'Sugar and spice and all things nice, that's what little girls are made of'
Considering the identity constructions of a girl labelled as SEBD who attends a Pupil Referral Unit.

Jemma Wilkinson

Research thesis submitted in part requirement for the

Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology (DEdCPsy)

Department of Educational Studies

The University of Sheffield

August 2014

Contents Page

Chapter Six - Discussion: Improving the Recipe 99

Glossary 118

References 120

Appendices 128

Abstract

This Discourse Analytical study aims to explore the identity constructs of a girl with a label of Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties who attends a pupil referral unit (PRU) for young people in Key Stage Three and Four. A case study approach was utilised and constructions were gathered through the use of naturalistic conversations with the girl and two adults who work closely with her in her current setting. Discursive Psychology was used to analyse the constructions present within the talk.

My analysis led me to propose five interpretative repertoires that were used to describe Hannah's[1] identity constructions: 'identity as reflective', 'identity as influenced by others', 'identity as challenging', 'identity as a nice person' and 'identity as confused'. Through the talk a variety of subject positions for Hannah were evident presenting Hannah as both an active agent and a passive agent within her identity constructions, positioning her as powerless, vulnerable and misunderstood.

I consider the impact of Hannah's environment and the role of her peers are fundamental to her personal identity constructs, and that the process of engaging in the research also contributed to Hannah's constructions of her identity, allowing her the opportunity to reflect on her past and consider her future. My research suggests that EPs, and other practitioners, have the potential to provide young people who have become negatively labelled with agency and support them with their identity constructions, which may in turn position them in an emancipating way. I conclude by suggesting an expansion of the research and a consideration of the importance that EPs could play in the lives of the young people with which they work by offering them, amongst other things, a non-judgemental discursive space in which they can talk.

---

[1] Pseudonym of partcipant

Chapter One - Introduction: Shall we bake a cake?

This research aims to use Discursive Psychology to explore the use of language within the identity constructions of a girl with a label of Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (SEBD) who attends a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU).

I began to become more aware of my personal language use whilst working for an autism outreach team and studying for a Masters of Art in autism. Throughout my studies my attention was drawn to the language that was used around this diagnosis. As a result, my attention to the language that both myself and other adults were using when talking about the young people with whom I worked increased. Prior to this I would often engage in a conversation without any real thought or consideration of my choice of words, or how these words may be contributing to the identity constructs of the young person I was talking about.

My work with children with a diagnosis of autism led me to observe the impact that receiving this diagnosis had upon the adults around a child, especially when the behaviours that the schools were finding difficult were described, by them, as 'challenging'. It appeared to me that this diagnosis also brought with it a greater understanding and an increased level of empathy from the adults around the child. In contrast a child who was displaying 'challenging' behaviour and instead received a label of SEBD did not receive quite the same response. This led to me considering the SEBD discourse and becoming more interested in how it creates effect.

My work with young people who had received a diagnosis on the autism spectrum led to many conversations about what their diagnosis had meant to them. Many a time I was told that the diagnosis had helped them to realise that

they were not 'weird' or 'strange'. For those who had found their diagnosis helpful they often told me that they now 'know who they are'. At the time I was a great believer in the social model of disability, believing that people are merely disabled by society. I found myself feeling angry that these young people had needed to be given a diagnosis to feel that it was okay to be the person that they are. The diagnosis meant that their identity was clearer - they were no longer a 'weird child', they were now a 'child who had autism'. The impact of society on identity, and moreover which identities were acceptable, appeared to hold an impressive level of power on the happiness of these young people. For young people with a label of SEBD the case did not appear to be the same. These young people appear to offer some practitioners an extra level of challenge. Hughes (2007) suggests that young people with this label fit many traits associated with 'hard to reach' young people. O'Brien and Guiney (2005) tell us that we should learn from these young people as they "challenge the epistemology upon which systems are founded and thus problematise knowledge, its construction and its application" (p.143).

As a researcher I will be actively involved in my research; my intention is for my involvement to be transparent. I acknowledge that my views and opinions will, in some way, impact on my interpretations and will inevitably mould conversations held between myself and my participants. The research will be using Discursive Psychology and as such I will be taking a social constructionist approach. I will begin by considering the literature which is currently available in relation to identity and girls with a label of SEBD. Following this, the rationale for my chosen methodology will be explored and the steps taken to gather my data will be outlined. I will then present the analyses and interpretation of my data before considering the implications of my study.

8

Chapter Two - Literature Review: Looking through the recipe books

<u>Identity and Language</u>

What influences us? Does our history, culture and the environment around us shape who we become? Nature vs. nurture? The idea of identity is one which many of us may take for granted. How we become who we are is a phenomenon that has been explored throughout time, from a variety of approaches. It is hoped that this thesis will add to this debate, as it will attempt to explore the role that language plays in identity constructions. Specifically I will aim to explore how the language used by a girl labelled as having SEBD and key adults around her in education constructs her identity. I will begin by exploring a small number of perspectives around the role of language in identity constructions before considering the literature around girls who have been labelled as having SEBD.

Philosophical Perspective

As philosophy attempts to explore and consider reality and existence it seems relevant to begin with a brief glance into philosophy in relation to the exploration of language and identity. Buber (1973) discusses how one's ability to, and experience of, relating to one another helps us to acknowledge our own existence and that it is not language, or words, alone that have meaning but that this is developed through these interactions.

> Primary words do not signify things, but they intimate relations. Primary words do not describe something that might exist independently of them, but being spoken they bring about existence. (p.15)

This suggestion of words as active in constructing what we know about the world is one that fits in well with my research and will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Psychological and Sociological Perspective

Erikson (1968) tells us that the exploration of the construction of identity is plentiful, and that many of these explorations are valid. He goes on to discuss how we are not necessarily any clearer as to what we mean when we talk about identity. Erikson (1968) offers a potential reason for the difficulty in understanding identity stating that it is 'located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture' (p.22). Interestingly Erikson goes on to talk about the cyclical nature of identity construction, of how it is a process which requires self-reflection and self-judgement. Erikson suggests that due to the cyclical nature of this process our constructions are never static or fully formed, instead they are always changing and evolving. As we become more aware of the significant others in our lives, we grow as individuals. He puts forward the idea that traditional psychoanalytical models cannot fully understand identity because they have not developed terms which are able to conceptualise the environment. The concept of environment having an impact on our identity is described by the german word 'Umwelt' which describes an environment which not only surrounds us but which is also within us.

Norton (1997) tells us

> Every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with interlocutors; they are also constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation. (p.410)

This is the idea that our identity is the way in which we see and understand ourselves in relation to the world around us and how we construct this relationship over time, and in different spaces and contexts. Moreover it relates to the way in which we understand our possibilities for the future. This idea of future is discussed in the earlier work of Adler (1956). Adler told us that we

10

cannot look for reasons for behaviour in the formation of who an individual is now, instead we must look to their goals: "The psychic life of man is determined by his goal" (p.17). He goes on to state "Goals, rather than objective historical factors are the ultimate determiners of individual behaviour" (p.17).

Adler (1956) explores our identity, or 'character' as something which cannot be considered objectively away from the context in which we live; that our personality and character is shaped by our surroundings, our world. Because of this he believed that 'character is a social concept' and that it is 'a psychic attitude, it is the quality of an individual's approach to the environment in which he moves' (p.161). He appears to dispute that different races, nations, or families may display the same character traits because of any inherent foundation, but simply because they have been influenced by others within that 'group' who display such characteristics and they have identified themselves with such activities.

Blumer (1969) suggests that meanings emerge through social interactions between human beings and that identities are therefore a product of the socialisation process. This is known as Symbolic Interaction Theory. Mead (1934) discussed how our 'self' develops in response to the judgements and expectations of others within our social environment and how one's ability to reflect is paramount to this development. Symbolic Interaction Theory proposes that within society there are 'roles' which individuals take on, these are non static and change, as does our 'self'. Nevertheless, these roles do come with a set of expectations and a status within society. Mead tells us that when an individual occupies a role they are expected to fulfil the expectations that are associated with the role. The theory appears, to me, to highlight the importance of social interaction on our own judgements of ourselves, whilst suggesting that the ability for us to consider how others see us, the ability for us to reflect, is paramount to our identity development. Moreover it highlights the ever changing

11

constructions of one's identity and emphasises that individuals are constantly evolving, influenced by social interactions and the wider society.

Anthropological Perspective

Bourdieu (1977) describes how we cannot view language separately from the person who is speaking, and furthermore, that we cannot view the speaker as separate from the context in which they find themselves, and the social relationships which surround them. He considers language to be a practice as opposed to a system of rules, and that this practice in often more embedded within repetition than in a deliberate and conscious action.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest that in many ways 'the study of linguistic anthropology is the study of language and identity' (p.369). They discuss how the term identity has not always played a central role within the anthropology field but that, as time has moved on, this has changed and the concept has become a 'topic' in its own right. They talk about the political stance that has embedded many anthropological studies into identity, where the focus is on the relationship between power and subjectivity, both between encounters in local societies as well as between cultures. They argue that many of the approaches that we now take, including narratives, interviews and media discourses, attest to the crucial role language plays in the formation of cultural subjectives, even if this role is often unacknowledged.

The role that the external world plays in the construction of identity is once again discussed and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest that this external world plays a role in imposing ones identity, just as any sort of 'objectively describable social reality' (p.370). The suggestion that a particular identity is more desirable than another leads us to consider how this desirability may come about. It also suggests that there could be a group identity that is more powerful than others,

12

and that the identity of the group which gains this power can then become the norm.

Linguistic anthropologists describe cultural essentialism as relying on language as a central component and the interconnections between language and identity are multiple, complex and contextually specific (Hall and O'Donovan, 1996).

Poststructuralist Perspective
The Poststructuralist Theory sees language as a common factor in the analysis of power advocating that we construct our subjectivity through language. We are able to construct our subjectivity because it is socially produced. Moreover the language that we construct is specific to the society which surrounds us and not individual to ourselves.

Within Poststructuralism language is viewed as integral to our identity construction, with all meaning becoming constituted within language. The structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure states that "language constitutes our social reality" (Weedon, 1987. p.24). This idea, that language is ever present and hugely influential, is one that is believed to be consistent throughout time, leading to the notion that language has always existed as a system, throughout history and therefore in historically specific discourses.

Coming from a Marxist perspective Althusser (1971) states that language is a means by which individuals are governed by the dominant ideologies of the time. This dominant ideology works to protect and reinforce the ruling class. With this in mind it could be argued that the language which is at play today continues to reinforce and build up the gender divide; seeing women as 'equal but different' works to ensure that whilst this 'difference' is present women can never be equal, therefore language helps to portray and convey women in a

role which suits the current society. Weedon (1987) discusses feminist poststructuralism as

> ...making the primary assumption that it is language which enables us to think, speak and give meaning to the world around us. Meaning and consciousness does not exist outside language...it is language in the form of conflicting discourses which constitutes us as conscious thinking subjects and enables us to give meaning to the world and act to transform it.   p.32

By acquiring language we are able to give meaning to our experiences and this then helps us to understand them.

Identity and Language - So What?

Throughout the above section I have attempted to journey through some of the approaches to the use of language in identity construction from a variety of perspectives. The complexities are evident and the perspective that an individual takes will undoubtedly differ depending on their epistemological stance. Whilst my research will not support all of the perspectives above, I felt that it was important to highlight the variety of perspectives that feed into this area. Whilst all suggest a relationship between identity construction and language, the power that language holds differs throughout. Perspectives generally appear to agree that an individual's identity constructs are ever changing; this view fits well with my own epistemological position. The introduction of language as integral to defining power, as suggested from a poststructuralist perspective also sits well within my research as I will be considering the agency, or lack of, that is present for my participant through the analysis of talk. The suggestion that language works to reinforce marginalised groups is also of particular relevance as this, in part, contributed to my desire to focus my research on a girl in a PRU, instead of a boy, given that boys are

14

overrepresented in the population of children who attend PRUs for young people with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties.

Girls and SEBD

Whilst the number of permanent exclusions in England have been steadily declining since record high figures of 1995/1996 the numbers are still high with approximately 5,500 pupils facing permanent exclusion over the 2009/10 academic year (Department for Education, 2012). Of this figure approximately 80% of those excluded are boys. This has led to a focus on decreasing the number of permanent exclusions experienced by boys through investigating potential causes for this and altering policy accordingly. Lloyd (2005) suggests that educational concerns are currently highly gendered. A quick search of the literature for 'naughty boys' brings up many articles on the 'problem with boys', 'delinquent boys', 'underachieving boys' and 'hard to reach' boys. In contrast we see numerous articles about 'high achieving' girls and about whether girls are prioritised in the education system. Lloyd and O'Regan (1999) also confirm that, as well as dominating the figures around exclusion, boys also dominate the available placements for alternative provision for those with the label of SEBD.

Osler and Vincent (2003) tell us that "the widespread view that girls are succeeding in education and are therefore 'not a problem' is a myth" (Un-numbered page). They propose that the suggested links between challenging behaviour displayed by boys and future criminal activity have led to a moral panic being created in this area. Whilst this may have had a positive impact for boys (it could be argued that the decrease in exclusion figures speak for themselves) they suggest that it has led to an over focus on boys and that the "social and educational needs of girls and young women has slipped down the policy agenda" (p.6). Researchers (Lloyd, 1999, Osler and Vincent, 2003) state that thanks to the focus on boys in the wider exclusion literature the plight of

girls is being ignored. Bradley (2011) suggested that it is important for practitioners to question the opportunities that are available to girls within schools which allow them to explore, create and be themselves. She suggests that there is currently a lack of opportunities for girls who do not fit the 'gender norms' and that this is maintained due to a lack of challenge from adults.

Girls not fitting the stereotypes?

> What are little boys made of? What are little boys made of?
> Slugs and snails, and puppy-dogs' tails; And that's what little boys are made of.
> What are little girls made of? What are little girls made of?
> Sugar and spice, and all that's nice; And that's what little girls are made of. (Robert Southey, 1820)

Girls are often described as caring, kind and gentle. As empathetic, sociable and generous. The description in the above nursery rhyme, told to children, assumes the same; compared to boys, girls are lovely.

I feel that it is important to pay attention to the constructions of girls by the wider social world with regard to the behaviours that are expected of them and the implications for those who deviate from the 'societal' norm. Weedon (1987) discusses how many of the behaviours that people associate with challenging behaviour fit within a pre-determined construct, within society, of extreme masculinity. This results in these behaviours not only becoming acceptable for boys, but also assigning them a certain level of status. Lloyd (2005) discusses this briefly when she writes "Bad girls offend not only against the rules of the school or the the laws of society but also against the norms for their gender" (p. 2). Bradley (2011) explored the experiences of three girls who had been permanently excluded, each of whom were described as challenging this 'norm'. This led to them experiencing social isolation from their peers. This apparent mismatch of what is considered expected behaviour from girls appears to add to the picture of confusion around the best way to support and work with them in

16

educational settings. Brown and Chesney-Lind (2005) tell us that whether girls engage in direct aggression or work in indirect, covert ways, the views associated with their actions are negative, leading them to conclude that "Girls, apparently, can't win" (p.77).

Moreover, in a study by Osler and Vincent (2003) a head teacher at a PRU stated:

> Girls are greater victims of inconsistencies; there is a degree of intolerance but also a degree of shock and horror; they don't have the ability to be loveable rogues (p.68)

McLaughlin (2005) explores the landscape of 'problem girls' and suggests that peer relationships are fundamental in the development of a girl's resilience and coping skills. McLaughlin suggests that the reliance on social relationships is of greater significance for girls than boys and Brown and Gilligan (1992) argue that:

> An inner sense of connection with others is a central organising feature in women's development and that psychological crisis in women's lives stems from disconnections (p.3)

The complexities of female relationships are also discussed by Osler and Vincent (2003). They suggest that a girl has a hard line to tread when it comes to developing and maintaining friendships. The girls in their study raised the importance of social relationships on their inclusion and discussed how difficult it could be for girls to get it right. Hey (1997) discussed the importance that girls placed on being liked by others and 'reputation'. Hey (1997) suggests that a girl must be careful about how they position themselves and that they must ensure that they do so cleverly within a heterosexual hegemony, appearing as both attractive and friendly to males. The girls in Osler and Vincent's (2003) study spoke about the complexities of maintaining this balance. They discussed how one must appear friendly to both girls and boys, whilst not displaying any signs of lesbianism. At the same time they also had to ensure that they did not appear too friendly towards boys as this could lead to them being labelled as

17

promiscuous. Interestingly, this suggests that sexual identity is also important when it comes to considering the inclusion of girls. Within Osler and Vincent's (2003) research the head teacher for a special school also discussed this difficult balance for girls. He suggested that many of the girls that attended his school with an SEBD label had low self-esteem, experienced mood swings and were considered promiscuous.

As mentioned previously, looking through the media there is much talk about 'the high achieving girl'. Dweck (2000) suggests that this expectation to perform can lead to extra pressures being exerted on individuals, in particular girls, who then feel that they are a failure if they are unable to achieve academic success. She suggests that this has a negative impact on self-esteem:

> Self-esteem is not a thing you have or don't have - it is a way of experiencing yourself when you are using your resources well - to master challenges, to learn, to help others.
>
> (Dweck 2000, in Lloyd 2005 p.58)

Dweck (2000) suggests that we should be taking a different approach to learning which include: the use of problem solving approaches, promoting the making of mistakes and adopting a culture of learning instead of performance. This suggests that the education system and the culture that is currently dominant within this system is contributing to pressures on girls to academically achieve, leading to feelings of low self-worth if this does not happen. Moreover it suggests that a systemic approach, taking into consideration wider societal pressures, needs to be actioned in order to support girls who face exclusion.

There appears to be a confusion between wider gender stereotypes and the picture that is painted of a girl who finds herself labelled as SEBD. In the field of Social Psychology, Fiske and Depret (1996) tell us that it is important for us to acknowledge the stereotypes that individuals find themselves being compared to, and often attempting to fit. They discuss the role of power that conforming to a particular stereotype may have. However, Fiske and Depret (1996) also

18

suggest that it is not necessarily the wider, socially accepted stereotypes that lead to an individual positioning themselves as powerful, but an affiliation with a specific stereotype of an 'in group'. Haslam et al (2002) suggests that the process of forming stereotypes within groups helps individuals to formulate their sense of identity. Whilst Scott and Drury (2004) do not disregard the stereotypes of the wider society, they claim that these must be considered in conjunction with more discreet constructions of how one must behave to be part of a specific group. Above, it has been suggested that girls who receive a label of SEBD, or find themselves excluded from a mainstream setting do not portray the 'ideal' construction of what it means to be a girl. However, interestingly, similarities between these girls have been identified, leading me to wonder whether these girls appear to fit within the stereotypes associated with the subgroup of 'bad girls'.

Conclusion

Despite what appeared to be an increase in focus on the area of girls and SEBD just under a decade ago, where many issues appear to have been raised, I do not feel that research in this area has continued at the same pace. Whilst I have attempted to ensure that my literature review is as up to date as possible I have found this to be challenging. Interestingly there appears to have been an influx of research in this area in other countries, for example Zhang (2008) considers how the educational needs of 'girls engaged in delinquent behaviour' (p.179) are currently being met in Singapore. Research has also looked into the role of 'femininity' and the impact that the social construction of this term, and the expectations of behaviour that are formed through this construct impact on girls and their futures. Charlebois (2012) considers the expected 'feminine role' that a woman is expected to fulfil in Japanese culture and how this can lead to areas of freedom; for example little pressure to succeed in education or to follow a particular career path, compared with the restrictions that it can also impose, such as dependancy on a spouse for

19

financial support. Research has also been carried out looking at the discourse that surrounds women from minority groups, for example both Kirmani (2009) and Keddie (2011) have explored the role of Muslim women in India and Australia respectively and, whilst this research supports the idea that females do not always fit into a stereotypical role, the research has not focussed directly on girls who are considered 'bad girls'.

Some of the issues raised when discussing girls and SEBD relate to a complex, social world. Due to this I feel it is important to consider the link between girls who have received this label and their identity constructs. The decision to focus on girls with the SEBD label has been fuelled by my literature review, which has led me to believe that this is still an area which is lacking attention yet one which is very much needed. The research aims to do this by focusing on the use of language and discursive strategies within talk. Lloyd (2005) discusses the importance of agency and power, which this research also hopes to explore. By focussing on a single participant it is hoped that an opportunity will be provided to explore these constructions in depth. When these factors are combined I feel that my research is able to offer something new to this particular field of research, whilst also impacting on my development as an Educational Psychologist. With this in mind I have identified three research questions:

RQ1: How does a girl, labelled with SEBD, construct her identity through talk?

RQ2: How is the identity of a girl, labelled with SEBD, constructed through talk by adults around her?

RQ3: How is a girl, labelled with SEBD, positioned through her talk and the talk of others.

Chapter Three - Methodology: Choosing the recipe

<u>Introduction</u>

My research stemmed from an interest in identity constructions, especially those of people who 'deviated' from a social norm. I found myself drawn to the belief that a person's identity is not a static construct, but instead constantly evolving and dependent upon the context in which one finds themselves. The research presented is exploratory and therefore a qualitative approach is taken. As the research is also focussed around an individual I felt that Greene and Hogan (2005) offer a positive argument when they state that "qualitative methods are suited to enquiry into children's unique and individual encounters with their worlds" (p.xi).

In line with these beliefs the ontological assumption in this research is that knowledge is socially constructed (Burr 2005), leading to there being multiple truths. The realities that we draw for ourselves are also multiple, based on our current constructions of what constitutes that reality. Therefore, as I venture through my research I believe that my personal constructions of 'reality' will evolve and change. Also, in line with this ontological assumption I do not attempt to, or claim to attempt to, *uncover* knowledge. Schwandt (1994) tells us that "human beings do not find and discover knowledge so much as construct it" (p.25). This contradicts a more traditional approach which would argue that there is one fixed reality and truth which is available for us to discover.

