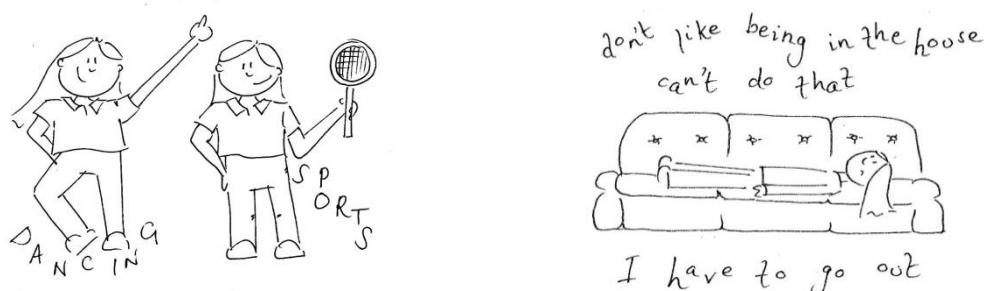
However, such statements are often followed by comments e.g. "*well..I wou<u>ldn't say they're</u>*
important" (1B324) indicating a lack of perceived value and importance in her activities.

Perhaps she is comparing/contrasting the perceived value of her activities relative to the value of her
sister's activities of having a job and qualifications (see 3.4) or, is viewing her interests relative to the
value of academia in schools as previous studies have found (e.g. Hartas, 2011, Hilton, 2006)

> During the interview I felt I tried to counter Bryony's "not important" comments by reflecting
> positives back. I initially worried that it was not my role to affirm positives but on balance felt it
> appropriate; I would have felt more uncomfortable if I had left her feeling focused on negatives.

- **1.3 *"I'd <u>say I am</u> a nice girl. I have got heart but I can be a bitch sometimes"***

Bryony highlights a helpful, nice aspect to herself and views being a carer as a future profession
(1B130).

However, her statements about being a 'nice' girl are regularly tempered and suggest the
responsibility for her remaining 'nice' rests with others treating her with respect or not being a bitch to
her first (1B358).
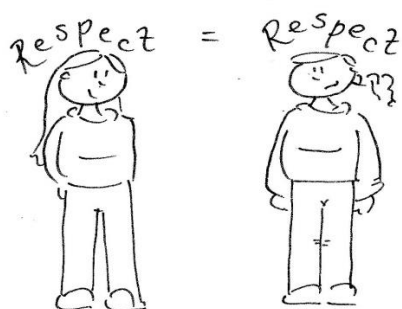
Perhaps to say simply that she is nice would leave her vulnerable to being bullied again (Pereira and
Lavoie, 2017).

Theme 2 – *"I have to look.. forward instead of being, trying to be bad"*

Theme two, encompasses Bryony's reflections and struggle to focus on the future.

- **2.1 *"I just thought right I need to focus now on the future, not the.. not fighting all the time"***

Throughout her story Bryony reflects about the impact of fighting/bad/naughty on her future, and expresses fears she could end up "*going to jail*" (1B142) and/or become unemployed and homeless.
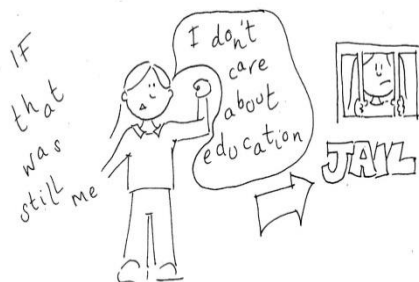
Her story indicates being told she was permanently excluded was a TP, an epiphany when she realised her trajectory:

"..once I got kicked out and I was like right I need to put me head down now because.. I'm gonna end up a bum really heh, if I don't put me head down, I need a job" (1B200-1B204)

The TP indicates she took control, but, Bryony's story does not reveal joyous empowerment, rather she describes her current situation as "*a struggle*" (1B146). Perhaps she feels left behind/having lost time as she states: "*still gonna get there, eventually*" (1B282-1B284). Alternatively, she perhaps feels limited agency/control over what she feels she has to do (education to get a job) which she finds hard due to her learning difficulties. Previous studies have found the academic focus of education to be a factor in disengagement and exclusion in the first instance, perhaps Bryony is still struggling with the academic focus (Hilton, 2006).

- **2.2. *"Sometimes I think I wish I went back to school did everything again"***

Bryony wishes she could go back: *"I'd go every day do my work"* (1B214) and that then she would have "*got a job and have had some money" (*1B144).

The content of her reflections centre around changing the academic and attendance aspects of schooling, rather than reflecting on the reasons for exclusions - fighting and peer interactions. Perhaps, because she feels she could not change fighting, it is part of her or that she views education as academia and attendance reflective of current educational discourse and practice (Parsons, 1999).

- **2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"***

Bryony reflects on her actions, attributing the 'badness' to herself:

"now I know it's not clever now I look back I feel like an idiot" (1B226).

She also reflects that her actions impacted on her not learning and not achieving qualifications (1B134): *"cos I'd been fighting all the time and that I just never used to learn anything"* (1B198)

However, whilst she is disparaging of her past actions and acknowledges the impact, she retains the identity of being a fighter (1B140) perhaps because she feels 'fighting' is part of her, who she is, she has internalised 'fighting', it is part of her identity (Winslade and Monk, 2007).

****

Theme 3 – *"I <u>always</u> think that she's having a go at me and that, but she's not, she's just being a Mum"*

Theme three, is primarily relational, encapsulating the influence of her Mum and her siblings.

- **3.1 *"she just dragged me down to school"***

As described in the BEN Bryony's Mum provides the solution to Bryony's problem. However, Bryony uses reticent phraseology perhaps indicating reluctance, but also maybe fear for her Mum's response as she notes her Mum was "angry".

I am unsure whether Bryony was pleased her Mum took control which resulted in bullies leaving her alone or whether she would have preferred an alternative response which may have impacted differently on who she is now.

- **3.2 *"she's just shouting at me but…no she's just trying to be there"***

Bryony states that her relationship with her Mum was strained but is now *"very good"* (1B246). Bryony describes her Mum as wanting the best for her but previously thought her Mum was just *"shouting"* (1B272), *"pressuring"* her (1B270). Therefore, suggesting Bryony's sense making of her mum's positioning/approach has altered over time which has perhaps contributed to the repair in their relationship (McLean *et al.*, 2013).

Bryony also indicates her Mum may have followed a similar trajectory to Bryony:

"she just wants the best for me like, she don't want me to be her when she were younger and all that, so she's just trying to look out for me" (1B248-1B250).

Therefore, Bryony may feel compared and judged against her Mum's past.

- **3.3** *"Mum has to be with him all the time"*

Bryony expresses her Mum also finds life hard and invokes a 'single mum' narrative (Ajandi, 2011). For example: *"It's hard for my Mum really, she's just a single mum, so, she does what she can really"* (1B304-1B310).

Bryony is perhaps reflecting guilt that she has wasted her Mum's limited time on dealing with her issues and/or that Bryony would have liked more time with her Mum.

- **3.4** *"She's gone the right way about it I've gone the wrong way"*

Bryony's sister is a contrast character who was: *"right good at school"* (1B276), *"always did her work"* (1B278), "*got a job, she's got a ca*r" (1B20).

The direct comparator maybe a reason why Bryony considers what she does as of lower import and has devalued her own interests (see 1.2) and/or has been influential in Bryony trying to maintain an alternative role/character. I wonder if Bryony may feel like she is letting her Mum down in the shadow of her sister.

My Global Impression

I feel Bryony's narrative is a story of resignation to the fate that progressing academically to get a job and be a carer will be a struggle. She seems resigned to have to go the 'right way', to relinquish fighting so she does not become a bum and go to prison but finds this hard, a struggle as she is a fighter, a naughty person. Bryony is reluctant to abandon her fighting persona even though she recognises it has hindered her progress academically and is "not a good look for a girl". Perhaps she retains the identity because she values being a fighter, she is good at it and deems her other interests as unimportant. But also perhaps as it makes sense to her and she can work with it as it contains contradictions in her experience and potentially confusing aspects of herself. I also wonder if it is fighting that sets her apart from her sister who has gone the "right way" – without being a fighter what reasoning would Bryony have not to have achieved/progressed to the same level as her sister?

What helped/hindered Bryony in accessing education

Help/hindrance Topic	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Subjects	**H1** "*I liked dancing that were my favourite course*" (1B22-1B24)	227
Environment - help	**H2** "*it's lots harder*" (1B150)	227
Staff and peers	**H3** "*It wer the people around me like and the teachers, as well the teachers were rude*" (1B80-1B82)	228
Realization – purpose of school	**H4** "*I realised that I do need school*" (1B184)	229

- **H1** *"I liked dancing that were my favourite course"*

Bryony describes two subjects she "loved", dancing (1B116) and sports (1B120) but as noted in 1.2 she states "they're not important". I wonder if her additional comments were as other studies have found because YP have an awareness of the lower value/import of such subjects relative to more academic subjects (Wilding, 2015, Rendall and Stuart, 2005, Hilton, 2006).

- **H2** *"it's lots harder"*

Bryony describes the move from secondary to FE College as harder than school where she got help:

"I've got learning difficulties so it's like harder for me but I have to you have to learn really cos when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I?" (1B166-1B168).

Her story also suggests she likely missed learning due to exclusions (1B198) and "wagging" (1B208).
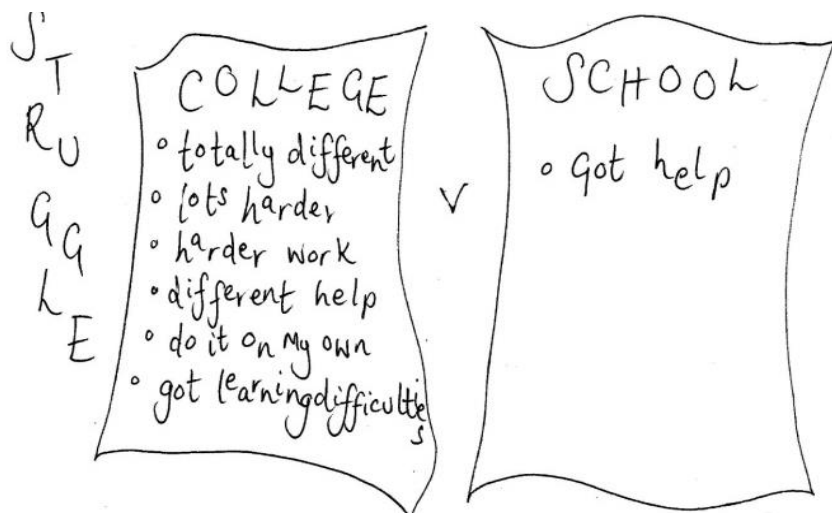
Bryony justifies the lack of help because she *"won't have help when older"* but states it is a 'struggle'. I wonder if the discourse of 'adulthood necessitates independence' (see M4) contributes to Bryony feeling College and perhaps more broadly life is a "struggle". Her struggle is perhaps understandable given she has learning difficulties in an academic focused educational climate. Previous studies have found that excluded pupils often have learning difficulties and the statistics highlight a disproportionate number of pupils with SEN are excluded (Rendall and Stuart, 2005, DfE, 2017c, Hayden, 2003).

- **H3** *"It wer the people around me, like and the teachers, as well the teachers were rude"*
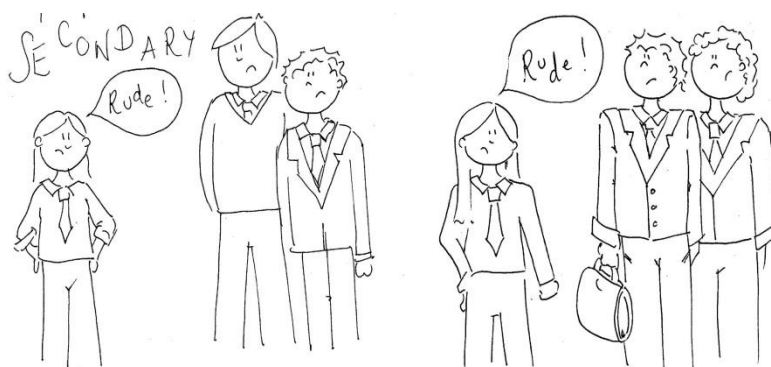
Social issues/difficulties were a hindrance throughout Bryony's story including issues related to bullying in primary school (1.1), following others (1B220) and peers and teachers being "horrible" (1B88) and "rude" (1B82) e.g.:

"they had no manners at all, like they talk to you like shit heh like if you like if you went to say morning or summat like they'd just look at you like your a piece of shit on their shoe" (1B84-1B86).

Her descriptions of teacher communication/behaviour echo those of participants in other studies (Sproston *et al.*, 2017, McCluskey *et al.,* 2015, Hilton, 2006, Clarke *et al.*, 2011). Bryony's story indicates teacher behaviour in secondary school was different to primary. Previous studies have also highlighted the change in ethos between school phases is a contributory factor to disengagement and exclusion (Gordon, 2001, Farouk, 2017).

Bryony's difficulties with peers began with bullying then developed into fighting. Similarly, previous studies have found YP may use fighting to protect them from bullying and maintain fighting as it can lead to gains in social status and esteem (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017, Farouk, 2017). Perhaps, Bryony's story reflects Farouk's (2017) findings that YP who cannot gain esteem from academic performance or teacher's recognition then gain it from their peers.

- **H4** *"I realised that I do need school"*

Bryony's epiphany, her realisation of the need for school was a key factor in helping her re-access/re-engage with education (1B184-1B188, 1B200-1B204).

Her epiphany came when threatened with permanent exclusion and nearing school leaving age, therefore, perhaps the thought of not being allowed to go to college made her reflect on her past and consider her future (McLean *et al.,* 2013, McAdams *et al.,* 2001, Jones *et al.,* 2018).

Meta-narratives/discourses evident in Bryony's story

Meta-narrative/discourse identified	Title	Appendix page number for additional evidence/information
Mum	**M1** *" just a single mum"* (1B306)	230
Girl	**M2** *"not a good look for a girl"* (1B230)	230
Right v wrong way	**M3** *"she's gone the right way"* (1B280)	230-231
Growing up – independence	**M4** *"when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I"* (1B168)	231
Value of activities	**M5** *"cos I've got other things to do like ..well I wouldn't really say they were important"* (1B314)	231
Cleverness=goodness	**M6** *"it's not clever"* (1B226)	231

- **M1** *"just a single mum"*

Bryony's story reveals a complex multifaceted Mum:

"my Mum has to be with him all the time, he's not ..well to be on his own. He can't be on his own. It's hard for my Mum really, she's just a single mum, so she does what she can really" (1B298- 1B310).

Her description of her Mum as a 'single mum' reflects a common construction of the single Mum as a Mum who finds life hard, does what she has to and does her best (Ajandi, 2011). Doing what she has to includes looking after Bryony's brother who is disabled and cannot look after himself which reflects her Mum fits a nurturing, traditional 'Mum' role (de Beauvoir, 1977).

Furthermore, Bryony's Mum also appears to fit the 'Mum of a teenager' role, looking out for her but "pressuring" her (see 3).

However, there is also an apparent Mum role breach in Bryony's Mum making her fight (see sub-theme 1.1). The breach of role may have been a factor in Bryony's initial reticence to fight.

● **M2** *"not a good look for a girl"*

Bryony's narrative indicates she is negotiating some potentially confusing and contradictory narratives of women/girls. Her fighter identity reflects a strong woman who is active, assertive, aggressive, taking control and will not be bullied or disrespected, something Dobson (2014) describes as an aspirational femininity. However, her story does not reflect empowerment. She states *"it is not a good look for a girl"* indicating/acknowledging perhaps a pressure to conform to more normative gender representations of femininity and that by fighting she has breached her girl role to be subordinate, passive and permissive (Renold and Allen, 2006, Pereira and Lavoie, 2017, Splett *et al.*, 2015, de Beauvoir, 1977, Reay, 2001).

In contrast, Bryony also indicates she has a 'feminine' helpful/nurturing side, stating she is a 'nice' girl and wants to pursue a career in care, a traditionally female role (Brown, 2011, Dobson, 2014). However, she frequently tempers her statements about being caring with the caveat that she can also be a bitch, perhaps as noted to protect herself from future bullying (see 1.3) but also perhaps to counterbalance her gender identities (Dobson, 2014).

Bryony's story also indicates her 'looks' led to jealousy and bullying: "*because I had right long hair and because I were got on with boys more than I did girls, I were always hanging around with boys and I think these girls were jealous.*" (1B44-1B50).

Her 'attractive' femininity and fighting indicate Bryony is/was balancing young femininity of sexiness (even at primary age) with 'laddish' transgression (Dobson, 2014).
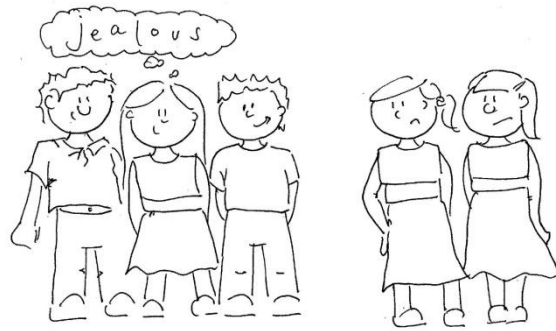
Bryony's story also reveals gender norms for boys. For example, she states boys may try to "act bad" perhaps acknowledging they should at least 'try' to fulfil the meta macho norm. Bryony also indicates that boys may be "clever", a trait currently most commonly associated with girls, suggesting boy roles can also be breached (Renold and Allen, 2006).
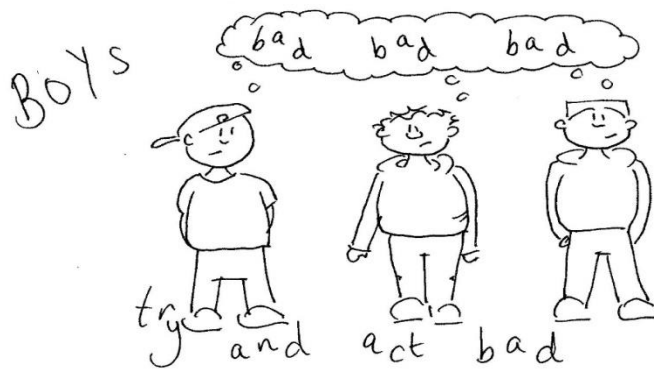
- **M3 *"She's gone the right way"***

Bryony describes a tale of two sisters drawing from a common meta-narrative about a wrong versus right way.

"My sister were right good at school, she always she always did her work she went to 6th form, did her work and now she's got a full time job". (1B276-1B278)

Bryony suggests the right way is being good at school, getting a job and a car, reflective of common social norms (Hogan, 1978, Marini, 1984). Whereas, the wrong way is the converse, being a "bum" (unemployed and homeless) and/or ending up in prison, a course she was on. It elevates her sister to a perfect role model status, the "super girl" of Renold and Allen's study (2006) and Bryony is left struggling behind but not wanting to go the "wrong way".
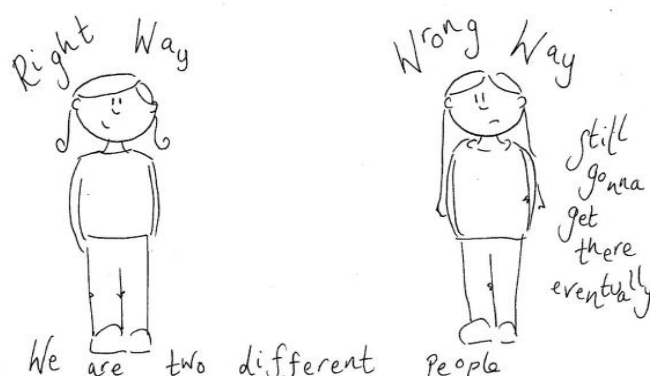
- **M4** *"when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I"*

Bryony's story reveals a metanarrative about being "grown up", which she suggests necessitates being independent, reflecting a common Western discourse around independence and adulthood evident in policy and law (Hockey and James, 1995, CFA, 2014). Dependency in adulthood is viewed negatively, and therefore for those who may require some assistance as Bryony indicates she has done because of her learning difficulties this could lead to feelings of inadequacy and fear for the future and the "wrong way" (Hockey and James, 1995).

Bryony also indicates secondary school is a time to "grow up" reflected in a change of mood from "fun" at primary school (despite being bullied 1.1) to "more mad" (1B92). Perhaps the necessity to 'grow up' at secondary school is due to the change in ethos as previous studies have found (Gordon, 2001, Farouk, 2017).

have to learn really cos when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I

- **M5** *"cos I've got other things to do like ..well I wouldn't really say they were important"*

As noted in 1.2 Bryony describes loving dancing and sports but also indicates she perceives what she does, her interests and her hobbies are not valued.

Her story is perhaps reflecting a societal discourse about "partying" being a hedonistic, unimportant 'youth' pastime (Cullen, 2011, Dobson, 2014). The lack of importance is perhaps reinforced by comparing herself to her sister coupled with the dominant discourse of academic attainment which may have the effect of Bryony considering that she herself is not important (DfE, 2011, CFA, 2014, White and Epston, 1990).

- **M6** *"it's not clever"*

Bryony equates cleverness with goodness and has a direct comparator, her sister. Renold and Allen (2006) refer to the "feminisation of success", the common discourse that girls are 'best' at academia, another discourse Bryony can apply to herself to make her feel powerless/inadequate.

Cross Story Commonalities

Commonalities identified across the stories are summarised in the table below. The first column records the aspect of the system the commonality sits within, the second column is the theme of the commonality and the next three columns provide evidence of the commonality in each participant's narrative including references to themes/subthemes.

Aspect of system	Theme of commonality	Katie	Summer	Bryony
School/ Societal	**C1** Naughty	1.3 *"I were proper naughty"*	2.3 *"naughty kids"*	2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"*
Individual	**C2** Constructs of self	1.1 *"I were right good"* 1.3 *"I were proper naughty"*	1 *"I'm different"*	1 *"I am nice like that"*
Individual	**C3** Reflections – looking back	2 *"Looking back at myself"*		2 *"sometimes I think I wish I went back to school"*
School	**C4** School	H5 *"just summat that didn't want me"* *"it was the way they talked to you"* in H1 and H4.	H2 *"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet"* *"weren't accepting me"* in 1.2	H3 *"teachers were rude"*
School	**C5** Peers	1.2 *"being a sheep"* 3.4 *"now I'm like with em everyday"*	3.2 *"supposed to be my best friend"* H1 *"I liked it there cos I had all my friends"* 1.1 *"I was bullied for being different"*	H3 *"people were rude"* 1.1 *"I'd just fight ya"* - BEN
Family	**C6** Family	M5 *"my mum's everything to me"* M4 *"little brat of all of 'em"* 3.1 *"it used to stress my Mum out"* 3.2 *"lately my Nan's been buying me new handbags"* 3.3 *"I used to be evil horrible to my brother and my sister"*	3.1 *"I was hoping you'd walk through that door"* M1 *"My mum and dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids"*	M1 *"just a single mum"* M3 *"she's gone the right way"* 3 *"I always think that she's having a go"*
Societal -	**C7** Need	H2 *"I've grew up and*	H3 *"the right*	H4 *"I realised that*

Government discourse School	education	*I've realised what I actually wanna do"* M7 *"sometimes people aren't that brainy"*	education" M3 *"more of a chance of getting into college or university"*	*I do need school"* TP in 2.1 M6 *"It's not clever"*
Individual Societal	C8 Deserving	M6 *"I didn't deserve to be in that school"*	H4 *"I'm mainly here… because of my anger".* *"I blew it"* (1S159) in 1.2	2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"*
Societal	C9 Right/wrong path	M4 *"the wrong road"*	Within M1 *"I'm not going to follow in his footsteps"*	M3 *"She's gone the right way"* 3.4 *"I've gone the wrong way"*
Societal	C10 Girl		M4 *"I wouldn't say I was a girly type of person"* 1.5 *"I'm more like a tomboy"*	M2 *"Not a good look for a girl"* 1.3 *"I'd say I am a nice girl"*
Societal	C11 Growing up	M5 *"when I grow up"* H2 *"I've grew up and I've realized what I actually wanna do"* *"I don't need to be childish no more"* in 1.4	M7 *"halfway to being an adult"*	M4 *"I'm not gonna have all the help am I"*

C1 Naughty

Descriptions of actions that led to exclusions were primarily referred to under the umbrella term of 'naughty'. They each internalise their actions, and describe themselves as naughty. Being naughty positions each participant as abnormal, a "problem". The reasons for their actions, their 'naughtiness' varies but, notably their actions are all dependent on interactions with peers and primarily within the context and constraints of school rules (DfE, 2016, MacLure *et al.,* 2012). As MacLure *et al*. (2012) notes conceptions of the 'good' child are shaped by social and institutional discourses.

Each participant seems to hold a mirror up to themselves and a 'good/everyday' child in the form of their former primary school self, the perfect pupil and/or their sister and find themselves wanting.

The stories collectively indicate naughtiness can lead to negative consequences such as exclusions, separation from a sibling and lost learning. However, there is also evidence of possible positives, as for example, Summer describes naughty as "exciting" (Hayward, 2002). Furthermore, Bryony has retained her naughtiness that she refers to synonymously with fighting which has successfully

resolved peer issues and therefore may bring her power and potentially status (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017, Farouk, 2017). Katie describes acceptance by an older peer group, again perhaps bringing with it freedom and control which she lacked in secondary school. Therefore, whilst the terminology and construction appears primarily common, the reasons, consequences and costs/benefits are complex, varied and open to interpretation.

C2 Constructs of self

All the participants present themselves in their stories as multi-layered characters who have developed with time, shaped by interactions with peers, family and school staff and influences and experiences in their environment at home and at school (Drewery and Winslade, 1996, Gilling, 2012). They present themselves as defined by their actions that they internalise and express as part of their identities (Winslade and Monk, 2007). However, they each differ in their presentation of self, for example, Katie presents herself positively as transformed to good from bad, Summer is stoic in her presentation of having reconciled herself as being different and Bryony presents as negotiating apparently contradictory caring and fighting aspects of herself.

C3 Reflections

Both Katie and Bryony reflect on themselves and their actions. McLean *et al.* (2013:433) notes that "meaning making is defined as the active reflection on what one has learned about the self from past events". Both are disparaging of their previous actions/themselves and reflect on the impact of their actions and state a want to change related to their previous actions, perhaps suggesting some 'learning' as McLean *et al.* suggest. However, the impact of reflecting appears different for Katie and Bryony. For Katie reflecting helps distance herself from past actions and move forward. Whereas, Bryony whilst disparaging of her past self and reflective of the impact also states she is still the same. When describing herself Bryony was quiet which perhaps suggests shame not just in her previous actions but in wanting to retain an identity/persona which is deemed 'bad'.

C4 School

As noted in the literature review, the majority of permanent exclusions occur in secondary schools (DfE, 2017c). Each participant's story indicated that secondary school was the time they received most exclusions. They express discontent with secondary school primarily through their dislike of teacher attitude/behaviour and/or enforcement of policy/rules. Similar findings are reported in previous studies (Hilton, 2006, Sproston *et al.,* 2017), including the negative impact of the change to secondary school (e.g. Gordon, 2001, Farouk, 2017).

C5 Peers

Peers feature in each of the participant's stories. They are not necessarily described in detail but their influence is inescapable, from bullies to be fought to the magnetic draw of older ones to the betrayal and loss experienced by Summer. The complex social relationship difficulties Bryony and Summer faced were managed primarily through fighting which led to exclusion. Whereas Katie suggests she

joined a peer group who were not fighting each other but their 'naughty' behaviour rather aligned them against school and the community and also led to exclusion.

C6 Family

The participants' stories indicated there were difficulties in the family home including arguing, rejection and threat of change of home placement, which were potentially intensified/initiated by exclusion reflective of indications from previous studies (e.g. Rendall and Stuart, 2005, Arnold, Yeomans and Simpson, 2009). Bryony indicates bullying led to her Mum being angry, Katie indicates that going with older peers led to difficulties at school and home and Summer suggests difficulties at home led to difficulties at school. The stories indicate a complex interplay of events contributing to difficulties at home and/or school rather than a directionality of difficulty.

Overall, they evidence valuing family, wanting to be accepted and part of family norms, supporting research which indicates family is highly valued for YP and important to their wellbeing (Turtianen *et al.*, 2007).

Interestingly two stories highlight a sibling comparator from which they and their families could compare, contrast and judge which could be considered a potential motivator or a depressor.

> After considering the Mum narratives in Bryony and Katie's stories I felt empathy for Summer's need for a family and her positioning of doing things herself. I reflected that when my Mum died soon after I started secondary school, I made sure I was responsible for myself and did not have to rely on anyone else which I felt was echoed in Summer's narrative.

C7 Need education

Despite their difficulties in school, each participant describes a 'want' for education, as excluded YP in previous studies have described (Munn and Lloyd, 2005). "I need school" appears as a trigger event, an epiphany for both Bryony and Summer. For Bryony it was when she was told she was permanently excluded, for Summer it was when she had been absent from school due to a "bad low". Katie's want seems to have been realised following a TP triggered by an EWO visit.

They all appear to link their want/need for education to future life chances in terms of employment. I wonder if the necessity for education to access employment was not apparent to them or made meaningfully explicit to them.

C8 Deserving/blame

They all place responsibility/blame for their actions within themselves (see C1), despite their stories implicating teachers, injustices, school policies and peers. Other studies have found pupils have blamed themselves (McCluskey *et al.,* 2015), however, several have indicated an unfairness and unreasonableness in exclusion processes (Munn and Lloyd, 2005, Rendall and Stuart, 2005). Interestingly, Daniels (2011) study following the trajectory of excluded YP found those who did not

consider they were at fault in their exclusion did not re-engage in education, perhaps indicating as McLean *et al.* (2013) that taking personal responsibility is key to moving forward.

C9 Right/wrong path

Both Bryony and Katie describe being on the 'wrong road/path'. The metaphor provides a framework for them to reflect on their own positions. In addition, they each had a real life comparator in their respective sisters which may have enabled them to compare and contrast their position and apply the metaphor. However, whilst Katie indicates she embraced her change in direction Bryony describes it as a struggle perhaps due to her described learning difficulties. Therefore, perhaps the metaphor is useful/helpful if the opportunities and resources are available to support the individual staying on the 'right path' (Ungar, 2008). However, conversely, without such opportunities/resources the metaphor has the potential to be disempowering.

C10 Girl

Both Summer and Bryony identified themselves as having more male friends. It seems implied that by choosing/preferring male peers they have aligned themselves with the males and their girl peers reject them. Their alignment may be reinforced by them both fighting, a traditional masculine activity (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017, Dobson, 2014). The rejection by their same sex peers is justified by Bryony as because they were jealous whereas Summer suggests there was an implication "she's one of the lads" and prefers lads and consequently does not want to be friends with girls. Bryony although aware she has transgressed an aspect of femininity, acknowledging fighting is not a good look for a girl struggles to relinquish it, perhaps as other studies have shown for protection from bullies and to gain/maintain peer status (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017).

C11 Growing up

Each participant indicates they are 'growing up' and that being a 'grown up'/adult is in the future.

They each seem to link secondary school to 'growing up' perhaps because of the different demands/expectations/ethos in comparison to primary school (Gordon, 2001, Farouk, 2017). None of the participants use a terminology of adolescent/teenager/youth but each appear to suggest they are no longer in childhood but not yet in adulthood. They are in a liminal state that does not have the clear rules, roles or expectations of childhood or adulthood. The lack of clarity has perhaps contributed to conflicts. Previous research indicates the youth life stage is the most conflictual in part due to changing social role which is perhaps a factor in this study (e.g. Arnett, 1999, Schlegel and Barry, 1999).

They all indicate being grown up/adult is in the future for them and they each indicate grown up means employment and independence, reflective of common social norms associated with adulthood and educational discourses (Hogan 1978, Marini 1984, Hockey and James, 1995).

Helped/Hindered Commonalities (HC)

Help/hindrance	Katie	Summer	Bryony
HC1 Environment (School)	3.5 *"I've loved it here"* 1.1 *"I were right good"* H5 *"just summat that didn't want me to be in that school"*	H3 *"the right education"* *"I was one of the brightest in my year at primary"* (1S8) *"in year 7 where I started getting really bad everyday I got excluded"* (1S101)	H2 *"It's lots harder"*
HC2 Teachers	H1 *"she were like a proper nice teacher"*	*"Teachers ruin it"* in H1	H3 *"the teachers were rude"*
HC3 Curriculum	H2 *"I've grew up and I've realized what I actually wanna do"*	H3 *"I'm not getting the right education"*	H1 *"I liked dancing"*
HC4 Peers	H6 *"I just wanted to be like them"* 1.2 *"being a sheep"*	H1 *"I liked it there cos I had all my friends"*	H3 *"it were the people around me"*
HC5 Policy	H3 *"I only got kicked out once"*	H2 *"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet"*	In 2.1 *"once I got kicked out"*
HC6 Want education	H2 *"I've grew up and I've realized what I actually wanna do"*	H3 *"the right education"*	H4 *"I realised that I do need school"*

HC1 Environment

All three participants relay primarily positive experiences in primary school describing being good, bright and it being fun, despite both Bryony and Summer having difficulties with bullies. Each story suggests difficulties arise/escalate at secondary school because of staff attitude/behaviour, peer influence and policy. The findings are echoed in previous studies of excluded YP and reflect government statistics (Gordon, 2001, Farouk, 2017, DfE, 2017c).

HC2 Teachers

The narratives reflect that teaching staff at secondary school communicated with a perceived lack of respect, care and empathy for the participants which translated for Katie to feeling she was not wanted. The participants' views echo previous research (Pomeroy, 1999, Hilton, 2006, Sproston *et al.,* 2017). Additionally, perhaps the narrowing of the teachers' role has been influential in their responses and consequently the participants experiences (Gazeley, 2010). This is a concerning finding given the body of research that advocates for the benefits of the supportive and protective role of teachers in pupils' lives (Baker, 2006, Buyse, Verschueren, Doumen, Damme, and Maes, 2008).

HC3 Curriculum

They all expressed want/like of specific subjects including art, sports and hair (dressing), subjects that could be considered practical/vocational. Their stories indicate the subjects they liked were not valued or what was on offer was irrelevant and/or limited. Previous studies have echoed the participants' views, for example, Hilton's (2006) participants similarly considered the curriculum devalues more practical/vocational studies and was irrelevant to them for future life/employment. Perhaps, the current participants and previous are aware of the dominant educational discourse of academic attainment (see MC2).

HC4 Peers

Peer difficulties/issues arise in each narrative. Bryony and Summer experienced bullying in primary school, and both went on to resolve bullying through fighting and then applied fighting more liberally to resolve a range of peer issues including friendship betrayal and name calling, as previous studies have found (Pereira and Lavoie, 2017).

In contrast, Katie describes peers as the reason she was good and/or naughty. She describes a Matza-esque magnetic pull to naughty peers, copying their behaviours then getting excluded (Matza, 1964).

HC5 Policy

Each participant describes breaches of school policy including fighting, bringing drugs into school, non-compliance with school rules around what are considered acceptable hairstyles, and non-attendance.

Their stories indicate the response to their policy breaches was exclusion reflecting the punitive nature of current school policy (DfE, 2016). Their stories reveal that often offenses, particularly fighting were repeated, suggesting they were not provided with educative/preventative alternative approaches. There is also evidence of idiosyncratic application of policy, including Bryony's permanent exclusion reprieve and Katie being unable to reintegrate into a new school despite meeting her trial period targets (Gazeley *et al.,* 2015).

HC6 Want education

They all express a want and need for education to support their ability to gain future employment, as previous studies have found (Rendall and Stuart, 2005). I wonder if prior to decisions around post 16 education the necessity for education was not apparent to them.

Meta-narrative/Discourse Commonalities (MC)

Meta-narrative/discourse evident across stories	Katie	Summer	Bryony
MC1 'Naughty'	M1 *"I were proper naughty"* 1.3 *"I were proper naughty"*	M6 *"just doing as you're told"*	2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"*
MC2 Attainment discourse	M7 *"sometimes people aren't that brainy"*	H3 *"the right education"* M3 *"more of a chance of getting into college"*	H4 *"realised that I do need school"* M5 *"cos I've got other things to do like …well I wouldn't say they were important"* M6 *"It's not clever"*
MC3 Family	3.2 *"lately my Nana's been buying me new handbags"* 3.1 *"it used to stress my mum out"* M3 *"I love my Mum"* M2 *"she's the little brat of all of 'em"*	3.1 *"hoping you'd walk through that door"* M1 *"My mum and dad were too bothered about drugs to care for their kids"* 3.3 *"he used to hit us"*	M1 *"just a single mum"* 3 *"She's just being a Mum"* M3 *"she's gone the right way"*
MC4 Girl		M4 *"I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person"* 1.5 *"I'm more like a tomboy"*	M2 *"not a good look for a girl"*
MC5 Growing up	M5 *"When I grow up"*	M7 *"halfway to being an adult"*	M4 *"I'm not gonna have all the help am I"*

MC6 Right/wrong path	M4 *"you're going up the wrong road"*	Within M1.1, *"I'm not going to follow in his footsteps"*	M3 *"she's gone the right way"*
MC7 Blame/deserving	M6 *"I didn't deserve to be in that school"*	H4 *"mainly here because of my anger"* *"I blew it"* in 1.2	2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"*

MC1 'Naughty'

Each story reveals a 'naughty'/'good' discourse reflective of current DfE (2016) guidance which prescribes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Each story reflects the participants' internalised 'naughty' which seemed to 'totalise' their identity (Winslade and Monk, 2007). Their stories also indicate that they were excluded and marginalised from being with the 'good' (MacLure *et al.*, 2012). It is also worth noting that 'naughty' is a term primarily preserved for children and each participant breached common expected childhood characteristics of innocent, vulnerable and dependent (Hockey and James, 1995). Perhaps, they retain use of the term as the application of the life-stage terminology has the potential to put distance between their past behaviour and their current/future selves, as Katie appeared to do (see Katie 1.4).

MC2 Attainment discourses

Each story reveals evidence of the influence of attainment/educational discourses; they each describe a want for education and a need for education to achieve employment (HC6). These discourses individualise and place the academic and ambitious in high esteem and consequently devalue the non-academic, ill-controlled and unmotivated. When applied to the participants' stories they are positioned as wanting (White and Epston, 1990, Gilling, 2012, Winslade and Monk, 1996, Renold and Allen, 2006). For example, Bryony suggests the subjects she likes are not important. Summer describes being unable to do subjects relevant to a job because she is in an AP. In contrast, Katie is pleased she has finally found something she wants to do.

MC3 Family

Each narrative reveals expectations of family norms, of what family should be and the roles of family members including what it is to be a daughter to a Mum. Each story revealed breaches which seemed to feel uncomfortable for the participants as they each tried to repair breaches through changing themselves, replacing family members or adjusting their understanding of Mum.

MC4 Girl

Bryony and Summer's story reveal they are traversing a range of contemporary and traditional 'girl' discourses and concurrent positionings that both liberate and constrain (Brown, 2011). Through their fighting they have both breached the conventional feminine norms of passivity, compliance and

docility and are considered 'bad' and pathologized by their aggression (Dobson, 2014, de Beauvoir, 1977, Brown, 2011, Nind *et al.*, 2012).

Summer identifies as a tomboy which separates her from girls in the perceptions of others as she is "like one of the lads". However, Summer flips from a lad-like positioning to a "pure girl" by altering her appearance perhaps to achieve/perform being a contemporary 'sexy' girl judged and categorised by 'looks' (Dobson, 2014). The fluidity/changeability in Summer's positioning perhaps reveals the functional nature of the roles she is navigating.

Bryony explicitly expresses she has breached a girl role by being a fighter. Whilst Bryony recognises the breach her story reveals a multitude of 'girl' roles, both traditional and contemporary, being a 'bitch', being caring and attractive. Perhaps because of the apparently contradictory nature of the roles she seems to be trying to balance them, e.g. 'I can be nice but I can be a bitch' (Dobson, 2014).

MC5 Growing up

Their stories reveal a common discourse of adulthood/'grown up' as being directly linked to norms of employment and independence (Hogan, 1978, Marini, 1984). However, the independence discourse may be concerning for Bryony as she notes she won't get help and needs it and for Summer who expressed concerns at becoming independent at 16 despite voicing being 'prepared'.

They all currently identify as negotiating a "growing up" discourse which comes after childhood and before adulthood. Bryony's narrative suggests "growing up" starts in secondary school. Whereas Katie indicates 16 is a marker of self-realisation and maturity, calming down and leaving childhood and childishness behind. None of them refer to common terminology of teenager, adolescent or youth. I wonder if the lack of common terminology and being in a liminal nameless state is impacting on there being unclear expectations of behaviour and norms and them having to invoke either a childhood or adulthood framework to understand expectations. For example, as Summer notes, *"do you want me to be a kid or an adult"*.

MC6 Right/wrong path

Both Katie and Bryony's story contain an evocation of a common metaphor, a right and wrong path. They both indicate the wrong path leads to unemployment which should be avoided. However, where Katie embraced the narrative and the opportunity it provides to position oneself as having control and agency, in contrast, Bryony considers her adjustment to the 'right way' as a struggle. The metaphor appears quite fear driven, linking the path to agency and choice, failing to acknowledge external factors. Perhaps Bryony feels forced into it, unable to be herself as she is struggling to fit a mould which is made in the shape of her sister. The binary option has given Bryony less control and more constraint, and I wonder about the impact on her self-esteem.

MC7 Blame/deserving

Each narrative reveals an acceptance/internalisation of 'blame'/'fault' despite the many other influences they evidence in their stories. Therefore, perhaps media narratives and individualising

educational discourses as described in MC1 have influenced their stories both directly and indirectly through school staff actions and policy designed to control YP and position the participants as blameworthy (White and Epston, 1990, MacLure *et al.*, 2012).

Chapter 4 Discussion

4.1 Chapter Overview

This final chapter summarises the major findings and discusses what they mean in light of previous research and how valuable the findings are for practice. Analysis and reflection on the effectiveness of the research methodology in answering the RQs is included as are the research's limitations and areas for further research.

4.2 Refresher of the Research Problem

As described in the literature review, exclusion is no longer the 'hot topic' it was in the 1980s and 1990s when exclusion figures rose dramatically. Interest in the field has dwindled perhaps as official exclusion figures have stabilised and exclusion has become an accepted and normalised practice. Previous research indicates that exclusion as a process is primarily a negative experience for pupils and once permanently excluded students are unlikely to return to education and their trajectory is bleak. For EPs with a key role to ensure all pupils achieve positive outcomes permanently excluded pupils are therefore a concern. This research provides a somewhat different perspective to the research body, stories of students, excluded girls, an understudied group, who have 'survived' exclusion and returned to education. Stories that can helpfully inform EP practice around students who may be at risk of permanent exclusion or already excluded.

4.3 Summary of Main Findings

The aim of the research was to explore YP's stories about their return to education. The stories revealed much more than a simple plot revolving around exclusion as a problem, resolving with a return to education. The research revealed complex multilevel stories of multifaceted characters, involved in and negotiating wide ranging interactions with peers, family and teachers. Their stories evidenced their grappling with environmental influences and discourses, making sense of their experiences, and their construction of where they fit, comparing and contrasting themselves with other characters and making decisions about who they are, each applying a different typology/framework to their story.

Each story reveals a main character who despite multi-systemic influences on their actions takes responsibility and blame and in the face of non-acceptance, unfairness, threat and/or fear are adaptive, agentic, self-deprecating and resilient – still wanting education. For example, Katie presents herself as agentic and empowered, a reformed character, distancing herself from her past, and back on the right road of education towards a 'nice job, nice home, nice family'. In contrast, Summer and Bryony whilst both evidencing agency in their decisions are less positive, both aware their situation makes their academic progress towards employment a struggle/limiting. Their stories reminded me of Fromm (1994:39) who stated: "life is a tremendous struggle; we are all heroes in our own dramas". I feel Katie positioned herself as a hero achieved though framing her story as positive, present and future focused, and herself as separate and distanced from a past "evil" self. In contrast, Bryony

presents herself as less than heroic, struggling because she wants to look forward but is still a fighter, a naughty person which she feels is 'not clever' and 'not a good look for a girl'. Summer has concluded she is who she is, more stoic than heroic in her positioning as she is aware of the limitations of her current situation.

Analysis found commonalities; each participant presented themselves in their stories as defined by their actions which they each described using the umbrella term of 'naughty'. In addition, each participant described their positioning relative to family/other family members, peers and teachers, negotiating expectations in their environment and grappling with wider influences such as discourses around growing up, acceptable behaviour, needing education to stay on the 'right path' and what it is to be a girl and part of a family. The commonalities in their experiences in education echo the findings of previous research (Clarke *et al.*, 2011, Sproston *et al.*, 2017, Hilton, 2006, Hartas, 2011).

4.4 Evaluation of the Methodology in Answering the RQs

I feel the data collection approach effectively helped me answer the main RQ. The loose opening statement and 'unstructured' interview allowed the participants to express their stories in their own way and draw on their experiences not just of school but within their family and community. If I had imposed more structure, for example through structured questioning or a story frame, I would not necessarily have had the breadth of story I received, as the participants expanded their stories beyond education. I felt the second interview was helpful for clarification and deconstruction of terminology, and gave space for the participants to check my meaning making and raise anything further. I also feel second interview questioning supported answering RQ3 as deconstruction revealed underlying assumptions and expectations reflective of meta-narratives/discourses. The third meeting, taking-back and re-presenting their stories through drawings, I felt allowed accessible testing of my initial findings and global impression.

Narrative analysis (NA) allowed content of the stories to be investigated systematically, including drawing out meta-narratives/discourses answering RQ3 and themes within stories which I applied as an approach to answer RQ2. In addition, NA allowed the function of the stories to be revealed, the intention of the story teller, including their frameworks for understanding which revealed differing typologies. However, I feel I could have asked more specifically about their thoughts about helps/hindrances and reflected back with them on identified meta-narratives/discourses. In retrospect I feel the subsidiary RQs were RQs of their own which could have much greater analysis devoted just to those questions.

4.5 Do the Findings Support Previous Research?

The participants in the study share profile commonalities with participants in previous studies (Clarke *et al.,* 2011, Farouk, 2017, McCluskey *et al.*, 2015). Their age at exclusion fits the most common age of exclusion and there are indicators that their wider profiles mirror the profiles found in other studies including their socio-economic status, involvement in criminality, drug use and reported mental health difficulties (Youth Justice Board, 2001, Lawrence, 2011). However, these findings provide a rare glimpse into the lives of young women who are significantly less likely to be excluded (Clarke *et al.,*

2011). Interestingly, two of the young women identified as being friends with boys rather than girls and in line with previous research suggested this separated them from and aligned them against their female peers (Reay, 2011). Whether their actions aligned them with boys and/or elicited different responses in adults which made them more likely to be excluded is I feel an area worthy of further study.

The key findings around helps/hindrances echo the findings of previous research on pupil perspectives on education and exclusion (see HCs). I feel there is evidence in their stories of the disciplinarian and punitive bent of policy and the change in direction away from inclusion and a lack of tolerance to difference, evidenced in the application of policy towards them and their experiences of teachers. Overall, the research evidences multi-systemic level influences on the participants' actions and thereby supports the model advocated to reduce exclusions from the body of current research, a Bronfenbrenneresque eco-systemic framework (e.g. Hallam and Castle, 2001, Lloyd *et al.*, 2003, Razer *et al.,* 2013).

4.6 Do the Findings Help Us Think Differently?

This research provides an alternative perspective on exclusion and the excluded. In contrast to the negative statistics, profiles and stories of the demonised youth of the media, this study provides stories of hope, humanity and struggle. Their narratives allow us to see their want for education, to hear their powerful agentic voices, the many influences and challenges they have faced negotiating peers, family pressures and intolerant school staff and policy, and the impact of exclusion on them as individuals and their families. The research has revealed the participants have used different sense making frameworks that have shaped their stories. Whilst Katie's story reveals a redemption story, following the framework outline by McAdams *et al.* (2001) Bryony and Summer's stories are not stories of contamination (McAdams *et al.*, 2001), chaos (Frank, 2013) or hopelessness but frameworks of resignation and reconciliation respectively. The identified typologies indicate there are potentially a range of frameworks of understanding/sense making available to YP and as such adults working with excluded YP may find being attentive to/noticing the framework the YP are applying helps understand the meaning making processes and experiences of excluded YP. As health-focused studies inspired by Frank (2013) have illustrated, stories and story frameworks provide alternatives to conventional accounts, opportunities for empathy and care and enable person-centred support/interventions that are equally needed in the field of education (Chandler, 2014, Mooney, 2005, Flynn, 2010, Winslade and Monk, 2007).

The gathering of holistic stories, broadened beyond educational experiences, has enabled consideration of the impact of and on family from the individual's perspective exposing how exclusion from school can lead to exclusion from family, how siblings can provide comparators, how much family perspectives are valued, the 'need' for family and how educational norms dovetail wider social/family life through for example school proms. The research highlights underlying assumptions pupils have about themselves, their behaviour and their environment influenced by meta-narratives/discourses that when breached lead to confusion and discomfort. The research also

provides rather disturbing insights into current cultural norms in schools of policy and staff behaviour which positions pupils as powerless, unable to meet their own basic needs, to express their identity and faced daily with hostility and punitive punishments. Despite evidence in their stories that policy and institutional practice were key factors in their exclusions each participant blamed themselves. Whilst, the unfairness in their shouldering of blame angers me, I also wonder if a reason for their success in returning to education has been their positioning of themselves as at fault in being excluded. Perhaps by feeling their decisions led them to exclusion they also felt they had some control to change things.

4.7 Ethics Reconsidered

I felt the information sheet was a supportive document for the participants to ensure they had all the necessary information about the research to make an informed decision to take part. It also ensured we had effective 'process consent', we could revisit at each meeting to ensure consent was ongoing and I was confident they understood and could reflect back. I felt the challenge of retrieving parental consent forms whilst irritating for the participants and anxiety provoking for myself had the unforeseen benefit of allowing Katie and Summer time and space to reflect on taking part. I felt at their first interviews they were confident and focused, perhaps because they had had time to consider and shape their stories in readiness. Whereas, Bryony, who could give her own consent, did not take time between initial meeting and interview and appeared less confident in telling her story. I also wonder if she felt less invested as she did not attend when agreed to take part in the second interview. Although I was told by staff she was happy to meet again, I felt it inappropriate to ask staff to ensure she was available for me as I felt she had made the decision by not attending when agreed.

As I began considering the findings, in particular the lack of power of the participants in school, I worried I had used my power as an adult in an institution where adults hold the power to inadvertently coerce the participants to take part. Whilst all three participants voiced their keenness to tell their story and their enjoyment in taking part I worry about the ethics of 'choice' for YP when each story revealed how little power or choice they had within educational institutions, particularly school settings. In the school setting, Katie and Summer were rather a captive audience, they could not avoid me, whereas, Bryony in FE had more autonomy and freedom. Given I have been critical of the powerlessness of pupils within school settings, I feel the 'power' of the researcher is an area that requires continual reflexivity and ongoing further research.

4.8 Reflexivity and Personal Learning

My voice is the common thread running through this research and where I have been unable to weave my voice into the main body of text I have used reflective boxes. In being reflective, I feel I have learnt about not only the participants' constructions of themselves and their worlds but myself, the impact my mother's death had on my behaviour and the buffer of a family to fall back on.

I also feel I have learnt valuable lessons to take into my own practice, particularly, the value of listening, allowing space and time for YP to tell their stories, to reflect on their stories and consider their future. I have learnt how similar experiences can be 'experienced', framed and understood

differently and feel I have a greater depth of understanding of identities as multi-layered, negotiated, fluid and contradictory (Drewery and Winslade, 1996, Gilling, 2012). I also feel enlightened as to the powerful influence of meta-narratives/discourses, in how limiting and empowering they can be when we compare and contrast ourselves, and how confusing they can be when they mismatch with our experiences and/or when they are breached (Holloway, 1989, Foucault, 1977).

4.9 Limitations and Areas for Further Research

There are limitations to the study which were considered in the study design (see 'cons' Figure 1). Whilst it is acknowledged that the findings cannot be generalised to a population, the findings offer helpful insights and reflect much previous research suggesting the current findings are not entirely unique (Sproston *et al.,* 2017). However, there is no comparator group, therefore, I cannot conclude that the stories of the individuals chosen in this study who have returned to education are different or similar to those who did not return to education. Furthermore, the approach is limited to the participants' views, perceptions and own positioning, it is likely different views were/are held by school staff and parent/carers for example. However, the purpose was never to search for a 'truth' to a situation but to explore YP views and place their stories centre stage.

Though I have been transparent about my involvement and the co-construction of their stories one may critique the authenticity of the stories presented as I have undoubtedly infiltrated their stories, I set the agenda and directed questioning, therefore, there are traces of me and my values and interests within their stories (Holloway, 1989). Furthermore, I have presented a dissected and selective sample of the full rich picture gathered. There are multiple varied readings and interpretations that could be made, this is but one.

The key aim of the research was to explore narratives, a key finding was differing typologies/frameworks which I feel would benefit from further research not just around prevalence but their utility in practice.

The research also found that participants positioned themselves as responsible and blame worthy whilst their stories provided evidence of the influence of others such as institutional rules, unfairness and peers. Further research could analyse whether such acceptance/internalisation of blame is helpful to reintegration as it gives agency or whether it is also common to those who do not return to education.

With regards to RQ2 the research sought to find helps/hindrances finding evidence of multi-systemic influences supporting much other research including influence of peers, curriculum, teachers, secondary school environment, policy and a want for education. In the current climate the impact of punitive and intolerant policy and the changing teacher role would be a worthy area of further study.

This research revealed meta-narratives/discourses, their influences were discussed as they appeared to shape their stories. Further research would enable in depth analysis of the constructions, assumptions, implications and influence of for example, family canonical narratives, constructions of

childhood/growing up, naughty, sibling influence, gender narratives and constructions of self, attainment discourses which were beyond the scope of this research.

4.10 Implications/Potential Impact of the Research

At present exclusion is an accepted and normalised practice legitimated by political and media discourses which will likely continue (Willmann and Seeliger, 2017). There is therefore a need to support YP excluded from/within the current system.

This research provides alternative narratives which as Bruner (1991:12) suggests may "go beyond the conventional scripts, leading people to see human happenings in fresh way", that may not before have been "noticed" or may be overlooked. The participants' stories of hope and capability could help education practitioners, politicians, parents and journalists see beyond a negative profile and provide a potential challenge to dominant discourses and media representations to help re-think/re-position such pupils (Razer *et al.*, 2013).

As the outcomes for excluded pupils are particularly concerning, the goal for EPs would be to prevent exclusion. This research highlights a complexity of picture that EPs are well placed to navigate, using problem solving frameworks and/or systemic functional analysis approaches (e.g. Woolfson, 2008). The narratives also provide some insights into aspects of school, self and family that helped/hindered pupils in accessing education thereby identifying possible solutions for EPs to reflect on for individuals at a range of systemic levels to aide prevention of exclusion and/or support reintegration into education/schooling.

– **4.10.1 For EPs Working with YP**

The narratives themselves may provide an empowering tool for EPs to apply/share in practice. For example, sharing the story frameworks may help reflect on/disrupt/challenge pupils' current frameworks so that they can reframe their story (Razer *et al.,* 2013). The narratives could be used selectively for pupils excluded or at risk of permanent exclusion to help re-evaluate their position. For example, for pupils struggling to focus on the future Bryony and or Katie's story may be helpful, or if a pupil is struggling to make sense of their experiences and cultural norms then Summer's story may be a helpful reflection tool. To ascertain the utility of using the stories, pupil engagement with the stories could be an area of further research. Katie's framework of simplifying and negativising her previous actions allowed her to focus on the future, which may appeal to some YP. However, as a potential technique for pupils I feel it would need further research.

I felt the act of telling their story was empowering, agentic in itself and therefore I would endorse pupils having the space and time to tell their stories to a trusted adult. I feel a story framework could be openly discussed and used creatively with a variety of mediums. Personally, I found drawing out the story was supportive for reflection and could be an engaging way to promote pupil curiosity and enable pupils to reflect on and make sense of their situation, including their positioning, the impact on and influence of other characters and perhaps consider alternative story lines and future possibilities.

Furthermore, the participants all indicated they had internalised their actions, stories about their naughtiness or fighting had become the dominant story in their lives, 'totalising' their identity, eclipsing exceptions, limiting their possibilities and their future and appearing to impact on their self-worth and self-value (Winslade and Monk, 2007, Warham, 2012). Therefore, a focused narrative therapy (NT) approach, looking for exceptions, considering the influence of fighting/naughty on themselves, their education, their social circles and externalising the problem could help allow focus on exceptions/strengths/possibilities (White and Epston, 1990). Such an approach may be helpful to pupils like Bryony who may view themselves as a problem. Furthermore, their stories revealed the participants had norms that may benefit from exploration and deconstruction to help challenge assumptions and identify aspects of their identity that run counter to available discourses such as femininity (Gilling, 2012, Winslade and Monk, 1996).

Furthermore, there was evidence that the participants apportioned blame to themselves, took ownership of mistakes that they then felt they could rectify themselves, indicating personal responsibility. Previous studies have found personal responsibility key to change and lasting positive outcomes (McLean *et al.,* 2013, Burton, 2006). Whereas, Daniels (2011) found where excluded pupils do not accept responsibility they are less likely to re-engage with education. Therefore, direct work with pupils around developing personal responsibility within a narrative framework they could helpfully work with may be supportive (e.g. Burton, 2006).

- **4.10.2 For School Practices**

The findings of this research mirror the majority of previous studies that suggest that barriers to education included a lack of acceptance, value and empathy from school staff. Therefore, I would suggest in line with a significant number of authors that to prevent difficulties arising schools be supported to be inclusive, welcoming, containing community environments for pupils that celebrate and value diversity in peers and in the curriculum (e.g. Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2015, Cole, 2015). I would also suggest to prevent the repetition of offenses evident in the current participant's stories rather than punitive approaches more relational behaviour management such as restorative practices (Moore, 2008) and educative responses such as teaching alternative approaches to peer issues would be appropriate. For example, evidence based interventions such as FRIENDS for Life (Barrett, 2010, Higgins and O'Sullivan, 2015), comic strip conversation approaches and social stories (Gray,1994, 2015) may have prevented repetition of behaviours deemed unacceptable.

Furthermore, all three participants were unaware of the consequences of their actions, and the 'need' for education to get a job. It may therefore be helpful to provide earlier careers advice to help give students purpose and a future focus.

- **4.10.3 For the Local Area**

The research is significant for the local area as it is one of the top ten of England's highest excluding LAs (DfE, 2017c). Therefore, there are a significant number of YP who have experienced exclusion in the area and a significant amount of exclusionary practice. The time is ripe for change and challenge

to uphold children's rights and challenge schools on exclusionary practices. The LA I am currently working with is strategically working on developing approaches to reduce exclusions. The narratives provide the basis of case studies of alternative narratives of surviving exclusion, highlighting the individual impact of exclusionary and intolerant practice that could help pupils, schools and EPs, building on the recommendations outlined above.

4.10.4 For Policy

Whilst it would be naïve to consider that such a small scale study could potentially impact on policy, this study adds to the overwhelming research body that consistently documents the negative impact on individuals, whose future was decided on the idiosyncratic application of policy. There is a need to address current behaviour policy that endorses exclusion and second-order policy, the doggedly academic agenda which dominates schools decision making processes and undoubtedly impacts on exclusionary practice (Macrae *et al.*, 2003). As Parsons (2005:208) states:

> if those working in the field of prevention cannot, or do not, fight on the political front, they collude in sustaining the current punitive approach.

The English education system needs to be problematized, challenged and re-thought. EPs and other education professionals are crucial to this debate, with a duty to improve outcomes, EPs are therefore obliged to promote their research and theory on a political front and challenge current practice that is both damaging and unnecessary.

4.10.5 For Theory

The stories provide support for narrative constructions of sense making including multiple contradictory identities and the influence of discourses on individuals' stories (Foucault, 1977, White and Epston, 1990, Guilfoyle, 2016). The research also supports a systemic model approach from which to consider and analyse individual's circumstances (e.g. Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The research around helps/hindrances supports humanism theory, which was also evidenced in previous research findings around pupil views wanting to be cared for, to belong and to be respected (e.g. Pomeroy, 1999, de Pear, 1997, McCluskey *et al.*, 2015, Hartas, 2011). However, although there was evidence the YP would have liked a humanist approach in school, their descriptions did not evidence experiences of feeling belonging but rather reflected the punitive policy and individualising discourses currently embedded in education. Therefore, the current study together with the body of research around pupil views indicates a necessity to problematise educational practice, policy and discourse in conjunction with current and previous research and theory in order to challenge exclusionary practice.

4.11 Conclusion

Three young women's narratives of their return to education following exclusion from school were gathered, analysed and discussed. How they have traversed the complexities of home life, rupturing and repairing family relationships, and school and friendships are revealed. Their collective internalisation of problem and blame, the impact and influence of family, peers and meta-narratives/discourses and the diversity in their sense making provide new insights into exclusion/the

excluded which require further research. However, their experiences in school reflect commonalities which support previous research around prevention of exclusion through systemic level analysis, understanding and intervention. Furthermore, their stories echo previous studies of pupil views, describing that they want to belong, to be accepted, to be cared for and to be valued by those in education. Unfortunately their stories all indicate hostility, disrespect and a lack of feeling of belonging at secondary school, also reflective of previous studies (Hilton, 2006, Sproston *et al.,* 2017). The participants repeated mistakes resulting in punitive exclusions which did not solve the difficulties in peer relationships, emotional control or avoidance of lessons suggesting more relational, educative approaches to behaviour would be useful. Overall, therefore, this study's insights echo a body of research that supports an inclusive, supportive approach within education. I am not comfortable to be resigned or reconciled to the current status quo, education requires problematising, education requires its own redemption story. However, until then as exclusions continue, this study provides EPs with alternative stories that could provide a framework for those at risk/permanently excluded, that may help prevent exclusion or reintegrate a pupil and support them in achieving positive outcomes.

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Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/academies-are-excluding-poor-quality-students-yet-more-social-cleansing-from-the-conservative-a6993401.html [Accessed on: 19.3.18]

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Glossary

Academy: A state-funded school in England that is directly funded by the Department for Education, through the Education Funding Agency. Academies are self-governing and independent of local authority control.

A Level: A qualification in a specific subject typically taken by school students aged 16-18, at a level above GCSE.

Alternative Provision (AP): education arranged by a LA for pupils who due to exclusion, illness or other reasons would not otherwise receive suitable education, or, education arranged by a school for pupils for a fixed period.

Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS): CAMHS assess and treat children and YP with emotional, behavioural or mental health difficulties. They range from basic pastoral care, such as identifying mental health problems, to specialist in-patient care.

Compulsory school age: A child is of compulsory school age from the beginning of the term following their 5th birthday until the last Friday of June in the year in which they become 16, provided that their 16th birthday falls before the start of the next school year.

Department for Education (DfE): The DfE is a department of her Majesty's government responsible for children's services and education, including higher and further education policy, apprenticeships and wider skills in England.

Department of Health (DoH) and Social Care: The DoH and Social Care is a department of her Majesty's government responsible for government policy on health and adult social care.

Education, Health and Care plan (EHC plan): An EHC plan details the education, health and social care support that is to be provided to a child or young person who has SEN and/or a disability. It is drawn up by the LA after an EHC needs assessment of the child or YP has determined that an EHC plan is necessary, and after consultation with relevant partner agencies.

Education Welfare Officer (EWO): EWOs ensure children of compulsory school age receive a suitable education. An EWO may enforce school attendance and track children whose parents choose to electively home educate.

Exclusion: Exclusion is a disciplinary sanction applied in school by headteachers to pupils whose behaviour is considered unacceptable. In practice exclusion means that the pupil is barred from the school. In the case of permanent exclusion the pupil is removed from the school roll and prohibited from returning

Fixed Term Exclusion (FTE): Fixed term exclusions refer to an exclusion from a school for a set period of time.

Free school: A free school is a type of academy, which is free to attend, but is not controlled by the LA.