Gee (2005) states that "Many people think that the primary purpose of language is to communicate information" (p.1). Instead I would argue that language is an active agent. Therefore my epistemological assumption is that language plays a

21

central and fundamental role in our constructions of reality. Gee (2005) describes language as having a "magical property" (p.10) and that its primary function is to "support the performance of social activities and identities and to support human affiliation within cultures, social groups and institutions" (p.1).

I believe that my ontological and epistemological assumptions lead me, as a researcher, to be entwined within my research. My interactions, thoughts and beliefs cannot be separated from the research. I am placing myself directly within my research and therefore I must not dismiss my own influence, thoughts and actions but instead consider my own constructions. Moreover, as I hope to capture my data in as natural a way as possible I am mindful that through my own talk I will be co-constructing knowledge with my participant. This challenges a more traditional view that the researcher can be separate from the research.

Social Constructionism

Hollway (1989) asks why there is a desire within psychology to reduce humans and their thoughts and interactions to something which is measurable. The idea that we should question and challenge this view feels comfortable to me. As both a researcher and a Trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP) I would like to move away from the idea of psychology being viewed as an arena to conduct research which gives us an objective answer to a phenomenon. Burr (1995) insists that we take a critical stance on the way that we understand the world, a way that is often taken for granted. Due to my ontological and epistemological assumptions I feel that the social constructionist paradigm offers the most relevant framework for my research:

> "The absence of an ultimate truth seems to be the foundation upon
> which the theoretical framework of social constructionism is
> built" (Burr, 1995, p.81)

It is felt that from the ideas penned by Gergen in 1973 psychology saw the emergence of social constructionism (Burr, 1995). Gergen (1973) suggests that it makes no sense to look for a definitive description of people, or society, as both are ever changing, continually evolving. Social constructionism relocates the problems away from the individual and "opposes the essentialism of much traditional psychology" (Burr, 1995, p.6). The notion of social constructionism rejecting these ideas, with the belief that they are restrictive and limiting for individuals, opens up a range of possibilities for researchers. Despite being a novice in this field I would hope that my research is able to, in some small way, offer the reader an opportunity to reflect on their practice in relation to a phenomenon that is not measurable. My research does not aim to offer a different way of looking at the world. As Hepburn and Potter (2003) explain, discourse research is not about searching for a "fundamental philosophical justification" (p.175) but instead it is about reflecting on the discourse that is around us and considering how this discourse can lead us to construct our social world and our social being. I believe that my research has implications for practice, especially my own, and feel that exploring the use of language allows me to question my own practice as a TEP as well as my language use in other aspects of my life.

My research aims to investigate the way that individuals use talk to construct meaning and reality. I am taking the viewpoint that multiple constructions can co-exist and acknowledge that these constructions may be conflicting (Mertens, 1998). Burr (1995) suggests that language provides subjects with positions which they can occupy. As people speak, their talk positions them in certain ways. These positions are not static, in fact the ability to position one's self in a variety of ways allows us to occupy a number of identities, which we feel are relevant for the context in which we are situated. For instance I am aware that I

23

will talk differently in a meeting with a head teacher compared to a conversation with a friend, even if the subject matter is the same. I believe that this idea of multiple positions rejects the idea of the self as a static entity, objective and uninfluenced by context.

Social constructionism is not without its critics; even those who write to promote the paradigm acknowledge that it is not without its flaws. Burr (1995) suggests that the unifying factors of people who claim to be social constructionists are little more than a family resemblance, whilst Potter (1996) states that "constructionism is itself a construction" (Cromby and Nightingale, 1999, p.3). Cromby and Nightingale (1999) go on to tell us that social constructionism, like other approaches contains ideas which are at times conflicting and contrasting. Nevertheless, as social constructionism places social relationships and interactions at the centre of its focus, believing language to play a fundamental role in an individual's constructions and positioning I feel that it is best suited to my research. I take the view that an individual's constructions of their world are subjective and relevant to the moment in time that they find themselves. I also acknowledge that my research is not a stand alone process. It will be impacted upon by a variety of factors, some of which I may be able to consider and others which I will not. It will not be a rigid process, instead it will be moulded by my participants and the interactions and talk which take place between us. Moreover, my research will be open to multiple viewpoints, which may be in conflict with my own. I welcome this as it allows me, as both a researcher and a TEP, to continually reflect on my practice and my interpretations of talk.

<u>Language as an active agent</u>

"We never just read or write; rather, we always read or write something in some way" (Gee 2008.p.14)

Gee's (2005) point that many people see the primary purpose of language as simply to communicate information is likely to be the view of many cognitive psychologists who perceive language to be merely a 'vehicle', or a tool, for individuals to communicate meaning (Taylor, 2001). The turn to social psychology began to challenge this perspective. Questions arose as to the existence of the abstract cognitive structures that language allowed us access to, as well as the role that language played. Wiggins and Potter (2008) suggested that we construct our thoughts, experiences and emotions through interactions and Wittgenstein (1953) goes on to tell us that we cannot separate language from the context of what it is we are saying. Willig (1999) takes this further by informing us that language is a product that is used to construct social interactions and to make things happen; in other words language is not merely a vehicle, instead it is active. Language is seen not only as active in the support that it offers to an individual's identity but also active in the role that it plays within the broader historical, cultural and social context.

The active role that language plays is expanded on by Gee (2005):

When we speak or write we design what we have to say to fit the situation in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that very situation. It seems, then, that we fit our language to a situation that our language, in turn, helps to create in the first place" (p.10).

25

This suggestion, that language can mould and create situations, also opens us to the possibility that language users are able to position themselves through their talk (Harre and Moghadden, 2003), and that this positioning, and talk, can create an identity for an individual (Gee, 2005). This perspective is important for my research as it suggests that language can, and is, used by people to construct identities for themselves and others which may vary in different contexts leading them to occupy a number of positions, some of which can be contrasting.

Billington (2006) proposes a number of questions which I feel are relevant to my exploration of language as active:

How do we speak of children? *How* do we speak with children? *How* do we write of children? (p.8).

Whilst most research exploring SEBD may focus on what is said and why it is said I question, both within my practice and this research, *how* my talk and the talk of others may position or impact upon an individual or myself. I wonder what discursive practices are at play within this talk. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that language can actively construct attitudes, and Gergen (1994) reminds us that it is not merely the words which are spoken which can convey meaning but also, at times, the words which are not spoken "some might be moved to withdraw from all discursive comments…only to find that withdrawal itself is but another form of commitment" (p.221).

26

Considering the ways that discursive practices may be at play, and the role that these practices could have on our constructions and knowledge, will open up possibilities for personal reflexivity and agency:

> If we take ourselves to be constructions and not objective descriptions, then it is (at least in principle) possible to re-construct ourselves in ways that might be facilitating for us (Burr, 1995, p.13).

The turn to language as an active agent guides me to consider methodologies which follow this belief. Phillips and Hardy (2002) suggest that Discourse Analysis (DA) views discourse not as merely a vehicle to meaning but as constitutive of the social world.

Discourse Analysis

Potter and Wetherell tell us that:

> Discourse analysis asks important questions of conventional research, it provides a workable methodology and … can, in itself be a fascinating and potentially significant occupation…(1987, p.32)

Considering the way that our constructions of the world are produced, through DA, appeals to me as a researcher, mainly due to the focus which is placed on language. DA credits language with a central role in our constructions and tells us that language is used by people to 'do' something. It places an emphasis on *how* language is used. Moreover DA allows us to consider that what language 'does' is fluid and can be variable over different time and contexts. The purpose of one's talk will impact on the function that the talk serves. Potter and Wetherell

(1987) explain that people "use their language to construct versions of their social world" (p.33). These beliefs appear to be relevant to be my research as I am aiming to explore the identity constructs of an individual with a label of SEBD.

To understand DA we must first agree on what we mean by 'discourse'. Potter and Wetherell (1987) discuss a variety of definitions. Whilst my research will be based upon spoken talk I will be utilising the definition favoured by Potter and Wetherell which states that discourse is all forms of speaking and writing.

Therefore, if discourse is language in use then DA is the study of this language in use (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). Gee (2005) identifies two types of discourse. The first is 'little d', this is what he refers to as language in use and it is this discourse that will be explored in this research. The second is the impact of all of the 'other stuff': our history, our culture, our ideas, society, the media, the list could be endless. Gee termed this 'Big D'. I feel it is important to acknowledge Gee's terminology as I agree with Gee's perception that language does not occur in isolation. Potter and Wetherell (1987) highlight to us that context affects discourse and although I will not be paying particular attention to the wider 'Big D' societal discourses that may be in action, within the limitations of my research I will ensure that I give consideration to the wider context in which my research takes place. I will do this by relating my findings to the literature around girls in education and girls labelled with SEBD, as well as the policies and approaches of the PRU in which I will be carrying out my research.

Phillips and Hardy (2002) make the point that:

> Whereas other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, discourse analysis endeavours to uncover the way in which it is produced (p.6)

Billington (1996) also supports the alternative view that DA can offer researchers the opportunity to explore "human concerns from a different theoretical and philosophical perspective and can expose expert knowledge to scrutiny" (p.38).

Whilst DA can offer us both a way to understand the nature of discourse and the social world as well as a set of rules for studying it (Billig, 1997), it is not without its criticisms. Whilst Billig proposes a set of rules, Hepburn and Potter (2003) tell us that 'anything goes' when it comes to analysis. Willig (2001) also criticises the approach for failing to consider the motivational aspects of talk. Nevertheless despite the criticism that DA faces I still feel that its ability to expose alternative discourses to those that are often dominant within society (Foucault, 1980) leads it to be the most appropriate approach for my research; using DA may expose minority identity constructions that do not fit with the stereotypical constructions associated with girls who are said to have SEBD.

Hepburn and Potter's (2003) 'anything goes' belief in relation to analysis results in the need to refine an analytical approach to my research. The term DA is known to cover a wide range of discursive analytical approaches and Hepburn and Potter (2003) suggest that it may be best viewed as an 'umbrella term' incorporating a variety of practices for analysis. Potter and Wetherell (1987)

refer to a "DA Community" (p.784) and it is from within this 'community' that a variety of approaches to analysis have grown.

I explored a number of alternative methodologies when initially planning my research, which I came to reject. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) explores participant's experiences, before interpreting them, however, it considers language to be a vehicle, a tool which allows us to access those experiences. This does not fit with my belief that language is an active agent. Parker (1992) questions why IPA does not consider *why* an experience is described in one form, as opposed to any other. Another methodology that I rejected was Q methodology (Q). Like IPA, Q sees language as a vehicle which allows us to access beliefs and attitudes that are out of sight. Moreover, Q uses a set of statements which are pre-determined. I felt that the use of pre-determined statements would be restrictive and overly leading. Again, this methodology also does not take into account how language is used (Edwards, 1997).

Discursive Psychology

It was important for me to consider a variety of approaches to analysis from within this 'DA community' in order to find the method that felt most comfortable for me as a researcher. I think it is important at this point to note that I do not make any claims within this research to be an expert at DA or, more specifically Discursive Psychology. Moreover, there does not appear to be one strict set of criteria for embarking on analysis in this way which is revered by all, instead the approach appears to have individual nuances depending on who is discussing the 'how to'. Wetherell et al (2001) describe Discursive Psychology as a 'hybrid'

approach, encompassing "many of the tensions between fine grain analysis and more macro-social discourse" (p.189). Wetherell et al (2001) describe the primary aim of Discursive Psychology as being focussed on attempting to understand the actions and the subjectivity that arises *through* language instead of merely focussing on the psychology of language.

The idea that there is meaning within talk and the emphasis placed on the action orientation of this talk, instead of the belief that talk is a simply a vehicle to express meaning is of great interest to me and led me to consider the use of Discursive Psychology in my research. Rather than considering the meanings *behind* a spoken word Discursive Psychology leads us to consider the discursive resources at play in a situation and leads us to consider 'what is the talk doing?' and 'what action is this talk performing?'.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) discuss how Discursive Psychology assumes that interactions are the primary site for co-construction of knowledge, action and identity. This is another appealing factor for me as I believe that the co-construction of knowledge during my research is a central feature. By utilising this approach I am not shying away from the fact that I am 'within' my research and that I cannot be separated from it. I am attempting to take a very transparent approach throughout my research by stating from the beginning that my current constructions will be at play within my conversations and my analysis. Discursive Psychology, for me, appears to celebrate the idea that co-constructions lead to ever changing thinking and ever changing knowledge.

Edwards (1997) questions, and deconstructs, the idea that thoughts and language are separate, instead arguing that these internal 'thoughts' are constructed through discourse. Billig (1997) suggests that "In social life words

31

are rarely 'mere words'" (p.215). The use of Discursive Psychology, as mentioned above, allows me to explore the actions of talk through examining and analysing the discursive resources that are drawn upon.

Discursive Psychology also allows us to begin to explore questions around power and agency. Billig (1997) discusses how discourse is 'dialogical' and discusses how the voices of others are embedded internally in individuals. Therefore, by focussing our attention in this arena we are bringing aspects of power to the forefront of our thinking.

The lack of attending to the motivational aspect of talk is a highly criticised area of Discursive Psychology. It is also one that I have spent a considerable amount of time debating personally. The focus on attending to how a person uses discourse without considering why, although considered a flaw of discourse, to me, also acts as another way of ensuring that the product of a Discursive Psychological piece of research does not offer suggestions as to a 'better' way to do something. If we focus on the why we begin to look for answers, for justifications, and for a 'reason'. Ultimately, this could lead to my epistemological and ontological stance being compromised. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) suggest that, in order to address the why questions, researchers can use psychoanalytical interpretative strategies. This could help them to uncover unconscious reasons as to why an individual has positioned themselves in a particular way through their talk. Parker (2005) warns that this could become dangerous as it can disempower the participants of study by placing the researcher in a position of expert. Also, as I have chosen to adopt a single case study approach to my research I feel that Parker's argument around power is particularly relevant, persuading me to avoid taking a psychoanalytical stance.

Case Studies

Yin (2002) suggested that the use of a case study approach to research allows for a sharply focussed investigation which can offer a rich perspective to a chosen interest. I felt that a case study approach to my research would be beneficial for two reasons:

Firstly, Willig (2001) tells us that a case study design is considered to be adaptable to a variety of data collection and analysis methods. Therefore the application of Discursive Psychology to analysis and the use of naturalistic conversations is considered suitable. Moreover, my ontological and epistemological stance will not be compromised by utilising this approach.

Secondly, the opportunity to explore the discursive practices used by and around one young person allows me to focus on the young person as a unique individual. I feel that this is important as it replicates the way I attempt to approach my practice and my belief that each young person that I work with should be approached as an individual.

As well as these personal fundamental reasons it can be argued that a single case study approach offers a researcher a chance to explore an interest in greater depth with the possibility of gaining a deeper understanding. Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests this as a rebuttal to the criticism often made of case studies regarding its singular sample size.

This singular sample size also leads to a further criticism of the case studies namely its lack of generalisability. Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that a lack of generalisability does not reduce the importance of information gathered through this method and the 'new knowledge' that it offers the field. I would also argue that, as 'knowledge' is ever evolving and that the mere act of 'doing' this research will result in new meanings being co-constructed, I would be making a false claim if I attempted to describe my research as generalisable. Instead any discussions that emerge will be aimed at providing myself and the reader with an opportunity to consider the discursive practices at play in conversations with, and about, a girl labelled with SEBD exploring identity constructions and leading to researcher and reader reflexivity and questioning.

Reflexivity

Gee (2005) tells us that language is seen as being a reciprocal relationship with the context, and that how we speak creates a situation, in the same way that a situation influences how we speak. My research does not entail me 'doing to' my participants, or analysing something that I am separate from. Instead I will be part of a conversation, and therefore co-constructing meanings. I will be engaging in producing a joint meaning (Wetherell et al, 2001). My involvement with the research in this physical way, as well as the subjective nature of Discursive Psychology leads me to believe that reflexivity is not only important, but fundamental, for my research. The language that I use, and the language used by my participant, is likely to lead to us positioning both ourselves and one another at different points within our conversations. Hardy, Phillips and Clegg (2001) commented on the impact of the researcher on their research and therefore the important role that reflexivity plays, in allowing us to consider the ways in which we may shape our research.

Etherington (2004) describe reflexivity as:

> a skill that develops our ability to notice our response to the world
> around us, other people and events and to use that knowledge to
> inform our actions, communications and understanding (p.19).

In order to be reflexive I must consider my own positioning throughout my research. I have attempted to address this within my positioning statement, in acknowledging the dilemma that my past has provided with me in relation to my research below. Whilst these statements were honest at the time of writing I also acknowledge that they may change throughout my research and so chapters four, five and six include reflexive boxes in the hope that I am able to provide a level of transparency to my thinking. Reflexivity offers me a vehicle to ensure that my findings are grounded in my data whilst acknowledging that I am not separate from the research or the data.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to outline the ontological and epistemological journey that I have pursued as a researcher. Its intention was to state my positionality as well as explaining how this position has been established. The idea that research is not merely conducted to 'measure' a phenomena and that human interactions, thoughts and behaviours cannot be measured in a rigid or quantitative manner led me to follow a qualitative approach. I discussed the belief that our constructions are constantly evolving and changing and that this process happens through talk. I have highlighted that I believe language is more than just a vehicle for us to share our thoughts and experiences with one another, instead it is talk itself which moulds us and leads us to construct the discourses around us. With these beliefs at the forefront of my research and the focus on 'talk', the decision to adopt Discursive Psychology is discussed, as is

my rejection of other methodologies. The importance of reflexivity, especially

when conducting a single case study is also discussed.

Chapter Four – Procedures: Baking the Cake

Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the procedures that I followed whilst constructing, and executing, my research. It will act as a guide and allow the reader to see clearly the processes of the journey my research has taken. Firstly, I shall provide background about the context in which my research was undertaken and discuss how I selected my participants. Secondly, I will explain, in detail, the 'doing' of my research by explaining and discussing every stage of my analysis

Participant Selection

Potential participants for my research were selected through purposeful sampling. As I wanted to explore the identity constructions of a girl who was labelled with SEBD, I believed that it was important for my main participant to be aware of this label and what its significance was. In light of my beliefs, I felt that it would be beneficial to source a main participant from one of three PRUs which are based within the authority in which I work. All three PRUs are affiliated with a cluster of schools and each one aims to provide an alternative curriculum, usually on a part time basis, for young people who are at risk of permanent exclusion. However, whilst some young people who attend these PRUs have already been permanently excluded in the past, this is not the case with all the students. The young people, who attend the PRUs, stay on the register of their mainstream school. Furthermore, the mainstream setting maintains an overview, and more importantly, holds the overarching responsibility for their education.

Whilst I was aware that focussing on the PRU settings would lead me to a girl who was aware of her SEBD, I was also aware that the number of girls

attending these setting was minimal. Nevertheless, as a researcher, I felt that it was important to continue with this criteria despite the limited number of potential participants available to me.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

Reflexive Box
It was important for me to question my own decision and desire to work with a girl labelled with SEBD and who attended a PRU; as opposed to a girl who, although labelled with SEBD, continued her education in a mainstream environment. On reflection, I feel this is mainly based around the status that the label itself holds. For example, a girl who has this label and who is still in a mainstream setting may well be aware that she has it. However, the extent of her awareness is likely to not be anywhere near that of a girl, whose mainstream setting has felt the need to remove her and send her to a highly populated, male dominated setting. In the latter case the label of SEBD *may* hold a higher status; after all, it is the defining feature of her educational setting – not only does she have SEBD but her SEBD is so severe, that the mainstream setting is unable to currently meet her needs.

</div>

Following on from this decision I spoke with the Educational Psychologists in my team to ask if they knew of any girls who attended a PRU. They identified a small number and I subsequently e-mailed the head teachers of the relevant PRUs (see Appendix One). After this initial e-mail contact, one head teacher replied and informed me that she felt she could identify a few students who could be potential participants and she would be more than happy to meet and discuss my research further. The head teacher in question was called Natalie[2].

I met with Natalie, and outlined to her the full scope of my research and what I was hoping to achieve. Initially I had hoped to identify a main participant and gather data through natural conversations (which will be discussed later in this chapter) in a variety of contexts, including the classroom, the family home, a multi-disciplinary meeting and direct interactions with the main participant. Natalie felt that although some of these conversations would be possible, certain elements would be problematic and difficult to execute for a variety of reasons. One particular problem which Natalie voiced was that sharing

---

[2] I have decided to use pseudonyms throughout my research in order to attempt to maintain a feeling of talking about a person or a place whilst not compromising confidentiality.

information about my research with the parents of the peers of my main participant would be impacted by the low level of contact that parents had with the PRU. Natalie felt that this would also lead to many parents not signing the consent form. The difficulty in getting the relevant information to parents led me to feel that 'informed consent' would be unlikely and therefore I did not feel it would be ethical to record the conversations that took place within the classroom setting. Another concern, which Natalie shared, was that due to the current changes taking place within the local authority structure, there had been a decrease in the number of multi-disciplinary meetings. Natalie agreed that, once a main participant was identified, she would invite me to any meetings if they were arranged. I formulated a number of information sheets to try and explain my research and what I hoped to incorporate, to each audience independently. These can be found in Appendix Two, Three and Four.

After considering all the concerns which were raised, Natalie identified three girls who may be interested in taking part in my research. I arranged to meet with these girls individually. I introduced myself and provided them with some information about my research. Following these initial brief conversations, I felt that it would be important to become a familiar presence around the PRU, so I started visiting each week for breakfast club. This took place in the PRU every morning and I attempted to attend at least once a week. I felt that, due to the potential intensity of my research because of the single case study approach I was taking, this was an important part of my research.