Further education (FE) college: A college offering continuing education to YP over the compulsory school age of 16. The FE sector in England includes general further education colleges, sixth form colleges, specialist colleges and adult education institutes.

GCSEs: a qualification in a specific subject typically taken by school students aged 14-16, at a level below 'A' level.

Headteacher: the teacher in charge of a school.

Key Stage: any of four fixed stages into which the national curriculum is divided, each having its own prescribed course of study.

Local Authority (LA): the administrative body in local government responsible for all the public services.

Looked After Child (LAC): children who are cared for by the LA either through a legal order or voluntary agreement with the parents.

Ofsted: Office for Standards in Education, a non-Ministerial government department established under the Education (Schools) Act 1992 to take responsibility for the inspection of all schools in England. Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) form its professional arm.

Parent: Under section 576 of the Education Act 1996, the term 'parent' includes any person who is not a parent of the child, but has parental responsibility or who cares for him or her.

Permanent Exclusion: permanent exclusion is a disciplinary sanction applied in school by headteachers to pupils whose behaviour is deemed unacceptable. The pupil is removed from the schools roll and prohibited from returning.

Pupil Referral Unit (PRU): Any school established and maintained by a local authority under section 19 (2) of the Education Act 1996 which is specially organised to provide education for pupils who would otherwise not receive suitable education because of illness, exclusion or any other reason.

Special Educational Needs (SEN): A child or young person has SEN if they have a learning difficulty or disability which calls for special educational provision to be made for him or her. A child of compulsory school age or a young person has a learning difficulty or disability if he or she has a significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of others of the same age, or has a disability which prevents or hinders him or her from making use of educational facilities of a kind generally provided for others of the same age in mainstream schools or mainstream post-16 institutions.

Special educational provision: Special educational provision is provision that is different from or additional to that normally available to pupils or students of the same age, which is designed to help children and YP with SEN or disabilities to access the National Curriculum at school or to study at college.

Special school: A school which is specifically organised to make special educational provision for pupils with SEN.

Young person: A person over compulsory school age (the end of the academic year in which they turn 16).

Youth Offending Team (YOT): Youth offending teams work with local agencies including the police, probation officers, health, children's services, schools and the local community, to run local crime prevention programmes, help YP at the police station if they're arrested, help YP and

their families at court, supervise YP serving a community sentence and stay in touch with a young person if they're sentenced.

This glossary was compiled using information from governmental sources including the DfE and DoH. For further detail refer to: https://www.gov.uk

Appendices Contents

Appendix 1   Participant Information Sheet

I WANT TO HEAR YOUR STORY!

Help needed for a research project!

My name is Suzanne Jones, I am a trainee educational psychologist studying for a doctoral degree in Child and Educational Psychology at the University of Sheffield. As part of the degree I am doing some research on YPs' experiences and views and would like your help!

Before you decide if you would like to take part it is important you understand why I am doing the research and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me or a member of staff in your education/training placement if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this!
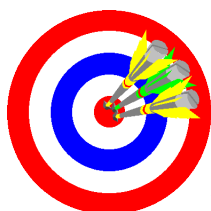
What the research is about and how you can help!

I want to find out what the stories are of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education, employment or training.

I would like to interview you about your experiences of what it was like before you were excluded, what it was like being excluded and then returning to education/training.

Why am I doing this research?

The aim of this research is to explore YP's stories who have been permanently excluded from school who have then returned to education and/or training. Not many YP who have been permanently excluded return to education and there are not many studies of YP who have been excluded and then returned successfully to schooling/education. By listening to your stories it is hoped that this research may offer ways to help support other YP who are at risk of being excluded or who have been excluded.

The research will take place over the Summer term 2017 and I hope to have it finished by Spring 2018.

Why have you been chosen?

You have been selected because you have returned to education and/or training after being permanently excluded from school. I have asked schools/education providers to help me to find YP who may want to take part and you were identified as someone who may like to share your story.

I am asking four YP in total to take part. The first young person who agrees to take part will be asked to be part of the pilot study (a trial run) and the next three who agree will be part of the main study – their stories will be used as part of the research.

I have chosen participants who have been back in education/training for a minimum of three months just to make sure you are settled in your educational placement and you have a member of staff you are comfortable talking to if you need to.

Do I have to take part?

Taking part is entirely voluntary – it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part.
If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw at any time - you do not have to give a reason.

What will happen to me if I choose to take part?

If you choose to take part I will interview you about your experiences – I will ask you questions about your experiences - so you will need to be happy to tell me your story.

So, at the start of the interview I will start by saying:

"I'm interested in hearing your story, about how you have come back to education following permanent exclusion from school. You can begin by talking about what school was like before you were excluded then go on to tell me what happened before during and after the exclusion."

So, it's likely the interview will cover three areas: before exclusion, during exclusion and after exclusion. I might start by saying, "Tell me about what school was like before you got excluded?" But, where you want to start is up to you. You might want to start by telling me about how things are going now. Or you might want to start by telling me about what it was like before the exclusion. So, as the interview goes on, I might ask you questions like:

- What was the best thing about it?
- How did the exclusion affect you/others?
- What were your thoughts at that time?
- What sense did you make of it at the time?
- How did you feel about it then/how do you feel about it now?
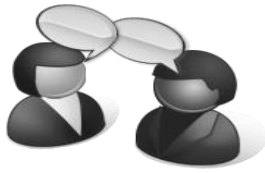
The interviews will take place at your education/training placement. I will arrange for a space to be made available for us and I will make a staff member you have chosen aware of what is happening.

I will also bring pens and paper in case you would like to draw part(s) or all of your story.

We will probably have two interview sessions, with each interview likely lasting about one to a maximum of two hours. This is so that you have plenty of time to share your story but don't get too tired. Then, a week or maybe two weeks later at the second interview session we can reflect back on the first stage of the interview so that I can share with you what I felt you told me and ask further questions and you can raise anything you feel you missed out or want to say more about from the first interview.

At the end of each interview session I will make sure there is time for a debrief - time for you to ask any questions you may have.

In total I will need four hours of your time for you to tell me your story.

All interview sessions will be audio-recorded. I will then download the recordings onto an encrypted memory stick and then transcribe (write-out) the interview. When I write out the interviews I will anonymise (changes names of people and places) so that you cannot be identified. The audio recordings of the interviews will be used only for analysis and I will only keep them until I have completed the research, then I will delete them.

After I have written out the interviews I will analyse the transcripts against psychological and educational theory. But, I would like your views on what your thoughts are about my analysis so I will invite you to meet up again in September 2017 to share my findings.

First session- Interview one (about one hour) → Second session- Interview two (about one hour) → Third session- Review (about one hour)
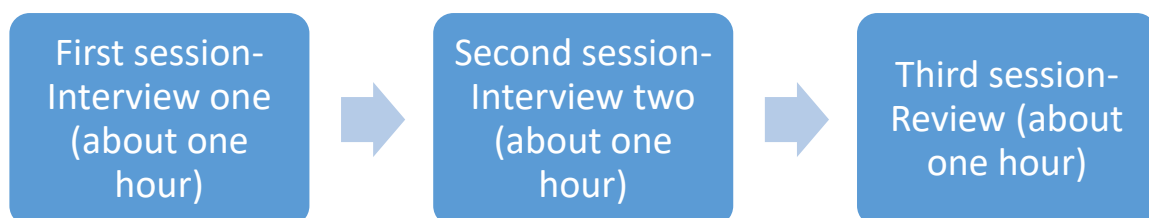
Are there any benefits of taking part?

There are no immediate benefits for taking part, but hopefully you will enjoy and value talking about your experiences, and it is hoped that the stories gathered will offer ways to help support other YP who are at risk of being excluded or who have been excluded.

Are there any disadvantages or risks by taking part?

You may find talking about your experiences uncomfortable or upsetting but you don't have to talk about anything you do not want to. In between and after the interviews I will ask you to choose a member of staff you are comfortable knowing about the interview to be available for you to talk to if you need to.

If during the interview I had any concerns that you or anyone else was at risk of harm I would have to follow procedure and inform the member of staff responsible for safeguarding at your education/training placement.

What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?

I will let you know through your education/training provider if anything happens that may stop the research going ahead.

What if something goes wrong?

If you do have a complaint, you can contact my Research Supervisor Dr Penny Fogg at:

School of Education

The University of Sheffield

388 Glossop Road

Sheffield S10 2JA

Tel: 07904128473

Email: p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

If you are not happy with how that complaint is dealt with you can contact David Hyatt:

Tel: 0114 222 8126 or email: d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk

Will my identity and my taking part be kept confidential/secret?

All the information I collect about you will be kept strictly confidential. Your name and any names of people or places that you mention will be anonymized (changed to something different) so that you will not be able to be identified in my research write up (thesis) or any other reports or publications. The anonymized transcriptions will be part of my research write up – it is likely I will refer to the transcripts throughout. They will also be added as an Appendix (supplementary information at the end of the research report that readers can refer to).

I will save the recordings onto an encrypted memory stick and I will store all paper copies of transcripts in a locked cabinet.

What happens after - to the results of the research project?

The research and transcriptions of interviews will form part of my written thesis which will be available to university staff and students and may be published in a journal which would be accessible to a wider audience. I am also part of a research group interested in YP's stories and experiences who I will share my findings with. You will not be identified in any report, publication or conference presentation.

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved by The University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee.

Who can I contact for further information?

 You can contact me on: emb08sm@sheffield.ac.uk. Or, if you would like further information about the project, you can contact my Research Supervisor Dr Penny Fogg: p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

You will be given a copy of this information sheet and a signed consent form to keep.

Thank you for your time!
I look forward to hearing your story...

Appendix 2   Parent Information Sheet

Help needed for a research project:

My name is Suzanne Jones, I am a trainee educational psychologist studying for a doctoral degree in Child and Educational Psychology at the University of Sheffield. As part of the degree I am doing some research on young people's (YP) experiences and views and would like to hear your son/daughter's story.

Before you decide if you would be happy for them to take part it is important you understand why I am doing the research and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask me or a member of staff in the education/training placement if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish your son/daughter to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the research about?

I want to find out what the stories are of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education, employment or training.

I would like to interview your son/daughter about their experiences of what it was like before they were excluded, what it was like for them being excluded and then returning to education/training.

Why am I doing this research?

The aim of this research is to explore YP's stories who have been permanently excluded from school who have then returned to education and/or training. Not many YP who have been permanently excluded return to education and there are not many studies of YP who have been excluded and then returned successfully to schooling/education. By listening to YPs' stories it is hoped that this research may offer ways to help support other YP who are at risk of being excluded or who have been excluded.

The research will take place over the Summer term 2017 and I hope to have it finished by Spring 2018.

Why has my son/daughter been chosen?

Your son/daughter has been selected because they have returned to education and/or training after being permanently excluded from school.

I have asked schools/education providers to help me to find YP who may want to take part and your son/daughter was identified as someone who may like to share their story.

I am asking four YP in total to take part. The first young person who agrees to take part will be asked to be part of the pilot study (a trial run) and the next three who agree will be part of the main study – their stories will be used as part of the research.

I have chosen YP who have been back in education/training for a minimum of three months just to make sure they are settled in their educational placement and have a staff member they can identify who they are comfortable talking to if they need to.

Does my son/daughter have to take part?

Taking part is entirely voluntary – it is up to you and your son/daughter to decide whether or not to take part.

If you do decide that your son/daughter can take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and you and your son/daughter will be asked to sign a consent form. Your son/daughter can still withdraw at any time – you/they do not have to give a reason.

What will happen if my son/daughter takes part?

If your son/daughter takes part I will interview them about their experiences – I will ask questions about their experiences - so they will need to be happy to tell me their story.

At the start of the interview I will start by saying:

"I'm interested in hearing your story, about how you have come back to education following permanent exclusion from school. You can begin by talking about what school was like before you were excluded then go on to tell me what happened before during and after the exclusion."

So, it's likely the interview will cover three areas: before exclusion, during exclusion and after exclusion. I might start by saying, "Tell me about what school was like before you got excluded?" But, where your son/daughter wants to start is up to them. They might want to start by telling me about how things are going now. Or they might want to start by telling me about what it was like before the exclusion. So, as the interview goes on, I might ask questions like:

- What was the best thing about it?
- How did the exclusion affect you/others?
- What were your thoughts at that time?
- What sense did you make of it at the time?
- How did you feel about it then/how do you feel about it now?

The interviews will take place at your son/daughter's education/training placement. I will arrange for a space to made available and I will make the staff member they are happy with knowing about the interview aware of what is happening.

I will also bring pens and paper in case your son/daughter would like to draw part(s) or all of their story.

We will probably have two interview sessions, with each interview likely lasting about one to a maximum of two hours. This is so that there is plenty of time to share their story and to make sure they don't get too tired. Then, a week or maybe two weeks later at the second interview session we can reflect back on the first stage of the interview so that I can share with your son/daughter what I felt they told me and ask further questions and they can raise anything they feel they missed out or want to say more about from the first interview.

At the end of each interview session I will make sure there is time for a debrief - time for your son/daughter to ask any questions they may have.

In total I will need four hours of their time for them to tell me their story.

All interview sessions will be audio-recorded. I will then download the recordings onto an encrypted memory stick and then transcribe (write-out) the interview. When I write out the interviews I will anonymise (changes names of people and places) so that your son/daughter cannot be identified. The audio recordings of the interviews will be used only for analysis and I will only keep them until I have completed the research, then I will delete them.

After I have written out the interviews I will analyse the transcripts against psychological and educational theory. But, I would like your son/daughter's views on what their thoughts are about my analysis so I will invite them to meet up again in September 2017 to share my findings.

Are there any disadvantages or risks by taking part?
Your son/daughter may find talking about their experiences uncomfortable or upsetting but they don't have to talk about anything they do not want to. In between and after the interviews I will ask the member of staff they have chosen to be available for your son/daughter to talk to if they need to.

If during the interview I had any concerns that your son/daughter or anyone else was at risk of harm I would have to follow procedure and inform the member of staff responsible for safeguarding at your son/daughter's education placement.

Are there any benefits of taking part?
There are no immediate benefits for taking part, but your son/daughter may enjoy and value talking about their experiences and it is hoped that the stories gathered will offer ways to help support other YP who are at risk of being excluded or who have been excluded.

What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?
I will let you and your son/daughter know through their education/training provider if anything happens that may stop the research going ahead.

What if something goes wrong?
If you do have a complaint, you can contact my Research Supervisor Dr Penny Fogg at:

School of Education

The University of Sheffield

388 Glossop Road

Sheffield S10 2JA

Tel: 07904128473

Email: p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

If you are not happy with how that complaint is dealt with you can contact David Hyatt:
Tel: 0114 222 8126 or email: d.hyatt@sheffield.ac.uk

Will my son/daughter's identity and their taking part be kept confidential/secret?

All the information I collect will be kept strictly confidential. Your son/daughter's name and any names of people or places that they mention will be anonymized (changed to something different) so that your son/daughter will not be able to be identified in my research write up (thesis) or any other reports or publications. The anonymized transcriptions will be part of my research write up – it is likely I will refer to the transcripts throughout. They will also be added as an Appendix (supplementary information at the end of the research report that readers can refer to).

I will save the recordings onto an encrypted memory stick and I will store all paper copies of transcripts in a locked cabinet.

What happens after - to the results of the research project?

The research and transcriptions of interviews will form part of my written thesis which will be available to university staff and students and may be published in a journal which would be accessible to a wider audience. I am also part of a research group interested in YP's stories and experiences who I will share my findings with. Your son/daughter will not be identified in any report, conference presentation or publication.

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved by The University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee.

Who can I contact for further information?

You can contact me on: emb08sm@sheffield.ac.uk.

Or, if you would like further information about the project, you can contact my Research Supervisor Dr Penny Fogg: p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

You will be given a copy of this information sheet and a signed consent form to keep.

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 3   Opening Statement and Interview Prompts

"I'm interested in hearing your story, about how you have come back to education following permanent exclusion from school.

You can begin by talking about what school was like before you were excluded then go on to tell me what happened before during and after the exclusion."

The interview will be recorded and transcribed and I will anonymise any names but if you could try not to use real names of people and places that would be helpful.

Prompts and Supplementary Questions for each part of the story.

For example, relating to the period before exclusion, the following prompts and questions may be used to elicit views:

- What was it like at school before you got excluded?
- What was the best thing about it?

Prompts and questions to describe the exclusion itself:

- What happened?
- How did the exclusion affect you/others?
- What were your thoughts at that time?
- What sense did you make of it at the time?
- How did you feel about it then/how do you feel about it now?
- Can you explain a bit more about…?

Prompts and questions about after the exclusion event:

- Can you tell me about how it affected you…?
- Can you tell me about what you did?
- Can you tell me about how you felt at the time?

Prompts and questions about returning to education:

- What do you feel has been the hardest thing for you?
- Can you tell me about what helped you?
- Were there any barriers?
- How do you feel now?
- What do you think this says about you as a person?
- How do you feel about the future?

Second part of the interviews:

- "When we last met you told me about…, could you tell me more about….why was that important to you …how did that make you feel?"
- "Could you explain a little more about…?
- "How did you overcome the…?"
- "Where do you think this idea of …came from?"
- "What does that say about you as a person?"
- "Why do you think that's dominant?"
- "What do you think this means for you in the future?"
- "What are your hopes and aspirations for the future?"

Appendix 4   Overview Flow Chart of the Research Process

Literature Review

Research Questions

Research Design

Pilot

Transcription Code

Transcription Process

Refined Research Design

First Interviews

Transcription

First – Third Reading

Combine Transcriptions

Second Interview

Identify Questions/queries for second interview

Identify initial themes and typology

Transcription

Draw story

Fourth Reading

Reflection on initial themes and typology (across 1st & 2nd interviews)

Fifth Reading

Identify 'Types' of narrative

Sixth Reading

Answer RQ2 and RQ3

Seventh Reading

Identify sub themes

Eighth Reading

Identify Transcript Exemplars

Ninth Reading

Identify Narrative function

Consider all transcripts

Tenth Reading

Identify commonalities and diversities

Third / Final meeting / Interview

Discussion

Appendix 5   Ethics Approval

Suzanne Jones
Registration number: 150107691
School of Education
Programme: Doctor of Education and Child Psychology

Dear Suzanne

PROJECT TITLE: What are the stories of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education, employment or training?
APPLICATION: Reference Number 013527

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 02/05/2017 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 013527 (dated 10/04/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1028938 version 2 (10/04/2017).
- Participant consent form 1028939 version 2 (10/04/2017).
- Participant consent form 1029450 version 1 (10/04/2017).

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator
School of Education

Appendix 6   Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: What are the stories of YP who have been permanently excluded from school who have then transferred back into education, employment or training?

Name of Researcher: Suzanne Jones

Email contact: emb08sm@sheffield.ac.uk

Name of Research Supervisor: Dr Penny Fogg

Email contact: p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

Participant Identification Number for this project: Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information leaflet dated *X* explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to

    ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.
    I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the interviews to be audio-recorded.

5.   I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

      6.   I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Parent   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

 Suzanne Jones (Researcher)   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Appendix 7   Transcription Code for Audio-Recorded Interviews

Audio (what's heard)	Code
Pause, short	..
Pause long	…
Overlap	[ ]
Truncated/word cut short	Wor-
Inhale	.hhh
Exhale	hhh
Vocalization e.g. gulp, sniff, cough	(gulp), (sniff)
Laugh	heh
Laugh in a word	Wor(h)d
Forte (loudness)	WORD
Quietness	~word~
Primary accent	word
Secondary accent	word
Unsure/unclear	#
Termination	.
Me speaking	M:
Katie speaking	K:
Summer speaking	S:
Bryony speaking	B:
Katie's first interview	1K
Summer's first interview	1S
Bryony's first interview	1B
Katie's second interview	2K
Summer's second interview	2S

Note the code for which and whose interview begins each line of transcription, followed by the transcription line number then a letter to denote who was speaking followed by transcription of what was said using the code above.

For example:

2K8 K: and I just wanted to be like them

The example denotes that it was Katie's second interview, it was the 8th line of text and Katie was speaking, saying "and I just wanted to be like them".

For an extract example refer to Appendix 9a.

Appendix 8   Transcription Process

Note comments in italics are not part of the transcription process per se but informed other aspects of the research process including data collection and analysis.

Listening	Purpose	Action
First listening	To gain the gist of the story and highlight queries for follow up	Listen, write out rudimentary transcription and highlight key words/aspects to follow up in second interview. *Follow up in second interview*
Second listening	To gather greater detail from the interviews	Listen to the whole interview, pause occasionally to take notes. *Write a synopsis of the story – consider plot, sequence, characters.*
Third listening	To complete transcription of verbal/spoken aspects of interview.	Transcribe thoroughly whole interview, include line numbers, who speaking. *Note reflections throughout.*
Fourth listening	To complete transcription including non-verbal aspects e.g. noting pauses, intonation, noises.	Complete transcription including recording non-verbal aspects using Transcription Code – Appendix 7. *Note reflections throughout.*
Fifth listening	Check transcription accurate	Listen to whole interview whilst reading transcription, pausing as needed to check. Transfer to table of two columns to be able to add comments in readiness for analysis. *Check back against synopsis*

Appendix 9   Data Collection Overview Timetable

Date	Action - Interview	Context	Duration
June 2017	Meet potential participants	Alternative School	20 minutes
June 2017	Pilot interview	FE College	16 minutes
June 2017	Bryony first interview	FE College	22 minutes
June 2017	Summer first interview	Alternative School	55 minutes
June 2017	Katie first interview	Alternative School	22 minutes
July 2017	Summer second interview	Alternative School	36 minutes
July 2017	Katie second interview	Alternative School	15 minutes
September 2017	Summer review and re-presentation of story	Alternative School	15 minutes
October 2017	Katie review and re-presentation of story	Alternative School	10 minutes

Appendix 10   Summary Table Illustrating Systematic Approach to Data Analysis

Reading	Purpose	Action
First reading	To reflect on the whole story from the first interview	I read the transcriptions of the first interviews as a whole and then drafted a synopsis and my global impression including my initial identification of an over-arching theme/typology (Frank, 2013). I also made notes about the setting, sequencing, characters within the story and their positioning. I recorded queries/questions to follow up at the second interview
Second reading	To consider overarching theme/typology and initial themes.	I read through the transcriptions and as I read I made notes at the side of each transcription such as events (including beginnings and endings), reasoning, reflection, contradictions/inconsistencies. I added reflective thought bubbles as I went. I then read over the comments to consider emerging themes which I summarised at the end of the transcription into what I felt were key themes, linking together where I felt there was overlap and noting potential links to other research/theory
Third reading	To identify each aspect of each transcript related to each theme.	I read back over the transcription highlighting in colour the themes I had identified – where I felt the theme had themes/aspects/patterns within it I highlighted them with a specific pattern. Where themes overlapped the colours also overlapped – see example in Appendix 10a. I then isolated/selected from the whole transcript only the lines related to the themes to allow further analysis.
Fourth reading	To reflect back on the whole story (both first and second interviews)	I drew out the story (from the first interview transcription) using simple figures, key words/phrases and speech/thought bubbles (Appendix 11). I then reflected back on my global

		impression including typology and synopsis and altered them as I felt appropriate. I also reflected on the highlighted themes and how they fitted within the whole story and/or whether they linked to specific aspects of the narrative.
Fifth reading	To identify the 'types' of narrative within the whole story e.g. repeated subject matter, event narrative, key narrative, relational and canonical/ meta-narratives/discourses (Phoenix, 2008, Bruner, 1991, Lieblich *et al.,* 1998)	I reflected back on my original comments and then completed a table for each participant noting/naming specific narratives (see example in Appendix 10b).
Sixth reading	To answer subsidiary RQs: What do their stories suggest helped/hindered them in their return to education/training? What do the stories reveal about the impact of meta-narratives/discourses?	I highlighted and colour-coded specific aspects of the whole story related to the specific RQ and then selected and isolated those aspects from the whole text (See example Appendix 10c).
Seventh reading	To focus on the themes and consider each in turn.	I read each theme in turn and recorded comments such as patterns or subthemes within themes, overlaps/links with other themes, narratives within themes, the participants purpose and intentions and evidence of macro level influences behind each theme/aspect of a theme.
Eighth reading	To reflect on each sub-theme through participant's own language	I highlighted and selected transcript exemplars to reflect each sub theme
Ninth reading	To identify function of narratives	I considered each type of narrative in turn and made notes on the potential function, the participant's intention and motives. I added another column to the narrative type table to include 'function' (see example Appendix 10b). Instances that appeared contradictory were

		also noted as were reflections around how something was said, implict content and what was not said (e.g. Phoenix, 2008, White and Epston, 1990:18).
Tenth reading	To consider commonalities and diversities across participants.	I considered the themes in parallel across all transcripts and drew links across, and made comments.

[Handwritten: little Survey of ~~[crossed out]~~ + ~~[crossed out]~~]

[Handwritten right: ⊙ Turning Pt. — on.]

Summer interview one comments

[Handwritten right column, various notes:]
pretty good
yr 5 ↓ downhill
excluded – fighting
" brother
Y6 – LAC
THEMES

1s1	M: I'm going to start with my opening statement heh I'm interested…and that's it really so whereever you want start, do you wanna start from back in primary school..
1s2	S: Yeah
1s3	M: Yeah:
1s4	S: Yeah that's fine
1s5	M: go for it go for it
1s6	S: Er when I was in primary school
1s7	M: Hm
1s8	S: I was really good and I'd get on with my work but I was one of the brightest in my year
1s9	M: Hm
1s10	S: so I'd get on with my work up until ..I'd say round about year 5
1s11	M: yeh
1s12	S: and then I just started going down hill
1s13	M: So what happened?
1s14	S: I got, I kept getting excluded in year 5 for fighting.
1s15	M: Right.
1s16	S: But, in my eyes I wasn't doing it for my own like amusement
1s17	M: Hm
1s18	S: it was to protect my brother because my brother used to get bullied by a lot of the year 6s.
1s19	M: ah what year was he in?
1s20	S: He was only in year..th.ree
1s21	M: Right
1s22	S: At the time
1s23	M: right
1s24	S: so I'd be protecting him and.. I'd get excluded .hhh and I was just in and out of school constant
1s25	M: Hmm
1s26	S: Up until..the end .hh towards the end of year 6 when I got taken into care

[Handwritten left margin annotations: "good – good", "brightest", "sister", "Sister one", "sister 2"]

[Handwritten right margin annotations:]
description of self
individual/different (+ independent)
can't handle large gps " differ
she says she's normal.
acceptable behav examples + standards
→ she's taking responsibility
upbringing
Nan's upbringing
explanations/ reasons for behav
rules/standards
RO helped/hindered

[Handwritten bottom: rough area, friend, CHANGE, what it is to be good " " to be a girl, a sister]

[Handwritten bottom right: Critical, Dad Fails, Normal/weird Right edn.]

1s27	M: Right	
1s28	S: and then.. I just started getting worse	LAC
1s29	M: Behaviour wise you mean?	
1s30	S: Yeah behaviour wise	
1s31	M; yeh	
1s32	S: I started getting worse and.. I wor... angry I really cos I didn't know why I'd got taken into care I didn't know anything and ..in and then everything started going well again	↑ going well ↓ brother got split up
1s33	M: Hmm, was that when you were in care?	
1s34	S: Yeah with my behaviour, I was being really good in school and then me and my brother got spilt up.	
1s35	M: right and were [you in se]condary school at this point or were you still in year six?	
1s36	S: [Which]	
1s37	S: It wor a week before we ended year 6.	
1s38	M: Right:	
1s39	S: So I was, it was on my SATS week actually when I was doing my SATs. →	got split up in SATs
1s40	M: aah	
1s41	S: So we, me and my brother got split up and I got moved, I was in and out of foster homes	in & out of foster homes in & out of school
1s42	M: Hmm	
1s43	S: every I knew every Thursday was my deadline. If I hadn't been good and proved to them that I can be good then I'd be in a different foster home.	deadline Thursday 'be good'
1s44	M: yeah, and what did they and what did they think being good was then, what?	
1s45	S: Just doing as you're told, really	
1s46	M: Hm	
1s47	S: and not getting into trouble at all.	
1s48	M: Hm	
1s49	S: see my, my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different	different standards of being good.
1s50	M: Hmm	

'be good'

2

1s51	S: because of my standards were sort of in the middle
1s52	M: yeh
1s53	S: but theirs were really like sky high."
1s54	M: Hmm
1s55	S: and I, I'd never be able to go up to their standards.. not in my wildest dreams I wou(h)ldn't heh
1s56	M: heh
1s57	S: I know that because.. I come from an estate where.. if you are good
1s58	M: Hm
1s59	S: you get bullied
1s60	M: right
1s61	S: because you're good you're not like any other person, you're posh as they would say it.
1s62	M: right
1s63	S: Because I'm from Xville
1s64	M: Yeah
1s65	S: well in Xfield
1s66	M: yeah
1s67	S: and I'm also but I moved to Yville in Yfield when I wor three years old
1s68	M: right
1s69	S: so I've been brought up around...a rough area
1s70	M: Hm
1s71	S: a really rough area.
1s72	M: yeh
1s73	S: I love going back to my home town but
1s74	M: to Xville [or Yville?]
1s75	S: [Yeah] but I got, but there cos I used to go there every weekend
1s76	M: Hm
1s77	S: every week I'd be there
1s78	M: Hm
1s79	S: So, I've grow up around seeing..bad things happen, like I grew up around seeing people be killed
1s80	M: hm
1s81	S: seeing shot like guns and knives and stuff

[handwritten margin notes:] impossible to attain standards of behave

Reasoning – good ⇒ bullied posh

[handwritten margin note:] Rough area – loves it ↳ see bad things happen

3

1s82   M: Hm

1s83   S: Cos I was #from a really rough area

1s84   M: yeh

1s85   S: err

1s86   M: was that kinda normal?

Conceptions of normality

1s87   S: It's normal to me

1s88   M: Yeh

change to different topic

1s89   S: it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people//I hung around with lads, I don't necessarily, I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person, I'm more.. hang around with lads so I'm more like a tom boy

good

girls

bullied for being good
hung around with lads
not girly   Tom boy

1s90   M: mm and was that the same when you were in primary school as well?

1s91   S: Yeah, I've always, I've always been the same.

1s92   M; hm

1s93   S: So the girls'd sort of like laugh behind my back and.. bitch about me.

1s94   M: Hm

1s95   S: So I'd I'd just take it on't chin

GIRLS.

1s96   M: yeh

: tom boy girls would bitch

took on chin then beat up

1s97   S: But ..it got to the point where.. I wasn't taking it on the chin and I'd do something about it, I'd... beat em up

1s98   M: Yeh

1s99   S: if they said anything towards me that I didn't like

1s100   M: Hm

1s101   S: Er and then.. it were in year 7 where I started getting really bad every day I got excluded

bad

Y7 excluded daily (internal + external)

1s102   M: Hm

1s103   S: and I'd get excluded and I'd be in isolation and then I'd get excluded from isolation

1s104   M: hm what was isolation like?

1s105   S: Er, I didn't like it

1s106   M: no

1s107   S: I didn't like it

4

Narrative type	Examples	Function – what are S's motives/intentions/positioning (and my reflections)
Repeated – naughty/getting into trouble – canonical – what is being good	1s43 every I knew every Thursday was my deadline. If I hadn't been good and proved to them that I can be good then I'd be in a different foster home. 1s44 M: yeah, and what did they and what did they think being good was then, what? 1s45 Just doing as you're told, really1s47 and not getting into trouble at all. 1s49 see my, my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different1s51 because of my standards were sort of in the middle1s53 but theirs were really like sky high. 1s55 and I, I'd never be able to go up to their standards.. not in my wildest dreams I wou(h)ldn't heh	Purpose – to give explanation for 'getting into trouble?' Standards vignette highlights her recognition of contextual factors/upbringing She is aware of perspectives.
	2s4 S: to me it means like not listening and fighting all the time2s6: or.. assaulting teachers or heh just not.. like your everyday child 2s7 M: Hm. What's an everyday child? 2s10 S: an everyday child as you'd see is .hhh someone who goes to school 2s12 just gets the work done2s14 messes about at home2s16 and they have like lots of friends or they've got no problems2s18 or they've got no disabilities or anything2s20 that's a every..everyday child2s22: a typical child2s24 as people would call it now cos they don't say normal2s26 err (sniff) but that's a typical child where they go to school and they do as they're told2s28: err they wouldn't cause a fuss and they'd do their work and they're just..boring2s37 S: I see it as being naughty.. it <u>can</u> get you into a lot of trouble2s39 S: and sometimes it can make you scared2s41 as to say you've had a fight with someone2s43 S: and then they get other people to come try and find ya everyday2s45: and beat you up cos you've obviously had a fight with them2s47 but ya basically being a naughty child or a problem problem child as people say now2s49 it's you're basically just living your life on the highway2s50 on the highway2s51 an(h)d you just take risks ev<u>ery</u>day 2s53 which I I I take risks everyday and it's fun the way I see it is rules are meant to be broken 2s55 not every rule has to you have to abide by it2s57 some rules yeah2s59 but they're like high standard2s61 more rules2s63 but I just see it as rules are meant to be broken 2s66 M: so it is more kind of exciting in a way2s67: yeh2s68 M: doing naughty things2s69: heh ye(h)ah 2s71S: it is and it isn't cos now I'm getting older I'm fifteen and now ..I see life as..I've got a very ..I don't know how to explain the opinion that I've got on life but I see it as I don't think there's no point in doing anything 2s426: and there was just very very strict2s428 I had to be asleep by 10..and if I wont asleep by 10 then I were not allowed to watch tv or go on't lap top2s444 S: it were like prison in some of them foster placements honestly2s448 might as well have just put bars	To give justification and with her explanation of what naughty is to indicate perhaps that there is some choice – and perhaps she has some agency. This suggests some contradiction as she also suggests she can't control herself and suggests that others like her aren't naughty. A real grapple between context, control, choice. Everyday is boring – is this because of upbrining normality different, risks/trouble is the norm Definition – naughty/problem is… Suggests might not get in trouble.

	on't windows and doors Repeated – bullying 1s14 I got, I kept getting excluded in year 5 for fighting. 1s16 But, in my eyes I wasn't doing it for my own like amusement1s18 it was to protect my brother because my brother used to get bullied by a lot of the year 6s. 1s24 so I'd be protecting him and.. I'd get excluded .hhh and I was just in and out of school constant 2s211 S: yeah I think I realised that.. it's not I shouldn't be putting myself down or I shouldn't be like not going to school because..of the kids2s219 S: well like when I was with my friends I'd show off in front of them 2s221 S: and I'd show off in front of my mum and stuff but..it just got to a point where there's no point in doing that they either like you or they don't2s223 S: and if they don't like you then that's their problem2s237 S: (sniff) but when I used to get bullied2s239S: it sort of went down so I'd do stuff to please people2s241S: I'd do stuff to make them like me2s243S: and.. it got to the point where it were too much2s245S: and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me2s247 S: but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party2s249 S: orrrr a boy didn't like me	Suggests previously looser boundaries and perhaps more choice/control over routines/activities such as going to bed, when ate etc. Illustrates tensions – her actions she knows are in her eyes different, perhaps justified as she states 'protecting' but against school rules, but also does she feel she is stepping in for adults (teachers) who weren't protecting her brother. Is this reflecting broader/general let down by adults?
Key narrative – well honed and repeated – rough area – canonical	1s57: I know that because.. I come from an estate where.. if you are good1s59 you get bullied1s61 because you're good you're not like any other person, you're posh as they would say it. 1s89S: it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people 1s69 so I've been brought up around…a rough area1s71 a really rough area. 1s73 I love going back to my home town but1s75 Yeah] but I got, but there cos I used to go there every weekend1s77 every week I'd be there1s79 So, I've grow up around seeing..bad things happen, like I grew up around seeing people be killed1s81 seeing shot like guns and knives and stuff1s83 Cos I was #from a really rough area1s86 M: was that kinda normal? 1s87: It's normal to me1s89it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people// I hung around with lads, I don't necessarily, I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person, I'm more.. hang around with lads so I'm more like a tomboy 1s299 So I've been brought up like I've been brought up I'd say I wouldn't be have been brought up around it, I've been brought up around weed1s301 but that's normal1s303 most families now have that1s305: somewhere in em, er but I think that's where I started smoking it from because it seemed like other people that do smoke it around me are having a good time 1s562: but when I've got kids nothing like that well to do with..rape and abuse it affects me because of what I've been through1s564 but owt else like a girl dying, a little girl dying or a little girl getting killed or summat it dunt affect me1s566 because I grew up seeing people get killed1s568 day in day out so no none of that affects me I don't cry at it I don't feel emotion towards it it, I'll just sit there look at it	Is this embellished? She sees return to this as final back up plan. She sees as normal. To give context – she's from a different culture to school with different norms, it's not occasional it's day in day out. To explain that being good has implications where she is from, seen as posh – get bullied To explain there are different rules However, she does not directly state that the opposite is that you have to be bad. Reflecting underlying ideas/principles/values in society.
Key narrative (well-honed and repeated)	1s383 because.. people think that naughty kids are in er schools like this because they don't want to be educated and they're never gonna get anywhere in life but actually it's not	Purpose – to illustrate a lack of empathy/understanding and/or a justification

Canonical People think…	because they're naughty, pee some people, there's a kid here who can't ..go near people1s385S: if he sees people he'll start freaking out1s386 M: so do you think your experience is similar to1s387 S: yeh 1s391and people think it's because they're naughty and they just don't want to do anything they don't wanna listen but it's not. You don't know what you can't judge a book by it's cover and you don't know what goes on behind closed doors 1s393 and that's all I all I say to that is that that kid that you think's never gonna get anywhere anywhere in life or.. is stupid because he dunt listen in school, his family could abuse him at home, 1s395 his family could bring him down everyday1s397 and make him want to ..kill hisself1s399 so he's trying his hardest but he can't concentrate at school because he's too bothered about what goes on at home1s400 thinking about all that going on yeh1s401 So, then they'll get kicked out and come to a school like this. My best friend 1s423 and it's horrible because and I hate it when people I wouldn't say posh people but it's more stuck up people 1s425 who just judge everyone cos they think they are better than everyone else they are not, they're just the same 1s427 and it's horrible to think that someone can be made that <u>low</u> to make someone do that to themselves 1s538 because people, you hear people in the street 1s540say oh he deserves to die, it's an eye for an eye well.. it's not as easy as that and they say (sniff) child rapists they should be castrated or they should be hung ..but.. you never know what's happened to them to make them do that1s542 they could have grown up been abused all their life knowing that just thinking that that's right1s543 M: exactly going back to that normal thing 1s544 yeah and they go by that and they find out it's not right but they can't help it1s554 S: but, in a way it is an illness because they could have grown up knowing that that's right so in their head that's right1s556 S: they don't see anything wrong by it1s558 but in the real world in reality it's not 1s650and.. when people say that they understand when they really don't like if you've been through summat and they've they say that they understand what you've been through and they haven't been through it then I don't like it1s652 but I'd like to be there for kids1s654 who have been in the same situations as me or similar so I can vouch for em and say look I've I've been there1s656 I know what it's like1s658 and it's not a nice place but just .hhh you'll get there some day	Using metaphorical phrasing to mask unpleasantness but then goes on to describe, may be to elaborate/because I didn't flinch, indicates something unpleasant has happened to her Posh poepl in judgment – think betters – she sees self as lesser/lower – canonical. Awareness of class Male pronoun By stating can't help it/illness, indicates potential lack of control/responsibility but also influence of upbringing **Contradiction** – annoyed people don't understand BUT not happy if attempt to empathise?? Explains more going on for these kids Is this because of different classes of people she has come across at school and in the care system? Limited evidence of care in school and care system -though she notes exceptions.
Event narrative (linked to most people) – best friend's death	So, then they'll get kicked out and come to a school like this. My best friend 1s403 My best friend was like that erm she used to get bullied a lot 1s405 and (sniff) her family always used to just say it's her own fault, she shouldn't be here, she were a mistake1s407 and she ended up killing herself and I found her body ..and it's her brother found her and ever since that brother an't been right1s409 and her family her parents were married and now they're	Reinforces strength of argument about impact of bullying and no support from family Emotions involved for individual and long term impact on those around

	divorced and they're both living separate life and her brother turned to drugs and her brother got rushed into hospital last week from overdosing1s411 because he's s, and this happened two years ago so he's still caught up1s413 on his sister1s415 but I can't bring myself to see her1s417 see, go, I went to her funeral but I can't bring myself to go her grave or see her brother	
Different/individual Tomboy – canonical what is a girl?	1s89S: it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people// I hung around with lads, I don't necessarily, I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person, I'm more.. hang around with lads so I'm more like a tomboy 1s90 M: mm and was that the same when you were in primary school as well? 1s91: Yeah, I've always, I've always been the same. 1s93 S: So the girls'd sort of like laugh behind my back and.. bitch about me. 1s95 S: So I'd I'd just take it on't chin 1s97 But ..it got to the point where.. I wasn't taking it on the chin and I'd do something about it, I'd… beat em up1s99 if they said anything towards me that I didn't like 2s293 pure girl is hhh (clears throat) like how I am now2s295 how people see me2s297: if you ask people they'd say oh she's like one of the lads she's a tomboy2s299 S: and she's just like one of the lads and you don't see her she's not she doesn't like girls she's not2s301 S: she's not friends with girls and stuff but a pure girl is where you're like got your nails done 1s435 S: you've got the boys who think they're hard1s437 S: and 'll beat anyone up or smash anyone's face in1s439 S: and then you've got the quiet ones which are like but their like it's the quiet ones you've got to watch out for1s441 S: because they can be quiet BUT if you wind em up to the point where they will see red and they will just go1s443 S: they will go 1s520 S: yeah, he came here I went out with Steve and that's Michael's best mate and I split up with Steve 1s522 S: after three days to get with Michael ..so1s526 S: I got caught in the middle but because I was getting the attention I felt happy1s530 S: I've got like two, three guys fighting over me right now my life couldn't be any better [heh] 1s532 S: I was just pure being a pure girl, pure girl. But now I just don't see the point I'm not in a relationship, I don't ..really want to.. be in one I just want to get my education	Example of difference/illustrates difference – canonical breach – suggests can't be one of the lads AND liked by girls – therefore positions her as outsider/aligns against/separates from girls, she states because she doesn't like girls not because girls don't like her hanging around with boys One of the lads within naughty bad= male growing up to be a 'lovely young lady' 2s283 Equates badness to male pronoun
Different/individual – can't handle large groups	1s117 or we'd make paper aeroplanes and fly em over, er but the teacher who usually were in isolation I did get on with him well so I suppose I'd prefer to be in isolation than normal lessons1s119: But I can't handle a large group of people1s121 S: becau that's where my anxiety comes in 1s123 S: I can't, I don't go to town I don't go out with my friends because I can't1s125 S: er it's very rare that you do catch me out but when (cough), when I was in isolation I did like it but it's when so it's the little things 1s367: Yeah, I really like these schools because I can't handle large range of people I can	Justifying to self Becoming aware of what likes/prefers what's best for her but acknowledges downsides Anxiety related to background? She individualises not handling people/groups

	only just manage to handle this much1s369 but .hhh…I don't like (sniff), I don't like going on the bus1s371 because again it's people that I don't know and I [get wary] 1s380 M: is that so you're kinda avoiding people? 1s381 S: Yeah ..I like…I like being in school in a way but I don't because I don't feel that I'm getting the right education 1s429 S: But like I say there's kids in these schools that can't handle schools not kicked out because they've been naughty it's cos they can't handle it1s431 and they don't want to, they want to be in different environment1s433 where they do have less range of people and…hhh in this school we're all different	To highlight not just her, others are the same – not because naughty – can't handle like she says she can't
Different/individual - as person/not accepted – failure to fit Turning point for different – bullying?	1s150 M: so did you feel better there then?1s151 S: Yeah 1s152 M; cos it's smaller? 1s169 S: and they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved1s171 S: and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different1s173 S: I like standing out1s175 S: er but they didn't accept it 1s177 and I sort of I would<u>n't</u> say protested because it wasn't really a protest but I protested aga<u>inst</u> it1s179 cos I were against it cos I've just everyone's got a right to be unique 1s181 S: and how are you gonna express your individuality if you can't.. have different coloured hair1s183 dress different1s185 have painted nails, or weird1s186 M: yeah, tattoos anything1s187: Yeah weird eyebrows and1s189 S: stuff but (sniff) I didn't like it whereas in Keepmoat I could1s191 S: do that1s193 S: I couldn't wear me own clothes I had to wear a uniform1s195 S: but still I were expressing myself through my hair and my make up 2s145 only cos I've got GCSEs and then I'll just get back to my normal self2s253 but I used to get bullied for being..different 2s255: as they'd say.. but .hhh it's because (cough) hhh it were mainly because I like to have different colours in my hair2s257 wear clothes the clothes that I wear or the music that I listen to2s259 I listen to all kinds of music2s261: I have all different colours hair I have a different hair colour every week2s263 and .hhh I wear clothes to.. express the mood that I'm feeling on the day 1s445: I wouldn't say, I'd say I'm inbetween1s447: a lot of people say I'm.. all mouth and no action1s449 but then when you cross my path I will kick off and I will kill ya. 1s451 but I say I am just like any normal person, I've got my problems I've got my ups and downs everyone has1s453 and it's not about.. the way you portray em it's about.. how you control them1s467 and I do my own thing 1s469: if you don't like what I do, the way I see it is if you don't like what I do then don't come near me, if you don't like how I look don't look at me. 1s471 If you don't like how I am don't speak to m(h)e. 1s473 It's that sort of thing if you don't <u>like me</u> you know where the door i(h)s. 1s475 I'm not gonna change for nowt because someone wants me to change I'll change for me1s477: if I want to change I will change1s500 I don't like wearing shoes, heh, see that's why we're all different in this school1s502 I don't wear my shoes, I walk around either in socks or barefoot	Acceptance Illustrates failure to fit/not being accepted and her refusal to acquiesce to demands that would make her accepted but that would change her from being different Therefore, perhaps illustrates the move to acceptance of self Perhaps also illustrates her seeing no purpose in some rules - as she goes on to say about rules being there to be broken She accepts compromise – academy won't? like standing out – now realised doesn't have to please others – therefore is she now happier to be 'different'? is that a personal/conscious decision or is it environment – we are all different here? Is it about belonging/fitting in? Are we all living by different codes/standards of behaviour – she has different norms at home to foster care to school – is she reflecting on a lack of empathy within school. Is she trying to come to terms with death of friend? Linked control to doing own thing. Highlights struggle/tension of accepting self as different whilst also feeling she is normal Perhaps also illustrates how acceptance of self has developed over time – used to get bullied – don't fit with peers, don't fit with school (perhaps non-acceptance was changing point?) but now won't change for no one. This is a strong statement about who she is!

	1s504: and .hhh there's some other kids that walk around like John who he'll walk around with five jackets on1s518 S: he's, he's a bit of everything, he's I'd say he's like me, he's a bit everything but… I've been out with him as well and John and Michael but I was with Michael for ..seven nearly eight months	
		Watching films – making sense of background Highlights interests are different to others
	1s590: but I found it funny, most people would be like oh you're sick in the head and stuff but no that's just the way I think (sniff, throat clear) I don't, I watch films about serial killers I I like watching stuff like that	
	1s612 S: I'm just gonna roll with it and se(h)e what happens heh but I've got I've got a back up plan for everything	Has plans because has to rely on self
	1s1092: .hhh either twin girls or twin boys, I want them identical. 1s1093M: right so that you can dress them identical or? 1s1094 yeah heh1s1096 heh that's the main reason1s1097 M: Hm yeah but then when they get older they'll be like you saying yeah but I want to look different1s1098 they probably will	Purpose – highlights she can't be labelled/put into a box

Purpose to highlight difference/failure to fit/failure to follow rules |
	2s378 but now ..I'm.. sort of getting back to how I used to be2s379 M: Hm yeh yeh it's a lot to kinda take in really in't it? 2s380 yeah ..by sort of I mea(h)n breaking the law heh breaking the law is how I used to be breaking the law is how I am now	Not just acceptance but embracing of self as different.
	2s694 yeah cos I don't want it to be the same as what people's got I want it to be different2s696 and adapted to me	
	Control	Purpose to highlight it is part of her – she can't change? Or not responsible. Or just acknowledges it is hard.
	1s576 I'd find it funny and I don't know why and people say I've got a really sick mind for thinking it's funny but I can't control myself	
	1s457: I(h) can't control anything that I do1s459 I feel that I can't control anything that I do everyone's like yeah you can yeah you can and I'm like it's really not as easy as that.	
Event narrative – toilet exclusion (because of rules)	1s127 S: I asked to go to the toilet they wouldn't let me go to the toilet1s129: because it wasn't break time1s131 And if really needed to go I'd kick off and I'd just walk out1s133 and then I'd move on to human rights 1s135 S: and try and win em that way but it didn't work.. heh it just didn't work so I'd walk out and then I'd get excluded and then my Mum would have a go at me and it just got to the point where she stopped having a go at me for it because I wont listening.	Purpose to highlight rule (that seems unreasonable) refusal to comply with a rule that perhaps she sees as purposeless

Mum – blaming Summer for it Shows Mum aware but Summer not 'listening' |
| Event – returning to school from exclusion (because of difference and rules) | 1s157 but I was meant to be going back to Away (Academy) 1s159 and I blew it. 1s161 it did it didn't work cos instead I was meant to go into school at dinner1s163 and talk to my.. I can't remember whether it was a key worker or not, talk to this girl, woman in #cavrens1s165 but instead I'd go in to school early so I could go round when it were dinner time and see all my old friends1s167 and go and see her and then I went in to and then I'd | Purpose – example of lack of acceptance and difference, refusal to comply with a rule that perhaps she sees as purposeless

However, I blew it, suggests she takes responsibility. |

	go in and they weren't accepting it1s169 and they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved1s171 and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different1s173 I like standing out1s175 er but they didn't accept it1s177 and I sort of I would<u>n't</u> say protested because it wasn't really a protest but I protested aga<u>in</u>st it	Note friends are key reason she wanted to go into school.
Event – fight with best friend – exclusion – friend role breach	1s197 and then I got kicked out of there because I had a fight with this girl who was supposed to be my best friend1s201: So.. I ended up fighting with her1s203 and I'd gone, I grabbed her hair1s205 and wrapped it round my wrist and I'd gone to smack her head on the table when the teacher got in the way so I punched my teacher twice1s207 one in the face and one in the chest and he like he said that he felt this sudden pain1s209nd he felt I saw he did fall to the floor1s216 yeh so was it was it just cos he got in the way that1s221 and then but when my adrenalin's pumping I can't control it 1s223 So If I am in a fight and someone gets in the way..then I I wouldn't be bothered at that time I'd do anything I could to get them out of my way	Example of exclusion – relational – friend breached friend role. Summer responded to conflict in only way she knows how? Is the purpose to highlight that it was an appropriate response to her but also that she lacked control? Aloes indicates a lack of control – I'd gone, I can't control it when adrenalin's pumping
Event – smack on hand	1s752 S: but I if I were naughty 1s754 and had like done summat wrong like I'd if I'd not tidied my toys away1s756like when you're little like my action man I used to play with action man and barbies, if I'd not tidied them away, oh my God (peer at door), if I'd not tidied them away when I were little my Mum'd give me a little smack on't hand1s758 if if she cos she'd asked me to tidy em away again I'd say NO1s760 S: she'd ask me to ti(h)dy away I'd say NO cos I'm playing with summat else1s762 S: and then she's she'd just give me a little smack on't hand and tell me to tidy em away and then I'd just look at her like …tidy em away and like OK	Reinforcing tomboy role Purpose – to contextualise /situate her responses – break rule – get a smack?
Event – piercing (get on with things)	1s1035 M: and do you think that's cos you've got to rely on yourself in a way? 1s1036 M: Yeh like at home I've I've got to if I want summat washing I've got to wash it myself1s1038: if I want food I've got to cook it1s1040 we all fend for ourselves in our house [because] 1s1042 S: I have done from I wouldn't say from a young age but since I were old enough to cook1s1044 but that's mm I'd <u>I</u> see it as it's because my mum's getting me ready for when I move out1s1046 to know that when I am on my own I've got to do stuff like that by my[self] 1s1048: but now I just do it anyway 1s1016 S: heh <u>I like</u> I'd like to be a tattoo artist because you get to travel the world and you get paid quite a lot of money for it but I like tattoos and piercings and stuff, I pierced my own stuff my self, I pierced my lip myself1s1018: I pierced my nose I've pierced I've1s1019:M: #don't tell me1s1020 pierced my tongue and I just missed the nerve1s1022: I left it and let it heal up and then I went and got it done myself got it done well professionally 1s1026: I pierced inside my ear but it's gone it's heeled up1s1028 I just I I'm really independent1s1030 as well 1s1032: (cough) I just prefer to get things done	As well as providing evidence that she is independent and is just getting on with it as she knows as her Mum has stated that she is preparing to move out, is this because she can't rely on anyone else, because family has not always been there for her Also shows she knows when to get help Interesting when she at others times says she has no control – this highlights a maturity and control.
Event – sorting stuff out for Nana (get on with things)	1s906: and I'll sort it out1s926 I sorted it all out for her but hhh that's the technology nowadays everyone's bothered about their phones	
Turning point – in	1s680: and then I just remembered no I'm not going to follow in his footsteps, I wanna to	Relational – she situates her actions in context, wants

court	prove to everyone that I am not like you	to be better (is that the language she uses in the text?)
Turning point – overdose Canonical drugs	1s255 S: like I was depressed and I I did quite a lot of drugs,I were addicted to spice1s257 S: Erm I got rushed into hospital off the spice on spice last year1s261 S: so and I died they had to shock me to bring me back1s263 S: cos I wont responding to CPR 1s277 S: and I ended up doing it and now I'm clean of all, I'd say all drugs apart from weed1s279 S: I smoke weed but not often. 1s281 S: and it dunt... .hhh people say that it harms you psychologically but I don't believe it does1s283 S: I'd say if you've already got psychological problems it may it could make them worse but it depends how you use it 1s285 S: and if you are dependent on it. 1s287 S: and if you're dependent on it but you haven't got it then you'll start like getting paranoid and stuff1s289 S: and people say, like scientists and stuff they say that it's not good for paranoid schizophrenia 1s291 S: my brother's got paranoid schizophrenia and it helps him1s295 S: he's got paranoid schizophrenia from from doing drugs 1s297 S: he developed it when he was on heavy drugs though he was on like cocaine and heroin and stuff.1s299 S: So I've been brought up like I've been brought up I'd say I wouldn't be have been brought up around it, I've been brought up around weed1s301 S: but that's normal1s303 S: most families now have that 1s305 S: somewhere in em, er but I think that's where I started smoking it from because it seemed like other people that do smoke it around 1s307 S: so I I tried it once, and then after that I just I used to smoke it everyday1s309 S: Not to the point, I wont dependent on it1s311 S: I wouldn't say I were dependent on it I could go days without having it me are having a good time1s331 S: (gulp) and I've tried I've tried other drugs and but none of them give me the buzz like weed does 1s333 S: So erm I'm not I won't lie I'll openly admit to what drugs I've had	Indicates move from internalising to realisation not all her fault and she can respond in a different way? Shows some control/taking back control and some readiness? Friends death trigger for own OD and becoming bad in herself
Relational - Foster carers – role breach – theme trouble	2s496he was a ex cop2s498 and.. he used to hit us and he used to lock us outside2s500 we'd be playing on the front and he'd lock me and my brother outside so I'd kick the door and he'd grab me by me he'd open the door and he'd grab me2s502 by me hair and he'd just drag me in ..and then that's when me and my brother got split up2s504 and then …not longer after that I was in a few placements after that 2s506 I was in another placement and.. this woman accused me of stealing her daughter's stuff2s508 I'd I'd never stole at that point2s514 err but she accused me of stealing and then she went on to talk about my mum2s516: and how my Nana didn't want me and stuff and that's why I'm here err..so I pushed her down stairs.. and she ~broke her hip and fractured her skull~	Purpose – gives examples of aggressive responses to her (and brother) and her own aggressive responses in turn Illustrate difference to her normality? Bold example highlights childlike nature f her and her brother playing against the adult response to lock out and grab. Purpose – contextualises her responses and sheds light on her understanding of family and care – breaching her canonical family/care understanding?
Boyfriends	1s518 S: he's, he's a bit of everything, he's I'd say he's like me, he's a bit everything but… I've been out with him as well and John and Michael but I was with Michael for ..seven nearly eight months	Enjoyed it Education is priority now.
Friends	1s165 S: but instead I'd go in to school early so I could go round when it were dinner time and see all my old friends1s167 S: and go and see her and then I went in to and then I'd go in and they weren't accepting it 1s197 S: and then I got kicked out of there because I had a fight with this girl who was supposed to be my best friend1s199 S: but she's one of these where she's she'll say she's your best friend she'll find out all your secrets and then she'll go tell people, the people that	Lost one due to suicide, lost another due to their betrayal Also event narratives of suicide, fight. Friends breaching friend role

	they're about1s201 S: So.. I ended up fighting with her 2s219 well like when I was with my friends I'd show off in front of them 2s221: and I'd show off in front of my mum and stuff but..it just got to a point where there's no point in doing that they either like you or they don't 2s233 S: and now..I'm really not easy to get on with er(h)r but I was as a child I was the one that was like very loud and bubbly 2s235 and friends with everyone really2s237 S: (sniff) but when I used to get bullied 2s239 S: it sort of went down so I'd do stuff to please people2s241: I'd do stuff to make them like me2s243 and.. it got to the point where it were too much2s245 and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me2s247 but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party 2s249: orrrr a boy didn't like me2s251 but now I'm not bothered you either like me or you don't and if you don't like me then that's your problem2s253 but I used to get bullied for being..different	Her understanding of friends developed Purpose highlights she sees the fault elsewhere, doesn't blame self anymore
Relational – family – role breach	1s465 my family have always brought me up, telling me that I'm not gonna get anywhere, I'm not gonna be anything but that's because I don't listen1s467 and I do my own thing 1s662: it'll be alright like I've grew up without a mum or a dad in my life 1s664 I've lived with my Nan and my Grandad1s666 since I were three because my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids 1s696 S: I live with my Nana because her and my Grandad have split up it were kind of a funny story to be fair because it was so ironic how1s698 S: my real Dad, my Dad's hhh dad	Tension – it'll be alright but then her friend wasn't alright so challenged hope and perhaps that's why in interview 2 she says nothing matters Rejection – wants a family and replaces family
Relational – Dad – role breach -canonical	1s662 S: it'll be alright like I've grew up without a mum or a dad in my life 1s664 S: I've lived with my Nan and my Grandad1s666 S: since I were three because my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids1s668 S: but hhh now.. I sent my dad a message actually and I just told him, look I'm nearly sixteen year's old I'll have my GCSES soon 1s672: growing up without a father, knowing that he's more bothered about .hhh his girlfriend and doing drugs and his new kids that he's had 1s674 S: then ever on about his first kids 1s676 S: I were like.. but I I said I got, I went to court last month1s678 S: on four different charges and I just thought god my Dad were here once1s680 S: and then I just remembered no I'm not going to follow in his footsteps, I wanna to prove to everyone that I am not like you 1s682 S: because I'm not I don't want, I'm gonna be the the most amazing parent than you'll ever be. 1s684 S: I'll be more..I don't even know how he can call himself a Dad1s686 S: and I said that to him I said I don't know how you can call yourself a Dad I've took drugs, I've tried to kill myself for what to make myself feel better 1s688 S: to think that you'll finally care about me, I said I was everyday I'm fed up of making me false hopes everyday I was hoping you'd walk through that door.. and..just one day walk through that door and give me a hug and say everything is gonna be alright	Dad has not been there – he has breached 'dad' role, grandad now Dad – she is Daddy's girl What she always wanted – betrayal/disappointment – drawn a line. However, still has name on tattoo

	Summer I am here now 1s690 S: I said but never happened. I were like so now you know just don't mess with me again Dad I said I'm not even gonna call you Dad to be fair1s692 S: so don't mess with me again Matthew I said you've got your family and I've got mine 1s694 S: and he just sent a thumbs up. I said "that proves a lot, thank you".	
Self	1s479 S: I'm mainly here .. because of my anger1s481: and I can't, well I'd say not mainly because of my anger but it's because of my anger and my mental health	Also difference She doesn't explicitly state anger led to exclusion
Cousin	1s872 Yeah and like we were playing it the other day actually and he said to me he went he stole a car and run he run this girl over and he said I'm not allowed to do that in real life am I Summer? I went NO, cos I'll get locked up and then sent to prison like #Bobbies won't I Summer YEAH, what if they don't catch me it's alright in't it Summer, NO, then why do you do stuff and say if they don't catch me they don't won't hurt em, I went .hhh Summer what have you done?	Provides evidence she cares and he cares for her. His perception of naughty is cool I think she likes – role model, but also knows difficulties this brings.
Sister – canonical – parenting role	1s1080and now I'll be sat there and they'll not sleep they'll be messing about upstairs she'll tell em then she'll go Summer it's your turn, we take turns in telling em off now1s1082: .hhh and we'll be telling em off til about ..half past #two in the morning half past two in the morning my sister'll be in bed and she's still telling em off. She's tried everything, she's smacked em 1s1084: if they've been naughty she's tried everything she possibly can and they just don't listen	Sharing parenting role with 'sister' Purpose is to highlight caring, highlight sister is stronger than friend? Highlights smacking again – justifies but tempers.
Nana's uprbringing – canonical	1s740S: but my Nana my Nana's really strict because of the way she's been brought up, she's been brought up ..really strict where if you did something wrong you'd get a smack for it so I've been brought up like that because she's been there 1s742 S: but in this day and age I can't say that .hhh I wouldn't necessarily say beats me 1s744 S: but that's blowing it way out of proportion but if I did something wrong I'd know about it .hhh [heh] 1s746 S: but in this day and age you can't say that because .hhh it's wrong to hit your child 1s748 S: if they'd done summat wrong if I had a child they'd mouthed at me or they'd back mouthed me 1s750S: I wouldn't hit em hard it depends well it depends on age they are really if they were 15 then they'd get a punch in't face bu..t I wouldn't necessarily go to that extent they'd just get a backhander 2s86 M: because you weren't listening, so did that mean then that because she wasn't having a go at you you carried on or do you think it affected you at all? 2s87 in a way I I carried on like I still if my mum has a go at me now2s89: everyday for say I'd not washed pots so she'd have a go at me and she'd stop telling me, it wouldn't change my mind but in some things it does 2s91S: so like.. I used to go out..every night not get back until about 10 o clock half past ten2s93S: and then my mum were having a go at me "why are you late?" 2s95S: "do you realise I've had to wait up for you?" stuff like that and I'd just argue back with her2s97 S: and she just stopped having a go at me and now I just don't go out ..heh2s98 M: woah it's like reverse psychology in't it heh2s99: yeah she'd used that on me a few times to be fair 2s103: but then she just stopped telling me2s105 and I'd tell her what time I'd be back 2s107 S: I'd be like mum I'm going out I'll be back at eleven or2s109: or	Mum role Indicates some distance from old friends Wanting to be treated like an adult or just doesn't see purpose of rule because she 'just gets on with it' which is encouraged in some areas but not in others such as this – tension. She shows she knows why Nana is strict because she had a strict upbringing, reflects perhspas that it shapes us BUT also knows that she doesn't want to be like Dad – tough tension and perhaps a fear for her?