Reflexive Box
I was aware that if all the girls I spoke with expressed a desire to be part of the research I would have to pick a single main participant. This led me to an ethical dilemma as I did not want any girl to feel that she was not 'chosen' to be part of the research. When I spoke with each of the girls I felt it was important to emphasise that if they did not become the focus of the research I would carry out an individual piece of work with each of them (around identity). I also ensured that I explained that, if I had more than one girl interested in working with me I would randomly pick one of them.

After a number of weeks I met again with each of the three girls identified. Hannah[3] expressed an interest in taking part in the research and so I arranged to meet with her parents. I visited the family home and talked through the relevant information sheets with Hannah's mother. I answered her initial questions and left both Hannah and her parents the relevant information sheets. I informed them that I would give them some time to think about whether they would be happy to continue and I contacted them the following week to see how they felt. Hannah was still happy to be part of the research and her mother was happy to consent to Hannah's involvement. Both Hannah and her mother signed the appropriate consent forms (Appendix Five and Six). However, despite gaining consent for Hannah to be involved in the research, Hannah's mother did not feel that it would be possible to organise a conversation at home with family members. Nor did she feel it would be beneficial. Although this impacted upon my original vision for my research it was a decision that I had to respect.

Hannah's mother's decision to request that there was not a family conversation, coupled with Natalie's concerns about the likelihood of a multi-disciplinary meeting and the ability to gain informed consent from the adults of Hannah's peers, led me to reconsider the situations in which I would be able to record conversations to use as my data. Hannah was happy to engage in the planned one to one conversations and after meeting with Natalie and other staff members it was agreed that both Natalie, as the head teacher of the pupil referral unit and Angela, the family support worker for the PRU, would also meet with me to talk about Hannah's time at the PRU. I shared the relevant information sheets with Natalie and Angela and ensured that they were both happy to take part. Following these discussions Natalie and Angela signed the appropriate consent form (Appendix Seven)

---

[3] Pseudonym for main participant, chosen by the participant.

> Reflexive Box
> Due to the vast nature with which my data collection plans changed, I had to ask myself how true I felt I was being to my original aims of the research. Indeed I had to ask whether my research design had changed to the extent that it impacted upon my goals. This led me to reflect on why I had chosen a case study for my research. I had been led down this path in the hope that I would be able to explore the constructions of an individual in depth. With this in mind I was reminded that I wanted my research to be about this exploration and although a variety of conversations would be helpful I was happy to be flexible about where the talk originated from.

Ethical Considerations

As my research is a case study focussed around an individual, Hannah, it was important for me to be aware of any potentially sensitive and emotive conversations. In order to do this I began with my visits to the PRU for breakfast club. I hoped that my regular presence within the setting would lead to Hannah feeling calm and relaxed during our conversations. I met with Hannah on a one to one basis on two occasions and I began each session by discussing her right to withdraw; ensuring her that she could stop the conversation at any time. I also made sure that I was open and honest with Hannah about confidentiality factors so that she was aware of my obligation to keep her safe. Whilst Hannah was my main participant I also had two adult participants, Natalie and Angela, and I ensured that the same information was shared with them. For the duration of these talks, I did not take any paper or pre-written questions into the conversations. I hoped that, as well as providing a natural set of data, this would allow participants to feel that they had the control throughout the conversations and the directions in which my questions went. I hoped this would ensure an environment which exuded a sense of safety for the participants.

As well as attempting to ensure that Hannah, Natalie and Angela were aware of their right to withdraw at the beginning of each conversation, it was also

important for me to ensure that each of my participants had received adequate information regarding the study and that they had understood all of this information. As mentioned previously, these information forms were read through with each participant and time was provided for questions. I also left each of my participants with contact details for both myself and my research supervisor so that they could ask any questions that they may think of at a later date. My ethical considerations can be found in more detail within my ethical application; which can be found in Appendix Eight.

Let me introduce you to …

…Hannah

Hannah is a young lady of fourteen years old. She lives at home with her Mum, Dad, older sister and younger brother. Hannah states that, for the most part, she gets on well with her brother and sister. She continues by describing her brother as a typical annoying younger brother and telling me that her sister is at college and that they are quite different. She also has a cat, who enjoys sitting on the windowsill, and two rabbits who she finds cute but does not enjoy cleaning them out. Hannah worked with me to produce a 'Pen Portrait' (Appendix Nine), so that the reader knew a bit more about her likes and dislikes. We did this through informal conversations together which I then generated into a word document which Hannah checked. Hannah is from a Pakistani family and, although English is Hannah's first language it is not her fathers. Despite this, Hannah states that English is the only language that she speaks. Hannah's culture is not something that she openly discusses (her family regularly attend Mosque although Hannah does not). Hannah has attended a variety of educational settings, including two primary schools, two secondary schools and two PRU settings. A detailed timeline of Hannah's education history can be found in Appendix Ten. Hannah has also experienced a permanent exclusion from her first secondary school.

Reflexive Box

Hannah's cultural background is not something which Hannah raised or used to 'describe herself' throughout our time generating the Pen Portrait together. Moreover, Hannah picked her own pseudonym. The name she chose does not provoke in the reader the idea that this girl comes from a Muslim background.

I feel that this has led to an ethical dilemma. Hannah's religion, or ethnic background, is something which she appears to have actively avoided, although it is later acknowledged by other adults, and I feel it would debilitate the production of as full a picture of Hannah as possible, if it was to be ignored altogether. Despite this, I do not want to place a level of emphasis on this if it is not something that Hannah herself would wish me to do.

It was not my explicit intention to select a girl from a minority culture and as such intersecting identities of being a girl, having the SEBD label and coming from an Asian culture were not initially considered in my earlier literature.

Due to this I will consider elements of culture within my analysis and interpretation whilst attempting to respect Hannah's lack of focus on this part of her identity.

…Natalie

Natalie is the head teacher at the PRU which Hannah attends. She has been based in the PRU for two years and has a background in secondary education, previously teaching in a mainstream setting. Due to changes in the local authority structure, Natalie has spent the months prior to, and following, my research considering the best future steps available to the young people who currently attend the PRU, as it is due to close. Natalie has secured a job at an alternative PRU site which is remaining open. She was very interested in my research as she has worked with a number of girls during her time in the PRU and thought it was an interesting focus. Natalie attends breakfast club each morning and the young people, in conversations with me during breakfast club, have described her as 'easy to talk to'.

…Angela

Angela is the family support worker at the PRU which Hannah attends. Angela fulfils a variety of roles within the PRU. For instance, she leads a small group of girls, who are undertaking a beauty therapy course; as well as providing a listening ear to the young people who attend the PRU and often acts as a

mediator. Furthermore, Angela also has responsibility for attendance and will work with the families of the children who attend the PRU to try and ensure that they feel supported and encourage the attendance of their children. Angela supports families through a variety of problems and conducts regular home visits to see how things are going. Due to the changes taking place in the local authority, Angela has recently been told that she will need to 'reapply' for her job, as the number of family support workers will be decreasing. Angela is married with two children who are at university. Through my conversations with Angela it emerged that her grandfather was from India.

…the PRU - Hillside

Hillside is known as a 'partnership PRU'. It receives funding from the Local Authority and works in partnership with six mainstream secondary schools from the neighbouring area. It provides an alternative curriculum which includes, amongst others, horticultural, catering and beauty courses, as well as following a Personal, Social and Health Educational programme for the young people who attend. All of this is done alongside core subjects such as English and Maths. The six mainstream settings are allocated a number of places at the PRU and their main aims are threefold: to avoid permanent exclusion, to decrease the need for fixed term exclusions and finally to increase motivation to attend an educational setting. The PRU has twenty five places for young people in Key Stage Three and Four. Although there are no direct figures to access, Natalie estimates that about 10% of the children who attend Hillside are from an ethnic minority background and around 10% are female.

Data Collection - Conversations

As the aim of this study was primarily to investigate the discourse used by, and around, one main individual, I felt that it was important for the data, wherever possible, to be gathered in as natural a way as possible. Despite this intention

the 'situations' in which I gathered my data were directed by myself. After visiting the PRU for breakfast club on a number of occasions I arranged to meet Hannah in a one to one context. I met individually with Hannah on two occasions, within a fortnight of each other. I only took into these meetings a voice recorder as I wanted to visually show Hannah that the time was completely hers, for her to direct and steer as she wanted. I felt that if I took any other materials into these meetings this message would not be communicated. I then had a joint conversation with Natalie and Angela one week later. Each of these conversations took place in a small room within the PRU setting and lasted for around an hour. I asked Hannah, Natalie and Angela to talk about Hannah's time in education and let the conversation flow as naturally as possible from there. I hoped that by taking this approach the conversations would reflect what the participants chose to talk about, therefore adhering to my position of the language user being an active agent. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) tell us how:

> …the manner and detail of its telling, the points emphasised, the morals drawn, all represent choices….such choices are revealing.
>
> (p.35)

Using this approach also meant that I was an active agent within my research as I was part of all the conversations that took place. Whilst I attempted to explore comments further through questions; these questions were generated within the conversations, as opposed to being pre-planned.

Reflexive Box
As my talk is very much a part of the conversations it will be included in the analysis. It will important for me to ensure that I am reflexive about my own talk throughout the analysis. Also the lack of pre-planned questions will result in me needing to pay attention to the questions that I generate within the talk, ensuring that I do not attempt to enforce my own agenda on the flow of the conversation, instead learning to be comfortable with the unknown and unplanned.

<u>Equipment</u>

I used two digital sound recorders to record each conversation rather than taking written notes. The use of written notes would not have been suitable for verbatim transcripts, which are necessary for analysis in line with Discursive Psychology. I also felt that note taking during the conversations would not be conducive to achieving the natural results I was after, as well as providing an unnecessary and unavoidable distraction for both my participants as well as me. The recording device was placed between the participants and me, but to the side of us, so as not to be an obvious central feature. Through body language I noted that at the beginning of each conversation the presence of the sound recorder seemed to be felt. However, as the conversations continued, I felt that the impact of the recorders presence gradually diminished. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware that the presence of the recorders is likely to have had at least a small impact on how natural the environment actually seemed.

<u>Steps of Analysis</u>

Adapted mainly from Wiggins and Potter (2008)

The steps outlined below provide an overview of my analysis and Diagram One provides a visual tool for analysis of transcribed data.

1) Following each conversation I listened back to the recordings in order to familiarise myself with the data.

2) I then transcribed the data based on Jefferson's (1984) style. My transcription key can be found in Appendix Eleven and the full transcripts of my conversations in Appendix Twelve, Thirteen and Fourteen. Pauses in talk were recorded, as were intonation and interruption. Pseudonyms were used to replace the names of people and places. I felt that it was

important not to use letters or numbers as I felt that it depersonalised the data. Using pseudonyms allowed for consideration of confidentiality and ethical factors as well as allowing the conversations to flow more naturally when being read back.

3) Once the data was transcribed I spent some time listening back to the recordings whilst also reading the transcripts. This allowed me to check for errors within the transcription and also allowed me to begin considering areas that may later be focussed upon for analytical purposes. I made notes about any sections that stood out to me.

4) After this I read through the data, paying specific attention to any words or phrases which I felt related to the construction of Hannah's identity. I highlighted these using bold, an example of which can be seen below:

30 31 32	Hannah	yeah like at dinner (1) erm **I didn't eat me sandwich** (3) ((laugh)) hhh and **you used to get done** from like cus **I used to pass it under the table** ((laughing))
33	Jemma	what to someone else? ((laughing))
34 35 36	Hannah	yeah ((laughing)) hhh oh god ((laughing)) ohhhh yeah erm … oh and this dance group **I only went in there cus me best friend were in there** nd **I got kicked outta there cus I weren't payin attention** (.)
37	Jemma	right
38 39	Hannah	cus **I weren't really bothered** (2) er (2) *I can't really remember owt else really* (1)

5) Following this I began to identify ways in which these words clustered together to construct different versions of identity, known as interpretative repertoires (See Appendix Fifteen). For clarity these interpretative repertoires were colour coded. Once again, an example of which is shown below:

34 35 36	Hannah	yeah ((laughing)) hhh oh god ((laughing)) ohhhh yeah erm … oh and this dance group **I only went in there cus me best friend were in there** nd **I got kicked outta there cus I weren't payin attention** (.)
37	Jemma	right
38 39	Hannah	cus **I weren't really bothered** (2) er (2) I *can't really remember owt else really* (1)

Identity as reflective
Identity as influenced by others
Identity as challenging

6) I then went back through my data set and highlighted any discursive devices that I felt were used within the talk, in order to manage the constructions at play. A list of these devices can be found in Appendix Sixteen. The example below shows Hannah using 'extreme case formulation'. This term describes claims that are taken to the extreme in order to provide justification. In this case Hannah talk claims that "not everybody's nice" (line 70) in comprehensive school but that "everybody's nice" in primary school. This correlates with Hannah's education history as there were no reported concerns during her time at primary school.

66 67 68	Hannah	nd then I got (.) so then I like I were always with them and (.) I just got to know everyone and I were alright IT WEREN'T AS BAD cus like when you move like (.) and you're in comp and you move
69	Jemma	Mmm
70 71 72	Hannah	then ur like (.) that's difficult cus um not everybody's nice but in primary its fine cus everybody's nice (.) but when I moved to framlingham that were alright

7) Next I considered how the talk positioned Hannah in relation to her identity (see Appendix Seventeen)

8) Throughout this process I was working both within (Inter-discursivity) and between (intertextuality) each conversation. Inter-discursivity requires me to consider the different interpretative repertoires at play within a conversation and inter-textuality is the consideration of different interpretative repertoires at play across all three of my conversations.

9) The final steps of my analysis requires me to consider the practical implications that my research may have. For example my research may offer an insight into the dominant and minority (possibly hidden) constructions of identity that may be at play for a girl with a label of SEBD in a PRU setting. This may have implications for future practice

In order to assist me with this process Diagram One offers a visual representation of how I will be analysing my transcribed data.

Diagram One: A visual tool for analysis of transcribed data

RQ1: How does a girl, labelled with SEBD, construct her identity through talk?

RQ2: How is the identity of a girl, labelled with SEBD, constructed through talk by the adults around her?

Description - How is the discourse constructed?
This stage will see me looking for interpretative repertoires and considering how these clusters of terms are being used to construct meaning.
Repertoires will be also be analysed in terms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity

Conversation with Hannah

Conversation with Hannah (2)

Conversation with Natalie and Angela

INTERTEXTUALITY
The *same* repertoires identified *across* all conversations

INTERDISCURSIVITY
Different repertoires identified w*ithin* the same conversation

RQ3: How is a girl, labelled with SEBD, positioned through her talk and the talk of others?

Interpretation - What function is the discourse serving?
This stage will see me considering the discursive devices and discursive actions which are being used?

Can dilemmas of stake be identified?

How is Hannah positioned by the emerging repertoires?

Do dominant discourses emerge?

Explanation - What are the social effects of the discourse?
This stage will see me considering the ideological significance of the choices made in the discourse used to construct Hannah's identity.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter has attempted to outline the practical elements of my participant selection, data collection and the different steps to my analysis. I have introduced all three participants involved in the research and discussed the relevant ethical considerations. The chapter also aimed to explain the analysis method in a coherent and meaningful manner. Whilst this analysis has been explained and recorded using a step by step approach, it is important to note that the analysis was conducted in a cyclical way. My interpretations and constructions from within the data can be found in the following chapter. As is typical in discursive studies, and is noted previously, full transcripts of all three conversations can be found Appendices Twelve, Thirteen and Fourteen.

Chapter Five - Analysis: Tasting the Cake

<u>Introduction</u>

This chapter aims to outline and consider the key interpretative repertoires (IRs) and the discursive devices and strategies used by Hannah and two adults who work closely with her, in conversation with me, to construct discourse regarding Hannah's identity.

My analysis of the data identified five differing interpretive repertoires which were used to interpret and portray Hannah's identity. These are outlined in Table One and include: 'identity as reflective'; 'identity as influenced by others'; 'identity as challenging'; identity as a nice person' and 'identity as confused'. Table One illustrates to the reader these interpretative repertoires as well as how they were used both inter-discursively (within) and intertextually (across) the three conversations and provides a summary of the positions that these IRs lead Hannah to occupy.

The Chapter will take each IR in turn (providing an inter-textuality overview), providing examples of talk, considering the discursive devices at play and interpreting how the talk within the IR leads to Hannah being positioned, and the effects that this positioning may have. Hannah's agency within the talk will also be considered.

Table One: Summary of Analysis - Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity, Summary Analysis of Conversations.

	Interpretive Repertoires. Identity as…	Leading to Hannah being positioned as….
Conversation One **(Hannah and Jemma)**	…reflective …influenced by others …challenging …a nice person	Powerless Scared Weak Vulnerable Opressed A victim Misunderstood Powerful Motherly Feminie Fearful
Conversation Two **(Hannah and Jemma)**	…reflective … influenced by others …challenging …a nice person	Powerless Scared Weak Vulnerable Opressed A victim Misunderstood Powerful Motherly Feminie Fearful
Conversation Three **(Natalie, Angela and Jemma)**	…influenced by others …challenging …confused …a nice person	Weak Vulnerable Scared Powerless Opressed A victim Misunderstood Immature Fearful

Diagram One (Page 47 of this thesis) illustrates how my research was able to fulfil the aims of my three research questions. Consideration of the constructions around Hannah's identity in conversations one and two (with Hannah directly) address research question one, whilst conversation three (involving Natalie and Angela) addresses research question two. Research question three will then be addressed through interpretation of how the IRs identified position Hannah and the effect of this positioning.

Identity as Reflective repertoire

"Think about it be naughty all them years (.) what's what's point (.) I were just silly then (.) I wish I could go back and start over agen naaw"

Hannah - Line 479-81

Diagram Two: a brief overview of a selection of the key words which cluster together to create the IR and Hannah's positioning.

<div align="center">

Identity as Reflective

|

Key Words and Phrases
I weren't really bothered
You used to get done
You don't need to worry
Not everybody's nice
Seems daft now though
Just used to be daft
I wouldn't be naughty anywhere else
When I ust to misbehave
It's just cheeky
I weren't as bad as I was there
I didn't even wanna
They think they'll listen to ya
I wanna do more work
Not at first but i feel alright now
If there were more girls in here it'd be alright

|

Positioned as…
Powerless, Scared, Weak

</div>
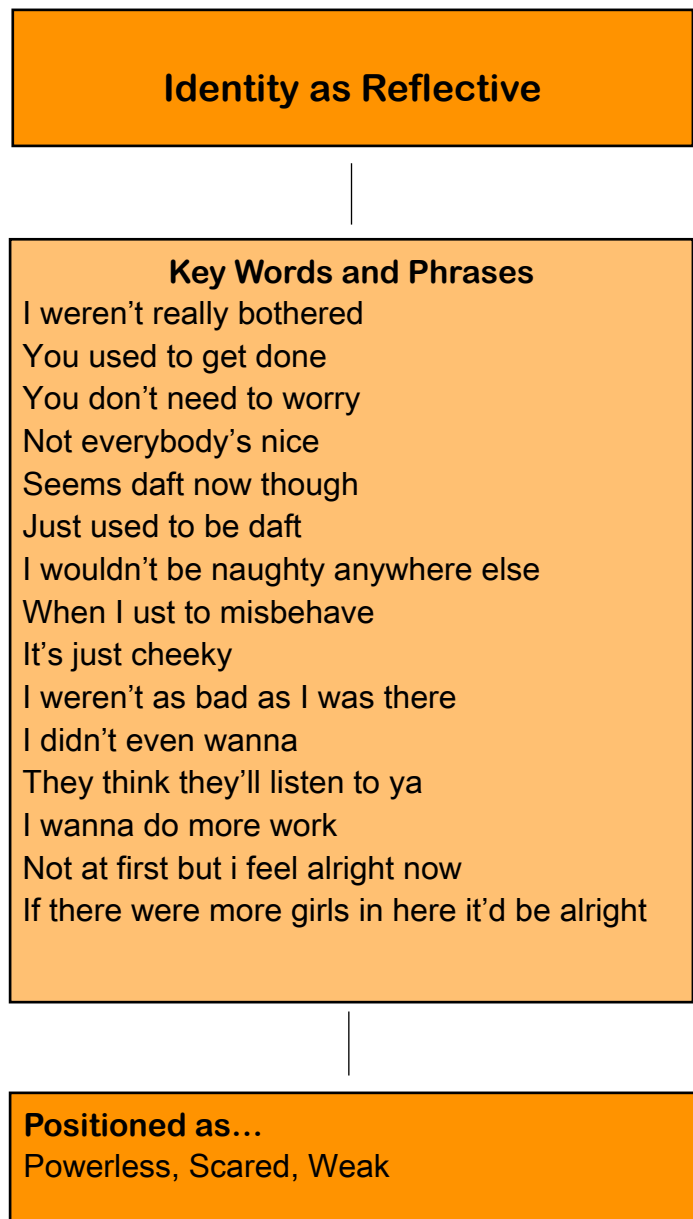
The 'identity as reflective' repertoire was only present in conversations one and two, which were between Hannah and myself. However, this repertoire was extremely dominant throughout both conversations, with Hannah considering why she has ended up in a PRU setting, as well as what she feels needs to be done in order to change how she perceives her outcomes. This construction allows Hannah to see her 'behaviour' as malleable and provides her with resistance to the label of a girl with SEBD.