	(cough) I'm going out I don't know when I'll be back but don't wait up 1s740but my Nana my Nana's really strict because of the way she's been brought up, she's been brought up ..really strict where if you did something wrong you'd get a smack for it so I've been brought up like that because she's been there1s742: but in this day and age I can't say that .hhh I wouldn't necessarily say beats me1s744: but that's blowing it way out of proportion but if I did something wrong I'd know about it .hhh [heh] 1s746 but in this day and age you can't say that because .hhh it's wrong to hit your child 2s112M: course she'd still wait up for you? 2s113 she would but when I'm out with me mates2s115 that's when she's like.. always messaging me quite a lot over like where I am	
What's a teacher?	1s792: I made a teacher cry 1s794S: yeah, I didn't know how I made her cry she said it were me that made her cry I didn't do owt how can I make <u>a teacher cry</u> they're meant to be a teacher I just went suck it up and grow some balls and walked off heh she <u>were a woman an all</u> heh but I never liked that teacher anyway 1s794S: yeah, I didn't know how I made her cry she said it were me that made her cry I didn't do owt how can I make <u>a teacher cry</u> they're meant to be a teacher I just went suck it up and grow some balls and walked off heh she <u>were a woman an all</u> heh but I never liked that teacher anyway1s795 M: why didn't you like her? 1s796 S: She was just urgh, she were horrible just yeah1s797 M: did you have any nice teachers that you liked? 1s798 S: my year six teacher Miss, she's called Miss Jolie now she's married1s800 S: she's married she was called Miss Pitt then but I liked her, I liked Miss Clooney she were a TA I liked Mrs Aniston1s802 S: she were a TA1s804 S: my year 5 teacher Mr Cox he were alright1s806 S: I liked, I loved Miss Arquette I had her up until she left1s808 S: up until ..Year 2	Should be caring? Should be robust?
Helped – environment small class size	1s147 S: It's a learning centre, where kids go if they've been excluded or permanently excluded or ss like sort of a1s148 M: So it's quite small is it? 1s149 S: Yeh1s150 M: so did you feel better there then? 1s151 S: Yeah1s152 M; cos it's smaller? 1s153 S: yeah it was sort of a like some people used to do it as a.. offsite placement 1s225 S: Erm and then I got kicked out of there .hhh and then I went to St W's1s227 S: which.. I quite I liked that because it were from ..young ages, I think it were from year 21s229 S: to year well to year eleven. 1s231 S: so it it <u>was</u> ..more or less a mainstream school	Suggests liked because it was like a mainstream – does she still not want to be seen as different?
Policy so it's the little things	1s169 S: and they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved1s171 S: and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different Amy1s357 S: and I really didn't wanna leave 1s359 S: but it's just one of them things where you have to and then I went to Gateway and I sort of settled down in there	Impact of policy – hair – had to leave, drugs had to leave, toilet, excluded Refers to it as little things, just one of them things – not placing responsibility on self or others Down plays – doesn't place responsibility

	1s125 S: er it's very rare that you do catch me out but when (cough), when I was in isolation I did like it but it's when so it's the little things 1s127 S: I asked to go to the toilet they wouldn't let me go to the toilet 1s129 S: because it wasn't break time 1s131 S: And if really needed to go I'd kick off and I'd just walk out 1s133 S: and then I'd move on to human rights	Are the situations e.g. going to the toilet, taking drugs separate to education??? Is she stating that going to the toilet is a little issue Suggests sometimes would put up with being told no
Friends – teachers/school getting in the way I liked it there cos I had all my friends and stuff	1s165 S: but instead I'd go in to school early so I could go round when it were dinner time and see all my old friends 1s233 S: erm but I liked it there cos I had all my friends and stuff and 1s234 M: were they new friends that you made then there? 1s235 S: Yeah 1s237 S: and I'd found a boyfriend who goes there which isn't the smartest idea considering we're both naughty heh 1s239 S: Err heh he got kicked out of there and then shortly after he got kicked out I got kicked out 1s816 S: I used to get bullied there to be fair but I made there were this boy he was in year, I would have been in year, I would have been I would have been in reception .hhh and I'd say he would have been in …year between 4/5 or 6 1s818 S: he was my best friend 1s820 S: he was my best friend he was called David Jones 1s822 S: still to this day I try and find him on facebook I can't 1s824 S: er but.. he always used to stick up for me and where my playground wor there were a wall in-between it 1s830 S: and we'd share our dinner and he'd come over and we'd just sit there and like together and we'd just sit with a little blanket he'd bring up a blanket and we'd sit and just eat our dinner 1s836 S: so I'd give him a bit and we'd taste each other's drinks and we'd just play fight all the time and then a teacher'd come round catch us and 1s838 S: he'd jump back over the wall 1s840 S: and then we'd us we'd try to see each other as much as we could 1s842 S: but it didn't necessarily work out because we didn't get to see each other cos the teacher would always. 1s844 S: ruin it 1s532 S: I was just pure being a pure girl, pure girl. But now I just don't see the point I'm not in a relationship, I don't ..really want to.. be in one I just want to get my education	Describes as old friends therefore suggesting she sees as separated from? Peers are an important thread –important/most important aspect of school develops from social into personal relationships – teachers ruin it Repeats bestfriend to reinforce the point, also reinforces by stating wants to find now Sounds idealised Suggests it was clandestine meetings Positions teachers as against them – against all friendships? Is that representative of her views of teachers as not supportive – looking to catch her out She's saying education and relationships are incompatible
Helped – liked course, wants education	1s349 S: it was sort of.. gutting because I was on a child care course and I were looking after this little girl called Amy 1s357 S: and I really didn't wanna leave 1s359 S: but it's just one of them things where you have to and then I went to Gateway and I sort of settled down in there 1s381 S: Yeah ..I like…I like being in school in a way but I don't because I don't feel that I'm getting the right education	Balance between liking because small but doesn't feel right education

	1s463 S: because I want GCSEs, I want to prove my family wrong.1s532 S: I was just pure being a pure girl, pure girl. But now I just don't see the point I'm not in a relationship, I don't ..really want to.. be in one I just want to get my education	
	1s944 S: and I like education .hhh (clears throat) but I like drawing I like art1s946 S: I love art	
	2s149S: yeh .hhh an I like being in school because obviously I'm getting my education and I'm getting more knowledge but …I .. don't think I'm getting the right education because I'm in an alternative school 2s151 S: which isn't a mainstream we only get..like four or five lessons a day 2s153 S: and some of them are completely irrelevant2s155 S: to what we want to do2s157 S: I see it as.. they should only educate ya on the qualifications that you need to do the job you want to be2s159 S: or the career that you want to pursue like because I want to be a forensic psychologist2s161 S: so..they..I want them to give me the stuff that's relevant to what I want to be2s163 S: but then on the other hand I keep changing my mind	Issues with alternative lessons – because less lessons, irrelevant quelifications and breadth of subjects (also less teachers)
	2s173 S: well any education's alright really but mainstream education would be the best2s175 S: because I've got more of a chance of getting into college or2s177S: university2s179 S: or sixth form but now I haven't got that much of a chance because I'm not in the in a right school2s181 S: and do you think it's because of the qualifications in those schools2s182 M: yeh so because you're here you're not getting the kinda the breadth	Canonical of life chances – reflects values in society
	2s183 S: yeh2s184 M: the amount of different things that you could do2s185 S: yeh2s186 M: right, so it's kind of limiting you2s187 S:M2s188 M: Hmmm interesting…oh yeah you'd said you got to a point where you thought what's the point I'm worth so much more than that	
	2s189 S: yeah ..errr..I did to be fair because it was after I'd had my like really bad low2s191 S: and..(sniff) in school as well it was just I wasn't even bothered I wasn't going to school2s193 S: I wasn't doing anything I was just laying in bed all day I wouldn't eat or owt2s199 S: and I was like I wanna go to school and I'd gone to school and everyone was shocked to see me	Wants school, wants education Didn't go because felt low, later states because of peers – influence of peers is incredibly strong – mix of her emotions and perceptions of peers views
	2s201 S: and I'd gone to school..and I were sat talking and I was I was just thinking I was thinking to myself I'm worth so much more than being in an alternative school with2s203 S: kids that don't quite blatantly don't wanna learn2s205 S: and I just wanted to get the best education for myself2s211 S: yeah I think I realised that.. it's not I shouldn't be putting myself down or I shouldn't be like not going to school because..of the kids	Alternative schools not valued generally in society but also by pupils
		Contrast to in schools because can't cope – now says don't wanna learn – is she now trying to distance

| | | herself from them? whilst she says all different and sees herself as such she also sees herself as wanting to learn and them not.

Putting education ahead of peers for a change. |
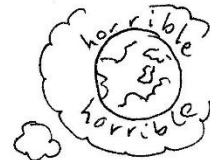|---|---|---|
| Helped

Allowed to feel different | 1s500 S: I don't like wearing shoes, heh, see that's why we're all different in this school1s502 S: I don't wear my shoes, I walk around either in socks or barefoot1s504 S: and .hhh there's some other kids that walk around like John who he'll walk around with five jackets on | Acceptance of difference in clothes – key way to express difference as she noted in subtheme |
| I'm mainly here because of anger/mental health | 1s479 S: I'm mainly here .. because of my anger1s481 S: and I can't, well I'd say not mainly because of my anger but it's because of my anger and my mental health | She has internalised and blamed herself and own problems BUT
Issues in school are related to policy/standards e.g
Not going to the toilet
Drugs
Hair
Fights protecting brother
Friend breaching secrets
Therefore downplaying/ignoring/overlocking institutional rules and relational aspect. |
| Hindered – mixed messages

you either want me to be a kid or an adult 2s141 S: but I suppose that's the thing when you get halfway to being an adul | 2s127S: it's like a it's like when you get like them little people on your shoulders like a devil and an angel on your shoulder2s129S: I fell like it's that like I've got people telling me that I need to act I'm only 15 I need to just be a kid while it lasts2s131 S: and then I've got my teachers and my Mum and stuff saying I need to start taking responsibility for what I do2s133 S: learning how to .hhh survive like in my own house and stuff
2s139 S: you either want me to be a kid or an adult 2s141 S: but I suppose that's the thing when you get halfway to being an adult adult2s143 S: it's quite boring at this age2s145 S: only cos I've got GCSEs and then I'll just get back to my normal self | GCSEs are focus therefore boring – is she using GCSEs as a valid excuse fo not thinking about current role.

Again different standards – more reconciliation. |

Katie what helped hindered rq

1K54	K: and now I've like grown up so much because here I get to do the things I wanna do	*help — do what wan*
1K55	M: Hm	
1K56	K: and I like doing things here like maths and stuff because .hhh it's just better here than it is anywhere else.	*help — like doing things here*
1K57	M: yeh and is that because of the people or is it	
1K58	K: yeah it's because of the people and just because how nice they are and	*help — people*
1K59	M: Hm	
1K60	K: how helpful they are wi ya and it it I like proper like it here	
1K61	M: ah that's good	
1K62	K: I really like it here..but er only't reason I didn't come is because I thought new people	*hindered — fear of unknown — new place far away*
1K63	M: Hm	
1K64	K: new place so far awa(h)y	
1K65	M:Yes yeh	
1K66	K: and then er welfare officer came out and said obviously if I don't get myself in education	*helped W. Officer threat*
1K67	M: Hm	
1K68	S: my Mum would be getting fined	
1K69	M: yeh	
1K70	K: and all stuff'd be happening so I thought nah I can't can't have that happening to my Mum.	
1K71	M: yeah	
1K72	K: so I rang up	*helped — personal caring decision making*
1K85	M: and have you got sort of a key worker or someone here then someone that you really like?	*helped — key nice people nice*
1K86	K: Janet	
1K90	K: I like Janet	
1K91	M: yeah, she's nice	
1K92	K: yeah she is, proper nice	
1K133	K: Things] dropped and then things got higher again	
1K134	M: yeh	
1K135	K: since I've came back here	*helped — place*
1K136	M: right	

1

Appendix 11a   **Katie's Drawn Story**

My Story

PRIMARY SCHOOL

Teacher's Pet

Proper Good

Everyone else was really good

149

EXCLUDED !

ha

ha
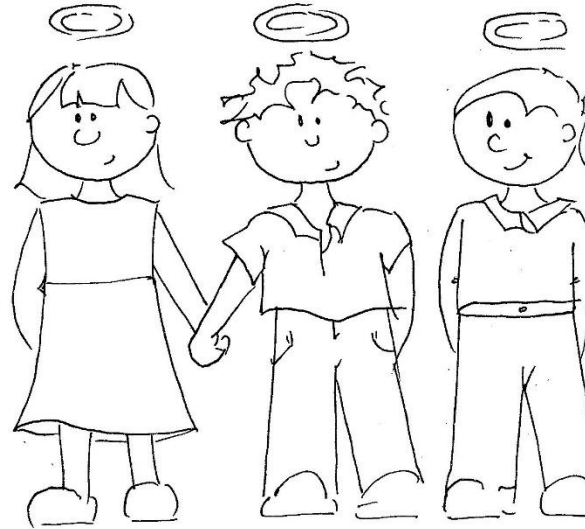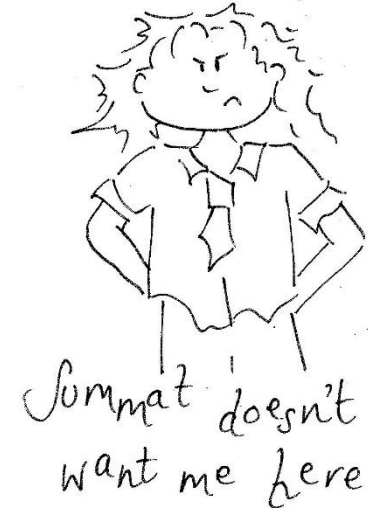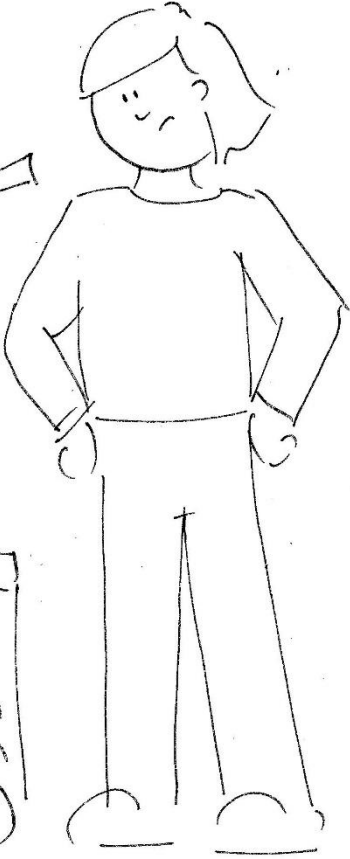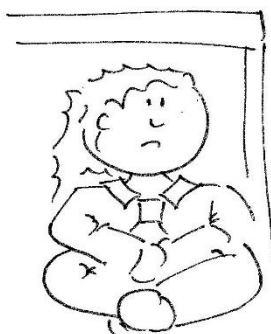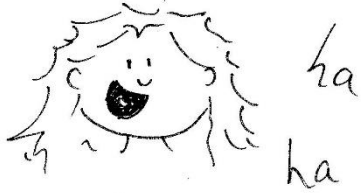
New School

NEW SCHOOL

LITTLE OUTBURST
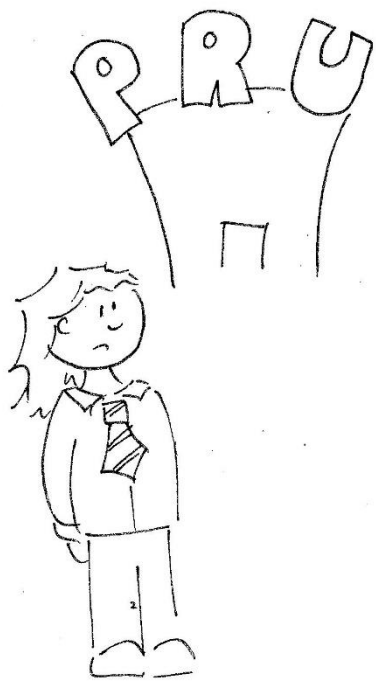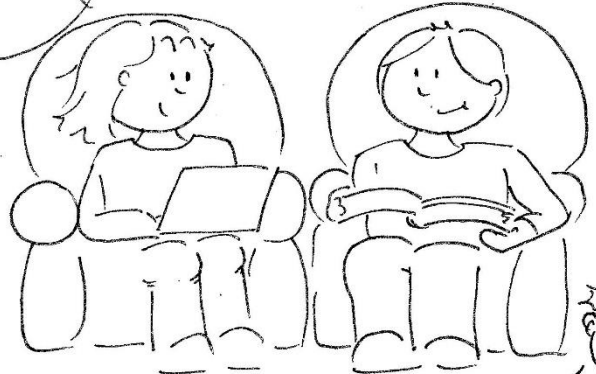
154

WISH

*

Back to

HIGH SCHOOL

PROM

Start over again

all proud

Appendix 11b   **Summer's Drawn Story**
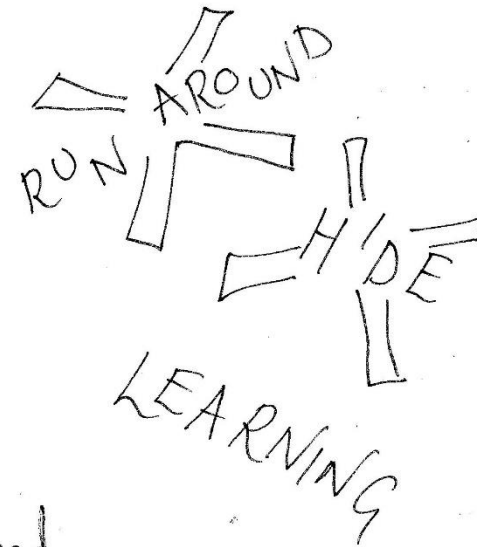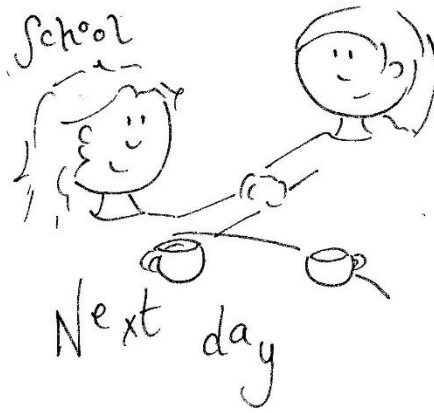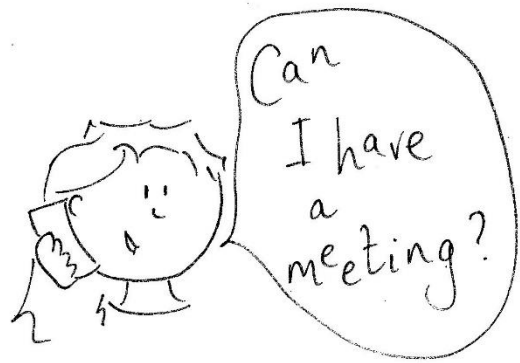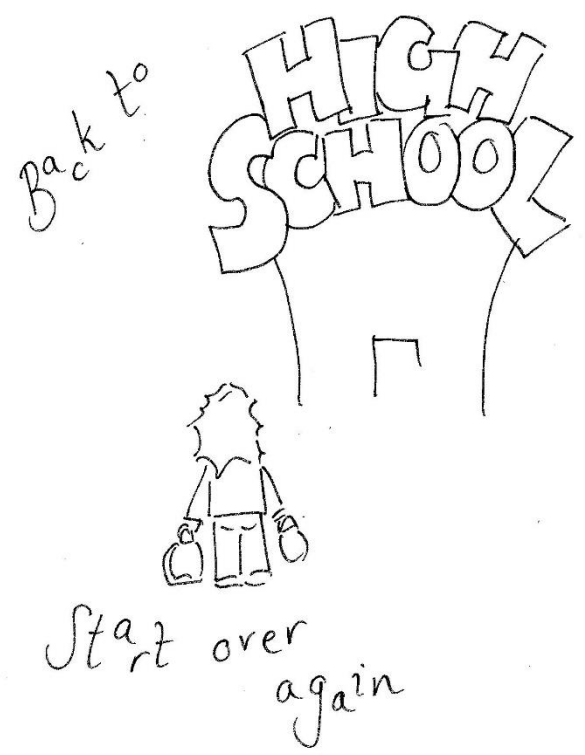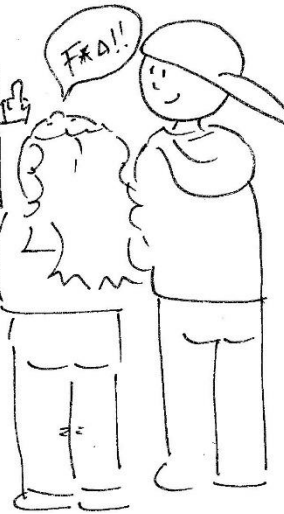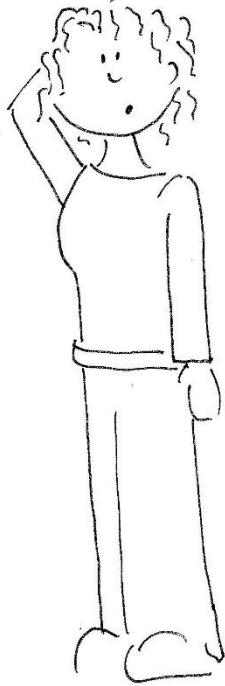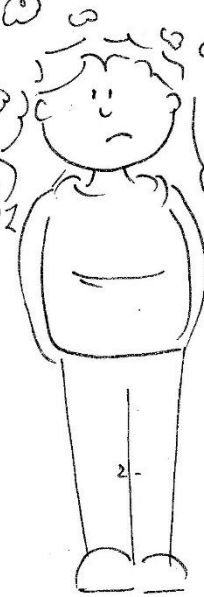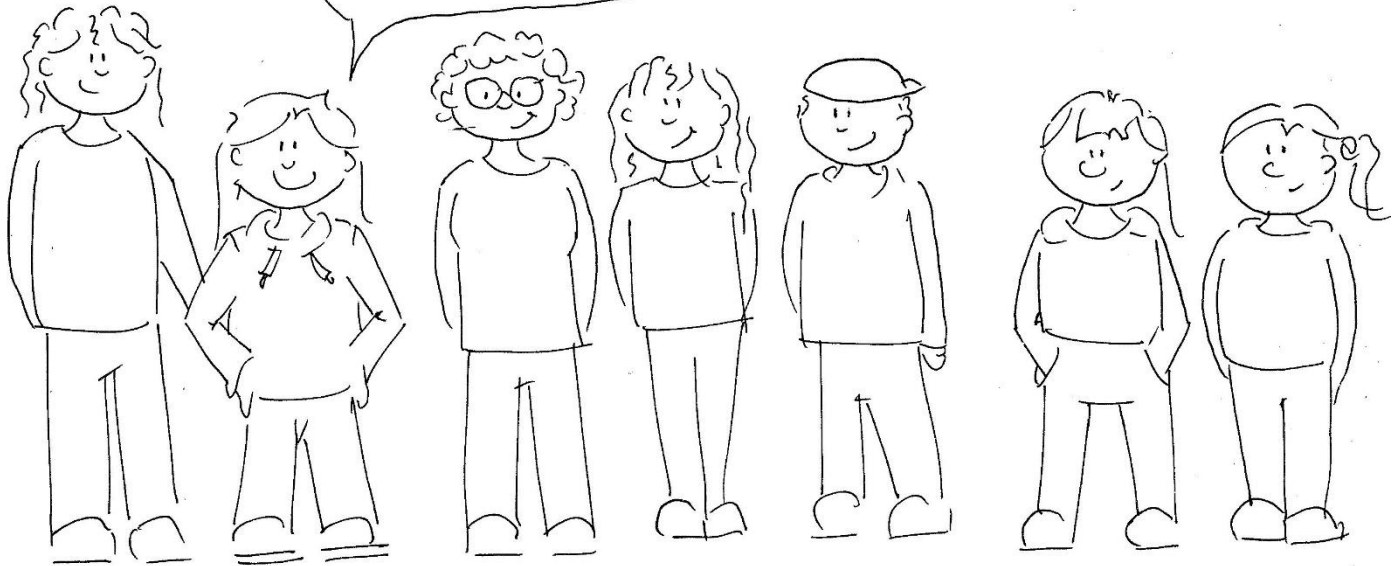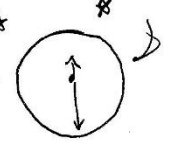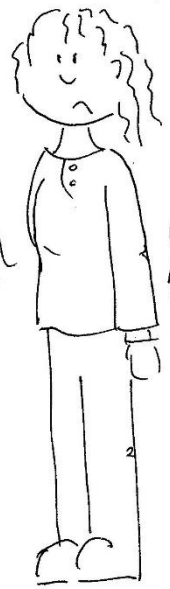
PRIMARY

Year 5
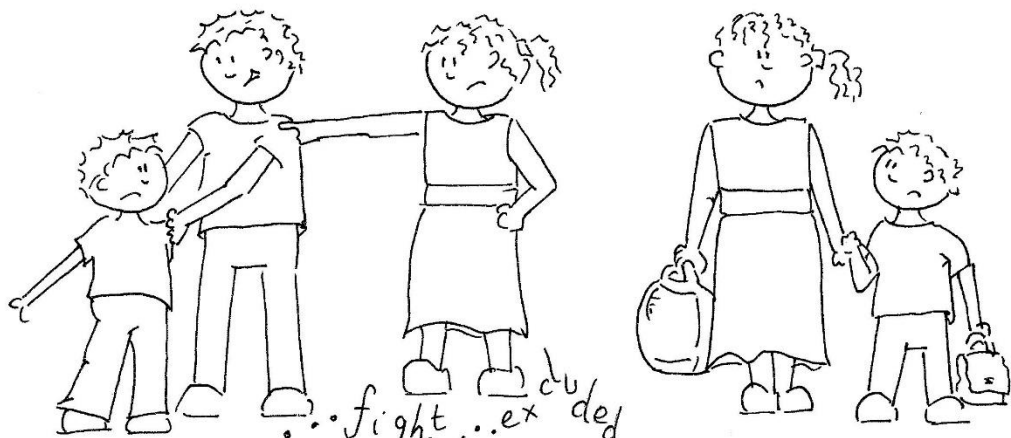
Standards

...fight...excluded

Angry

Thursday Be Good!
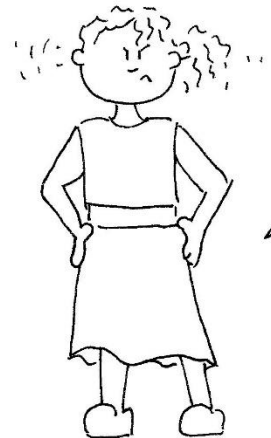
Middle Standards

Estate

good = posh
= bullied

lads

Bitch   laugh

I wasn't taking it on the chin
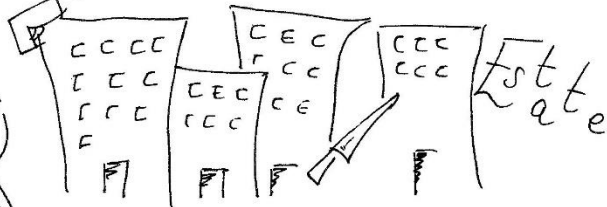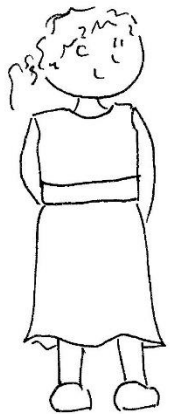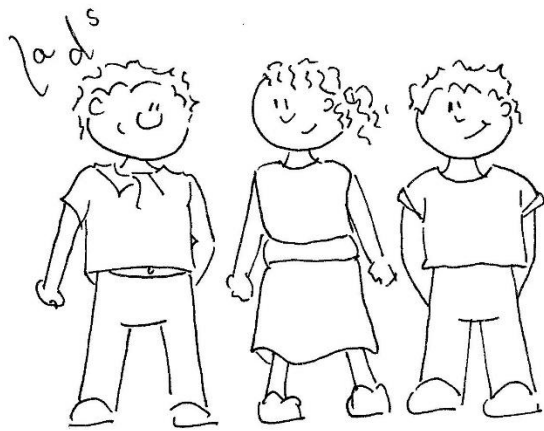
SECONDARY

excluded
exc
excluded
excluded
isolation
excluded

ISOLATION

ANXIOUS

TOWN

162
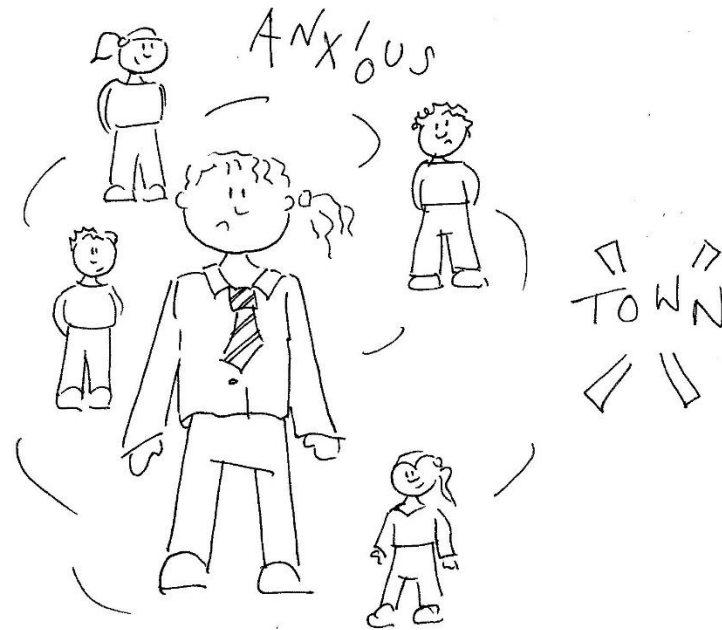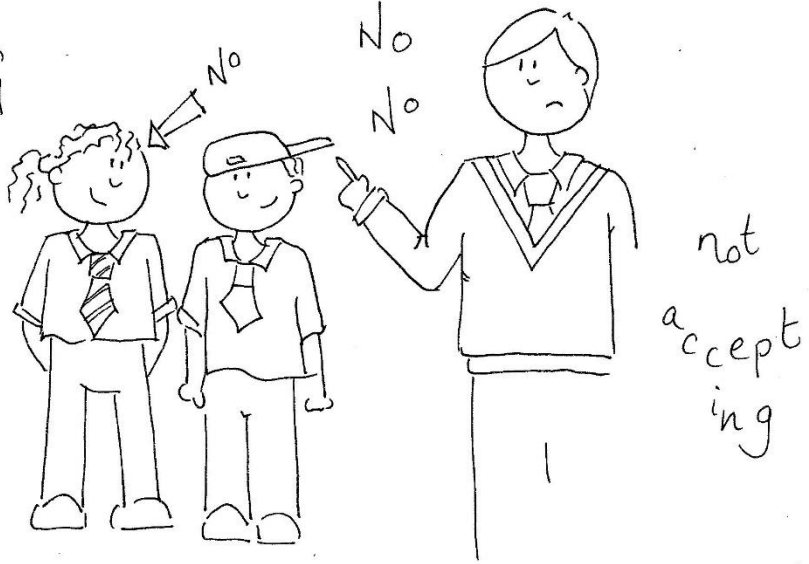
I like being different standing out everyone's got a right to be unique

LEARNING CENTRE

supposed to be my best friend

PRU

PRU

Excluded

spice

Ambulance

Motorway

disgusted

clean

buzz

heh

PRU
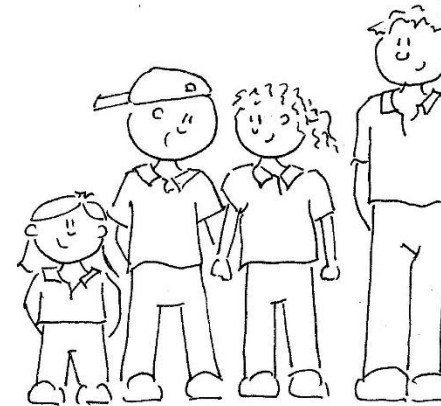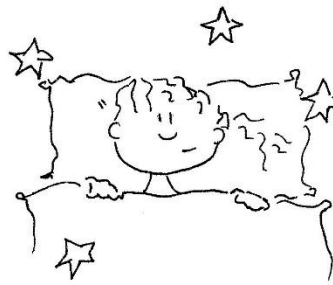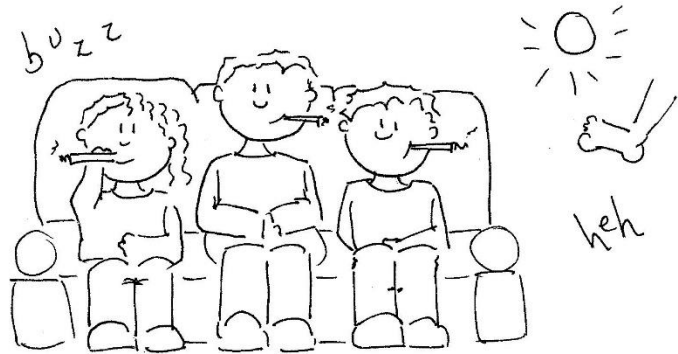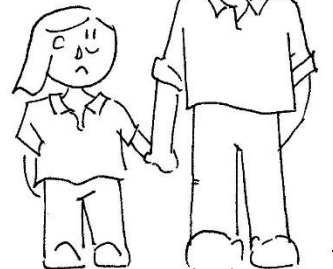
G'PRU

just one of them things

Good

Wary
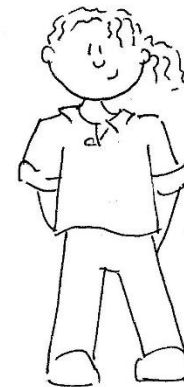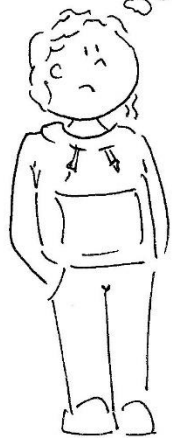
Right education