Hannah begins by talking about her earlier years in education and how her behaviour at this point did not seem to be of any concern to her. I believe an example of this early thinking can be found in the extract below:

60 61 62 63 64	Hannah	so and on mi street there wer there were this boy next door who were who were in my in my year so nd I uste to like go out with all his friends and that (.) so I got to know them and then wen I wen I went to school I just (.) cus they're all right nice in primary so it's alright you don't need to worry
65	Jemma	yeah
66 67 68	Hannah	nd then I got (.) so then I like I were always with them and (.) I just got to know everyone and I were alright IT WEREN'T AS BAD cus like when you move like (.) and you're in comp and you move
69	Jemma	mmm
70 71 72	Hannah	then ur like (.) that's difficult cus um not everybody's nice but in primary its fine cus everybody's nice (.) but when I moved to Framlingham that were alright

Hannah says "you don't need to worry" (Line 63-64) and goes on to say that "everybody's nice in primary school it's fine because everybody's nice" (lines 70-71). This is the first time that Hannah begins to reflect on her education. It appears even more poignant as this was the direction in which Hannah led the conversation. The consideration that primary school provided her with a different experience to her secondary education suggests that Hannah felt she was safe during her primary experiences, due to the guarantee that other people are 'nice'. Hannah has immediately, within seconds of talking to me,

begun to think about her past experiences. It could be argued that this appears to position Hannah as powerful within the discourse, allowing her to construct her sense of identity with me. These discourses could also be considered to promote the 'innocence' of childhood, with Hannah using extreme case formulations to emphasise her point. In lines 70-71 Hannah states that 'everybody's nice' twice, as if suggesting that at this age, there is no association with the SEBD label for any child, including herself. This contradicts an initial interpretation of a powerful position and suggests that Hannah is, in fact, positioned as powerless. Hannah's talk, of all children being nice, makes me question whether Hannah sees herself as being damaged by growing up, that if she had been able to stay as a child then her personal identity constructions would all be positive.

Moving on from the innocence of childhood Hannah begins to talk about her experience in secondary school (Appendix Ten provides an overview of the educational provisions that Hannah has accessed). Through her talk Hannah implies that following a 'managed move' (this was in fact a permanent exclusion) she attempted to 'change':

180 181 182	Hannah	(1) buuuut I'm not to sure about Beauchamp cus I wernt (2) cuuus when I came to Framingham I wernt as bad as I were in Beauchamp (.) cus obviously uv gotta change (.) come to a new school
183	Jemma	yeah
184 185	Hannah	so I wernt as bad I were there (.) but obviously (.) Framlingham don't take anythin <u>at all</u>

Hannah said 'obviously uv gotta change' (line 182), as if this action was not an option. Hannah appears to be suggesting that this 'change' was not only insisted on, due to the school move, but moreover there was no right to challenge this belief and that it was a known fact to everybody. She then goes on to use the discourse to imply that her behaviour was both greatly improved and completely controllable, "I wernt as bad" (line 184). Again, Hannah is

positioned as powerless, her talk indicates that she was required to engage in action ('changing') because of her social circumstances (moving school). Hannah once again uses discursive devices, in this case repetition, to emphasise her talk. On lines 181 and 184 Hannah states "I weren't as bad". Hannah's talk appears to be attempting to persuade me that she is not a bad person and her repetition helps her to reinforce this presentation of herself to me. Through presenting herself in this way Hannah is positioning herself as scared. She is using her talk to disempower herself and remove 'Hannah' from the actions that Hannah is engaging in. It appears that Hannah is scared of others not accepting her.

Reflexive Box
It was important for me to consider whether Hannah felt that it was important that her desire for me to believe that she was not a bad person was directed only at me, in this research situation, or whether it was a wider 'image' that she wished to portray. I felt that, as Hannah knew that this research was about her, she may feel that it was important to project a positive image. However, I also reflected on my previous involvement with Hannah. Although this was the first direct conversation we had been involved in away from others, it was not our first conversation, moreover I had seen Hannah in her setting on a number of occasions. Again, on those occasions I was an outsider, and I can not rule out that Hannah was not trying to portray this positive image on all of these occasions. Nevertheless, when I considered the interactions that I had witnessed Hannah engage in with other adults I was led to feel that this is an image that Hannah would like all of those around her to believe, especially the adults, as it was the adults around her that Hannah engaged most with when in and around the setting.

This discourse appears to contradict later statements made by Hannah where her talk implies that moving settings will not change a person "it's not gonna change yu" (line 252), "can't just change like cus you're moving school" (line 258) as shown in the extract below:

249 250	Jemma	yeah (.) and did you <u>feel</u> like it was a new start with all the teachers as well as (.) the kids
251 252	Hannah	(2) not <u>really</u> cus (.) its just moving like I dunno s'just another school really (0.5) ↑ it's not gonna change yu is it?
253	Jemma	no?
254 255 256	Hannah	just like a different building innit that's it so (.) obviously they think ahh she got she's gonna do it now (.) new start and if she dunt do it then she's stupid but (1) it's just a nnn different school you're not gunna (1+)
257	Jemma	mmm
258 259 260 261	Hannah	(1) *I dunno* (0.4) can't just change like just cus your moving school (1+) cus you're you're gonna misbehave even more when you move school (.) when you don't know no one (.) you're gonna be angry (.) bout movin school nd (.) sooo

This contradiction is interesting and highlights Hannah's use of disclaiming, whereby she conveys a negative attitude, in this case the belief that changing schools will not lead to a change in behaviour, whilst claiming not to have a negative attitude, displayed through her talk in line 182 (discussed above). Hannah appears to be positioning herself within the above extract as weak, unable to construct herself any differently simply by changing schools. However, Hannah appears to then go one step further by not only suggesting that the act of moving her schools impacted on her SEBD label, but that the move set her up to fail. This can essentially be seen to cement the label when Hannah says "you're gonna misbehave even more when you move school … you're gonna be angry" (line 259-260).

The battle between a move being a positive new start compared to a move causing anger and leading to further behaviour which will be seen as negative leads me to question how much agency Hannah is identifying through her

constructs. On one hand Hannah is attempting to use the discourse to construct herself as having agency, in that she can change her 'behaviours' leading to her not being labelled as an 'SEBD girl'. On the other hand Hannah is using the discourse to argue that this could never happen, that this SEBD label is going to follow her to a new school, resulting in her lacking any agency. Her use of disclaiming through her talk highlights the dilemma of stake that she is faced with. Hannah has moved school and has not shaken off her SEBD label, in fact she has found herself in a PRU for the second time. If we were to consider Hannah's initial constructions of a new school being a new start then we would be led to question why Hannah has ended up in the provision she is in. If Hannah feels that a new school would result in a change of behaviour that could lead to us constructing Hannah as the problem, and not the setting. However, if there is no guarantee of a change of placement impacting upon behaviour then Hannah's SEBD label is not simply wiped away upon this action having been carried out. It could be considered beneficial for Hannah if we followed the belief that a new school would not guarantee a change of perception by adults. If we believe that it would then we would be left with the perception that Hannah is inherently a 'naughty girl'.

Throughout the discourse Hannah appears to question why she 'behaved' the way that she did.

365 366	Jemma	yeah (1) so do you think you ust to behave bad then? would you have described yourself as behaving badly?
367	Hannah	yeah
368	Jemma	yeah (1) and why do you think you you were
369	Hannah	I don't know myself I don't even know <u>why</u> I did it
370	Jemma	mmm
371	Hannah	I honestly don't (2) if I knew then (3) *I dunno*

Again, through her talk Hannah is positioning herself as powerless. Through taking part in the research Hannah has been required to talk to me, initially about how she perceives her educational background. The time allowed to engage in these conversations and possibly some of the questions that I asked (line 368) "why do you think you you were", required Hannah to actively think about who she is and why she has come to be where she is. At this point in the conversation Hannah does not have an 'answer', "I don't know myself, I don't even know why" (line 369), "I honestly don't" (line 371). Hannah's repetition of the 'not knowing' adds emphasis to this particular reflective moment. She appears to be in a battle with herself, willing herself to be able to answer the question. Hannah begins to indicate that a deeper understanding of her actions may lead to a change in them. However, Hannah does not commit to this but instead ends her comment with uncertainty "if I knew then, *I dunno*" (line 371). In this extract I believe that Hannah positions herself as scared, scared of the unknown and also scared of finding out what may happen if the unknown became known.

Conclusion

Throughout the 'identity as reflective' repertoire Hannah attempts to portray herself as powerful, in that she is able to reflect upon her past experiences and suggest ways forwards that she feels would be beneficial for her. However, I have argued that this is in fact at attempt to distract from the positions of powerless, scared and weak that permeate through her talk, both in what is said and in what is not said. Hannah appears to have used the conversations as an opportunity to consider the identity constructions that are around her, although I do not feel that she has actively done this, but rather that it is an action which has happened naturally through her talk.

"You just big yourself up when you're with your friends"

Hannah - Line 406-7

"I think her need to be included overtook…[her] priority were to be included and to fit in with everybody else"

Natalie - Line 1064-5

"She <u>needs</u> the kudos of all those other outside influences"

Angela - Line 1270

Diagram Three: a brief overview of a selection of the key words which cluster together to create the IR and Hannah's positioning.

Identity as Influenced by Others

Key Words and Phrases
I know loads of girls that get into trouble
At first they were just doing it with me
I started knocking about with people older
than me…that changed my behaviour
I know everyone now
We were all like…bad
Need to be included overtook
You become high profile
I don't think they looked at the social circles
She's got family …notorious
Everything is about being judged
Just repeating what other people are doing

Positioned as…
Weak, Vulnerable, Scared, Powerless
Oppressed

Throughout all three conversations the construction of Hannah's identity as influenced by others appeared to be extremely strong. This is the first of three identified IRs that were present in all three conversations, and it was also the most dominant repertoire in the conversation between Natalie, Angela and myself. As with the first IR there appear to be ideological dilemmas which Hannah engages in within this IR; being influenced by others vs. being 'yourself' and the importance of being popular vs. the lack of importance. Again this will be explored in more detail as we proceed through the identity construction.

Influenced by peers vs. being 'yourself'

Through Natalie's talk the influence of Hannah's peers is proposed as potentially the main reason for Hannah's struggle to maintain a positive placement within a mainstream setting. Natalie's construction suggests that she believes the need for Hannah to be accepted is a fundamental reason for her engaging in behaviour that was considered challenging in a mainstream school. Natalie goes on to talk about the systems' failure in considering this peer influence closely enough resulting in Hannah ending up in a second PRU provision with one permanent exclusion on her record. Through her talk Natalie appears to be placing blame on outside influences, therefore suggesting that Hannah is not controlling her actions. I believe Natalie's talk around those beliefs are stated clearly in the extract below:

1245 1246 1247	Natalie	she's very (1) she's more conscious she's <u>more bothered</u> about what other people think about her than of what she thinks about herself do you know what I mean?
1248	Jemma	yeah
1249	Natalie	it's erm <u>everything</u> is about being judged erm in some ways/
1250	Angela	/and she's said/
1251	Natalie	/I think that's/
1252 1253 1254	Angela	/she's said one or two quite frank conversations with me about erm (1) I can't say y'know about your background an and and family dynamics and things so she is <u>very conscious</u> of it

Natalie states "I don't think that they looked at the social circles" (line 1092-3) and goes on to place a level of blame on these 'circles' for Hannah being in the PRU currently "so it weren't long before she found herself back in same habits" (lines 1094-5). I feel that this positions Hannah as weak and vulnerable with no agency. Throughout the conversation with Natalie and Angela this discourse appears to be strengthened. Natalie commented that "she's just repeating what other people are doing" (lines 1771-1772). Again this suggests that Hannah is unable to think for herself and behave in a way that she chooses, instead behaving in a similar way to her friends. In their talk Natalie and Angela move on to consider why the peers around Hannah may have such an influence on her, as seen in the extract below:

1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095	Natalie	erm so she were successful in gaining a place at Framlingham (1) then she started Framlingham and idea was that a fresh start (.) for her erm erm away from those peers might be what she needed to be able to succeed in education but the thing was (.) it weren't just (1) I don't think that they looked at the <u>social </u>circles that she were moving between because she'd stilled got (1) similar peers accessing that school site so it weren't long before she found herself back in same habits
1096	Jemma	mmhmm
1097 1098 1099 1100 1101	Natalie	and then erm I think she been there about three months and they rang up to get some support from school because basically she were just not accessing lessons being erm threats of violence towards other girls erm (.) trying to just be (.) I suppose top dog really that's erm way to describe it it's a bit of ↑ survival of the fittest

Once again, this talk works to cement Hannah's position as vulnerable. Moreover, the way that this talk is used, suggests that Hannah's only option is to be influenced by her peers. This talk also leads to Hannah being positioned as scared; scared of the alternatives, scared of not 'following the crowds'. The discourse used by the adults indicates that Hannah is "very conscious" (line 1254) of what others think of her. This suggests that the main focus of identity constructions is what other people think of her rather than what she thinks of herself and what she would like for her future.

64

Early on in our conversation Hannah told me that "everyone's rite naughte" (line 15). Whilst it could be considered interesting that this identity construct (Identity as challenging) emerged so early, to me, what was more poignant was the introduction of this construct within the context of 'everyone'. 'Identity as challenging' will be explored later in this chapter, however, the association with this behaviour as being accepted and something which everybody engaged in was a construction that ran throughout the talk. It felt to me that, from as early as possible within our interaction, Hannah was trying to identify herself with a group of other young people rather than an isolated character. Hannah herself talks a lot about her behaviour being of little difference to that of her peers "I know loads of girls that get into trouble" (line 700). Hannah is also, once again, disclaiming in order to soften the perceived construction of herself as somebody that gets into trouble. Through her talk Hannah appears to be positioning herself as misunderstood and, at times, a victim. The extract below is an example of Hannah considering her behaviour in comparison to that of her peers:

851 852 853 854	Hannah	ah they were like you just need to behave all of um were (.) they were like get your head down, just behave in lessons, don't miss lessons (.) when I when I were like at the stage where they said they were gonna kick me out
855	Jemma	mmm
856 857 859	Hannah	that's when they said that (1) BUT I dunno (.) at first they were just doing it with me, but they weren't they (.) we were both like, we were all doing the same thing and I got (.) they're still in school and I'm not
860	Jemma	↑yeah
861	Hannah	(2) so (2) it makes no sense

This extract provides an example of Hannah disclaiming. The aim of this appears to be to lead me to question why Hannah's behaviour was interpreted differently to that of her peers when it is her belief that the behaviours they all displayed were all "the same thing" (line 859). This appears to position Hannah as powerless, emphasised by her comment "it makes no sense" (line 861), and allows me to still see Hannah in a positive light.

Despite this confusion there are a number of times within Hannah's talk when she switches from using extreme case formulations such as 'everyone', 'everybody' and 'all of us' and instead uses the term 'I'. "I ust to make everyone laugh in lessons" (line 103-4), "I were getting naughtier" (line 124), "I ust to misbehave" (line 157). This talk could be seen to create a discourse around Hannah being powerful and in control of how others construct her identity. However, I feel that Hannah is using this talk to create a discourse that she is powerful and in control when, in fact, this is a false position. Instead this position is short lived and ultimately leads to highlighting Hannah's powerless position.

At one point in our conversation Hannah's talk leads to her considering how she feels she has changed and how this is due to the current friendship circles she is surrounding herself with:

977 978 979	Hannah	erm I'm chilling with one of my old friends Leann (2) she's 17 but she's like a lot mature and we just (.) she's got her own house so we just sit at hers and (.) watch dvds and chill and have takeaways
980	Jemma	yeah
981 982 983	Hannah	we go to Fallow Field and stuff (1) so I'm doing like, I dunno, I'm not going out on the streets CUS IF I WERE I think if I were still on the streets I wouldn't have changed
984	Jemma	ok
985	Hannah	but because i'm not like involving with everyone, mixing with all that again
986	Jemma	mmhmm
987 988	Hannah	like with all people that were wrong I know i'll just change again if I do so I don't wanna (3)

Hannah talks about how both her choice of friends and the things that she does with them, impact on her behaviour and how she perceives herself. She also talks about the prospect of her behaviour changing again if she was to go back to associating with friends who spend their time 'on the streets' when she says "I think if I were still on the streets I wouldn't have changed" (line 982-3).

Despite the majority of Hannah's discourse appearing to suggest that Hannah's peers are hugely influential in her perception of herself and her constructions of her identity, there are times within her talk when she appears to suggest that this is not the case. Through her talk Hannah implies that she has "just matured" (line 470). She goes on to talk about how her opinion of the behaviour that she used to engage in has changed: "if someone did it now and they were with me I wouldn't like it (.) I'd just it'd put me off" (lines 512-514). These are examples of a small number of times when Hannah suggests that her identity constructions are something over which she has control. Hannah uses the word 'matured' and I would argue that this suggests that Hannah does not see her confusion around her identity as anything out of the ordinary but rather as a process which all young people find themselves journeying through. What I do find interesting is Hannah's potential belief that her new found maturity will lead her down a completely new path, regardless of who she associates with, when most of her talk appears to contradict this suggestion.

I believe that the confusion within this 'battle' or contradiction, is summarised well in the extract below:

404 405 406 407	Hannah	but you wouldn't think it but ere you don't (.) it's not bad cus (.) pu (.) <u>they're not that bad</u> (1) they're just obviously when they were with their friends and I <u>even I I usta do it</u> (.) you just big yourselfs up when you're with your friends
408	Jemma	mmm
409 410	Hannah	but when their when their friends aren't ere they don't really do it soo (.)
411 412	Jemma	do so you think that's one of the main reasons that its calmer here (.) cus it's
413 414 415 416	Hannah	\ mmmm and **I** like it more cus it's a smaller environment (.) and when I'm like with loads of people (1) like when I was before (.) it were like (.) I were just (.) badly behaved (1) but when it's small I'm fine I can just concentrate on my own

Hannah suggests "you just big yourself up when you're with your friends" (line 406-7). Hannah's talk could be interpreted as suggesting that she is in control of the discourses that surround her with regard to her identity constructions and that 'bigging herself up' is an active choice that she has made. Moreover it is a choice that many people make 'when they're with their friends'. However she then goes on to speak openly about the impact of a crowd of people, "when I'm with loads of people" (line 414), on her behaviour "I were just (.) badly behaved" (line 414-5). Within seconds Hannah is once again positioned as vulnerable and weak whilst lacking agency. This suggests that her behaviours and the constructions around her own identity are dependent upon her ability to be a group member. Despite this battle throughout the discourse Hannah appears to want to change this dependance upon peer acceptance. She suggests that a smaller, less crowded environment allows her the opportunity to concentrate on herself, without any associated pressure to impress or be accepted.

The importance of being popular vs. the lack of importance

Within this IR (Identity as influenced by others) there appear, at times, to be a specific focus for Hannah not only on her peers but also on the popularity of her peers. The extract below is the first time that Hannah mentions that her friends were popular although when I queried whether this was important she immediately told me that it wasn't (line 217):

211 212 213 214 215	Hannah	sooo and then that's why everyone likes tu like everyone was speaking to everyone nnn (.) these girls in <u>my</u> year ((swallow)) in my english cherese matthews miss told her to speak to mi and then we got along and I started chillin with all them and THEY WERE all popular in my year (.) so I stayed with them and then I got to know like III everybody
216	Jemma	mmm (0.5) and was that important for them to be (.) <u>popular</u>
217	Hannah	\ nooo

Despite Hannah's talk suggesting that it wasn't important to be friends with popular people she did go on to talk about the impact of being friends with 'popular people':

223 224 225	Hannah	so if I if I did that again ((clear throat)) they weren't they're not (1) like (2) I don't know how to explain popular to y'all like (0.5) cus (.) there's (.) kids like what are just right quiet and then (1)
226	Jemma	mmhmm
227	Hannah	and then (0.5) then theres kids what are like <u>known</u>
228	Jemma	yeah
229 230 231	Hannah	soooo and but I didn't wanna do that again cus I know that then on first day I went out wiv um so I knew full well if I did that then (.) like I'd go back to how I were and that's what I did

In the extract above Hannah suggests to me that by choosing to be friends with popular people she was on a pre-planned route to engage in the same types of behaviour that had resulted in her being excluded from her first mainstream secondary school. Hannah is positioning herself as weak in the above extract by saying that she knew what would happen if she associated with popular people again yet, despite this, she found herself in the same situation. Occasionally Hannah uses her talk to attempt to portray an image of self-control "that's what I did" (line 231). The use of the term 'I' in this statement suggests that Hannah is in control of her choices and sees this choice as one that she has made alone. However, once again I believe that this talk highlights Hannah as scared. The alternative, of not going along with the crowd, would be likely to lead her down an unknown and potentially dangerous path where she is not protected by her peers, resulting in 'Hannah' being judged as an individual.

Natalie and Angela also suggest that Hannah's desire to be popular plays a fundamental role in how she sees herself and how her identity constructions are developing:

1269 1270 1271	Angela	but I think that's because (.) her actual self esteem is <u>sooo little</u> and so low that she <u>needs</u> the kudos of all those other outside influences that need is stronger than than her understanding of the need for her education
1272	Jemma	yeah
1273	Angela	and it's that <u>massive pull</u> that she's got

This extract suggests that Hannah's need to be accepted is fuelled by a lack of confidence in her own identity "her actual self esteem is sooo little and so low" (line 1269). I personally find this comment a sad one as I feel that it suggests Hannah is afraid to develop her identity as 'Hannah' and instead must fit into a mould of what it is to be popular. Hannah herself states that she only "got along with popular people" (line 886) because she didn't fit in with the alternative "I wasn't a geek sooo I wouldn't fit in with them" (line 885). This appears to suggest that Hannah is faced with a dilemma of stake. She is suggesting that her statement of not being a geek is not merely her interpretation but instead is a factual statement. This fact leads her to have no other choice but to associate herself with the only other available group of people, the popular ones. However, Hannah knows that this act will result in her getting into trouble again - an action which she suggests she has no control over.

Natalie suggests that Hannah's need to be accepted within the 'popular group' can lead to her going along with a description of an incident that she was involved in, even if it is not true:

2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012	Natalie	the name! everyone knows her. <u>everybody</u> (1) I I and I think that (2) well you hear some right stories half of them aren't true but she'll <u>go along</u> with the stories [for a bit] more bravado do you know what I mean? and you think and you sit there and think (.) you'll sit and have a conversation with her and she'll say ooh it's not true and you'll unpick it and it's really <u>not true</u> but in that social situation she won't say hang on a minute no that's not right <u>she'll go along with it</u> and she'll let um think that (.) that whatever people are saying about her is right (1) she'll have been to this house where they'll have been <u>raving all night</u> and smoking drugs and de de and when you actually remove her from it and you say y'know this is serious and you'll ring and she were at home at such and such a time and it's never even happened but she'll she/
2013 2014	Angela	[yeah] \she uses it to her advantage

Natalie suggests that Hannah does this to gather more "bravado" (line 2003). In her talk Natalie appears to position Hannah as vulnerable, suggesting that she goes along with these stories so that she is accepted by her peers. Angela, on the other hand, suggests that Hannah is much more active in this process "she uses it to her advantage" (2013). Hannah's agency is also in conflict because of the conflict between these two positions. It appears that Natalie is suggesting Hannah is lacking agency whereas Angela is suggesting that this is not exactly the case.

Whilst Natalie and Angela are struggling to determine whether Hannah's need to be popular is an active choice which she is in control of or is one that she has made due to low self esteem Hannah offers us an alternative. In the extract below Hannah appears to be faced with a dilemma of stake, whether to engage in behaviour that is likely to lead her into trouble or whether to choose to be part of another group resulting in her being at risk of being sad, hating school, and potentially being bullied:

879 880 881	Hannah	yeah (1) it does really because (1) if you're not friends with the popular people if you're like, they'll do anything really they'll be orrible to ya and you'll you'll not wanna go to school cus they'll pick on you and stuff
882	Jemma	mmmm
883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895	Hannah	thats what'd happen if I went into (.) I'm not saying I didn't chose to like hang like become friends with popular people (.) but obviously because I wasn't like a geek sooo I wouldn't fit in with them (.) so I think that's probably why we got along, why I got along with the popular people (.) but it would be totally different because they do treat you differently (1) and if you were in lessons it'd be like, I know loads of people like that go to Framlingham or Beauchamp and they ust to bully um and they hate going to school but they have to obviously (2) so (.) so that's why it's really (.) but theres so much more the (.) the year 11's like those what've just left there were loads of geeks in there but the popular people were actually friends with them (.) but like the little kids, year eights and that they can be so nasty and year sevens t'you know not popular, not so popular people (1) so it is differently (.) massively

By aligning herself with the 'popular people' Hannah implies that she has allowed her education to be enjoyable. If she had been a 'geek' this would have led to school being a very different place, she would have been bullied, resulting in her hating school. Despite being excluded from one mainstream provision and being educated 'off site' from another this is still better than the 'geek' alternative; as Natalie says "survival of the fittest" (line 1101). Hannah has once again positioned herself as powerless whilst attempting, through her talk to portray a very different image.

Whilst the consideration of popularity and peers are fundamental to this IR there is also talk about the role that other people play. Angela suggests that Hannah "puts herself in (1) in risky situations and risky (2) friendship groups":

1178 1179 1180 1181	Natalie	because (1) she were she were socialising with people in school that were having an impact on her behaviour but then she got she erm she became quite notorious and she got a bit of (2) of a bravado to keep up I suppose in some respects
1182	Angela	mmm
1183 1184 1185 1186	Natalie	she's got family links out in community that are quite notorious (1) and so (1) she dun't when you when (.) when you put yourself in a risky situation when Hannah puts herself in a risky situation it's not risky to her cus she's got that protection
1187 1188	Angela	she (.) she feels that her cousins etc will will [look after her] but actually it's trying to make herself look after herself

Natalie talks about a wider family construct "she's got family links out in the community that are quite notorious" (line 1183). Natalie suggests that this positions her as vulnerable as she is misguided into believing that she is protected. Angela supports this and emphasises the need to up-skill Hannah into being capable of looking after herself "it's trying to make herself look after herself" (line 1188). This could imply that Hannah is under even more pressure to see herself in a particular way; so far we are aware that she does not see herself as a geek, that she does not want to be one as this would result in her being targeted by others and hating school and that members of her family have created a 'family identity' within the community. I believe that these circumstances are working together to position Hannah as oppressed and with no agency of her own.

Conclusion

Throughout the 'identity as influenced by others' repertoire it appears that Hannah has a huge dilemma of stake. Hannah appears to be struggling with the battle between inclusion within a wider social context and having the confidence to develop as an individual, into the person that you want to be. On a number of occasions Hannah talks about being part of a group and exhibiting behaviours that 'everybody' engages in. Throughout this IR Hannah uses what I believe to be an exceptionally high level of extreme case formulations, with 'everybody', 'all of us', 'always' appearing to be a prefix to every discourse about any actions that she was engaged in. I view this as highlighting Hannah's belief that her behaviour was not so different to that of her peers. I believe that there is a sense of injustice both within her talk and throughout the entire identity construct.

Identity as Challenging repertoire

"I got kicked out o Beauchamp"   Hannah - Line 114

"Her behaviour in school still escalated to point where they permanently excluded"   Natalie - Line 1081-2

"She's got a tendency to bully and control"   Angela - Line 1217

Diagram Four: a brief overview of a selection of the key words which cluster together to create the IR and Hannah's positioning.

<div style="text-align:center">

Identity as Challenging

|

Key Words and Phrases
Ust to argue wit teachers
Chucked a pen at a staff
Got done for sexual assault
Ust to get caught all the time
Only really naughty at school
Chucked it all in his face
I were violent
Threats of violence towards other girls
Tendency to bully and control
She manipulates them
Taking responsibility … she don't
Targeting him

|

Positioned as…
A Victim, Misunderstood, Weak, Immature,
Scared, Oppressed

</div>
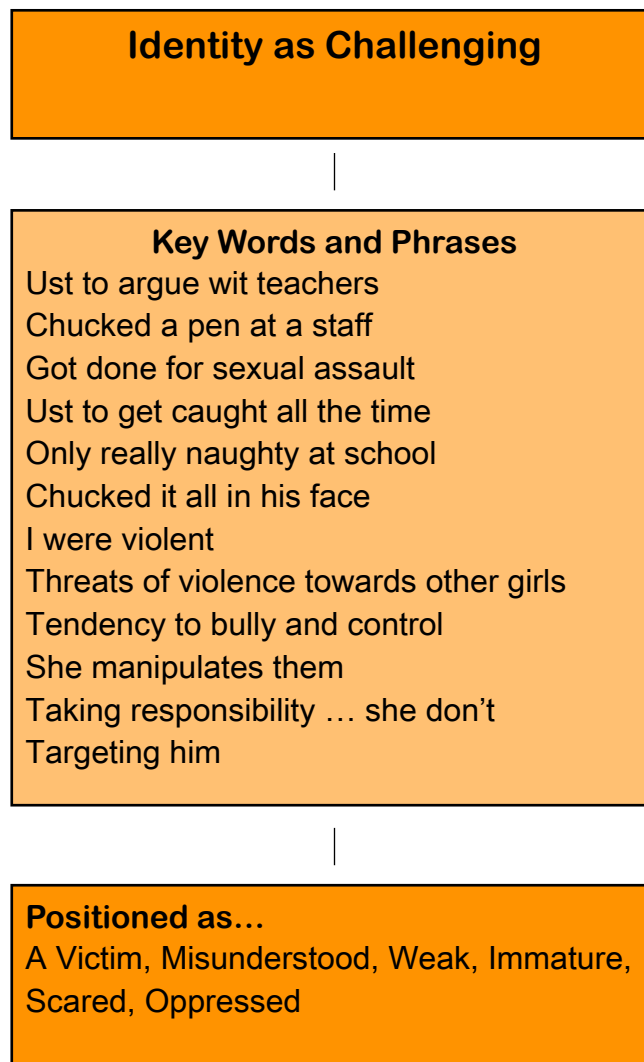
Despite not being dominant this repertoire is present in all three conversations. This in itself may be considered surprising, after all this is a case study based around a young person with an SEBD label, who has accessed a PRU, been permanently excluded from one mainstream secondary school, is currently accessing a second PRU and is as risk of a second permanent exclusion. Within this repertoire there appear to be three 'identity as challenging' constructions: Hannah's; Natalie's and Angela's and although these constructions are not completely counteractive there are differences within them.

Hannah often appears to play down her 'challenging behaviours'. She describes an occasion in which she ended up in trouble because she "used to pass it [a sandwich] under the table" (line 31), that she didn't pay attention and she describes much of her behaviour as 'daft':

100 101 102 103 104	Hannah	erm (3) *I dunt even rememba* (1) er (1) we just ust to not er I (.) I didn't go to my lessons (.) at all (.) *seems daft* now though cus er I like (.) just seems daft (0.5) didn't ust to go to my lessons erm (.) I ust to argue wit teachers (1) I ust to run out of class (.) emm (0.5) I ust to make everyone laff in lessons (1) *just used to be daft*
105	Jemma	yeah

Hannah appears to very much play down these behaviours within her talk. I believe that this was due to her attempting to resist negative assumptions about her identity. It seems as if these constructions were present but Hannah was fighting to reject them by down playing them.

Hannah's use of pronouns within this repertoire appear to be suggesting that the label of SEBD is one that she has acquired due to the actions of others:

287	Jemma	what ud happen when you get (.) got caught
288 289 290	Hannah	(1) umm ah (2) then you know your in trouble cus uh they put you in like supervision, it's <u>orrible</u> like supervision they'll get get you excluded they're not bothered
291	Jemma	right

Hannah's statement that 'they'll get you excluded" (line 289) implies that this outcome is merely a choice made by staff members. This creates a construction around the consequences that Hannah has faced as being separate to her and not something that she has had any influence on. My talk within this extract also strengthens the discourse around Hannah as challenging. I ask a leading question "what ud happen when you got caught" (line 287) and by doing this I am projecting the opinion that Hannah will have displayed behaviours which will have resulted in her getting into trouble.

Reflexive Box

During my conversations with Hannah, Natalie and Angela I attempted to ensure that I allowed the conversation to be led and guided by the participants. I felt, at the time, that I was fairly successful in this, however, on reading through my transcripts I did not feel that I was as successful with this as I would have liked to have been. To me, this highlighted two things. Firstly, the impact that my talk and my presence has had on my research; something that I was aware would happen but which this emphasised and secondly the two way nature of a conversation and the difficulty when engaged in one to not enquire about talk in order to discover more information. I had expected my talk to impact on the discourse and I found it important to reflect on the significance of this impact throughout.

She goes on to suggest that there is little empathy or understanding from staff in school when she states "they're not bothered" (line 290). Hannah positions herself as weak in this talk, and she also positions herself as dependent on the mood and actions of members of staff. On line 114 Hannah talks about the occasion where she "got kicked out o beauchamp". Her use of the word 'kicked' is interesting as it suggests that there is an element of force to the decision and

implies that the decision to remove her from the school was a violent, or challenging, act. Once again Hannah appears to be suggesting that she is a victim of the adults' decisions.

Whilst Hannah talks about others being responsible for her placement in the PRU and positions herself as a victim she also talks about behaviours that she exhibited that may have been considered challenging to others. These include chucking pens, absconding from lessons and answering teachers back. The terminology used by Natalie and Angela could be considered much more extreme. Words such as 'bully', 'manipulative' and 'notorious' are littered through the conversation that we shared. However, despite this description of Hannah being one that is shared openly with me, Natalie appears quick to say that these behaviours are not ones that they have witnessed within the PRU setting:

1564 1565	Jemma	mmm (.) do you think you've seen sides to Hannah that if you spoke to the staff at Framlingham or Beauchamp and said oh this (.) they wouldn't believe
1566	Angela	yeah
1567 1568 1569	Natalie	yeah and I think there's key members of staff within each area that <u>do</u> experience that side of Hannah but it's not majority it's it's a few (.) [and you tend] to find /
1570	Angela	[she'll choose]
1571	Jemma	\ what here or at Framlingham?
1572 1573 1574	Natalie	er er in her school I think it'd be (.) minimal whereas I think everyone else ud probably have same kind of regard for Hannah ere i don't think theres anybody that would have any <u>different</u> (.) opinion of her

Throughout our conversation Natalie appeared to have a dilemma of stake in her talk relating to Hannah as a challenging young person. I felt that Natalie was very much moderating her talk to lessen this identity construction of Hannah. In contrast to this Angela appeared to be identifying examples and occasions where Hannah has displayed behaviours that fit with this identity construction. In the extract below Natalie and Angela are discussing some of

79

Hannah's behaviours. I find this extract extremely interesting due to the discursive devices that are taking place within it:

2018 2019 2020 2021 2022	Natalie	yeah I think she might be scared of Holly (2) if you ask her I DON'T KNOW WHETHER SHE'D ADMIT IT but I think I definitely think she is FROM THE BEHAVIOUR that school say will say that she portrays towards other students that she's intimidating she's violent erm she uses abusive I've never seen her do that here <u>never</u>
2023	Jemma	no
2024	Natalie	never
2025	Angela	I've seen her trying to intimidate Jozef
2026	Natalie	yeah (1) quite erm quite (.) <u>silly</u>
2027	Angela	yeah
2028	Natalie	like shouting hello to him in silly voices and things you know/
2029	Angela	\yeah I also think that that was a touch of bravado to the boys (.) as well
2030 2031	Natalie	yeah but I've never seen her like she were in trouble all the time at Beauchamp comp for fighting <u>all the time</u> with girls/
2032	Angela	\no and we've never seen that
2033 2034 2035	Natalie	we've never had anything like that here we've not (.) so I think (.) if she weren't frightened she'd have responded but because she is frightened she's not
2036 2037	Jemma	umm yeah (1) so what's the kind of worst thing, that's a horrible word isn't it, you know the kind of behaviour you've seen that has surprised you
2038	Natalie	i think that's it!
2039	Angela	has she refused?

Natalie uses the word 'never' five times (lines 2022, 2024, 2030, 2033). Angela also uses the word 'never' but only once. It appears that this insistence from Natalie that Hannah has never engaged in this behaviour within the PRU setting is emphasising Natalie's dilemma of stake. Along with this repetition Natalie appears to offer a counter argument for the suggestion made by Angela that Hannah has "intimidated" (line 2025) another boy in the PRU by describing the behaviour as merely 'silly'. By using the word 'silly' Natalie is positioning Hannah as childish and immature instead of powerful which the term 'intimidating' would suggest. Moreover, Natalie goes on to suggest that 'silly' behaviour is the most extreme behaviour that they have witnessed in the PRU -

hardly typical of the type of behaviours that are likely to lead to a permanent exclusion. Angela appears to challenge this when she asks "has she refused?" (line 2039). I interpret this to be Angela questioning whether Hannah has ever refused to follow an adult direction or complete a piece of work. I found this interesting. On the surface it may appear that Angela has asked an innocent question however I believe that this is an example of Angela attempting to oppose the construction of Hannah that is being created by Natalie (as 'silly') and reinforce the construction of 'identity as challenging'.

Throughout her talk Natalie appears to revisit a 'misunderstood' positioning of Hannah. Natalie talks about the staff in the PRU having the same, mainly positive opinion of Hannah, whereas in the mainstream setting this opinion would only be shared by a few discreet members of staff, namely those who took the time to get to know her. Natalie goes on to suggest that this 'bravado' that Hannah is working to maintain is partly a safety barrier which leads to her feeling accepted within certain groups, because she doesn't necessarily have the social skills required to maintain friendships in other ways. Both Natalie and Angela suggest that the gender differences between girls and boys have led to Hannah feeling more accepted and comfortable when surrounded by boys. This can be seen in the extract below:

1677 1678	Angela	\ I think she communicates a lot <u>easier</u> with the boys than she does the girls
1679	Natalie	mmm it's more straight forwards int it
1680	Angela	yeah
1681	Natalie	yeah
1682	Jemma	boys often are a lot easier to get aren't they whereas girls can be/
1683	Angela	\girls can be quite bitchy
1684 1685	Natalie	it's like there's a whole separate judgements from girls as there is from boys (.) boys seem to accept her a bit easier
1686	Angela	mmm
1687	Natalie	d'ya know what I mean? (.) they they just get on with it don't they!
1688	Jemma	yeah
1689	Natalie	whereas girls (.) its like as if you've got to try and fit to their expectations

Lacking the social skills to develop and maintain friendships positions Hannah as immature. On the other hand it also positions Hannah as weak and as unable to develop the necessary skills needed to "fit their expectations" (line 1698). This is another point within the talk where Hannah's agency, or lack of agency, is unclear. It could be suggested that Hannah does have agency in that she has actively chosen not to fit the mould which others expect her to fit and that she has resisted these assumptions and expectations. I would argue, however, that Hannah is in fact lacking agency. I would go further and suggest that Hannah is in fact fearful of what may happen to her identity without this protective field of a 'bravado'.

It could be argued that Natalie and Angela are suggesting that Hannah is in fact oppressed by society and societal expectations. They also appear to imply that a breakdown within the systems and a lack of a holistic approach to education has led to Hannah's current placement and not Hannah herself. Angela suggests that often insecurities and anxieties are not addressed in secondary school, leaving pupils to feel isolated and with no adequate 'vent' for their thoughts, feelings or emotions:

1545 1546 1547 1548 1549	Natalie	it stems from it stems from everything that the experiences within mainstream schools compared to what it is here I think that (.) er academically it's more accessible (1) they group erm the works more accessible for students I think that plays a big part CUS EVEN THAT'S A BARRIER SOMETIMES
1550	Jemma	yeah
1551 1552	Natalie	when you're sat in a classroom and work's not tailored appropriately or (.) y'know/
1553	Angela	\ and we do a lot of seal work and (1)
1554	Natalie	yeah
1555 1556 1557 1558 1559 1560	Angela	and we've got the luxury of being a small (.) specialist team I think so if if for instance it didn't work for Hannah one day in catering they you know you've seen them they'll either wonder into Nats or they wander down here and they plonk down and thats (.) I think (.) when we do our real work because thats when you unpick all that knotting and you say alright we''ll deal with that you can go back in now
1561	Natalie	yeah
1562 1563	Angela	whereas they just have to keep that bubbled inside don't they and they don't get that chance (2)

Angela suggests "they just have to keep that bubbled inside don't they" (line 1562). Angela is suggesting that a placement in a mainstream setting can lead to many young people lacking agency. This agency can then be provided once they are in a setting that is able to dedicate more time and is less restricted by curriculum pressures. Natalie supports these comments when she says "academically it's more accessible … the works more accessible for students" (line 1547-48).

Conclusion

The talk throughout the 'identity as challenging' repertoire appears to challenge this construction of Hannah. There is a high level of discursive devices at play. There appear to be high levels of contrasting, where talk around Hannah's behaviour suggests it is a challenge before this is counteracted with talk of Hannah being nice and a victim of her social circles. The use of emotive language throughout this repertoire is also elevated, in comparison to other repertoires. Once again when this emotive language is used it is followed, swiftly, with an adjective that attempts to dilute the strength and conviction of the first word,for example Hannah is labelled as 'bully' but this immediately followed by her behaviour being described as 'silly'. For a girl in a PRU it could be argued that this identity construct was highly likely to be present however, despite it's presence my interpretations led me to see this construction as a misguided one. Moreover whilst I felt that, through her talk, Hannah was attempting to reject it, I also felt that Natalie, and to a lesser degree Angela, were also using their talk to reject this construction and to change the discourse around Hannah.