PRU

HOME Naughty

Mate
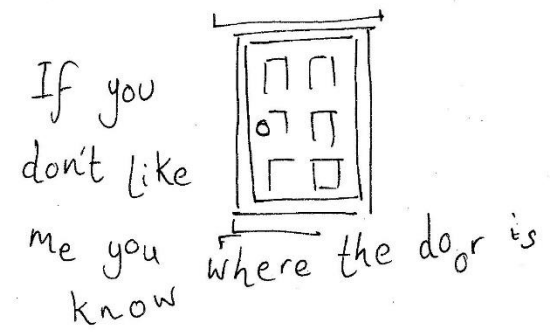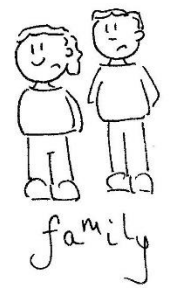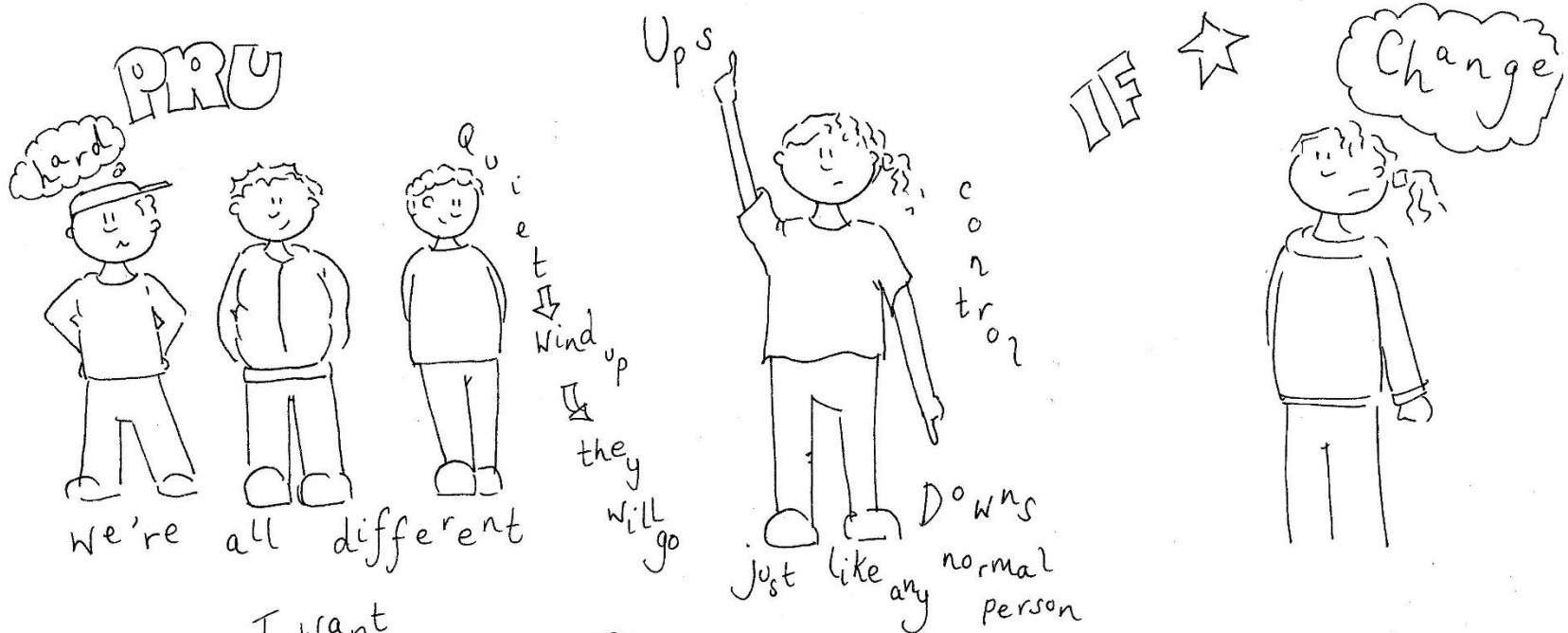
PRU

because of anger and mental health

2015 2016
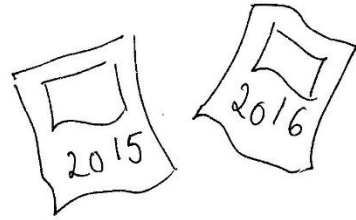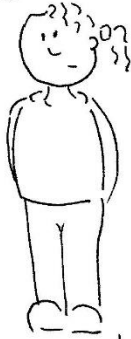
self harm

NOW

What's the point? I'm worth so much more than that
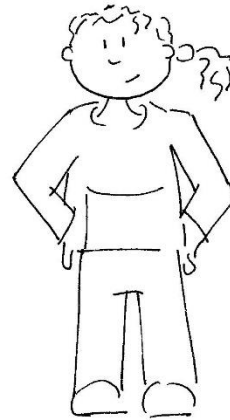
PRU

life can't get better
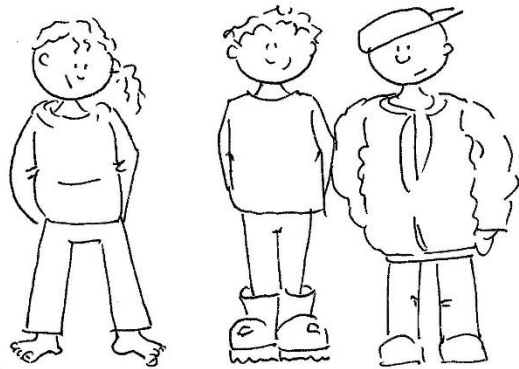
We're all different

Dad was here

Nana = Mum   Grandad = Dad

life = strange

weird stuff   typical   gone in the head (Nana)
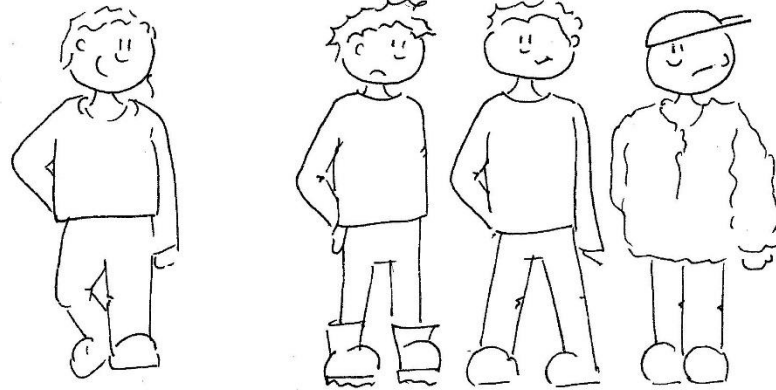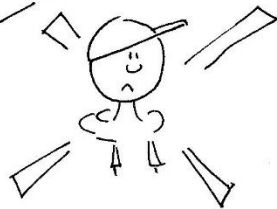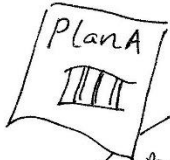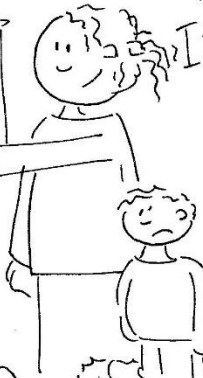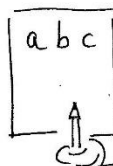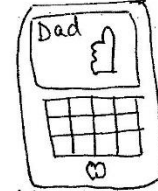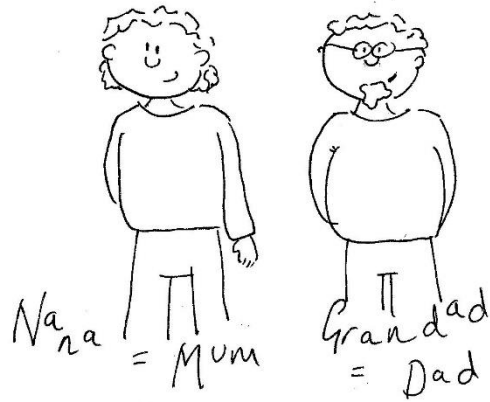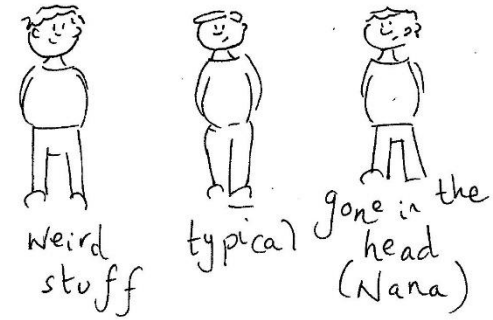
Nana's Upbringing

S's Upbringing

Daddy's Girl

Mummy's boy

Suck it up

Nice teachers & TAs

my bestfriend

always hung around with older people

Sisters

100 m ph

FUTURE

FLORIDA

My
Story

PRIMARY

Jealous

Left alone

175

IF that was still me

I don't care about education

JAIL

WISH

SCHOOL → COLLEGE

STRUGGLE

COLLEGE
○ totally different
○ lots harder
○ harder work
○ different help
○ do it on my own
○ got learning difficulties
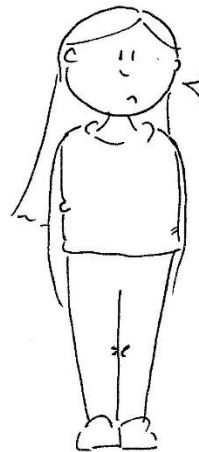
v

SCHOOL
○ Got help

have to learn really cos when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I

181

LOOKING BACK...

It's not clever

I was just a little shit, I were just a rebel

Wagging

Lesson time

follow others what they do

bad

do it my self

I thought I were bad and it's not bad it's not clever, now I look back I feel like an idiot

☆ WISH ☆

SCHOOL

go everyday

do my work

leave when have to leave

I were just naughty

I'm just a naughty person

NAUGHTY NOW?
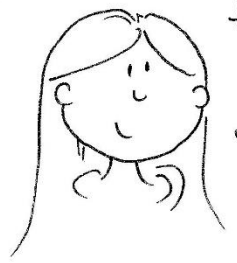
Can be I have to look forward instead of trying to be bad ... it's not a good look for a girl

BOYS

bad bad bad
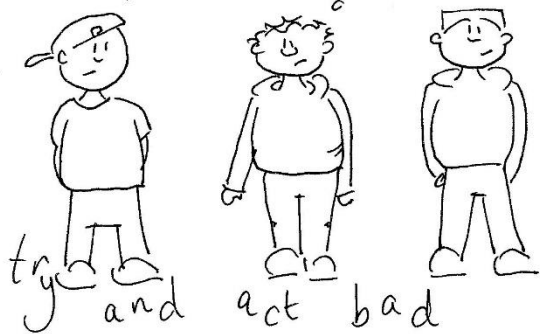
try and act bad
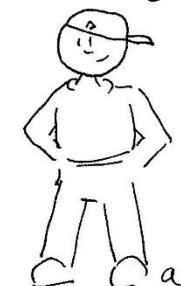
Some boys are clever actually

FUTURE
stay close to Mum

MUM'S HOUSE

FLATS
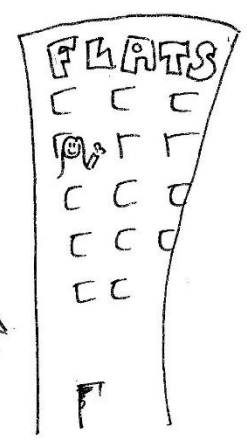
Proud Mum
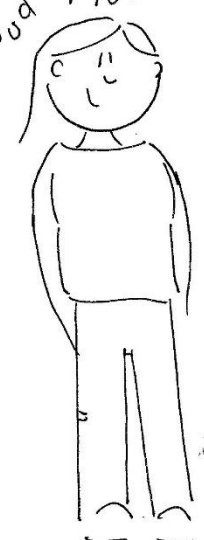
wants best for me
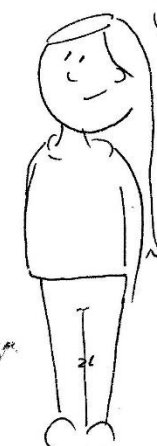
trying to look out for me

Sister Reached goals

JOB
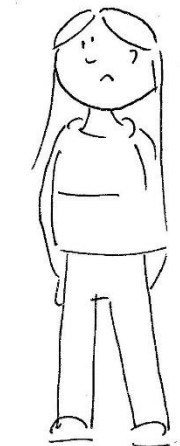
I'm still not doing owt with myself,
I'm going to College
I'm not doing owt with myself

COLLEGE
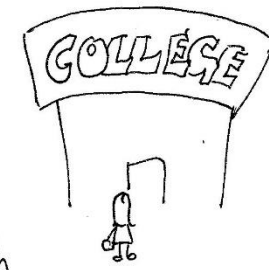
Mum pushing me to do it
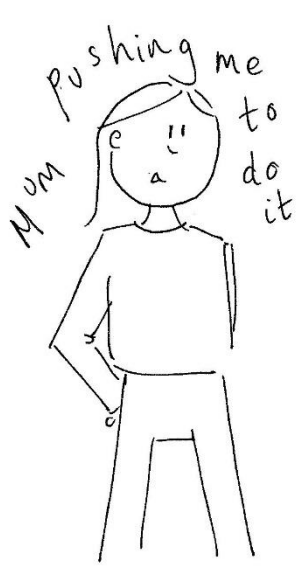
She's having a go at me
she's not she's just being a Mum pushing me to do something I don't realise I'm not doing

At first

She's pressuring me now, she's just shouting at me

but no she's just trying to be there really she just wants what I need in life, if I'm alright

Sister

SCHOOL

Right good at school

☑ Always did her work
☑ Went to 6th form
☑ full time job

Done = it all

Right Way

Wrong Way

Still gonna get there eventually
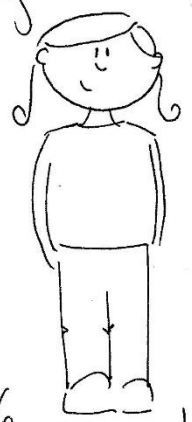
We are two different People
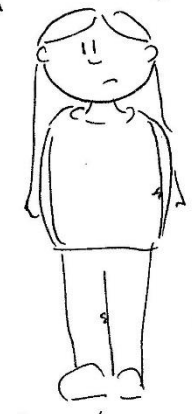
It's hard for my Mum really. She does what she can
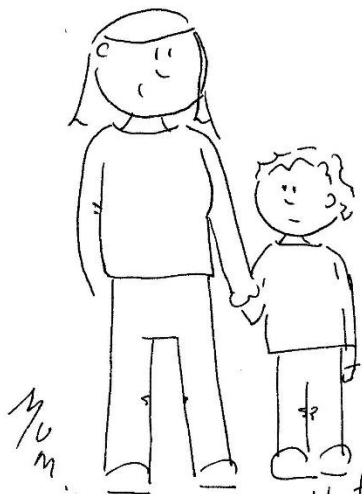
Mum with brother all the time

don't like being in the house

can't do that

I have to go out
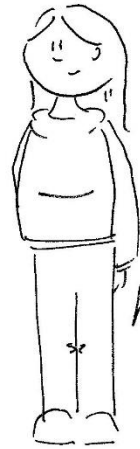
Other things

help out

partying

I wouldn't say they were important

going out

I'm a nice girl I have got a ♡ but I can be a bitch if I have to be, only if I have to be
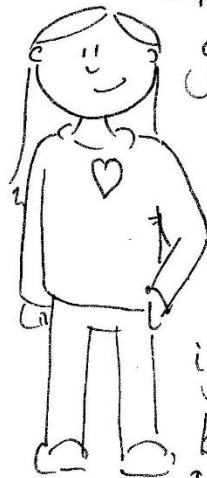
Respect = Respect
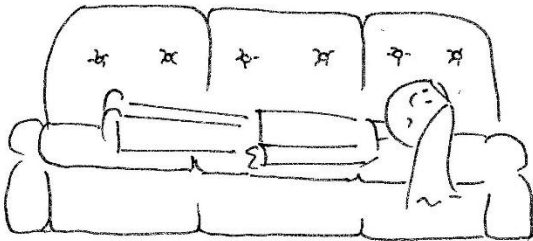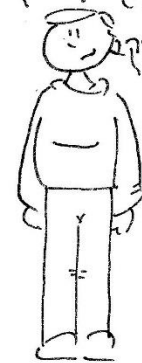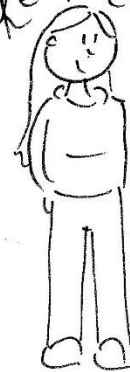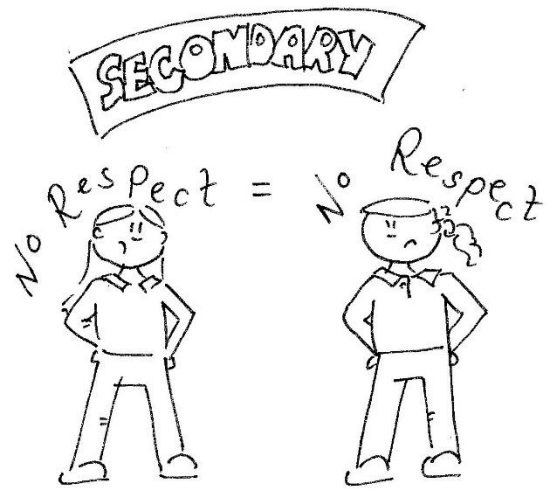
Appendix 12

Additional Information/Evidence to Support Findings

Further supportive evidence/information for each theme/subtheme and each subsidiary RQ including additional/expanded vignettes, extracts from the transcripts and any additional notes on interpretation are provided in this Appendix.

With regards to the vignettes I have removed my encouraging though not necessarily affirmative vocalisations e.g. any "hms" and "yeahs" for example, where I have felt they detract from both ease of reading and the general sentiment of the selected vignette.

Theme 1 *"I used to be like really naughty"*

- **1.1 *"I were right good"***

Further examples:

"*I were like proper good, were like.. teacher's pet*" (1K4)

"*I were always good in primary school*" (1K125)

This further example, reinforces her statements she was "good" and contextualises her 'goodness' by stating it was the norm:

"*I'd like I never had anybody nobody were naughty there and they were all really good so I just thought what's the point of being naughty, I were always good in primary school, there everyday, always 100%, I were right good in primary school*" (1K121-131).

- **1.2 *"being a sheep"***

Full vignette:

"*that's when I started falling in with like being a sheep, I like followed all't older people, when I went into year seven I followed all't older people*" (1K8-1K12)

Her reasoning is consistent: "*I thought I wanna be like them*" (1K562), "*I just wanted to be like them*" (2K8), "*I wanted to be like everybody else*" (1K147).

She then elaborates on becoming a sheep, a follower, stating:

"*yeh because I were following the cos I were following the older crowd, I thought I were that crowd, like I thought I could be clever, thought I could swear at people, like be proper naughty and everything*" (1K389-1K397).

I asked her in the second interview why and she replied: "*I just wanted to..be naughty*" (2K32).

Extracts from transcripts
1K22 K: pheee everything I don't know like cos I'd seen all't big kids being like that:
1K24I K: thought I wanna be like that
1K145 K: when I went to er high school
1K147 K: erm.. I wanted to be like everybody else
1K148 M: hm and they were having outbursts were they and
1K151 K: yeah they were a lot older, they were in year 11, I were only in year 7 so I were like just new beginner
1K153 K: but I knew them because they, my older brother
1K155 K: they're his friends
1K157 K: but they'd left school by then
1K159 K: erm .hhh I started to go with them and twag and hide
1K389 K: yeh because I were following the cos I were following the older crowd
1K391 K: I thought I were that crowd
1K393 K: like I thought I could be clever

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1K395 K: thought I could swear at people
1K397 K: like be proper naughty and everything
1K562 K: I thought I wanna be like them

2K1 M: You wanted to be like everybody else
2K2 K: yeh
2K3 M: what's that mean?
2K4 K: like ..cos everybody were older than me
2K6 K: and they were all like ..all that, like they smoked and everything
2K8 K: and I just wanted to be like them
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- **1.3** *"I were proper naughty"*

Examples of absolutist terms: *"I never"* (1K14, 1K20), *"used to kick off all't time"* (1K357), *"I were always"* (1K125).

She reinforces/strengthens her proposition of being bad by restating/rephrasing:

"and then ..I used to twag, I used to be right naughty never used to [do]" (1K14)

I asked "[what's] twagging?" (1K15)

Katie replied: *"I never used to go to my lessons"* (1K16), she then states *"er I never used to do any work ..and then I used to get out of control"* (1K20).

The permanent exclusion event narrative (EN):

"one time I erm had I were in a person called Mr Joe's classroom in my math's lesson, and I were actually doing proper good, I'd been like I didn't get kicked out my lessons all day that day .hhh and I got.. a teacher's pass, do you know to go to't toilet (swallow) and I were walking back and plus I had no shoes on at all cos I used to be like that weird I'd take my shoes off and stuff cos it used to irritate me and I took I even had my shoes off and I went to't toilet and a man called Mr Burke if you've ever heard of him erm he seen me and he were like "you're twagging", I said no I'm not and then he just grabbed me by arm and took me o took me to his office and they tried to say I were twagging and even Mr Joe said that he gave me't pass to go to't toilet with and they were still having a go at me so I freaked out and I got I got kicked out for that" (2K253-2K269)

I asked: *"do you think you got kicked out for the freaking out bit?"*

She replied: *"yeh, cos it can't have been for twagging cos I wont even twagging, I were just walking back from't toilet"*. (2K)

Extracts from transcripts
1K213 K: and outside of school as well I were proper naughty outside of school and then I thought 'what's the point I'm nearly 16
1K354 M: no, and what was, what was childish then what were you doing?
1K355 K: hiding under tables
1K357 K: used to kick off all't time, used to hit teachers, I used to be like really naughty

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1K374 M: yeah, do you think you've learnt anything from it?
1K375 K: …yeh..definitely, definitely being naughty and ..hurting people like cos I were naughty
outside school as well I'd be horrible to my Mum I'd call her names
1K377 K: I'd call my sister names I'd go in at like half twelve
1K379 K: cos I thought I were right hard

1K497 K: because I was so naughty and I kept get getting kicked out
1K499 K: erm I never learnt that much

1K657 K: I shouldn't I I didn't deserve to be in that school then.. I was so naughty, and I was so
evil and
1K659 K: and I just wont the right person to be in that school

2K22 K: cos back then I were proper bad
2K23 M: yeah well you said at one time you said naughty and evil
2K24 K: yeh I were
2K26 K: like I were I used to be like acting like a six year old I used to hide under't tables and
everything
2K28 K: like when school had finished .hh I'd hide under't tables and not leave til they found me
heh
2K32 K: I just wanted to ..be naughty
2K33 M: yeh, did you like being naughty?
2K34 K: in a way yeh but then I realised that obviously I'd get told off
2K36 K: and then when I got grounded I always rea- wondered why
2K38 K: and now I realise why heh
2K40 K: ~cos I were naughty~
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- **1.4** *"~just don't see the point of being naughty anymore~"*

Turning Point (TP)

"and then as soon as I got was supposed to move here, I just didn't and then ~when my Mum got told obviously she were gonna get fined some stuff~ if I didn't come, I thought..oh I'm just gonna come, yeh give it a go, see how it is and and I'm still h<u>ere</u>" (1K289-301).

"one morning I woke up and I thought..I'm getting bored of doing, I used .hh I used to just sit at home and do nothing, literally nothing and it got so boring" (2K138-2K165).

"cos that's when I grew up, that's when I thought ..what am I doing here?" (1K513)

After the TP Katie describes herself as having "*grew up*" (1K54), "*calmed down*" (1K359), "*grown up*" (1K513). She declares she has left the childishness and naughtiness behind her, stating "*not for me that anymore hehe*" (1K401).

She draws attention to how she no longer does what she did making the change/improvement explicit:

"I don't run around, hide under tables and stuff like I used to, I don't do that anymore, I just calmed down loads" (1K247-1K253).

Katie provides further evidence she has "*grown up*" (1K54) and "*calmed down*" (1K251) through reaffirmations by her Mum and her Nan. For example:

"My] mum were talking about it last night and she was saying that I've grew up so much" (1K345)

Examples of life stage terminology: *"childish"* (1K245), *"acting like a six year old"* (2K26), *"grown up"* (1K54), *"nah too childish I'm nearly 16 I don't need to be childish anymore"* (2K136).

Extracts from transcripts
1K54 K: and now I've like grown up so much because here I get to do the things I wanna do 1K217 K: yeah, as soon as I, as soon as I moved here I thought (smile) new fresh start for me 1K219 K: and then ever since I've loved it here 1K245 K: it wouldn't matter to me any more cos I'm not childish 1K345 K: My] mum were talking about it last night and she was saying that I've grew up so much 1K347 K: since I've been here 1K349 K: I've grew up loads 1K351 K: like I'm not childish 1K353 K: I just don't see point in it anymore 1K469 K: but I think they're mainly shocked now that I've actually calmed down 1K471 K: and I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do 1K473 K: and what I actually want 2K177 K: then welfare officer came and they were like you need to go to school 2K179 K: your mum will get into some serious trouble if you don't go to school .hhh so I made a meeting 2K181 K: and I came straight away next day and ever since I've never gone 2K183 K: nah I like it here though

****

Theme 2 *"Looking back at myself then it's like woah what were you doing?"*

- **2.1 *"picture me two years ago"***

Full vignette: *"..picture me two years ago I wouldn't have been sat here speaking to you now, I'd be like (finger gesture) fuck off and all that, I wouldn't have been speaking to ya"* (1K50K-1K52)

"it just it it me looking back at myself then, it's like woah what were you doing? What exactly were you doing? And then oh it's just crazy" (1K361-365).

I asked Katie: "*so what would you say to someone then who was doing that now?"* (1K366)

She replied: "*I'd be like grow up! but then like if I if I were two two different people like, like I were another person I'd be like.. don't tell me that were me when I were younger ..but it w(h)or, it were me when I were younger"* (1K367-373)

Extracts from transcripts
1K573 K: heh, I was like no I'm not going anywhere cos I used to be evil, horrible to my brother and my sister as well 2K10 K: which I should have I really should have gone with my mates 2K12 K: and I wouldn't be here now

2k22 K: cos back then I were proper bad

- **2.2 *"I never learnt anything"***

Evidence of impact on family:

"…when I were naughty we didn't have that much of a good relationship, arguing all the time" (1K419)

"…being naughty and…hurting people like cos I were naughty outside school as well I'd be horrible to my Mum I'd call her names" (1K375)

Evidence of impact of 'naughtiness' on her learning:

I asked Katie: *"how's maths and English going, is that alright?"* (1K494)

She replied: *"yeah it's alright sometimes I get a bit…with it, but I'll do it like, sometimes I get a bit nifty with it like can be a bit tricky because .hhh but in school I never got learnt that much because I was so naughty and I kept getting kicked out erm I never learnt that much"* (1K495-499).

She goes on to state: *"I never learnt anything but since I've been here I've learnt quite a lot"* (1K505)

She reflects on her response to permanent exclusion stating:
"just laughed about it and then when I got told .hh that I were getting moved to a different school..it shocked me, yeah it did shock me and it upset me because I didn't wanna go to a different school" (1K259-261).

- **2.3 *"I would be able to do it now"***

" if I had choice to go back there, I would I would start, I'd start from year 7 all over again if I could and just…cos I…now cos I'm here I'm missing out on't prom but" (1K175-179)

"I should have I really should have gone with my mates and I wouldn't be here now" (2K10-2K12)

I asked Katie: *"did you generally like, you just didn't feel like you belong there or?"* (1K174)

She replied: *"NO if I had choice to go back there, I would I would start, I'd start from year 7 all over again if I could and just…cos I…now cos I'm here I'm missing out on't prom but"* (1K175-179)

"but I would be able to do it now" (1K239).

Theme 3 - *"I pulled myself back"*

- **3.1 *"it used to stress my mum out"***

Full vignette:

"When I were naughty, my mum were it used to stress my mum out so much, she was like you're going up the wrong road th- you're going up the wrong road, do you wanna keep going up the wrong road, do you wanna keep going up or do you wanna pull yourself back, and I pulled myself back just to make my family proud and me proud, so, that's what I've done" (1K195-205).

"..when I were naughty we didn't have that much of a good relationship, arguing all the time. Now, me and Mum are like.. we clash so much, we're like best friends, we are honestly like best friends, she's she's amazing my mum I love my mum, no just my Mum all the way, I love my Mum so much, I don't I don't really need anybody else except for my mum I love my mum my mum's everything to me I I'd do owt for her anything, I'd die for her, I love her so much" (1K419-1K447)

She also states:

"she said are you going to go to school for me? So I said yeah I'll go to school for you and then I went to school for her" (1K525-529).

Katie's Mum also appears to reinforce her positioning as having "grown up", for example:

"My] mum were talking about it last night and she was saying that I've grew up so much, since I've been here, I've grew up loads, like I'm not childish I just don't see point in it anymore" (1K345)

Examples from transcripts
1K320 M: that's interesting and what how does your mum feel about it now?
1K321 K: oh she's so proud of me.

- **3.2 *"lately my Nana's been buying me new handbags"***

*"Mm and we were on about this morning how I came into school and done right well, and she's right proud and my Nana's right proud, and my mum my sister my brother everyone's proud of me and I'm right happy about it" (*1K339 -343)

I asked Katie: *"and so your Nana is she is she happy with you now then?"*

She replied: *"yeh sh'e is happy with me now"* (1K449) and later stated:

Extracts from transcripts
1K323 K: sorry I've got something in my eye. My Nana
1K327 K: erm..she..she like didn't talk to me at all
1K329 K: when I really cos my Nana .hhh like cos my sister were good my brother were good
1K331 K: oh my brother were alright

1K333 K: .hhh they were good n my Nana's like oh she's ~little brat out of em all nnow~
1K337 K: I'm youngest and then…now, she came she came this morning cos it's been like, I spoke to her and stuff but not full conversations

- **3.3 *"I used to be evil, horrible to my brother and my sister"***

Full vignette:

"I used to be evil, horrible to my brother and my sister as well but now we've got a right bond, so it's alright, it's all good" (1K573-577).

- **3.4 *"now I'm like with em everyday"***

Full vignette:

 "like my younger friends, like same age as me, I hang around with now, so like I'm <u>so</u> glad I've got my bond back with them, because I never like I used to speak to them on a morning like walk to school with em and and like when we got into school I never speak to em and now I'm like with em everyday heh so it's quite good and now all of em are right proud of me like Katie I can't believe how good your doing and neither can I" (1K625-1K637)

- **3.5 *"I've loved it here"***

Example:

*"yeah, as soon as I, as soon as I moved here I thought (smile) new fresh start for me, and then ever since I've loved it here, I proper do like it here. It's right good." (*1K217-1K221)

She even appears to rephrase any potential negatives, for example, she changes "*I've never, never"* to positive language "*I've always liked it here"* (1K531).

"But when I came here I thought nah I'm not gonna be able to do owt her what I'm even doing h<u>ere</u>? and then I got straight into hair" (1K479-1K481)

She also states that it is better than other placements, stating

"and I like doing things here like maths and stuff because .hhh it's just better here than it is anywhere else". (1K56)

1K253 K: loads, I like it I like it here

1K133 K: Things] dropped and then things got higher again
1K135 K: since I've came back here
1K137 K: so right good

1K531 K: and I've never, never, I've always liked it here, I like it here so much, hh I'm glad I've got another year left .hhh heh

Additional information/evidence regarding what helped/hindered Katie in accessing education

- **H1** *"she were like a proper nice teacher"*

Evil, horrible teacher examples:

".hhh and then one of teachers I really didn't like at all heh, really didn't like and she were always horrible to me and like, and there were just summat that didn't want me to be in that school like she really didn't want me to be there, but now if I could show her what I'm like now" (1K163-1K169).

"like it's ~the way they talked to me it's like ..get away from me~" (2K104).

Nice teacher examples:

I asked Katie: *"was there anybody at that school that you liked? …any teachers?"* (1K608)

Katie replied: *"Yeah there were one teacher she were called Miss Darcey, she were really nice, like if I had any problems I'd go straight to her and she'd sit with me for ten minutes calm me down and then she'd come and sit #back in my lesson with me"* (1K609-1K617).

"I don't think I told you but there were one teacher there she were called Miss Tony, she were like a PLA, and like.. literally every lesson, I'd go I'd go to her, she'd be like "you've been sent out again haven't you Katie?", yeh "come in" she'd make me go in (sniff) and she'll we'll do work on't computer, so then I've actually done summat throughout every lesson so like I did a bit of work on't computer or I'd do a bit of drawing or summat yeah but I liked it better going to speak to her anyway because she were like a proper nice teacher, she were like really nice" (2K221-2K241).

Regarding her current placement:

"yeah it's because of the people and just because how nice they are and how helpful they are wi ya and it it I like proper like it here" (1K58-1K60).

Examples from transcripts
2K241 K: she were like really nice 2K242M: and was that different to like the teachers in the classroom then? 2K243 K: Hm yeh 2K244M: yeh what were they like? 2K245 K: hhh…I hated em I hated em 2K247K: I actually proper hated em they were ev<u>il</u> really nasty like you'd ask to go to't toilet in but cos you get these teacher's passes 2K249 K: so like you have to take it with you when you go to the toilet 1K222 M: and what about sort of friends and things like that? 1K223 K: yeah I make out everybody talks to me here we all talk to each other 1K225 K: nobody's against each other 1K227 K: it's fine yeh everybody's lovely 1K229 K: all't teachers 1K231 K: all't students are all lovely 2K13 M: but you also said you didn't feel some of the staff wanted you there 2K14 K: nah

2K15 M: at school
2K16 K: they didn't
2K17 M: yeah
2K18 K: they would have done owt to get me out of that school

- **H2** *"I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do"*

Extracts from transcripts
1K54 K: and now I've like grown up so much because here I get to do the things I wanna do
1K56 K: and I like doing things here like maths and stuff because .hhh it's just better here than it is anywhere else.
1K471 K: and I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do
1K473 K: and what I actually want
1K474 M: and do you think that helped as well
1K475 K: yeh
1K479 K: But when I came here I thought nah I'm not gonna be able to do owt here what I'm even doing here?
1K481 K: and then I got straight into hair well I didn't get straight in to hair and beauty they had to find
1K483 K: obviously someone to do it for me
1K485 K: well to do it with us we got an hair and beauty teacher
1K487 K: I do my maths and English
1K489 K: do everything I'm supposed to do
1K493 K: I like it

- **H3** *"I only got kicked out once and they still didn't let me back into the school"*

"I got excluded for like three week then I got moved to Lois Academy, which were just like a little school in a youth club" (2K283-2K285)

I asked: *"so did they tell you you were gonna move there then?"* (2K286)

Katie replied:

"errm..yeah they told us I were gonna move there then they put me on a two week trial where if I didn't get sent out, I didn't go to isolation or anything and I didn't for that two full two week, I think I got kicked out my lesson once and they gave me like three chances to get kicked out and I only got kicked out once and they still didn't let me back into the school" (2K287-2K297).

I suggested *"that doesn't seem fair"* (2K298)
She replied: *"it wont"* (2K299)

I then asked: *"how did you feel about that then?"* (2K300)

She replied: *"pissed off"* (2K301)

I then stated: *"yeah..yeah cos that doesn't sound like they'd followed through with what they said they were gonna do"* (2K302)

Katie replied: *"Hm.. I were angry"* (2K303)

Katie also describes another situation of being set targets: *"I had to do all my lessons every day I had like targets, so gulp every morning I'd go in and I'd have a target .hh to stay in my lessons so if I did that I'd complete me target so I used to do that with me everyday like gimme targets"* (2K60-2K70)

I asked: *"was fifteen minutes as much as you could manage [then]?* (2K71)

Katie replied:

"yeh I used I didn't I couldn't sit down for too long, it only reason I could sit like I'm doing now I could fiddle with things" (2K86-2K90)

- **H4 *"I was angry"***

Extracts from transcripts
2K97 M: yeh and do you think so do you not feel calm then after a while?
2K98 K: now I do
2K100 K: I feel calm now
2K102 K: then I wont
2K104 K: like it's ~the way they talked to me it's like ..get away from me~
2K105 M: were you feeling quite angry then at the time
2K106 K: yeh some sometimes I'd be angry sometimes I'd go in in a bad mood and I'd just get sent straight home soon as I walked in
2K124 K: er sometimes I'd go down to't little kids cos there were like a primary one there as well
2K126 K: soes I'd go like she'd take me down to't little kids
2K128 K: so I could s like go and sit wit little kids for an hour or so
2K129 M: that'd help #?
2K130 K: yeah that'd calm me down anyway because I wouldn't kick off infront of kids anyway because it'd scare em so

- **H5 "*there were summat that didn't want me to be in that school*"**

I asked Katie in her second interview: *"but you also said you didn't feel some of the staff wanted you there"* (2K13)

Katie replied: *"nah, they didn't they would have done owt to get me out of that school"* (2K14-2K18).

"when I got moved to the other school I were naughty there" (1K265)

I asked: *"yeh cos you didn't want to be there"* (1K266)

She replied: *"No I cos I didn't wanna be there, I'd been moved to so many different schools it's unbelievable, this one is right one for me, definitely"* (1K267-1K273).

- **H6 *"I just wanted to be like them"***

"pheee everything I don't know like cos I'd seen all't big kids being like that, thought I wanna be like that so I were like that, then I got kicked out" (1K22-1K26).

Extracts from transcripts
1K8K: that's when I started falling in with like being a sheep

1K10K: I like followed all't older people
1K12 K: when I went into year seven I followed all't older people

1K145K: when I went to er high school
1K147 K: erm.. I wanted to be like everybody else
1K148 M: hm and they were having outbursts were they and
1K151K: yeah they were a lot older, they were in year 11, I were only in year 7 so I were like just new beginner
1K153 K: but I knew them because they, my older brother
1K155 K: they're his friends
1K157 K: but they'd left school by then
1K159 K: erm .hhh I started to go with them and twag and hide
1K161 K: go t go home and come back at like dinner time and stuff

1K389 K: yeh because I were following the cos I were following the older crowd
1K391 K: I thought I were that crowd
1K393 K: like I thought I could be clever
1K395 K: thought I could swear at people
1K397 K: like be proper naughty and everything
1K562 K: I thought I wanna be like them
2K6 K: and they were all like ..all that, like they smoked and everything

2K1 M: You wanted to be like everybody else
2K2 K: yeh
2K3 M: what's that mean?
2K4 K: like ..cos everybody were older than me
2K6 K: and they were all like ..all that, like they smoked and everything
2K8 K: and I just wanted to be like them

200

Additional information/evidence regarding meta-narratives/discourse evident in Katie's story

- **M1** *"I were proper naughty"*

Examples from transcripts
1K14 K: and then ..I used to twag, I used to be right naughty never used to [do] 1K16 K: I never used to go to my lessons 1K20 K: er I never used to do any work ..and then I used to get out of control 1K213 K: and outside of school as well I were proper naughty outside of school and then I thought 'what's the point I'm nearly 16 1K354 M: no, and what was, what was childish then what were you doing? 1K355 K: hiding under tables 1K357 K: used to kick off all't time, used to hit teachers, I used to be like really naughty 1K374 M: yeah, do you think you've learnt anything from it? 1K375K: …yeh..definitely, definitely being naughty and ..hurting people like cos I were naughty outside school as well I'd be horrible to my Mum I'd call her names 1K377 K: I'd call my sister names I'd go in at like half twelve 1K379 K: cos I thought I were right hard 1K497 K: because I was so naughty and I kept get getting kicked out 1K499 K: erm I never learnt that much 1K657 K: I shouldn't I I didn't deserve to be in that school then.. I was so naughty, and I was so evil and 1K659 K: and I just wont the right person to be in that school 2K22 K: cos back then I were proper bad 2K23 M: yeah well you said at one time you said naughty and evil 2K24 K: yeh I were 2K26 K: like I were I used to be like acting like a six year old I used to hide under't tables and everything 2K28 K: like when school had finished .hh I'd hide under't tables and not leave til they found me heh 2K32 K: I just wanted to ..be naughty 2K33 M: yeh, did you like being naughty? 2K34 K: in a way yeh but then I realised that obviously I'd get told off 2K36 K: and then when I got grounded I always rea- wondered why 2K38 K: and now I realise why heh 2K40 K: ~cos I were naughty~

- **M2** *"little brat of em all"*

Full vignette:

"when I really cos my Nana .hhh like cos my sister were good my brother were good, oh my brother were alright, .hhh they were good n my Nana's like oh she's ~little brat out of em all nnow~" (1K329-1K333)

"it doesn't bother me because well it does bother me cos..like I want my family to cos my family seen my sister at prom K: and ~I don't think any of them are gonna see me at prom~"(1K181-1K183)

"really happy, my sister's like so brainy, my sister, my sister in Coal Meadow never been sent home never had any never been naughty at all my sister had a big prom but my brother didn't, my brother didn't want to go to pro(h)m then he got his self straight job and it's they've both done good since" (1K591-1K603)

Extracts from transcripts
1K333 K: .hhh they were good n my Nana's like oh she's ~little brat out of em all nnow~ 1K334 M: are you the youngest? 1K337 K: I'm youngest and then…now, she came she came this morning cos it's been like, I spoke to her and stuff but not full conversations 1K451 K: but because none of them were naughty in school like my mum were never naughty because obviously my Nana and my Grandad were strict 1K453 K: back then when my my mum were younger 1K455 K: my Mum were never naughty and like because I were naughty they were so strict with me

- **M3** *"my mum's everything to me"*

"..when I were naughty we didn't have that much of a good relationship, arguing all the time. Now, me and Mum are like.. we clash so much, we're like best friends, we are honestly like best friends, she's she's amazing my mum I love my mum, no just my Mum all the way, I love my Mum so much, I don't I don't really need anybody else except for my mum I love my mum my mum's everything to me I I'd do owt for her anything, I'd die for her, I love her so much" (1K419-1K447)

- **M4** *"she was like you're going up the road th you're going up the wrong road"*

Katie describes having two options open to her, presented succinctly by her Mum, Katie describes her Mum as saying to her:

"she was like you're going up the road th you're going up the wrong road do you wanna keep going up or do you wanna pull yourself back" (1K197-1K199)

When I asked Katie: "*what else do you see for your future?"* (1K404)

She replied: *"that's all really and having a nice family, and having a nice life, nice job, nice house that's what I want when I grow up. I don't wanna grow up to be like one of them people who are on't dole and stuff like that"* (1K405-1K409).

- **M5** *"when I grow up"*

For example, she states: *"[My] mum were talking about it last night and she was saying that I've grew up so much"* (1K345)

She states: *"and I've grew up and I've realised what I actually wanna do*" (1K471)

Talking about being home schooled she states: "*cos that's when I grew up, that's when I thought ..what am I doing here?"* (1K513)

 "and outside of school as well I were proper naughty outside of school and then I thought 'what's the point I'm nearly 16" (1K213)

Extracts from transcripts
1K96 K: Yeah that's what I wanna do when I grow up well when I leave this school I want to go straight and do that
1K245 K: it wouldn't matter to me any more cos I'm not childish
1K247 K: I don't run around, hide under tables and stuff like I used to
1K251 K: I just ..calmed down
2K26 K: like I were I used to be like acting like a six year old I used to hide under't tables and everything
2K28 K: like when school had finished .hh I'd hide under't tables and not leave til they found me heh
2K135 M: you kinda said you got to the point where you calmed down don't see the point of being naughty anymore
2K136 K: nah too childish I'm nearly 16 I don't need to be childish anymore

- **M6** *"I didn't deserve to be in that school then"*

I asked Katie again: *"you said you should've been kicked out – do you think that's right?"* (2K216)

She replied: "*should have been kicked out of my mainstream? I should of for my behaviour I should of"* (2K217-2K219)

Katie also states: *"I shouldn't I I didn't deserve to be in that school then.. I was so naughty, and I was so evil and and I just wont the right person to be in that school"* (1K657-1K659)

- **M7** *"sometimes people aren't that brainy"*

Katie states: "*my sister's like so brainy, my sister, my sister in Coal Meadow never been sent home never had any never been naughty at all my sister had a big prom "* (1K591-1K603)

<div align="center">

Theme 1 - *"different"*

</div>

- **1.1 *"I used to get bullied for being different"***

Full vignette:

"(sniff) but when I used to get bullied it sort of went down so I'd do stuff to please people I'd do stuff to make them like me and.. it got to the point where it were too much and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party orrrr a boy didn't like me but now I'm not bothered you either like me or you don't and if you don't like me then that's your problem.. but I used to get bullied for being..different as they'd say..but .hhh it's because (cough) hhh it were mainly because I like to have different colours in my hair, I wear clothes, the clothes that I wear or the music that I listen to" (2S253-2S257)

- **1.2 *"I like being different"***

Examples of her descriptions of herself as different: due to how she looks (1S169, 2S255, 1S181,1S367, 1S502) her interests such as music and serial killers (1S590), her preference for male friends, describing herself as a tomboy (see subtheme 1.5) and her dislike of large groups (see subtheme 1.4).

Event narrative (EN)

Full vignette:

"but I was meant to be going back to Away (Academy) and I blew it. It did it didn't work cos instead I was meant to go into school at dinner and talk to my.. I can't remember whether it was a key worker or not, talk to this girl, woman in #cavrens but instead I'd go in to school early so I could go round when it were dinner time and see all my old friends and go and see her and then I went in to and then I'd go in and they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different, I like standing out, er but they didn't accept it, and I sort of I wou<u>ldn't</u> say protested because it wasn't really a protest but I protested aga<u>inst</u> it, cos I were against it cos I've just everyone's got a right to be unique, and how are you gonna express your individuality if you can't.. have different coloured hair, dress different, have painted nails, or weird" (1S157-1S185)

Me: *"yeah, tattoos anything"* (1S186)

She said: *"Yeah weird eyebrows and, stuff but (sniff) I didn't like it whereas in PRU I could, do that, I couldn't wear me own clothes I had to wear a uniform, but still I were expressing myself through my hair and my make up"* (1S187 -1S195)

Summer further states and reinforces her positioning as different by making what feels like a position statement, a strong statement, a declaration about who she is and where she is now. She states:

"I do my own thing, if you don't like what I do, the way I see it is if you don't like what I do then don't come near me, if you don't like how I look don't look at me, if you don't like how I am don't speak to m(h)e, it's that sort of thing, if you don't like me you know where the door i(h)s. so I'm not gonna change for nowt because someone wants me to change, I'll change for me, if I want to change I will change" (1S467-1S477).

Contrast: Whilst Summer is primarily consistent in her positioning of herself as different she also states:

"but I say I am just like any normal person, I've got my problems I've got my ups and downs everyone has" (1S451)

- **1.3 *"in this school we're all different"***
Full vignette:

"There's kids in these schools that can't handle schools not kicked out, because they've been naughty it's cos they can't handle it, and they don't want to they want to be in a different environment, where they do have less range of people and …hhh in this school we're all different" (1S429-1S433).

She gives examples:

"I don't like wearing shoes, heh, see that's why we're all different in this school, I don't wear my shoes, I walk around either in socks or barefoot and .hhh there's some other kids that walk around like John who he'll walk around with five jackets on" (1S500-1S504).

- **1.4 *"I can't handle a large group of people"***
Full vignette:

"so I suppose I'd prefer to be in isolation than normal lessons. But I can't handle a large group of people, becau- that's where my anxiety comes in, I can't, I don't go to town I don't go out with my friends because I can't, er it's very rare that you do catch me out but when (cough), when I was in isolation I did like it" (1S117 -1S125)

Reinforced later as she states:

"Yeah, I really like these schools because I can't handle large range of people I can only just manage to handle this much, but .hhh…I don't like (sniff), I don't like going on the bus, because again it's people that I don't know and I [get wary] "(1S367-1S371).

And in a conversation about her going to a PRU:

"It's a learning centre, where kids go if they've been excluded or permanently excluded or ss like sort of a" (1S147)

I asked: "So it's quite small is it?" (1S148)

She replied: *"Yeh"* (1S149)

I then asked: *"so did you feel better there then?"* (1S150)

She replied: *"Yeah"* (1S151)

I asked*: "cos it's smaller?"* (1S152)

She replied: *"yeah it was sort of a like some people used to do it as a.. offsite placement"* (1S153).

Summer individualises her difficulties but as noted in 1.3, she also notes it is not just her, others are the same. She states:

"*they can't handle it, and they don't want to they want to be in a different environment, where they do have less range of people"* (1S429-1S433)

- **1.5 *"I'm more like a tomboy"***
Full vignette:

"I hung around with lads, I don't necessarily, I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person, I'm more.. hang around with lads so I'm more like a tomboy" (1S89)

I asked: *"and was that the same when you were in primary school as well?"* (1S90)

She replied: *"Yeah, I've always, I've always been the same, So the girls'd sort of like laugh behind my back and.. bitch about me. So I'd I'd just take it on't chin, but ..it got to the point where.. I wasn't taking it on the chin and I'd do something about it, I'd… beat em up, if they said anything towards me that I didn't like"* (1S91-1S99).

Summer also appeared to express some discomfort when she stated someone described her as growing up to be a *"lovely young lady"* (2S283) perhaps because she has never positioned herself as a girl or a lady and therefore struggles with the concept.

It is also notable in her general descriptions of naughty/getting into trouble Summer consistently uses the male pronoun (1S540, 1S393). Perhaps she is associating naughty/bad with masculinity and hence aligning herself as one of the lads, as she is primarily in the male domain of 'naughty'.

Extracts from transcripts
2s293 S: pure girl is hhh (clears throat) like how I am now
2s295 S: how people see me
2s297 S: if you ask people they'd say oh she's like one of the lads she's a tomboy
2s299 S: and she's just like one of the lads and you don't see her she's not she doesn't like girls she's not
2s301 S: she's not friends with girls and stuff but a pure girl is where you're like got your nails done

Theme 2 - *"not.. like your everyday child"*

- **2.1** *"I've been brought up around…a rough area"*

Full vignette:

"I've been brought up around…a rough area, a really rough area. I love going back to my home town but, [Yeah] but I got, but there cos I used to go there every weekend, every week I'd be there. So, I've grow up around seeing..bad things happen" (1S69-1S79)

She also describes drug use as normal:

"but that's normal, most families have that somewhere in em, er but I think that's where I started smoking it from" (1S301-1S303).

Extracts from transcripts
1s57 S: I know that because..I come from an estate where.. if you are good 1s59 S: you get bullied 1s61 S: because you're good you're not like any other person, you're posh as they would say it. 1s89 S: it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people

- **2.2** *"naughty kids"*

As Summer used the term "naughty" regularly in her first interview, I asked her what the term meant she replied:

"not listening and fighting all the time or.. assaulting teachers or heh just not.. like your everyday child" (2S4-2S6)

I then asked: *"Hm. What's an everyday child?"* (2S7)

"an everyday child as you'd see is .hhh someone who goes to school, just gets the work done, messes about at home, and they have like lots of friends or they've got no problems, or they've got no disabilities or anything, that's a every..everyday child, a typical child, as people would call it now cos they don't say normal, err (sniff) but that's a typical child where they go to school and they do as they're told, err they wouldn't cause a fuss and they'd do their work and they're just..boring, I see it as being naughty.. it <u>can</u> get you into a lot of trouble, and sometimes it can make you scared, as to say you've had a fight with someone, and then they get other people to come try and find ya everyday, and beat you up cos you've obviously had a fight with them but ya basically being a naughty child or a problem problem child as people say now, it's you're basically just living your life on the highway, on the highway an(h)d you just take risks ev<u>ery</u>day" (2S10-2S51)

Extracts from transcripts
2s53 S: which I I I take risks everyday and it's fun the way I see it is rules are meant to be broken 2s55 S: not every rule has to you have to abide by it 2s57 S: some rules yeah 2s59 S: but they're like high standard

- **2.3 *"my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different"***

Regarding rules:

"which I I I take risks everyday and it's fun the way I see it is rules are meant to be broken, not every rule has to you have to abide by it, some rules yeah, but they're like high standard, more rules, but I just see it as rules are meant to be broken" (2S53-2S63)

Standards in foster care:

"I knew every Thursday was my deadline. If I hadn't been good and proved to them that I can be good then I'd be in a different foster home". (1S43)

I asked: *"what did they think being good was then?"* (1S44)

"Just doing as you're told, really, and not getting into trouble at all, see my, my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different, because of my standards were sort of in the middle, but theirs were really like sky high, and I, I'd never be able to go up to their standards.. not in my wildest dreams I wou(h)ldn't heh" (1S45-1S55)

Her laugh at the end of her statement suggests she felt their expectations were an impossibility, derisible. Impossible expectations perhaps reinforced her difference and failure to fit. On an individual level I wonder about the effect of having unrealistic goals in everyday life and the impact of knowing she would be moving every Thursday if she had not achieved them.

Summer stated in her second interview:

"it were like prison in some of them foster placements honestly" (2S444)

- **2.4 *"people think it's because they're naughty"***

Full vignette:

"people think it's because they're naughty and they just don't want to do anything they don't wanna listen but it's not. You don't know what you can't judge a book by it's cover and you don't know what goes on behind closed doors and that's all I all I say to that is that that kid that you think's never gonna get anywhere anywhere in life or..is stupid because he dunt listen in school his family could abuse him at home, his family could bring him down everyday and make him want to..kill hisself, so he's trying his hardest but he can't concentrate at school because he's too bothered about what goes on at home" (1S391-1S399).

Summer also states that she doesn't like it when people say that they understand when they really don't. For example, she states:

"like if you've been through summat and they've they say thay they understand what you've been through and they haven't been through it then I don't like it" (1S650).

She goes on to state:

"but I'd like to be there for kids who have been in the same situations as me or similar so I can vouch for em and say look I've I've been there, I know what it's like, and it's not a nice place but just .hhh you'll get there some day, it'll be alright" (1S652-1S660).

Summer also suggests 'people' may apply similar logic to more 'adult' crimes, rape and serial killers,e.g.:

" you hear people in the street say oh he deserves to die, it's an eye for an eye well..it's not as easy as that" (1S538-1S540)

she goes on to state

"you never know what's happened to them to make them do that"(1S540).

Summer also states they could have been abused thinking what they were doing was right, she states "*but in the real world in reality it's not"* (1S558).

She regularly refers to, 'posh' and/or 'stuck up' people, for example:

"and it's horrible because I hate it when people I wouldn't say posh people but it's more stuck up people who just judge everyone cos they think they are better than everyone else, they are not, they're just the same" (1S423-1S425)

Extracts from transcripts:
1s383 S: because.. people think that naughty kids are in er schools like this because they don't want to be educated and they're never gonna get anywhere in life but act<u>ually</u> it's not because they're naughty, pee some people, there's a kid here who can't ..go near people 1s385 S: if he sees people he'll start freaking out 1s386 M: so do you think your experience is similar to 1s387 S: yeh

- **2.5 *"little smack"***

Vignettes of her experiences of parental 'smacking':

"*my Nana's really strict because of the way she's been brought up..really strict where if you did something wrong you'd get a smack for it so I've been brought up like that because she's been there, but in this day and age I can't say that .hhh I wouldn't necessarily say she beats me, but that's blowing it way out of proportion but if I did something wrong I'd know about it .hhh [heh] but in this day and age you can't say that because .hhh it's wrong to hit your child"* (1S740-746)

"*but I if I were naughty and had like done summat wrong like I'd if I'd not tidied my toys away like when you're little like my action man I used to play with action man and barbies, if I'd not tidied them*

away, oh my God (peer at door), if I'd not tidied them away when I were little my Mum'd give me a little smack on't hand if if she cos she'd asked me to tidy em away again I'd say NO she'd ask me to ti(h)dy away I'd say NO cos I'm playing with summat else and then she's she'd just give me a little smack on't hand and tell me to tidy em away and then I'd just look at her like …tidy em away and like OK". (1S752-1S762).

Vignette of parenting role shared with her sister, includes 'smacking':

"and now I'll be sat there and they'll not sleep they'll be messing about upstairs she'll tell em then she'll go Summer it's your turn, we take turns in telling em off now, .hhh and we'll be telling em off til about ..half past #two in the morning half past two in the morning my sister'll be in bed and she's still telling em off. She's tried everything, she's smacked em: if they've been naughty she's tried everything she possibly can and they just don't listen" (1S1080-1S1084)

She also states she would smack her own children:

"I wouldn't hit em hard, it depends well depends on age" (1S750)

Vignette about 'hitting' in foster placement:

"heee used to sneak into my bedroom and fall asleep with me because he was scared cos they they used to they never did owt to me but they used to slap my brother, they'd hit him and that's when I when I saw em cos he told me and I didn't I don't know whether I believed him or not cos there was never a mark but then when I saw em do it I kicked off and I s- may or may not have smashed the house up and put the windows through ~and bust their tyres on their car and scraped all their car~" (2S470-2S484)

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Theme 3 - *"Supposed to be"*

- **3.1 *"I was hoping you'd walk through that door.. "***
Full Dad mini-narrative:

"it'll be alright like I've grew up without a mum or a dad in my life. I've lived with my Nan and my Grandad since I were three because my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids but hhh now.. I sent my dad a message actually and I just told him, look I'm nearly sixteen year's old I'll have my GCSEs soon growing up without a father, knowing that he's more bothered about .hhh his girlfriend and doing drugs and his new kids that he's had than ever on about his first kids I were like.. but I I said I got, I went to court last month on four different charges and I just thought god my Dad were here once and then I just remembered no I'm not going to follow in his footsteps, I wanna to prove to everyone that I am not like you because I'm not I don't want, I'm gonna be the the most amazing parent than you'll ever be. I'll be more..I don't even know how he can call himself a Dad

*and I said that to him I said I don't know how you can call yourself a Dad I've took drugs, I've tried to kill myself for what to make myself feel better to think that you'll finally care about me, I said I was everyday I'm fed up of making me false hopes everyday I was hoping you'd walk through that door.. and..just one day walk through that door and give me a hug and say everything is gonna be alright Summer I am here now I said but never happened. I were like so now you know just don't mess with me again Dad I said I'm not even gonna call you Dad to be fair so don't mess with me again Matthew I said you've got your family and I've got mine and he just sent a thumbs up. I said "that proves a lot, thank you".(*1S662-1S694)

Sister:

"she's not my actual sister, but we're really close to be fair" (1S1052)

Summer's story indicates she still values her parents, evidenced when describing tattoos she wants:

"obviously I'm still gonna have 'love' for my mum and dad cos they produced me, so I'm just gonna have in the small writing 'mum and dad'" (2S588-2S592)

- **3.2** ***"she'll say she's your best friend"***

Extracts from transcripts
2s219 S: well like when I was with my friends I'd show off in front of them
2s221 S: and I'd show off in front of my mum and stuff but..it just got to a point where there's no point in doing that they either like you or they don't
2s233 S: and now..I'm really not easy to get on with er(h)r but I was as a child I was the one that was like very loud and bubbly
2s235 S: and friends with everyone really
2s237 S: (sniff) but when I used to get bullied
2s239 S: it sort of went down so I'd do stuff to please people
2s241 S: I'd do stuff to make them like me
2s243 S: and.. it got to the point where it were too much
2s245 S: and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me
2s247 S: but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party
2s249 S: orrrr a boy didn't like me
2s251 S: but now I'm not bothered you either like me or you don't and if you don't like me then that's your problem
2s253 S: but I used to get bullied for being..different

Mini-Friendship Narratives (MFN)

MFN1 – betrayal

"this girl who was supposed to be my best friend, but she's one of those where she's she'll say she's your best friend she'll find out all your secrets and then she'll go tell people, the people they're about, so.. I ended up fighting with her" (1S197-1S201)

MFN 2 – best friend (reveals she values aspects of friendship that this best friend demonstrated including sharing, sticking up for and caring)

"I used to get bullied there to be fair but I made there were this boy he was in year, I would have been in year, I would have been I would have been in reception .hhh and I'd say he would have been in …year between 4/5 or 6, he was my best friend he was my best friend he was called David Jones still to this day I try and find him on facebook I can't er but.. he always used to stick up for me and where my playground wor there were a wall in-between it and we'd share our dinner and he'd come over and we'd just sit there and like together and we'd just sit with a little blanket he'd bring up a blanket and we'd sit and just eat our dinner so I'd give him a bit and we'd taste each other's drinks and we'd just play fight all the time and then a teacher'd come round catch us and he'd jump back over the wall and then we'd us we'd try to see each other as much as we could but it didn't necessarily work out because we didn't get to see each other cos the teacher would always ruin it"
(1S816-1S844)

This mini narrative highlights that she has experienced what a friend 'should' be and is the friend she still wants as indicated by saying she still wants to find him on social media.

MFN 3 – loss of another best friend

Extracts from transcripts
1s403 S: My best friend was like that erm she used to get bullied a lot
1s405 S: and (sniff) her family always used to just say it's her own fault, she shouldn't be here, she were a mistake
1s407 S: and she ended up killing herself and I found her body ..and it's her brother found her and ever since that brother an't been right
1s409 S: and her family her parents were married and now they're divorced and they're both living separate life and her brother turned to drugs and her brother got rushed into hospital last week from overdosing
1s411 S: because he's s, and this happened two years ago so he's still caught up
1s413 S: on his sister
1s415 S: but I can't bring myself to see her
1s417 S: see, go, I went to her funeral but I can't bring myself to go her grave or see her brother

- **3.3 *"he used to hit us"***

Examples of her time in foster care:

"heee used to sneak into my bedroom and fall asleep with me because he was scared cos they they used to they never did owt to me but they used to slap my brother, they'd hit him and that's when I when I saw em cos he told me and I didn't I d<u>on</u>'t know whether I believed him or not cos there was never a mark but then when I saw em do it I kicked off and I s- may or may not have smashed the house up and put the windows through ~and bust their tyres on their car and scraped all their car~"
(2S470-2S484).

Extracts from transcripts
2s496 S: he was a ex cop
2s498 S: and.. he used to hit us and he used to lock us outside
2s500 S: we'd be pl<u>ayin</u>g on the front and he'd lock me and my brother outside so I'd kick the door and he'd grab me by me he'd open the door and he'd grab me

> 2s502 S: by me hair and he'd just drag me in ..and then that's when me and my brother got split up
> 2s504 S: and then …not longer after that I was in a few placements after that
> 2s506 S: I was in another placement and.. this woman accused me of stealing her daughter's stuff
> 2s508 S: I'd I'd never stole at that point
> 2s514 S: err but she accused me of stealing and then she went on to talk about my mum
> 2s516 S: and how my Nana didn't want me and stuff and that's why I'm here err..so I pushed her down stairs.. and she ~broke her hip and fractured her skull~

Going into foster care, a TP for Summer:

- **TP – *"I got taken into care"***

"Up until..the end .hh towards the end of year 6 when I got taken into care and then.. I just started getting worse. Yeah behaviour wise I started getting worse and.. I wor… angry really cos I didn't know why I'd got taken into care I didn't know anything and ..in and then everything started going well again. Yeah with my behaviour, I was being really good in school and then me and my brother got spilt up. So we, me and my brother got split up and I got moved, I was in and out of foster homes" (1S26-1S41)

Additional information/evidence regarding what helped/hindered Summer in accessing education

- **H1** *"I liked it there cos I had all my friends"*

Summer states part of the reason for her reintegration breaking down was going to see her peers at lunchtime:

"but instead I'd go in to school early so I could go round when it were dinner time and see all my old friends" (1S165).