Identity as Nice repertoire

"I'm right nice though"   Hannah - Line 91

" She wants a good job, she wants to be able to drive, so she's got those ambitions there"   Natalie - Line 1260-62

Diagram Five: a brief overview of a selection of the key words which cluster together to create the IR and Hannah's positioning.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Identity as a Nice Person         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          Key Words and Phrases           │
│  She's got a nice personality            │
│  Didn't mean to …i wouldn't              │
│  I love kids                             │
│  I got a placement at a nursery          │
│  Helping                                 │
│  Being a good influence                  │
│  I always look after them                │
│  I'll play with um                       │
│  I'm good here                           │
│  Not really naughty                      │
│  She's got those ambitions               │
│  She struggles with negatives            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Positioned as…                          │
│  Misunderstood, Powerful, Motherly,      │
│  Feminine, Fearful, Vulnerable           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
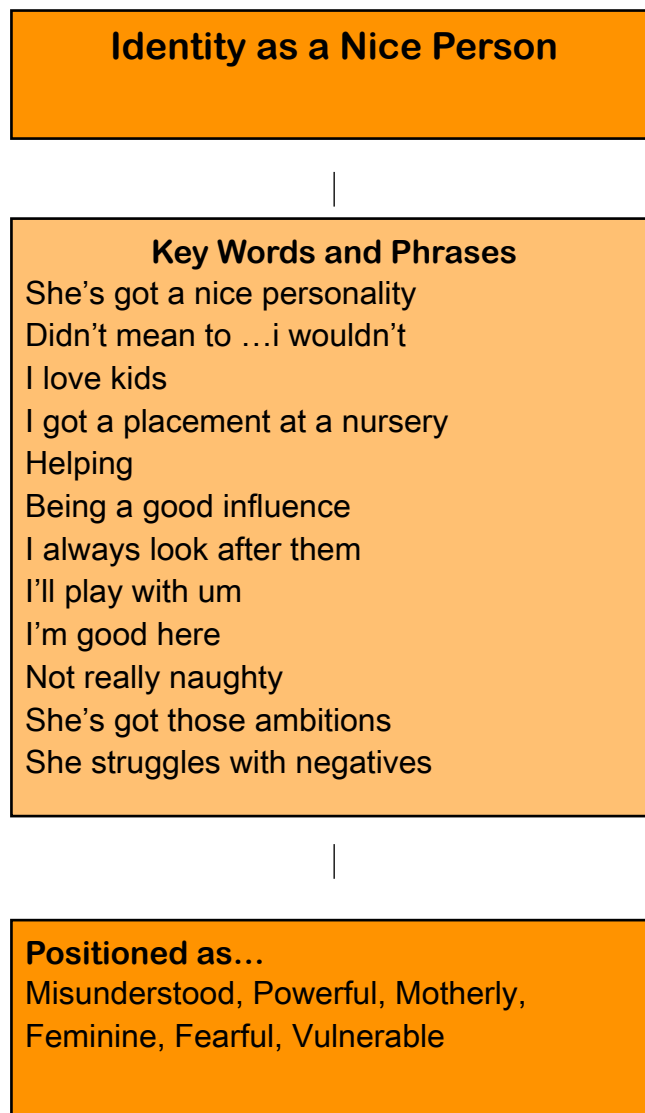
Throughout my conversations with Hannah I felt that she wanted me to like her. I felt that this interpretative repertoire was a minority one but one which Hannah very much wanted me to be aware of. This suggests that Hannah wished it to be a dominant IR. Much of the talk around this construction was emphasised, leading me to believe that it was a construction which was struggling to show itself but one which Hannah desperately wanted me to be aware of. Hannah used a variety of extreme case formulations when talking about behaviours that she engaged in which may have been interpreted as negative, stating that 'everybody' did it and that "everyones rite naughte" (line 15). Moreover throughout our conversations her most dominant IR around identity construction was one of reflection, and hope for change. The picture of herself that Hannah painted for me, as being largely misunderstood and moulded by peers and systems, also appeared to be replicated by Natalie. At times it appeared that Angela had slightly differing constructions however, on the whole, I felt that she agreed with Hannah and Natalie. The reason that this repertoire felt the most powerful to me was because there appeared to be a desperation from Hannah for me to believe that she was a good person. I felt that Hannah believed that, due to her SEBD label and her attendance at the PRU, I would not come to this conclusion independently.

When talking about how her teachers may describe her Hannah suggests that they would suggest she has the skills to be a 'nice person':

85 86	Jemma	if one of your teachers had to describe you, if someone said o whats Hannah like (0.5) what duyu think they would of said?
87 88 89	Hannah	(1) they <u>will</u> se (1) that she <u>can</u> be nice (.) she can be <u>so lovely</u> but sometimes she can be mischievous and (.) just (.) thingy and she's got a nice personality that's what they'll say they always say it to mi (0.8)
90	Jemma	yeh
91	Hannah	just stop being nauti (1) *they all se (.) I'm right nice though*

Hannah emphasises that teaching staff would say she 'can' be nice and she 'can' be lovely. The use of the word 'can' suggests that Hannah is positioning herself as misunderstood because she does have the 'skills' needed to be lovely and nice. Hannah goes on to suggest that her teachers would say she has a nice personality. Whilst Hannah does not use the term identity here I would suggest that the description of her personality as nice is an alternative way of her describing her identity constructions. Hannah then goes on to say that she is "right nice" (line 91). The term 'right' is a colloquialism meaning 'really' or 'very' used to exaggerate the term which it precedes. In this case Hannah therefore does not just construct her as a nice person, but as a *really* nice person. The term 'personality' is not a term which fits with my epistemology as it suggests a static construct, however, it is a term which we are taught about within society. Our 'personalities' are often described as static constructs, fixed features of who we are as individuals. Therefore I believe that Hannah's use of this term helps her construction of herself to be seen as inherent to her and not something that can be taken away irrespective of any labels that she may receive or the education setting in which she is placed.

Later in our first conversation Hannah is describing an incident which could be considered very severe although I would suggest that this is played down through her talk:

337 338	Hannah	(inhale) chucked a pen at a staff once (2) I (.) got done (.) for sexual assault (2) cus it hit his bum (3) … (2)
339	Jemma	(3) do you think that was a bit over the top?
340	Hannah	cus I didn't mean to chuck it at him I wouldn't

Initially Hannah states that she "chucked a pen at a staff once" (line 337) when she moves on Hannah breezes past her comment that she was in trouble for sexual assault suggesting that is was merely an accident that "it hit his bum" (line 338). She then goes on to say that she "didn't mean to chuck it at him" (line 340) emphasising that this was accidental with her comment "I

wouldn't" (line 340). Hannah is positioning herself here, once again, as misunderstood.

Hannah's belief that she is misunderstood is again evidenced in the following extract:

726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736	Hannah	er I threw a pen EARLIER he were throwing pens at me in Sharon's room no blu tack or whatever and (.) obviously I didn't wanna get into trouble so I just left it I though is that even worth it and then (exhale) we don't argue hardly though me and Darren (0.5) and then I chucked a pen at his he had a hat on and it just went on his hat and he chucked a pen and it landed on me face so (.) it were (.) I (.) I just got angry and there were like a tray in front of me and I just chucked it all over im (1) because he hit my face I didn't I didn't say owt to im earlier and then he's done it again well he hit it on my face (.) I didn't purposefully I didn't get aim for his head face or anything and he's got my face on purpose so I'v chucked it all in his face (2)
737	Jemma	so what will happen as a result of that do you think?
738 739 740 741 742	Hannah	well nowt cus I'm not really naughty so they can't really do owt(.) cus it's Darren's fault for chucking the pen in my face (1) ((giggling)) WELL ITS NOT REALLY BUT (.) I ONLY CHUCKED IT AT HIS HAT FOR A MESS ABOUT and then he got angry and chucked a pen at my face so **I** got angry (1) so (3)

Whilst describing an incident that took place in the PRU between Hannah and another boy just before I arrived Hannah told me that she had 'chucked' a pen at another boy, an ongoing interaction between the two of them, which had escalated as she had only engaged in the behaviour for a "mess about" (line 740-1). Hannah suggests that hitting him in the head was merely an accident which he has then reacted angrily to "I didn't purposefully I didn't get aim for his head face or anything" (line 734-5) and she appears to emphasise this point once again with her talk proposing that she is "not really naughty" (line 738) suggesting that this behaviour was merely mischievous.

Further into the discourse Hannah goes on to build upon the 'identity as nice' repertoire when she discusses how she has defended others and ensured that they did not engage in behaviour which may be considered negative:

747 748 749	Hannah	cus they're all like friends and they'll people they don't like they'll they'll say nasty things and they'll just say stuff and start laughing and like all boys (2) so
750	Jemma	so do you th/
751	Hannah	/I'll tell um to shut up though
752	Jemma	do ya?
753 754 755 756	Hannah	yeah (1)cus its not fair like, Jozef, have you seen that Jozef in ere, that boy (1) they said they were gonna onebomb im I said NO YOUR NOT he ain't done nothing wrong to ya (.) cus they just say stuff like that and like one bomb means like punch um in the face

This extract suggests that Hannah does not just see herself as fundamentally a nice person, she see's herself as somebody who can support others in changing their behaviour, as well as somebody who can protect others; 'I'll tell um to shut up" (line 751). She positions herself as powerful within this talk, suggesting that her opinion and words "no you're not" (line 754) endow her with a level of power over her peers in the PRU. I found it interesting that this talk was around those who attended the PRU; stereotypes and assumptions may result in us believing that young people in this type of setting will be much more challenging than those in a mainstream setting. Ironically, it is these young people who Hannah suggests she has an element of control over, whilst we have been led to believe that Hannah's mainstream peers held an element of control over her.

As well as Hannah's open talk about her being a nice person, as mentioned previously, there were elements of Hannah's talk where she would 'bend the truth'. I believe that this was mainly actioned to encourage me to like her and see her as this 'nice person'. Interestingly the adults in the PRU also spoke about Hannah's unwillingness to confirm any negative behaviours which she

may have engaged in. The extract below offers an example of Natalie talking about this:

1288 1289 1290 1291	Natalie	and that comes in line with (.) her exclusion, her behaviour, if she's involved in a bullying incident and you can receive a a er (.) a set of statements from people that were there that all match (.) Hannah's version of events would be very different
1292	Jemma	mmm
1293 1294	Natalie	cus it's as if she struggles with negatives (2) and she can't (.) it's as if she can't admit it
1295	Jemma	mm
1296 1297	Natalie	you know you can never get her to sit down and actually admit what she's done

In this extract It appears that Natalie is also suggesting that Hannah does not want to be seen in a negative light, but that she wants to be liked. Natalie states that "she struggles with negatives" (line 1293) and goes on to comment that she "can't (.) it's as if she can't admit it" (line 1293-4). The use of the word can't gives emphasis to Natalie's perception. If Natalie had chosen the word 'won't' she would have been implying that Hannah was actively choosing not to talk about her negative behaviour, whereas the use of the word 'can't' offers us a different take on the discourse. It suggests that there is a lack of ability rather than an unwillingness to accept the negatives. It may be that this is an underlying fear that if Hannah was to be perceived as able to choose her actions then the 'identity as a nice person' construction could be dismissed .

Hannah's 'identity as nice repertoire' also impacts on her talk around why she was in her current PRU:

275	Hannah	yeah
276	Jemma	what, what happened there
277 278 279 280	Hannah	(1) umm (1) like we were just talking a lot nd then aft (2)like u (1+)nd then we got moved and then we started not gonna to lessons (.) um (3) ↑what did I ust to do …(2) oh yeah we ust to run owt (.) school (2) and um like main thing that I did was not go lessons that's it really

Throughout lines 277-280 Hannah switches between using the term 'we' and 'I'. Once again Hannah is grouping her behaviour with that of others. She sums it up by suggesting that the worst thing that she did was not attend her lessons which she seems to regard as a minor issue "that's it really" (line 280). My conversation with the adults had informed me that the main behaviour of concern that school had reported was that Hannah had been violent to other girls and was a bully which seems, to me, a long way from not attending lessons. When I asked the adults why Hannah might think that she was in the PRU they also suggested that Hannah would not identify the same statements or concerns as those expressed by the secondary school:

1645	Jemma	ok (1) so what reasons do you think Hannah thinks she's here for?
1646 1647	Angela	(2) I think she would know she can't cope in mainstream school without (.) I think if you were to ask her she'd think it's answering back to teachers
1648	Natalie	YEAH
1649	Angela	or something very very basic/
1647 1648	Natalie	\ or something like like I can't put my finger on what she said was it something like throwing blutack at someone (2)
1649	Angela	it would be that sort of thing that sort [of REALLY LOW LEVEL]
1650 1651 1652 1653	Natalie	[thats it like a really small] thing yeah yeah like I threw blutack at someone and that's why I'm in the pru (.) and I would (.) and I would say that can not be why you're here (.) it's not just about that
1654	Angela	mmm
1655 1656 1657 1658	Natalie	you know you don't just you don't just get put in a pru (.) because you've thrown a piece of blutack at someone, it's not that simple (1) but erm she doesn't I don't think she even understands herself why she's here (.) and I think that's difficult

The suggestion from Angela that Hannah would think her placement in the PRU is due to "really low level" (line 1649) behaviours, and Natalie's agreement with this "yeah like I threw blutack at someone and that's why I'm in the PRU" (line 1651) does fit with the reasons that Hannah gave to me. Once again Natalie

goes on to suggest that this is not because Hannah is actively choosing not to share the 'real reasons' but because "I don't think she even understands why she is here" (line 1657). Natalie is once again suggesting that Hannah's 'downplaying' of the behaviours she has displayed which have resulted in her SEBD label is not happening because Hannah is choosing not to acknowledge them, but because she can't. Through her talk I believe that Natalie, like Hannah, is trying to convince me, and possibly herself, that Hannah is inherently a nice person.

During our second conversation I asked Hannah what she would like to do after her time at Hillside was finished. Hannah spoke about her plans for the future and she suggested to me that she wanted to go into childcare, "I love kids" (line 589). With these future plans Hannah is positioning herself as motherly, as feminine, as a caregiver, as nurturing and as able to love, provide for and protect children. It could be suggested that childcare is one of the most 'natural' roles for a female to undertake. I have to wonder whether this career path was, once again, a way of Hannah proving to herself and others that she has the ability to do this role and that she was a nice person. Hannah's talk constructs her, within the family, as already inhabiting this caring role:

609 610	Hannah	(1) errrrmmmmmm like helping helping um and (2) being a good influence on um
611	Jemma	yeah
612	Hannah	be nice
613	Jemma	(2) have you got kids in the family have you got/
614	Hannah	/ yeah loads of cousins and I always look after them so
615	Jemma	yeah (2) is that your job? everyone knows that you're good at that
616	Hannah	yeah
617	Jemma	and they're just like /
618 619	Hannah	/yeah just babysittin babysittin um (2) but (1) I don't find it boring or WELL I LIKE IT I like babysitting so (3)

Hannah's talk, that she 'always' looks after her cousins and that she enjoys it reinforces this caring role. She agrees when I ask her whether her family know that she is good at that role. Hannah goes on to talk about the ages of her cousins and laughs at some of the behaviours that they engage in, she smiles when talking about them in a relaxed way. In this extract I feel that Hannah has agency and that she has the ability and the determination to try and achieve her goal.

Conclusion

 I believe that Hannah's talk suggests that she is surrounded by fear and positions her as fearful. The 'identity as nice' repertoire is not a dominant repertoire in any of the conversations that were had, instead it is a minority one. I would argue that this is due to fear on Hannah's part. In previous repertoires Hannah has spoken about the risk of not being popular. She has suggested that to be popular there are certain behaviours, and a certain bravado, that have to be maintained. These are not behaviours which naturally fall alongside being a caregiver per se. Hannah suggests that she is trying to develop what she regards as a more positive identity now that she is in the PRU. Despite this, she also openly acknowledges that a move back to her old friends would be likely to lead to her new found maturity disappearing. The adults' views, specifically Natalie's, demonstrated that they supported this perspective. Natalie says that she 'can't' acknowledge her negative behaviours, not that she won't. She goes on to say that Hannah doesn't understand her reasons for being in the PRU, not that she is choosing not to address them. I would suggest that Hannah's SEBD label offers her an element of protection and status with her peers which she has not yet found another way of replicating. Therefore if Hannah was to construct her identity as 'nice' she would risk presenting as too nice and leave herself vulnerable.

Identity as Confused repertoire

"I think there must be issues around identity as well"

<div align="right">Natalie - Line 1070-1</div>

"She <u>couldn't</u> see she was just the same"

<div align="right">Angela - Line 1730-1</div>

Diagram Six: a brief overview of a selection of the key words which cluster together to create the IR and Hannah's positioning.

Identity as Confused

Key Words and Phrases
She started changing her name on Facebook
There must be issues around identity
The way she comes across is she always has to look a certain way
Self-esteem is sooo little and so low
It's as if she can't admit it
Don't know what her understanding of friendship would be
I don't think she even understands herself why she's here
She couldn't see she was just the same
You know in a normal teenage life it's quite troubled

Positioned as…
Scared, Vulnerable

The 'Identity as Confused' repertoire was an emerging repertoire which was only present in the conversation between Natalie, Angela and myself. Whilst there are a small number of elements within the repertoire I feel that the main area which Natalie and Angela are suggesting is a source of confusion for Hannah is around her culture and her acceptance, or rejection, of this culture. Natalie and Angela inform me that Hannah is from a practising muslim family:

1137 1138	Natalie	whereas I know that out family they're quite ↑ they're quite a religious family aren't they
1139	Angela	yeah
1140 1141	Natalie	yeah and they all attend mosque apart from Hannah she (1) erm she [refuses to go]
1142	Angela	[she refuses]

This is the first time that culture has been spoken about. Hannah did not talk about culture or religion during either of our conversations. Both Hannah, Natalie and Angela were asked to tell me about Hannah's time in education at the beginning of the conversations and culture was not an avenue that Hannah actively chose to pursue.

Reflexive Box
I felt it important to consider the impact that I may have had in Hannah's culture being explored with the adults but not with Hannah herself. I reviewed the way that I start my conversations to see if I had unwittingly led the conversation with Natalie and Angela down this avenue however I do not feel that my talk did this. However, as my talk was directive to Hannah in that I initially asked her to talk about her education I may have impacted on Hannah's lack of talk around her culture. My conversations with Hannah focussed primarily around school and friendships, with her family life (and possibly therefore her culture) being absent from our conversations. Therefore, whilst I do not feel that I led Natalie and Angela to this discourse I may have acted as a barrier to this discourse for Hannah.

Despite Hannah's lack of attention to her culture it was raised on a number of occasions by the adults:

1062 1063 1064 1065	Natalie	so it weren't necessarily to do with er learning it were more about her friendships groups and that she were (.) errrmm (.) iit (0.7) I think her need to be <u>included</u> overtook (0.7) how you behave in some ways (.) like er er priority were to be included and to fit in with everyone else
1067	Jemma	yeah
1068 1069 1070 1071	Natalie	and that were it were about that time I think she started changing her name didn't she on emm facebook and things so she were known as Hannah Smith and not Hannah Khan i think there there must be issues around identity ↑ as well

In the above extract Natalie talks about Hannah's name change on Facebook. Natalie describes Hannah as having "thousands of facebook friends" (line 1350) and so the decision to change her traditionally Muslim surname to one which has its origins in England could suggest that Hannah is attempting to reject her culture, to some degree. Natalie and Angela both state that Hannah 'refuses' to go to mosque with the rest of her family. The use of the word 'refuse' suggests that Hannah is actively rejecting this construction. Throughout the conversation both Natalie and Angela discuss how they feel that the systems have let Hannah down by not including her father in discussions around her education due to a fear of what the repercussions may be. When discussing this confusion Angela informs us that her own grandfather was of Indian descent:

1734 1735	Jemma	hmm (.) mm (1) has she ever said anything about not going to mosque? or or not that kinda side of things
1736	Angela	she's spoken a little bit to me/
1737 1738	Natalie	\she's just told me that she dun't go (.) she dun't want to go so she dun't go yeah
1739 1740 1741 1742 1743	Angela	she's spoken a little bit to me because my grandad was Indian and my mum is sooo (.) when we've been having little chats she'll say about it and say did it bother you and (.) all of those sorts of things and <u>very interested</u> in Helen because Helen's quite dar my daughters quite dark quite interested in it
1744	Jemma	yeah?
1745	Angela	and she doesn't want anything to do with it

This made me question whether Angela had a dilemma of stake within this specific area of talk and whether this was the reason that this repertoire had begun to emerge within the adults discourse but not within Hannah's. The suggestion that Hannah has asked "did it bother you" (line 1741) could lead us to believe that Hannah's culture does impact on her, and is not something that, currently, she is wanting to associate with. For me, the interest in Hannah's apparent rejection of her culture, at present, by the adults leads me to question whether this is more about their own confusion. As a girl in a PRU Hannah is already a minority, with a variety of intersecting identity constructs, but as a muslim girl (which is how they are seeing Hannah) she is part of an even smaller minority. Does her presence in the PRU lead them to consider their own practice? I would suggest that Hannah does not actively see herself as 'a muslim girl', but as a 'girl', hence why this was not a repertoire which was present in Hannah's talk.

The other area of confusion appears to be around Hannah as 'femine' vs. Hannah as 'masculine'. Hannah is described as appearing, visually, feminine:

1236 1237 1238 1239	Natalie	yeah she's got an older sister as well (1) erm so (1) and I think (.) I I think personally that (.) a lot of issues are to do with identity and erm the way that she comes across is she always has to look a certain way (.) she's really you know she's <u>beautiful</u> to look at
1240	Jemma	mmm
1241	Natalie	but she's very conscious about her appearance

Natalie describes Hannah as taking great pride in her appearance and placing a great deal of emphasis on it. She also states that Hannah is "beautiful to look at" (line 1239).

The extract below shows Angela talking about how Hannah uses her beauty to her advantage but Natalie then suggests that in some ways (other than her looks) she is much more masculine:

1660	Natalie	(1) I think she gets on (.) I think she feels safer surrounded by boys
1661	Angela	YES
1662	Natalie	than she does girls because she/
1663 1664	Angela	\because she plays on it she plays on her <u>beauty</u> and (.) her size (.) everything about her she she I think she's very aware of/
1665 1666 1667	Natalie	\↑ I think her mannerisms as well are more like a boy in some ways. you know like way she talks because she knows everybody and like our so and so and this and this
1668	Jemma	mmm
1669	Natalie	she acts like a boy in some ways/
1670	Angela	\ quite tough
1671	Natalie	↑yeah (1) and she's got that bravado same as the boys have

The contradiction in the above extract between Hannah manipulating the boys using her femininity and Hannah's characteristics being similar to those exhibited by the boys leads us once again to see Hannah's identity as confused. Interestingly Natalie suggests that she "feels safer surrounded by boys" (line 1660) and also implies, again, that Hannah struggles to build and maintain friendships with girls.