Talking about not attending school she states:

"yeah I think I realised that.. it's not I shouldn't be putting myself down or I shouldn't be like not going to school because..of the kids" (2S211).

Teachers 'ruin it' in MFN – best friend:

"he was my best friend he was my best friend he was called David Jones still to this day I try and find him on facebook I can't er but.. he always used to stick up for me and where my playground wor there were a wall in-between it and we'd share our dinner and he'd come over and we'd just sit there and like together and we'd just sit with a little blanket he'd bring up a blanket and we'd sit and just eat our dinner so I'd give him a bit and we'd taste each other's drinks and we'd just play fight all the time and then a teacher'd come round catch us and he'd jump back over the wall and then we'd us we'd try to see each other as much as we could but it didn't necessarily work out because we didn't get to see each other cos the teacher would always ruin it" (1S816-1S844)

Extracts from transcripts
2s241 S: I'd do stuff to make them like me 2s243 S: and.. it got to the point where it were too much 2s245 S: and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me 2s247 S: but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party 2s249 S: orrrr a boy didn't like me 1s197 S: and then I got kicked out of there because I had a fight with this girl who was supposed to be my best friend 1s201 S: So.. I ended up fighting with her

- **H2** *"they wouldn't let me go to the toilet"*

Extracts from transcripts
1s125 S: er it's very rare that you do catch me out but when (cough), when I was in isolation I did like it but it's when so it's the little things 1s127 S: I asked to go to the toilet they wouldn't let me go to the toilet 1s129 S: because it wasn't break time 1s131 S: And if really needed to go I'd kick off and I'd just walk out 1s133 S: and then I'd move on to human rights 1s169 S: and they weren't accepting me even because of my hair cos I had one side of my hair shaved

1s171 S: and I didn't like it because I they told me to cover it and I didn't like it cos I like being different
1s357 S: and I really didn't wanna leave
1s359 S: but it's just one of them things where you have to and then I went to G'PRU and I sort of settled down in there

- **H3** *"I don't feel that I'm getting the right education"*

Full vignette:

"Yeah ..I like…I like being in school in a way but I don't because I don't feel that I'm getting the right education" (1S381)

"well any education's alright really but mainstream education would be the best, because I've got more of a chance of getting into college or university or sixth form but now I haven't got that much of a chance because I'm not in the in a right school" (2S173-2S179)

"Erm and then I got kicked out of there .hhh and then I went to S'PRU which.. I quite I liked that because it were from ..young ages, I think it were from year 2 to year well to year eleven, so it it was ..more or less a mainstream school" (1S225-1S231)

"yeh .hhh an I like being in school because obviously I'm getting my education and I'm getting more knowledge but …I .. don't think I'm getting the right education because I'm in an alternative school which isn't a mainstream we only get..like we only get..like four or five lessons a day and some of them are completely irrelevant to what we want to do. I see it as.. they should only educate ya on the qualifications that you need to do the job you want to be, or the career that you want to pursue like because I want to be a forensic psychologist so..they..I want them to give me the stuff that's relevant to what I want to be but then on the other hand I keep changing my mind" (2S149-2S163).

Extracts from transcripts
1s463 S: because I want GCSEs, I want to prove my family wrong
1s532 S: I was just pure being a pure girl, pure girl. But now I just don't see the point I'm not in a relationship, I don't ..really want to.. be in one I just want to get my education
1s944 S: and I like education .hhh (clears throat) but I like drawing I like art
1s946 S: I love art
2s201 S: and I'd gone to school..and I were sat talking and I was I was just thinking I was thinking to myself I'm worth so much more than being in an alternative school with
2s203 S: kids that don't quite blatantly don't wanna learn
2s205 S: and I just wanted to get the best education for myself

- **H4** *"I'm mainly here .. because of my anger"*

Full vignette:

"I'm mainly here .. because of my anger and I can't, well I'd say not mainly because of my anger but it's because of my anger and my mental health" (1S479-1S481).

Additional information/evidence regarding meta narratives/discourse evident in Summer's story

- **M1** *"my mum and dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids"*

"cos obviously I'm still gonna have 'love' for my mum and dad cos they produced me, so I'm just gonna have in the small writing 'mum and dad'" (2S588-2S592)

M1.1 Dad

*"it'll be alright like I've grew up without a mum or a dad in my life. I've lived with my Nan and my Grandad since I were three because my Mum and Dad were too bothered about drugs to take care of their kids but hhh now.. I sent my dad a message actually and I just told him, look I'm nearly sixteen year's old I'll have my GCSES soon growing up without a father, knowing that he's more bothered about .hhh his girlfriend and doing drugs and his new kids that he's had than ever on about his first kids I were like.. but I I said I got, I went to court last month on four different charges and I just thought god my Dad were here once and then I just remembered no I'm not going to follow in his footsteps, I wanna to prove to everyone that I am not like you because I'm not I don't want, I'm gonna be the the most amazing parent than you'll ever be. I'll be more..I don't even know how he can call himself a Dad and I said that to him I said I don't know how you can call yourself a Dad I've took drugs, I've tried to kill myself for what to make myself feel better to think that you'll finally care about me, I said I was everyday I'm fed up of making me false hopes everyday I was hoping you'd walk through that door.. and..just one day walk through that door and give me a hug and say everything is gonna be alright Summer I am here now I said but never happened. I were like so now you know just don't mess with me again Dad I said I'm not even gonna call you Dad to be fair so don't mess with me again Matthew I said you've got your family and I've got mine and he just sent a thumbs up. I said "that proves a lot, thank you". (*1S662-1S694)

M1.2 Sister Roles

"it was to protect my brother because my brother used to get bullied by a lot of the year 6s. So I'd be protecting him and.. I'd get excluded .hhh and I was just in and out of school constant" (1s18-1s24)

"and now I'll be sat there and they'll not sleep they'll be messing about upstairs she'll tell em then she'll go Summer it's your turn, we take turns in telling em off now .hhh and we'll be telling em off til about ..half past #two in the morning half past two in the morning my sister'll be in bed and she's still telling em off. She's tried everything, she's smacked em if they've been naughty she's tried everything she possibly can and they just don't listen" (1S1080-1S1084)

- **M2** *"normal to me"*

Extracts from transcripts
1s57 S: I know that because I come from an estate where..if you are good 1s59 S: you get bullied

1s61 S: because you're good you're not like any other person, you're posh as they would say it.
1s69 S: so I've been brought up around…a rough area
1s71 S: a really rough area.
1s73 S: I love going back to my home town but
1s75 S: Yeah] but I got, but there cos I used to go there every weekend
1s77 S: every week I'd be there
1s79 S: So, I've grow up around seeing..bad things happen
1s89 S: it's normal to me, but.. in my school you'd get bullied for being good so it's like it's weird because because the majority of the people
1s299 S: So I've been brought up like I've been brought up I'd say I wouldn't be have been brought up around it, I've been brought up around weed
1s301 S: but that's normal
1s303 S: most families now have that

- **M3** "*more of a chance of getting into college or university*"

Full vignette:

"well any education's alright really but mainstream education would be the best, because I've got more of a chance of getting into college or university or sixth form but now I haven't got that much of a chance because I'm not in the in a right school" (2S173-2S179).

She also states she's worth more than being in an alternative school as she wants the best education:

"and I'd gone to school..and I were sat talking and I was I was just thinking I was thinking to myself I'm worth so much more than being in an alternative school with kids that don't quite blatantly don't wanna learn and I just wanted to get the best education for myself" (2S201-2S205).

Extracts from transcripts
1s381 S: Yeah ..I like…I like being in school in a way but I don't because I don't feel that I'm getting the right education
1s463 S: because I want GCSEs, I want to prove my family wrong.
1s532 S: I was just pure being a pure girl, pure girl. But now I just don't see the point I'm not in a relationship, I don't ..really want to.. be in one I just want to get my education
1s944 S: and I like education .hhh (clears throat) but I like drawing I like art
1s946 S: I love art
2s149S: yeh .hhh an I like being in school because obviously I'm getting my education and I'm getting more knowledge but …I .. don't think I'm getting the right education because I'm in an alternative school
2s151 S: which isn't a mainstream we only get..like four or five lessons a day
2s153 S: and some of them are completely irrelevant
2s155 S: to what we want to do
2s157 S: I see it as.. they should only educate ya on the qualifications that you need to do the job you want to be
2s159 S: or the career that you want to pursue like because I want to be a forensic psychologist
2s161 S: so..they..I want them to give me the stuff that's relevant to what I want to be
2s163 S: but then on the other hand I keep changing my mind

- **M4 *"I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person"***

 *"I hung around with lads, I don't necessarily, I wouldn't say I'm a girly type of person, I'm more.. hang around with lads so I'm more like a tomboy" (*1S89).

I asked: *"mm and was that the same when you were in primary school as well?"* (1S90)

Summer replied: "Yeah, I've always, I've always been the same, so the girls'd sort of like laugh behind my back and.. bitch about me. So I'd I'd just take it on'th chin. But ..it got to the point where.. I wasn't taking it on the chin and I'd do something about it, I'd… beat em up if they said anything towards me that I didn't like" (1S91-1S99).

I asked Summer what a 'pure girl was, she replied:

"pure girl is hhh (clears throat) like how I am now, how people see me if you ask people they'd say oh she's like one of the lads she's a tomboy and she's just like one of the lads and you don't see her she's not she doesn't like girls she's not: she's not friends with girls and stuff but a pure girl is where you're like got your nails done" (2S293-2S301).

- **M5 *"he was my best friend"***

Extracts from transcripts
2s219 S: well like when I was with my friends I'd show off in front of them
2s221 S: and I'd show off in front of my mum and stuff but..it just got to a point where there's no point in doing that they either like you or they don't
2s233 S: and now..I'm really not easy to get on with er(h)r but I was as a child I was the one that was like very loud and bubbly
2s235 S: and friends with everyone really
2s237 S: (sniff) but when I used to get bullied
2s239 S: it sort of went down so I'd do stuff to please people
2s241 S: I'd do stuff to make them like me
2s243 S: and.. it got to the point where it were too much
2s245 S: and I was doing stuff I was getting into trouble just because I wanted three people to like me
2s247 S: but .. I'd get into trouble because I was worried about in case I didn't have a friend to come to my birthday party
2s249 S: orrrr a boy didn't like me
2s251 S: but now I'm not bothered you either like me or you don't and if you don't like me then that's your problem
2s253 S: but I used to get bullied for being..different

- **Mini-Friendship Narratives (MFN)**

MFN 1 – betrayal

"this girl who was supposed to be my best friend, but she's one of those where she's she'll say she's your best friend she'll find out all your secrets and then she'll go tell people, the people they're about, so.. I ended up fighting with her" (1S197-1S201)

MFN 2 – best friend example

"I used to get bullied there to be fair but I made there were this boy he was in year, I would have been in year, I would have been I would have been in reception .hhh and I'd say he would have been in …year between 4/5 or 6, he was my best friend he was my best friend he was called David Jones still to this day I try and find him on facebook I can't er but.. he always used to stick up for me and where my playground wor there were a wall in-between it and we'd share our dinner and he'd come over and we'd just sit there and like together and we'd just sit with a little blanket he'd bring up a blanket and we'd sit and just eat our dinner so I'd give him a bit and we'd taste each other's drinks and we'd just play fight all the time and then a teacher'd come round catch us and he'd jump back over the wall and then we'd us we'd try to see each other as much as we could but it didn't necessarily work out because we didn't get to see each other cos the teacher would always ruin it" (1S816-1S844)

MFN 3 – loss of another best friend.

*"My best friend, my best friend was like that erm she used to get bullied a lot and (sniff) her family always used to just say it's her own fault, she shouldn't be here, she were a mistake and she ended up killing herself and I found her body ..and it's her brother found her and ever since that brother an't been right, and her family her parents were married and now they're divorced and they're both living separate life and her brother turned to drugs and her brother got rushed into hospital last week from overdosing, because he's s, and this happened two years ago so he's still caught up on his sister but I can't bring myself to see her see, go, I went to her funeral but I can't bring myself to go her grave or see her brother" (*1S403-1S417)

- **M6** *"Just doing as you're told"*

I asked: *"what did they think being good was then, what?"* (1S44)

She replied: *"Just doing as you're told, really and not getting into trouble at all. See my, my standards of being good and their standards of being good were really different because of my standards were sort of in the middle but theirs were really like sky high and I, I'd never be able to go up to their standards.. not in my wildest dreams I wou(h)ldn't heh"* (1S45-1S55)

- **M7** *"halfway to being an adult"*

"you either want me to be a kid or an adult but I suppose that's the thing when you get halfway to being an adult" (2S139-2S141)

"it's like a it's like when you get like them little people on your shoulders like a devil and an angel on your shoulder I fell like it's that like I've got people telling me that I need to act I'm only 15 I need to just be a kid while it lasts and then I've got my teachers and my Mum and stuff saying I need to start

taking responsibility for what I do, learning how to .hhh survive like in my own house and stuff" (2s127S-2s133).

She asserts she takes control and does her own thing. For example:

"I just I I'm really independent as well (laugh) I just prefer to get things done" (1s1032)

She also regularly makes statements about "getting on with it" including piercing herself, washing and making "plans", as she states: "*I've got a back up plan for everything*" (1S612). Perhaps she feels she has to take responsibility as she has little choice but to rely on her self as she states her Gran is preparing her for surviving when older:

"I'd, I see it as it's because my Mum's getting me ready for when I move out to know that when I am on my own I've got to do stuff like that by my[self] but now I just do it anyway" (1S1044-1048)

Theme 1 - *"I am nice like that like if they needed something I'd help em out if I have it, but if if you are a bitch to me I'm gonna be a bigger one back"*

● **1. 1** *"I'd just fight ya"*

Bryony interchanges her descriptions of her fighting with more general statements such as: "*I was just a little shit to be honest, I were just a rebe*l" (1B218) and statements of being naughty (1B226).

She appears to consider herself more broadly as different. For example, when describing her peers, she stated: *"I were different like I'd just start with anyone"* (1B88-102)

Bullying EN (BEN)

 "Yeah, my Mum she were angry, like obviously her daughter going home saying she's been bullied~it's not nice feeling to be a mum really that your daughter's getting bullied~ but she'd had enough of it. and then she just tor dragged me down to school" (1B62-1B68)

"*got the main one on her own and I just went to fight em all one on one but they didn't want one on one they wanted to fight in a group so I just left it and just got the main one on their own*" (1B70-72),

"*beat up the main girl, and they all left me alone from that and then I were fine after that*" (1B12-16).

She gives reasons for her first fight: *"I got excluded, the first time I got excluded was for fighting with this boy cos he said something about my Mum*" (1B28-1B30).

Then her reasons become less specific, e.g. " *if yo(h)u looked at me in a different way*" (1B102), the frequency increases and being a fighter becomes increasingly internalised, e.g. "*it were just me"* (1B266) and continues to be, e.g. "*I am still a fighting person"* (1B140).

She states:

 "I'd just fight ya, that's just how I am" (1B102-1B104)

"I'd been fighting all the time" (1B198).

"I'd be fighting all I had fight all time, but that's how it was" (1B36-38)

I suggested to Bryony that she must be quite handy (1B113), which she agreed replying "*m hm*" (1B114).

- **1.2** *"I loved [dancing]"*

"like I go out most of't time, I can't be in't house, I don't like being in't house, like I can't I can't sit down or be in the house all day like people can just lay there and just stay in the house I can't do that, I have to go out". (1B328-1B338)

Extracts from transcripts
1B22 B: so it were just ..madness and then erm.. when I got further in there I were like, I li<u>ked</u> dancing 1B116 B: yeah I loved [dancing] 1B120 B: Yeah I loved sports. 1B324 B: well ..I wou<u>ld</u>n't say they're important but I do like partying heh 1B326 B: I'm not gonna li(h)e.

- **1.3** *"I'd <u>say I am</u> a nice girl. I have got heart but I can be a bitch sometimes"*

"I wanna be a carer" (1B130).

" well… I don't know really I'd <u>say I am</u> a nice girl. I have got heart but I can be a bitch sometimes if I have to be, but that's only if I have to be I won't, if anyone basically I say if you treat me with respect I'll treat you with respect. That's how it is [really]" (1B352-360)

"I'll <u>help anyone</u> out, like I am nice like that like if they needed something I'd help em out if I have it, but if if you are a bitch to me I'm gonna be a bigger one back. It'(h)s just how it is" (1B378-1B382).

"well, people did but people who I don't really like they didn't respect me so I didn't respect them. Like how they looked at me and tret me I'll look at them and treat them like that. That's ju(h)st how I am really (1B366-1B372).

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Theme 2 - *"I have to look.. forward instead of being, trying to be bad"*.

- **2.1** *"I just thought right I need to focus now on the future, not the.. not fighting all the time"*

Full vignette:

"erm well really I were just..I didn't think I were allowed to come to college, because I'd been ..naughty at school that much I didn't have no qualifications or anything, and owt like that so it were kinda a struggle to get into college and then once I got in I just thought right I need to focus now, on the future, not the.. not fighting all the time cos like if that was still me now" (1B134-1B138)

"cos I'd been fighting all the time and that I just never used to learn anything", (1B198)

Extracts from transcripts
1B183 M: heh and so, did they, was it a kinda completely don't come back exclusion at any point, or? 1B184 B: At one point it were but obviously I just had to like then I realised that I do need school.

223

1B186 B: So I just had to go for a meeting and had to like basically bribe em 1B192 B: and I did I just did my work and everything. I did what I had to do. 1B229 M: So you do see yourself as a naughty person now? 1B230 B: I can I can be cos I know that I am but sometimes I have to.. I have to look.. forward instead of being, trying to be bad and that. ~It's not it's not a good look for a girl really~ it(h)'s not heh

- **2.2 *"Sometimes I think I wish I went back to school did everything again"***

Full vignette:

*"but I've calmed down a bit now if that were me I'd just look like yeah I'm going to jail, I don't care about education but nah, sometimes I think I wish I went back to school did everything again and then come here cos then I'd have been alright, I'd have got a job and have had some money and that ~and been alright but it's a struggle really~" (*1B142-1B146)

".. it's not clever, it's not clever heh. No, I'd go every day do my work and just leave when I have to leave, that's how I'd be really" (1B210-1B216)

- **2.3 *"I'm just a naughty person"***

Full vignette including pre-discussion:

"*I was just a little shit to be honest, I were just a rebel heh. I were just I used to be like I'd follow other people, like, what they do. I will admit I did and then when it came to it, like I'd just do it myself cos I thought I were bad and it's not bad, it's not clever. It really in't soo"* (1B218-1B224)

I asked her *"so were you trying to look bad do you think?"* (1B225)

She replied: *"I wouldn't say I were trying to look bad I'd just I'd just say it were just me like I were just naughty, I'm just a naughty person. That's ho(h)w I'd describe myself really but it's not clever, now I know it's not clever now I look back I feel like an idiot."* (1B226)

When asked: "*do you see yourself as a naughty person now?"* (1B229)

She replied: *"I can I can be cos I know that I am but sometimes I have to.. I have to look.. forward instead of being, trying to be bad and that. ~It's not it's not a good look for a girl really~ it(h)'s not heh"* (1B230)

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Theme 3 - *"I always think that she's having a go at me and that, but she's not, she's just being a Mum"*

- **3.1 *"she just dragged me down to school"***

Extracts from transcripts
1B58 B:like it did I went home everyday saying to my mum that I'm getting bullied and that and then .hhh my mum just had enough of it so she just dragged me down to school and then made me step

up to them
1B60 B: really.
1B61 M: and did that help then?
1B62 B: Yeah.
1B63 M: yeh, yeah how do you think it affected your Mum?
1B64 B: My Mum she were angry, like obviously her daughter going home saying she's been bullied
1B66 B: ~it's not nice feeling to be a mum really that your daughter's getting bullied~ but she'd had enough of it.
1B68 B: and then she just tor dragged me down to school

- **3.2** *"she's just shouting at me but…no she's just trying to be there"*

Full-vignette and pre-discussion:

".hh so that's all she wants me to do she's just pushing me to do it, but like I always think that she's having a go at me and that but she's not, she's just being a Mum, pushing me to do something, that I don't realise I'm not doing, so" (1B258-1B266).

When asked: *"and do you think that's changed in that you can see that she's just being a Mum and?"*

Bryony replied: *"yeah, at first I always thought ~ooh~ well she's she's pressuring me now like, she's just shouting at me but…no she's just trying to be there really she just wants what I need in life if I'm alright"* (1B268-274).

Extracts from transcripts
1B242 B: not in 'bro I'd stay near my mum. If I went to get a flat I'd stay near my mum, closer to my mum
1B244 B: like, I couldn't leave my mum.
1B245 M: No, got a good relationship with your mum?
1B246 B: Yeah very good.
1B247 M: hm yeah how does how does she feel about you now?
1B248 B: She's she's proud of me, she's always been proud of me, but…You can see that she just she just wants the best for me like, she don't want me to be her when she were younger and all that
1B249 M: yeh
1B250 B: so she's just trying to look out for me plus like my sister's clever, my sister's got a job, she's got a car.

- **3.3** *"Mum has to be with him all the time"*

Full vignette:

"yeah my Mum has to be with him all the time, he's not ..well to be on his own, he can't be on his own. It's hard for my Mum really, she's just a single mum, so, she does what she can really" (1B298-1B310).

- **3.4** *"She's gone the right way about it I've gone the wrong way"*

Extracts from transcripts:
1B250 B: so she's just trying to look out for me plus like my sister's clever, my sister's got a job, she's got a car. 1B251 M: Is she older? 1B252 B: Yeah. She's she's got every, like she's she's basically reached her goals really. 1B275 M: hm and was your sister, was was she alright at school or ? 1B276 B: my sister were right good at school 1B278 B: she always she always did her work she went to 6th form, did her work and now she's got a full time job, so she's just basically done it all 1B280 B: She's gone the right way about it I've gone the wrong way. 1B281 M: but still gonna get there. 1B282 B: yeh still gonna get there 1B283 M: yeh 1B284 B: eventually 1B285 M: yeh so that's interesting I wonder do you think your Mum sees you and your sister differently then? 1B286 B: Yeah definitely 1B288 B: we are two different people

Additional information/evidence regarding what helped/hindered Bryony in accessing education

- **H1** *"I liked dancing that were my favourite course"*

When Bryony introduced the subjects she liked into our discussion, she changed the tone/direction of the conversation to positives from what she was describing as "*the madness*" of secondary school:

"so it were just ..madness and then erm.. when I got further in there I were like, I liked dancing

that were my favourite course well.. whatever you call it I don't know" (1B22-1B24)

Later she turns the conversation back to her struggle, catching up, even though she has passed her maths and literacy:

"*like I've got to catch up on my maths and English. But, I've passed maths and English now*". (1B126).

Extracts from transcripts
1B115 M: heh so, dancing was something you liked doing 1B116 B: yeah I loved [dancing] 1B117 M: [was there anything else] you liked doing? 1B118 B: and PE 1B119 M: and PE 1B120 B: Yeah I loved sports.

- **H2** *"it's lots harder"*

Extracts from transcripts
1B148 B: ~It's a real struggle~. 1B149 M: So is it a struggle now because you've missed that time at school do you feel? 1B150 B: Yeah, it is it's lots harder as well cos college is totally different to school. 1B151 M: How's it different. 1B152 B: like it's harder, like harder work 1B154 B: like it's not ..like in school, it were like you got help and that, like you get help here but it's different help you have to ..know yourself like if you know what I mean. 1B156 B: Like you have to ..sit there and if you are doing something you have to work it out yourself, like in school you'd have help 1B158 B: and you'd have like I used to have a helper at side of me and that [and] 1B160 B: who used to help me like.. how I put things in sentences 1B162 B: here I have to do it on my own and I can't 1B164 B: but that's you have to learn really 1B165 M: yeah so, can't you or is it just hard? 1B166 B: No, I can't I've got learning difficulties so it's 1B168 B: like harder for me but I have to you have to learn really cos when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I 1B198 B: it were the fact that cos I'd been fighting all the time and that, I just never used to learn anything

- **H3** *"It wer the people around me, like and the teachers, as well the teachers were rude"*

Extracts from transcript
1B28 B:I got excluded, the first time I got excluded was for fighting. 1B30 B: with this boy cos he said something about my Mum 1B32 B: so(h) I got excluded for that. Then I went back, and then I got excluded like two week again after. 1B33 M: right, what was that for 1B34 B: for fighting 1B35 M: for fighting 1B36 B: Yeah heh I'd be fighting all I had fight all time. 1B48 B: I were always hanging around with boys 1B50 B: and I think these girls were jealous because I were hanging around with those boys who they liked and that. 1B52 B: so they just started from there 1B75 M: no, then you got up to Secondary and you said you were angry 1B76 B: yeah 1B77 M: when you got up there. 1B78B: Yeah, I didn't like it. 1B79 M: why didn't you like it? 1B80 B: It wer the people around me 1B82 B: like and the teachers, as well the teachers were rude 1B84 B: like they had no manners at all, like they talk to you like shit heh 1B85M: heh go on give us an example. 1B86 B: like if you like if you went to say morning or summat like they'd just look at you like your a piece of shit on their shoe. That's what they'd look at you like 1B88 B: ~their their horrible.. I don't like em~ 1B93 M: heh yeah, so erm so teachers were disrespectful you felt 1B94 B: yeah, yeah they were. 1B95 M: yeah yeah and there were lots of people and sort of bigger ones. 1B96 B: yeh 1B97 M: and why did that make you angry do you think? 1B98B: cos they're rude, plus bigger students as well like they look at younger an's like they're nothing 1B100 B: like they won't do anything or anything but.. I were different 1B102 B: like I'd just start with anyone or if yo(h)u looked at me in a different way I'd just fight ya I don't care 1B108 B: Older ones or like one year younger than me or something. 1B205 M: yeh and do you think erm do you think you missed some of your lessons then when you were kicked out? 1B206 B: oh I yeah. 1B208 B: I always wagged it anyway when I was in school 1B220 B: I were just I used to be like I'd follow other people, like, what they do. 1B222 B: I will admit I did and then when it came to it, like I'd just do it myself cos I thought I were bad and it's not bad, it's not clever. 1B361 M: [Yeah]. And do you think that was the problem in secondary school. 1B362 B: yeah cos no one respected 1B364 B: me 1B366 B: well, people did but people who I don't really like they didn't respect me so I didn't respect them. 1B368 B: like how they looked at me and tret me I'll look at them and treat them like that. 1B369 M: yeah, and that's when the fights 1B370 B: yeah

- **H4** *"I realised that I do need school"*

I asked Bryony about her exclusion:

"heh and then so, did they, was it a kinda completely don't come back exclusion at any point, or?"
(1B183)

She replied:

"At one point it were but obviously I just had to like then I realised that I do need school. So I just had to go for a meeting and had to like basically bribe em and say please just bring me back to do my work and they did they gave me one chance and I did I just did my work and everything. I did what I had to do." (1B184-1B192)

She re-states this realisation:

"I never used to listen and then once..once I got kicked out and I was like right I need to put me head down now because.. I'm gonna end up a bum really heh I need a job, so I just, it just changed a lot of things really when I got kicked out" (1B200-1B204).

"so that's alright then next year I'm going onto health and social cos I wanna be a carer, erm well really I were just..I didn't think I were allowed to come to college, because I'd been ..naughty at school that much I didn't have no qualifications or anything, and owt like that so it were kinda a struggle to get into college and then once I got in I just thought right I need to focus now, on the future, not the…not the fighting all the time cos like if that was still me, like I am still a fighting person, but I've calmed down a bit now if that were me I'd just look like yeah I'm going to jail, I don't care about education but nah, sometimes I think I wish I went back to school did everything again and then come her cos then I'd have been alright, I'd have got a job and have had some money and that ~and been alright really but it's a struggle really, it's a real struggle~" (1B128-146)

Additional information/evidence regarding meta-narratives/discourses evident in Bryony's story

- **M1** *"just a single mum"*

Another Mum example:

".hh so that's all she wants me to do she's just pushing me to do it, but like I always think that she's having a go at me and that but she's not, she's just being a Mum, pushing me to do something, that I don't realise I'm not doing, so" (1B254-1B266).

- **M2** *"not a good look for a girl"*

After Bryony stated "it's not a good look for a girl" I then asked Bryony: "*do you think it's different for boys then?"* (1B231)

She replied: *"(gulp) boys just try and act bad really, boys just think they're bad, boys just think they are it ~all the time, but, I don't know some some boys~, some boys are clever actually very clever."* (1B232-1B234).

Bryony describes the reasons for bullying: *"up to like nearly year 5, I got bullied and everything because everyone were like jealous and everything so I were just I always used to fight all time"* (1B8).

I later asked Bryony: "*you got bullied. What were they jealous of?"* (1B43)

She replied: *"it was because like, I wouldn't say they were owt, I'm not gonna sound big headed or owt but it was because I had right long hair and because I were got on with boys more than I did girls, I were always hanging around with boys and I think these girls were jealous because I were hanging around with those boys who they liked and that."* (1B44-1B50).

Bryony's descriptions of herself, examples:

"I'd say I am a nice girl. I have got heart but I can be a bitch sometimes if I have to be" (1B352-1B356)

"when I need to I, I'll help anyone out, like I am nice like that like if they needed something I'd help em out if I have it but if if you are a bitch to me I'm gonna be a bigger one back. It'(h)s just how it is" (1B378-1B384).

- **M3** *"she's gone the right way"*

When talking about her Mum, Bryony introduces her sister:

"so she's just trying to look out for me plus like my sister's clever, my sister's got a job, she's got a car. Yeah. She's she's got every, like she's she's basically reached her goals really." (1B250-1B252)

"My sister were right good at school, she always she always did her work she went to 6ᵗʰ form, did her work and now she's got a full time job, so she's just basically done it all. She's gone the right way about it I've gone the wrong way". (1B276-1B280)

In contrast she states: *"and I'm just like there like I'm still not doing owt for myself, I'm coming to College but I'm not doing owt with myself"* (1B254-1B256).

*"I never used to listen and then once..once I got kicked out and I was like right I need to put me head down now because.. I'm gonna end up a bum really heh if I don't put me head down: I need a job, so I just, it just changed a lot of things really when I got kicked out" (*1B200-1B204)

- **M4 *"when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I"***

Examples from transcripts
1B92 B: when you go to secondary and in primary it's just full of little people so you don't.. it's more fun when you're little, like when you grow up…it's more..more mad heh 1B154 B: like it's not ..like in school, it were like you got help and that, like you get help here but it's different help you have to ..know yourself like if you know what I mean. 1B156 B: Like you have to ..sit there and if you are doing something you have to work it out yourself, like in school you'd have help 1B168 B: like harder for me but I have to you have to learn really cos when I get older I'm not gonna have all the help am I

- **M5 *"cos I've got other things to do like ..well I wouldn't really say they were important"***

Examples from transcripts
1B115 M: heh so, dancing was something you liked doing 1B116 B: yeah I loved [dancing] 1B118 B: and PE 1B120 B: Yeah I loved sports 1B311M: yeh and do you help out with him at all or? 1B312 B: sssometimes 1B314 B: not all't time cos I've got other things to do like ..well I wouldn't really say they were important 1B316 B: but I'd if it like I'd help out though 1B318 B: #like I'd help out 1B319 M: But your other things to do, they are not important important 1B321 M: but they are important to you 1B324 B: well ..I wouldn't say they're important but I do like partying heh 1B326 B: I'm not gonna li(h)e

- **M6 "*it's not clever*"**

Examples from transcripts
1B220 B: I were just I used to be like I'd follow other people, like, what they do. 1B222 B: I will admit I did and then when it came to it, like I'd just do it myself cos I thought I were bad and it's not bad, it's not clever. 1B226 B: I wouldn't say I were trying to look bad I'd just I'd just say it were just me like I were just naughty, I'm just a naughty person. That's ho(h)w I'd describe myself really but it's not clever, now I know it's not clever now I look back I feel like an idiot