Conclusion

Throughout the 'Identity as Confused' repertoire Natalie and Angela suggest that the discourses around Hannah are contradictory. Their talk around her rejection of her culture suggests that the discourse around 'being a muslim girl' are strong for these adults, I would argue that these discourses are even stronger for Angela, due to her own personal association with the dilemma. Also, the battle between Hannah's visual beauty and her potential attractiveness to others is contradicted by her 'masculine behaviour'. This may explain why she has found herself in a highly male populated environment, however, I would suggest that this highlights her position as scared and

97

vulnerable. Hannah has found a label 'SEBD girl in a PRU' which, some may consider, keeps her safe, primarily from the rejection of other identity constructions that she would wish to portray for example 'Identity as a nice person'. Angela emphasises Hannah's lack of self esteem when she states "her actual self esteem is <u>sooo little</u> and so low" (line 1269) and I believe that Hannah's label of SEBD protects her and keeps her safe from the repercussions which other constructions could bring.

Chapter Conclusion

Within their talk Hannah, Natalie and Angela appear to use a variety of discursive devices to construct Hannah's identity. I believe that my analysis and interpretation has begun to consider these devices whilst also looking at how they lead Hannah to be positioned. These positions often appear to be contradictory as, at times, I felt a battle was talking place between what people wanted to believe and what the SEBD label had already laid down. The five IR's which were identified also contained a number of contrasting constructions, highlighting these battles, or dilemmas, even further. Whilst four of the IRs were present in all three conversations I also feel that the 'identity as confused' repertoire, which was only an emerging IR within the adult conversation, highlighted the adults own confusion regarding Hannah's identity, despite their suggestion that it was Hannah who was confused. I feel that the ability to engage in these conversations offered Hannah agency. I also feel that it offered Hannah and the staff around her the opportunity to consider identity constructions that were both present and emerging in relation to Hannah. The following chapter will continue to discuss the potential impact of this positioning and consider the implications of this research.

Chapter Six - Discussion: Improving the Recipe

Introduction

Whilst the previous chapter aimed to both analyse and interpret my data I will now spend some time discussing the impact of these identity constructions which I have termed 'Resisting the Stereotypes?' and 'Contemplating Change?'. Following this I will consider some of the limitations of my research as well as providing a brief evaluation. Finally I will consider possible avenues for further research, consider the impact on the practice of Educational Psychologists and reflect on the research as a researcher.

Resisting the stereotypes?

As mentioned in the literature review the number of boys who face permanent exclusion is around four times higher than the number of girls (DfE, 2012). This places Hannah in a minority group, a group that Osler and Vincent (2003) suggest challenge our preconceived ideas of how a 'girl' should be. They argue that the type of behaviour which results in permanent exclusions and placements in alternative provisions (in Hannah's case a PRU) may be considered acceptable of boys; it may even be expected, but it is most definitely not appropriate for a girl. Societal gender stereotypes imply that it goes against a female's natural instincts to protect and generally be 'nice'. Therefore, when a girl does display this behaviour Osler and Vincent (2003) argue that society is shocked and struggles to put in place suitable reactive and proactive policies and strategies.

If we consider Hannah's behaviour one may be tempted to argue that she has a great deal of agency, evidenced by her resistance to display the behaviours that one would expect from a stereotypical 'girl'. This highlights a number of intersecting identities: 'Hannah as girl', 'Hannah as having SEBD' and 'Hannah

as Muslim'. These intersecting identities are all impacted on by wider social constructions, those described by Gee (2005) as 'Big D discourses' and whilst I have not addressed these elements directly within my analysis I will aim to draw in some of these factors throughout my discussion. The next section in this chapter will aim to consider each of these aspects, however, I feel it is important to state that I feel it is extremely difficult to separate these identities on anything more than a superficial level.

'Hannah as girl' and 'Hannah as having SEBD'

Interestingly, at different times within each conversation, Hannah, Natalie and Angela each discuss Hannah's identity in ways which could be considered stereotypically expected of a female. In 2012 Siraj considered the construction of Muslim women's feminine identities. One participant stated that "If you're a female you have to be feminine" (p.191). Interestingly many of the 'feminine' qualities that were discussed in this paper aligned with the talk from within my own research that I interpreted as talk used to describe Hannah as 'girl'. When talking about her future plans and constructing her 'identity as a nice person' Hannah spoke about her 'love' of children and the role that she played within the family, looking after her younger cousins and babysitting for them. Siraj (2012) shares a quote from one of his participants:

> Women are mothers, women are sisters, that's the only way a
> women can get respect in our culture and Islam, women are not
> perceived as individuals.   (p.190)

For me, this quote highlights a Big D impact on the expectations which Hannah may be experiencing, moreover it highlights a culturally specific one. Through her talk Hannah appears to have rejected her culture, however, it may be that there are elements of her culture which Hannah does not want to reject, or may not feel able to. Much of Natalie and Angela's talk about Hannah as 'girl'

focussed around Hannah's visual appearance. This is another area that the women within Siraj's research highlighted stating that "being feminine was related to physical appearance and associated with attractiveness" (p. 194). Hannah was described by both Natalie and Angela as beautiful, with them considering, through their talk, whether this takes greater precedence over other areas of her life. Skeggs (1997) suggests that whilst both adopting a motherly role and being attractive are important feminine qualities for a female to possess the caring role is more important within the hierarchy. Whilst Hannah did suggest that a beauty course may be a back up option for her future, her talk around a career in childcare and her past experience in this field appeared much more prevalent. Hannah's focus on this fundamental female role could be interpreted as representative of her desire to be seen as feminine, or as 'girl'. Skeggs (1997) suggests that not only are these feminine qualities fundamental in constructing a feminine identity but that they are also "necessary to the construction of the respectable women" (p.102)

Whilst it could be suggested, through Hannah's actions, that she does not fit socially accepted gender stereotypes I would suggest that she is acting in a way which sees her affiliated with an 'in-group' of people within her immediate community, engaging in behaviours that she feels fit those expected within this 'in-group'. Fiske and Depret (1996) discuss the acknowledgement within social cognition research of stereotypes and the power relations that this introduces within in-groups. Discussing this further, and referring to Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), Scott and Drury (2004) state:

> "SCT proposes that stereotyping is a dynamic process through which social groups make sense of and pursue identity-related goals within intergroup contexts (Haslam et al. 2002). In this sense stereotypes are understood in to be both (a) a representation (or construction) of the in-group and its surrounding social relations and (b) an aspect of social psychology that actually produces those very same social relationships. Therefore stereotyping is one aspect of a dynamic

inter-related process, involving subjectivity, group processes and intergroup relations" (page 11-12)

If we take SCT into consideration I believe that it becomes beneficial to ask ourselves whether Hannah is deviating from all stereotypes or just the more generic, socially acceptable stereotypes for girls as an entire gender. A glance through Osler and Vincent's (2003) work suggests that throughout their education girls have many balls to juggle. For those girls who find themselves excluded there is often talk around their peer relationships (are they popular?), their relationships with boys (are they attractive to the opposite sex without being promiscuous?) and do they have the academic skills to succeed in education (are they clever?). It could be argued that Hannah is striving to achieve these stereotypes. Much of her discourse and constructions around her identity relate to her popularity, she takes great pride in her appearance, with regards to her hair, make up and style, in fact Natalie and Angela suggest that she uses her femininity and beauty to 'manipulate boys'. Natalie also talks about Hannah's academic ability and suggests that it is sad that she is in the PRU because of her academic potential.

I would argue that Hannah is striving to formulate an identity that fits within the 'in-group' she is part of. Moreover I would suggest that whilst she may be resisting typical gender stereotypes leading to the suggestion that she has agency, Hannah is in fact fearful of constructing an identity that is 'Hannah's', feeling safer as 'part of that group'. Taking this further I would propose that Hannah's career hopes affiliate her, once again within the wider stereotype, however, in this case it is the wider, socially accepted stereotype of a woman as a caregiver, reinforcing the fear that Hannah faces regarding her identity development.

Chesney-Lind and Irwin (2004) suggested that girls who exhibit violent and aggressive behaviours, such as those behaviours expected from somebody with an SEBD label, are the weapons of the weak and serve to reflect the powerlessness that a girl using those weapons feels. Much of Hannah's talk and the talk of Natalie and Angela led to Hannah being positioned as powerless and scared. Interestingly, Mikel Brown and Chesney-Lind (2005) go on to suggest that, whilst this behaviour may go against the social constructions of how a girl should behave they question why girls are not angrier than they are. Whilst many behaviours associated with 'SEBD' are seen as pre determined masculine behaviours (Weedon, 1987) it has been argued that the discourse around 'challenging behaviour' and the concentration on boys within it has led to the myth that girls are not a problem (Osler and Vincent, 2003). The interpretative repertoire of 'Hannah as Challenging' was present and dominant in all three conversations, after all it could be argued that it was this 'identity' which has led to Hannah's current educational placement. However, much of the talk around this IR used language which was not fixed, moreover much of Hannah's talk in relation to this IR was in past tense: 'I ust to' , 'I was'. The talk of the adults also suggested an element of past tense as they said 'we don't see that behaviour here'. Hannah's rebuttal to her 'identity as challenging' IR appeared to be "identity as a nice person". It could be argued that these are not opposites of one another, however, through the talk, especially the talk of Hannah, the 'identity as a nice person' repertoire was prefaced with the present tense "I'm right nice", "I'm lovely", "I wouldn't do that. This talk implies a very static construct. Hannah also uses the term personality when talking about herself as a nice person. This is not a term that fits within a social constructionist approach but it suggests to me that Hannah does see that part of herself, or her identity, as fixed and whilst it may not fit with the epistemological positioning of this research it is important to raise it and consider the implications. This will be done later within this chapter. As mentioned previously throughout the research Hannah is often positioned,

through her talk and the talk of others as powerless and vulnerable. I would argue that this is not the position that the 'Big D' discourses would lead us to expect.

'Hannah as Muslim'

There is little mention within the exclusion data regarding religious links, however Asian students do not appear to have high levels of permanent exclusions compared to other ethnic minorities (Irish Travellers, Roma/Gypsie travellers and Afro-Caribbean's) (DfE, 2012). In 2009, Kirmani explored the constructions of Muslim women living in India. She suggested that 'Muslim women' are, predominantly, viewed by society as a coherent and homogenous group. However, her paper argued that this was not necessarily an accurate construction and that the discourse that surrounded Muslim women had been largely impacted by the media and other social influences. The women in her study spoke about *parda*[4] and the impact that it had on their lives, from both positive and negative perspectives. Kirmani (2009) argues that the women within her study saw *parda* as the "…main restriction faced by Muslim women as compared to women of other religious groups…". Hannah herself did not wear traditional Muslim dress. This leads me to question whether her disengagement from *parda* supported her to disassociate herself from her Muslim identity. Moreover, when Natalie discussed Hannah's 'attitude' towards rumours involving her that were sometimes spoken about by peers within the PRU setting and the community, she suggested that Hannah was happy for these rumours to be present, even if they were not accurate. The nature of some of these rumours went against the practice of *parda*. Again, it could be that the discourse around Muslim women in Western countries, compared to

---

[4] This is defined in Kimani's paper as the practice of veiling and can refer to a wide range of practices from full female seclusion and complete segregation of the sexes, to varying degrees of restriction on women's dress, mobility and behaviour in order to regulate and control sexual conduct (p.53)

those in Kirmani's studies, allow for rejection of what is considered (according to this research) to be a restrictive practice for Muslim women.

Ansari (2004) suggests that Western culture provides a dominant discourse around Muslim women and portrays them as:

> passive and docile, subject to patriarchal traditions and lacking any active agency to change their condition…Invisible in the public domain and trapped within the family framework, their lives are seen as unfree and exposed to domestic exploitation (p.252)

Hannah's identity constructions appear, to me, to be in a battle between two areas that this quote discusses. Through Hannah's 'identity as a nice person' she appears to be pleading with me to believe that she is inherently a caring individual who would be able to protect and support children in their development, important qualities of a mother and homemaker. Whilst Ansari (2004) suggests that a 'family framework' is something which Muslim women can appear trapped in, through Hannah's talk she appears to be craving this. However, in opposition to this there are the behaviours that have led to Hannah's placement in her current educational setting, behaviours that would not be described as 'passive' or 'docile'. It is these behaviours which led to Hannah's constructions of her 'identity as challenging'.

It could be argued that these intersecting identities all share one thing in common, a rejection of the wider societal expectations of behaviour that one who fits within them should occupy. When reading through Siraj's (2012) paper I had to ask myself 'Is Hannah currently rejecting her religion because she does not fit with the expectations of a 'Muslim woman'. It could be argued that attending Mosque, practicing the Muslim religion and wearing traditional Muslim dress are all areas of her life over which Hannah is able to exert a level of

control whereas she cannot change her gender and neither can change her educational setting.

For Hannah's disengagement from her culture and religion to be raised through the talk of Natalie and Angela suggests that they placed a level of importance on the area whilst Hannah's lack of talk around her culture could be considered a rejection of it. Kirmani (2009) suggest that:

> …the category of 'Muslim women' only comes into being in certain discursive contexts, namely in discussions with members of the middle class…when comparing Muslim women to women of other religious group.   (p.59)

This could lead us to question the impact of 'Big D' on the attention that Natalie and Hannah have placed on this area of Hannah's identity. Kirmani goes on to suggest that the narratives of the Muslim women she collected did not demonstrate a consensus leading her to question whether "this category is at all relevant to the way women understand and represent themselves" (p.59).

<u>Contemplating Change?</u>

Throughout both conversations with Hannah the dominant interpretative repertoire was 'identity as reflective'. Throughout my conversations with Hannah I felt that the process of being involved in the research provided Hannah the opportunity to consider her identity constructs whilst following her own agenda. Being involved in this process, which was led by Hannah, made me consider the stages of change proposed in Prochaska and Di Clemente's Transtheoretical Model of Change (TTM) (1982). In this model Prochaska and Di Clemente talk about five stages of change: Pre-contemplation, Contemplation, Determination, Action and Maintenance. As I spoke with

Hannah I felt that she began to contemplate her actions and the events that had taken place in the lead up to her placement at her second PRU.

Interestingly, Prochaska and Di Clemente (1982) talk about individuals having 'cognitive blindness' whereby they do not necessarily process or pay attention to their behaviours, experiences or actions which they may consider negative or threatening. This suggests that when one perceives one's world and actions through rose tinted glasses effective changes will not be possible, potentially leading to the need for feedback from others. Throughout my research I tried hard to be an active listener, with the intention of not providing my own views or opinions. Whilst, on reflection, I am aware that there were times within my talk when this may have not been as I had hoped, overall I felt that the conversations were led by either Hannah or Natalie and Angela. I would propose that this provided Hannah the opportunity to reflect on her identity and her positioning, leading her to engage in contemplation about her past and her future.

Prochaska and Di Clemente (1982) also suggest that the changes that we can make can be linked to our experience, whereby we change the way that we experience a particular discourse, or by our environment. Natalie suggested to me that a change in Hannah's school environment was not sufficient enough to provide her with the opportunity to 'change' her behaviours, as her peer environment remained unchanged. Whilst environment is offered as a potential pre-curser for an individual to engage in contemplation it is also suggested that developmental processes which lead to an individual entering a new stage of their lives can trigger the process. For Hannah it may appear that the consideration of future employment and options for her final year of education

could have been that catalyst, with the research supporting her, and providing her with the space to engage in reflective talk.

Clash of Personalities

The IR of 'identity as a nice person' was, in some ways, the quietest talk within our conversations. It was a minority repertoire, however, it was a static one. In comparison to Hannah's talk which led to other IRs Hannah discussed herself as a nice person; it was something that she was, something that was inherent to her. Hannah was a nice person. Hannah spoke about her 'nice personality' and told me 'I'm a nice person really'. The idea of an individual having a fixed personality is one which challenges the notions of social constructionism, and therefore my positionality within the research. Social Constructionism believes that we are continuously evolving and changing through our talk and in our interactions with others. Whilst I feel that I am still in agreement with this position in general and I still believe that as individuals we are always adapting and changing through new experiences and new interactions I also feel that the notion of a 'personality' is not one which I can completely dismiss from my own understanding. Not a fixed personality but traits which are ever changing. For me, Hannah's talk around her personality has exposed some of the limitations of conducting a purely discourse analytical study. Moreover, through my talk with Hannah and her talk around the impact of her peers on her behaviour and the talk of Natalie and Angela around the impact of Hannah's peers on her as well as her wider social systems, I have to question whether one can completely dismiss experiences and focus attention entirely on talk, as it is in Discursive Psychology. This has led me to question my positionality. However, in line with the Social Constructionist belief of there being no one 'truth' I do not feel that there would have been a 'right' way to do this research, but instead that the research itself has been a process which has developed my thinking.

The Elephant in the room

Throughout the research there has been a battle for me, as researcher, between a focus on culture and religion. Hannah is, according to her records, a Muslim. Natalie and Angela's talk highlighted a confusion that they felt Hannah was engaged in regarding her religion. This was not something that was mentioned by Hannah. Whilst I did have three participants for my research primarily I believed it to be a case study on Hannah and therefore questioned the amount of 'focus' which should be attributed to this factor. It was important for me to question my own role within this, which I have discussed in Chapter Five. Whilst I did not initially set out to base my case study around a girl from an ethnic minority it was not a factor that I had considered before engaging in my research journey. Although I do not believe working with a girl, attending a PRU, labelled as SEBD and from an ethnic minority background was a limitation of the study (in fact I would argue that it added an extra layer of depth to the research) I have to question whether I personally impacted on Hannah's desire, or ability, to talk about her culture or religion. Kirmani (2009) suggests that her own Muslim background and her previous relationships with the women with whom she worked, enabled a greater level of trust to be established. Whilst I worked hard to build a relationship with Hannah before our conversations took place it could be argued that my own religious background (I am from a Roman Catholic upbringing which I had shared with Hannah before our conversations when talking about the schools I had attended) limited this research as it did not inhibit Hannah to express a specific part of her identity.

Family Absence

As outlined in Chapter Four I had initially hoped to hold conversations with Hannah's family and her peers. Due to the focus around Hannah's culture that the research has led to I feel that one of the biggest limitations of this study has been the absence of talk gathered within the family. I would also suggest that the absence of these conversations not only impacted on talk that was not able to be collected but also on elements of Hannah's talk. As the final participants were all from an educational setting I have to question whether Hannah felt restricted in her talk and did not discuss other discourse around her, especially the family discourse, due to a lack of association with the family constructions. Whilst I see this as a limitation of the study I do believe that I pursued this avenue as far as I could go, in line with my ethical considerations, and that it was important to respect the decision of the family to not participate.

Evaluation

When engaging in qualitative research of any kind Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that persuading the audience that "qualitative research findings are worth paying attention to" (p.90) is of paramount importance. As this research is based within a Social Constructionist approach it does not fit my ontology or epistemology to suggest that my research provides a truth which should be believed and accepted by all those who read it. Instead I take the approach that there are multiple perspectives or truths (Burr, 1995) and instead, throughout my research, I have attempted to consider how the 'qualitative goodness' of my study can be evidenced. In 2010, Tracy suggested that there are eight quality marks which qualitative research must consider in order to be held in regard. These are: a worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethics and meaningful coherence.

I believe that my research meets these quality marks. For instance, the topic of 'excluded girls' is still one which, I believe, is under researched, especially when compared to excluded boys, leading it be a worthy topic. It could be suggested that the use of a case study leads to a lack of resonance within my study however I would argue that the use of a case study led to a level of sincerity within my research, focussing on one girl, and her discourse allowed for talk to take place within a safe, discursive space and acted as a stepping stone towards Hannah having agency.

The resonance of my research could be achieved further through the transferability for example Stake and Trumbell (1982) suggest that when research evokes personal feelings of knowing and expands a researcher's experience practice can be improved and this could then lead to further resonance with Educational Psychologists. Some may suggest that the use of a co-researcher may have developed the credibility of my research further, however I have aimed to ensure that throughout my research my presence is known, I acknowledge that my interpretations of the talk and discourse will be impacted by my own thoughts, views and experiences and have not attempted to hide this. I have also attempted to address this, ensuring credibility, through the use of personal reflexivity, a reflective diary and discussions with research colleagues throughout the process.

<u>Future Research</u>

Systemic Review

Despite previous calls for action around the area of girls who are excluded I would still argue that there is the need for more research to be conducted in this area. Osler and Vincent (2003) suggest that there appears to be a trend whereby systemically we focus either on boys and exclusion or girls and exclusion. They suggest that the area is far more hazy than simply a focus on genders. Consideration around the Big Discourses (Gee, 2005) which are at play in relation to girls and exclusions, the taboo nature of girls being excluded and the suggestion that a bad girl is quite simply that, a bad girl, whereas a bad boy can also be a 'loveable rogue' all contribute to the haze, as we are constantly comparing genders against one another. Bradley (2011) suggests that this focus on boys *or* girls also leads to a reinforcement of gendered learning, which she implies can have a negative impact on cognitive learning for both sexes. She proposes that EPs have a role to play in challenging gendered learning within systems, as well as challenging the oppressed dichotomy of power that girls can face within these systems.

More than just a case study

I believe that the use of a case study for my research has provided the opportunity to explore Hannah's identity constructs in greater detail than a wider approach would. However, a natural progression of this research could be to expand the number of participants, including more girls and adults in a variety of settings. This would also lead to the possibility of exploring the identity constructions of girls who have received a label of SEBD at a variety of stages e.g. different ages, those still in mainstream school, from a variety of class and cultural backgrounds. The Indicative Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (DfE, 2013) proposes the removal of the term SEBD, instead suggesting Social, Mental and Emotional Health. This could potentially impact on the identity constructs of individuals with this label in different ways influenced by societal discourses relating to the new terms.

Possible Implications for EP Practice

With the current climate for EPs and the move towards traded services the pressure on time and how EPs use their time is ever increasing. Through engaging in research as a TEP in many ways I have been given the gift of time. The ability to talk to Hannah, with no agenda or pressure to produce something for the setting freed me of expectations and targets. As a TEP I feel that one of the main implications for my practice that has emerged from this process is the importance of time and the lack of a prescriptive agenda. I believe that my research created a non judgemental discursive space which provided Hannah with the opportunity to talk about her current circumstances and consider where she would like to go next. The use of therapeutic work across EP services is varied, with different levels of skill within teams and different levels of focus on therapeutic techniques between services. When producing traded models, and discussing service level agreements with individual educational settings, a discussion around the therapeutic approaches that could be available could be helpful and allow for EPs to work with the educational settings they trade with to consider the impact that these approaches may have. As Children Adolescent and Mental Health Services (CAMHS) are also being stretched, the role of EPs in relation to therapeutic practice needs to be considered. This is also likely to lead to potential development areas for EPs. Whilst I am not claiming that my research was therapeutic I do believe that it brings to the forefront the role of the EP when working with young people from minority groups. The ability of an EP to engage in a conversation with a young person is of paramount importance. It is often seen as our job to 'elicit the voice' of the young people with whom we work. For me Hannah symbolised some of the most vulnerable young people with whom we work. Someone who appears powerful to an outsider (in Hannah's case this appearance came from her 'bravado' and the actions which led her to her SEBD label and placement at the PRU) but who has a limited peer group, if they have a peer group at all. I believe Hannah to be

113

extremely isolated. Her desire to convince me that she was a nice person and the static nature she attached to that identity over the other IRs that were identified highlighted to me her powerless position and the fear that she felt. As an EP I would argue that I am in position to notice young people like Hannah, those who are extremely isolated and work with them through an interactional, discursive space in order to help develop agency for them in their futures.

I believe that a further implication for EPs which is highlighted in my research is the importance of a systemic approach. The influence of an individuals environment in Hannah's case seems of paramount importance. The only dominant repertoire across all three conversations was that of 'Identity as influenced by others'. Natalie spoke about the lack of consideration on the influence of Hannah's peers following her permanent exclusion and Hannah discusses the importance of being popular and the suggestion of a group identity as fuelling Hannah's identity constructs have all been significant elements within this research. Consideration of an ecological paradigm is one which many EPs take into account in their work. We are often 'outsiders' who are at an advantage to consider the systems around us and those in which we work. We often pay attention to the school systems (the impact of the teachers, the environment, the expectations and consequences, the attainment pressure) as well as the family systems (the family situation, who is at home, other pressures parents may be under, parental confidence in the school, parental expectations on their child). However, I would suggest that my research brings to the surface the importance of 'peer systems' which are at play (what is seen as 'the done thing', social media influences, friendships, acceptance). Although we could be described as 'outsiders' , in relation to some systems, EPs may be placed in an advantageous position when it comes to exploring the impact of these peer groups and systems and including these considerations in our advice and talk with others involved.The importance of a variety of systems and

the consideration of the wider context for all individuals offers many possibilities for EP practice and my future work. Edward et al (2009) tells us:

> Recognising tensions and contradictions and working creatively to overcome them is a good thing, as these endeavours will help to take systems forwards so they can deal with new demands, work more effectively and make the most of new resources. (p.106)

Researcher Reflexivity

By it's very nature, the act of engaging in a qualitative piece of research from a social constructionist perspective already, in some respects, warrants my research out of date! The process of 'doing' has led to constructions developing and changing. As a researcher this has been an interesting concept to become comfortable with. This concept was summed up remarkably well by Lewis Carroll (1865) when talking about Alice's Adventures in Wonderland "I can't go back to yesterday because I was a different person then". Throughout the research process I have ensured that I remind myself of why I applied to become a TEP and why I began on my journey to become an Educational Psychologist. Regardless of the time spent reflecting on this I feel that I continually arrive at the same answer. I want, in some way, to help support young people to be heard and to have agency. Engaging in a piece of discursive research has allowed me to consider one of the fundamental ways in which I do this, my talk. Throughout the conversations I engaged in I attempted to allow either Hannah, Natalie or Angela to lead the conversations in the direction that they so wished. This was something that I was actively aware of. However, despite this, when reading through my transcripts the leading nature of some of my questions was apparent. Therefore, even when paying specific attention to my talk I naturally slipped into questioning, instead of simply listening. It will be important for me to be aware of this as I continue in my role.

Gergen (2009) discusses the idea of a 'bounded self' and a 'relational self'. He discusses the idea that we are all impacted by our relationships (relational self), leading to the idea of a bounded self (a self constructed in isolation) being one which is difficult to comprehend. Instead, he suggests that through joint action we create relational selfs "through co-action people generate a world of the real" (p.204). I believe that my research, and the way that I approach my practice, corresponds with this belief. The importance of relationships is paramount to both my work life and my social life. It is through the relationships that were formed between my participants and I that this research has come to be. It is important to reflect on this process and ensure that I am continually reflexive about my presence in any relationship that I experience through my practice.

By providing a young person with the space to talk, in a mainly agenda free way, I feel that I have engaged in a process that has the potential to help me to develop a therapeutic aspect of my practice. Billington (2009) suggests that any meeting with a child has the potential to be therapeutic, and not just for the child, but for any party involved. I agree with this statement and my research has helped me to consider the therapeutic potential of all the elements of my work, not just those that I may attribute a 'therapeutic' label to.

I hope that my research has provided Hannah with an opportunity to reflect on her identity constructs in a way that may not have been otherwise possible whilst also contributing to an area that I feel is under researched.

Concluding Remarks

This research has been a journey that started with an interest in language and has travelled alongside my journey to be an EP. Whilst I initially laid down my

116

positionality I feel that elements of this have changed, I also feel that my positionality is likely to continue to change throughout my time as an Educational Psychologist. The belief that language is an active agent is one which I still hold and I feel that we construct many discourses through our talk with one another. This research was intended to add to research already within the field whilst I also hoped that, the case study element, would help to provide a girl labelled as having SEBD the opportunity to engage in something different, with one of the many practitioners who are involved in her education. I hope that my research has provided Hannah with an opportunity to reflect on her identity constructs in a way which may not otherwise have been possible. I also hope that, for a reader of this research, it has led to a challenge of some beliefs, possibly a strengthening of some others and also the ability to consider the role that EPs can play in the life of a young person, all whilst challenging and considering the role that language can play within that. For me Edley and Wetherell (2008) sum this up succinctly when they state:

> …people are both the products and producers of discourse; the masters and slaves of language…   (p.182)

"there's to many holes and gaps for young people to/"

"\and they lose the the their identity, they lose their identity"

(Natalie -line 1376 and Angela Line 1277)

Glossary

Dilemma of Stake: This is the belief that when a speaker (or writer) are communicating with somebody else there is always a possibility that what they say is *either* saying something about the thing that is being described or saying something about the speaker (or writer).

Discourse: This refers to 'practices which form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972. p.49)

Discursive Devices: Discursive devices is a term which is used to describe a variety of 'tricks' we use within our talk for a variety of reasons, for example to reinforce what we are saying or to back up a thought. Sometimes discursive devices support us to build an argument or try and put across a particular attitude whilst covering up another. We may not be aware that we are using these devices within our talk. An example of discursive devices and a more detailed explanation of these can be found in Appendix Sixteen.

Identity: In this research an individual's identity is not seen as a static construct but something which is constantly changing over time, dependent on contexts, cultures and environments. Where the word 'self' is used this is intended to mean the same as identity. The word 'personality' will not be used within this research as it does not fit within a social constructionist approach.

Interpretative Repertoires: An interpretative repertoire is the term used to describe a cluster of words, phrases, metaphors or symbols which suggest a specific construction (for example 'identity as a nice person'). Using this term also highlights the flexibility of these constructions as there can be a number of Interpretative repertoires.

Language: For the purpose of the research language is not seen as a fixed entity, instead it is seen as variable. This follows Saussure's (1974) belief that language is not a system of signs with mixed meanings.

Managed Move:	In this Thesis a managed move refers to a young person moving to an alternative but equivalent setting (for example from a mainstream secondary to a different mainstream secondary) in order to avoid the young person experiencing a permanent exclusion. The move is supported by both schools, as well as by the child and the parent. This is different to a child simply moving schools through their own choice or parental preference as there is a planned agreement in place between the current school and the new school, often involving a planned transition.
Pupil Referral Unit	In the Local Authority that the research took place there are three secondary pupil referral units. These are for young people who are displaying behaviour which school are finding challenging. Each secondary school is linked to a PRU and the young people attend the PRU provision instead of their mainstream secondary school. The aim is to provide an education for the young people whilst avoiding the young person being permanently excluded from the mainstream setting.

References

Adler, A. (1956) *Understanding human nature.* One World, Oxford (original work published 1927)

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. Monthly Review Press, New York.Billig, M. (1997). The dialogic unconscious: Psychoanalysis, discursive psychology and the nature of repression, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36, pp. 139-159.

Ansari, H. (2004) *The infidel within: Muslims in Britain since 1800.* London, C.Hurst & Co Ltd.

Billig, M. (1997) Discourse, rhetorical and ideological messages. In C.McGarty and A.Haslam (Eds) *The message of social psychology.* Oxford, Blackwell.

Billington, T. (2006) W*orking with Children.* Sage, London

Billington, T. (2009). Open dialogue: Working with children: Psychologists at the boundaries of knowledge and experience. *The Psychology of Education Review,* 33, pp. 3-11.

Blumer, H. (1969) *Symbolic interactionism: perspective and method.* Englewood Cliffs N.J. Prentice-Hall

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice.* Cambridge*,* Cambridge University Press.

Bradley, D.E. (2011) *'Who do you think you are?' How do excluded female adolescents make sense of their identities and what are the implications for school experience? An Interpretative phenomenological analysis.* Doctoral Research. Unpublished

Brown, L.M & Chesney-Lind, M (2005) Growing up mean: Covert aggression and the policing of girlhood. In Lloyd, G. (eds) (2005) *Problem Girls: Understanding and Supporting Troubled and Troublesome Girls.* New York, RoutledgeFarmer. pp. 76-88

Brown, L.M. & Gilligan, C. (1992) *Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's Psychology and Girl's Development.* London. Harvard University Press

Buber, M. (1937) *I and Thou*. Translated by R. G. Smith. London: T and T Clark

Bucholtz, M & Hall, K (2005) Identity and Interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies, 7.* pp. 584-614

Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London, Routledge.

Burr, V. (2005) *An introduction to social constructionism*. 2nd Edition London, Routledge

Carroll, L. (1865). *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. London, Macmillan.

Charlebois, J. (2012) The discursive construction of 'bounded masculinity/ unbounded femininity. *Journal of Gender Studies.* 21. pp. 201-214

Chesney-Lind, M., & Irwin, K. (2004) From badness to meanness: Popular constructions of contemporary girlhood. In A. Harris (Ed) *All about the girl: Culture, power and Identity.* New York, Routledge. pp. 45-58

Cromby, J. and Nightingale, D.J. (1999). What's wrong with social constructionism? In D.J. Nightingale and J. Cromby, Social constructionist psychology. (2000). *A Critical Analysis of Theory and Practice*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Department for Education (2012). *A profile of pupil exclusions in England. Educational Standards Analysis and Research Division.* London, Department for Education.

Department for Education (2013). *Draft Special Educational Needs (SEN) Code of Practice: for 0-25 years. Statutory guidance for organisations who work with and support children and young people with SEN.* London, Department for Education.

Dweck ,C. (2000) *Self theories: their role in motivation, personality and development.* Hove, E.Sussex, Taylor and Francis. Cited in Lloyd, G. (2005) (Eds) *Problem Girls: understanding and supporting troubled and troublesome girls and young women.* London and New York, RoutledgeFalmer.

Edley, N. & Wetherell, M. (1999) Discursive Psychology and the study of gender: a contested space. In K.Harrington et al (Eds) *Gender and Language research methodologies.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 161-173

Edwards, D. (1997). Discourse and cognition. Cited in S. Wiggins & Potter. (2008). Discursive Psychology. In W. Stainton-Rogers & C. Willig (Eds.). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in Psychology*. London, Sage. pp. 73-91.

Edwards, A., Daniels, H., Gallagher, T., Leadbetter, J. and Warmington, P. (2009). *Improving inter-professional collaborations. Multiagency working for children's well being*. Oxen, Routledge.

Erikson, E.H. (1968) Identity, youth and crisis. New York, Norton.

Etherington, K. (2004). *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Fiske, S. & Depret, E. (1996). Control, interdependence and power: Understanding social cognition in its social context. *European Review of Social Psychology,* 7, pp. 31–61.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Knowledge and Power*. Pantheon, New York.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Reseacrh. *Qualitative Inquiry.* 12. pp. 219-245

Gee, J.P. (2005). An Introduction to Discourse Analysis and Theory. New York, Routledge.

Greene, S. & Hogan, D. (Eds) *Researching Children's Experiences. Approaches and Methods.* London. Sage Publications.

Gergen, K.J. (1973). Social Psychology as history. Cited in Willig, C. (2001) *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology.* Philadelphia, Open University Press.

Gergen, K.J. (1994) *Realities and relationships: soundings in social construction.* Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Gergen, K.J. (2009) *Relational being:beyond self and community.* Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press.

Hall, K. and O'Donovan, V. (1996) 'Shifting Gender Positions among Hindi-Speaking Hijras', in V.L. Bergvall, V.L., Bing, J.M. & and Freed, A.F (Eds) *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*, pp. 228–66. London: Longman.

Hardy, C., Phillips, N. and Clegg, S. (2001). Refelxivity in organisation and management studies: A study of the production of the research 'subject'. *Human Relations,* 54, 531-561

Harre, R., and Moghaddon, F. (2003) (Eds) *The self and others: positioning individuals and groups in personal, political and cultural contexts.* London, Praeger.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P., Reynolds, K. & Doosje, B. (2002). From personal pictures in the head to collective tools in the world: How shared stereotypes allow groups to represent and change social reality. In C. McGarty, V. Y. Yzerbyt, & R. Spears (Eds.), *Stereotypes as explanation: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups*. Cambridge, CUP.

Hepburn, A. and Potter, J. (2003). Discourse Analytic practice. In Seale, D. Silverman, J.F., G.Ubrium and G. Gobo (Eds.). *Qualitative research in psychology*. London, Sage. pp. 147-165.

Hey, V. (1997) *The Company She Keeps: an ethnography of girls' friendships.* Buckingham, Open University Press.

Hollway, W. (1989) *Subjectivity and method in psychology: gender, meaning and science.* London, Sage.

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing Qualitative research differently*. London, Sage.

Hughes, M (2007) Every Child Matters: Setting the Context for the "Hard to Reach". In Pomerantz, K.A. Hughes, M. and Thompson, D.(2007) (Eds) *How to reach 'hard to reach' children: improving access, participation and outcomes.* Chichester. John Wiley pp. 1-29

Jefferson, G. (1984). Transcript notation. In J. Maxwell Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.). *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Keddie, A (2011) Framing discourses of possibility and constraint in the empowerment of Muslim girls: issues of religion, race, ethnicity and culture. *Race, Ethnicity and Education.* 14. pp.175-190

Kirmani, N. (2009) Deconstructing and reconstructing 'Muslim women' through women's narratives. *Journal of Gender Studies.* 18. pp. 47-62

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. CA, Sage Publications.

Lloyd, G. (1999) Gender and Exclusion. In Salisbury, J & Riddell, S. (2000). *Gender and Policy in Education.* London*,* Routledge. pp. 257-272

Lloyd, G. (2005) (Eds) *Problem Girls: understanding and supporting troubled and troublesome girls and young women.* London and New York, RoutledgeFalmer.

Lloyd, G. and O'Regan. (1999) 'Education for Social Exclusion? Issues to do with the effectiveness of educational provision for young women with "social, emotional and behavioural difficulties" *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties.* 4, pp. 38-46.

124

McLaughlin, C. (2005) Exploring the psychosocial landscape of 'problem girls: Embodiment, relationship and agency. In Lloyd, G. (2005) (Eds) *Problem Girls: understanding and supporting troubled and troublesome girls and young women.* London and New York, RoutledgeFalmer. pp. 51-62

Mead, G.H. (1934) *Mind, Self and society.* Chicago, IL. University of Chicago Press

Mertens, D.M. (1998) *Research Methods in Education and Psychology. Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches.* London. Sage Publications

Norton, B. (1997). *Language, identity, and the ownership of English*. TESOL Quarterly 31. pp. 409-427.

O'Brien, T. and Guiney, D. (2005) The problem is not the problem: hard cases in modernist systems. In Clough, P., Garner, P., Pardeck, J.T. and Yuen, F. (Eds.) *Handbook of Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties.* Sage. London. Cited in Pomerantz, K.A. Hughes, M. and Thompson, D. (2007) (Eds) *How to reach 'hard to reach' children: improving access, participation and outcomes.* Chichester, John Wiley.

Osler, A., & Vincent, K. (2003) *Girls and Exclusion: rethinking the agenda.* London and New York, RoutledgeFalmer.

Parker, I. (1992). *Qualitative psychology: Introducing radical research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Parker, I. (2005). *Qualitative Psychology: Introducing Radical Research.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Phillips, N. and Hardy, C. (2002). *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction.* London, Sage.

Potter, J. (1996) *Representing Reality. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction.* London. Sage Publications

Potter. J. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: Sage.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1995). Discourse Analysis. In J.A. Smith, R. Harre and L.V. Langenhove. (Eds). *Rethinking methods in psychology*. London, Sage.

Prochaska, J.O., & Di Clemente, C.C. (1982) Transtheoretical Therapy: Toward a more integrative model of change. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Practice and Research.* 19. pp. 276-288

Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, Interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 118-137).Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Scott, C., & Drury, J. (2004) The importance of social structure and social interaction in stereotype consensus and content: Is the whole greater than the sum of its parts? *European Journal of Social Psychology.* 34, pp.11-23.

Skeggs, B. (1997) *Formations of class and gender.* London, Sage Publications

Southey, R. (1820) *What are folks made of?* Accessed online.

Stake, R.E. & Trumbell, D.J. (1982). Naturalistic Generalisations. *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science*. 7, 1-12.

Stiff, C. (2013) *A Discourse Analytical study that explores the discursive constructions of therapeutic practice within educational psychology.* Doctoral Research. Unpublished

Siraj, A. (2012) 'Smoothing down ruffled feathers': the construction of Muslim women's feminine identities. *Journal of Gender Studies.* 21, pp.185-199

Taylor, S. (2001) Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytical Research. In Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., and Yates, S. (2001) *Discourse as Data: A guide for analysis.* London, Sage. pp. 5-49

Tracy, S.J. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight 'Big Tent' Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research, *Qualitative Inquiry.* 16, pp. 837-851.

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and Poststructuralist Theory.* New York, Blackwell.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. (2001). *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*. London, Sage.

Wiggins, S. and Potter, J. (2008). Discursive Psychology. In Stainton Rogers & C. Willig. (2008). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology.* London, Sage.

Willig, C. (1999). Applied Discourse Analysis: Social and psychological interventions. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Willig, C. (2001). Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology. Philadelphia, Open University Press.

Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical investigations.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Yin, R. (2002) *Case Study Research. Design ad Methods.* Third Edition. Applied Social research methods series Volume 5. Sage Publications.

Zhang, K, C (2008) Square pegs into round holes? Meeting the educational needs of girls engaged in delinquent behaviour. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 3. pp.179-192

Appendices

Appendix One - E-mail to Head Teachers

Dear XXXX

My name is Jemma and I am a year two Trainee Educational Psychologist at the University of Sheffield. I am currently on placement in XXXXX and I am writing to you because I am conducting a research study looking at how girls with a label of Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties who attend a Pupil Referral Unit position themselves through their talk. My research will contribute to my thesis and qualification as an Educational and Child Psychologist. I believe that this is an important piece of research that will help us consider how girls who attend PRUs talk about themselves and their identities. I am also interested how others within the setting (for example their peers and the adults) and their family talk about the girls. I am aware that the number of girls attending PRUs within our local authority are small and so I will be conducting a case study, resulting in me needing to find one participant. I have a number of detailed information sheets aimed at a number of people: the participant, her family, her peers, their families and other adults who may be involved. I have attached them for your information. If you know of a girl who may be interested in this study I would welcome the opportunity to talk with you more, providing me the chance to explain my research in more depth as well as talking to any possible participants and their families. I appreciate you taking the time to read this e-mail and look forward to hearing from you.

Kind Regards

Jemma Wilkinson

How do we see ourselves?

Information Sheet

My name is Jemma Wilkinson and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist at the University of Sheffield. As part of my studies I am carrying out some research and I would like to invite you to take part.

Before you decide whether this is something that you would be interested in doing it is important that you understand why I am carrying out the research and what will be involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully-I hope that it contains all the information you need however if anything is not clear or if you have any questions you can contact me on the details below or speak to me next time I am in school. It is **YOUR CHOICE** to be involved in this research so please take the time to think about it. However if you do decide that you are interested and then, at a later stage, change your mind then you can stop your involvement at any time.

What is the purpose of the study?

There has been a lot of research looking into 'Identity'. This research has aimed to explore how we see ourselves and why we see ourselves in that way. There has also been a lot of research around how boys who attend Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) see themselves and there has been research to look into whether there is a better way to work with boys. I am interested in 'Identity' and also in PRUs but I would like to base my research around how a girl in a PRUs sees herself. I would also like to explore the language that is used by a girl, her friends and the adults around her. I hope that the study will help people to think about the words that they use when talking about young people and I hope that by taking part in the study you will feel that you have been listened to and been offered the opportunity to talk about yourself and how you see your future.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been asked to think about taking part in this research because both myself and (name of PRU Leader) feel that you have something valuable to add to the research.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide that you would like to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you change your mind, that is ok, you can still withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason. If you decide that you don't want to take part that is fine. You don't have to.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

If you decide that you would like to take part I will meet with you one to one on up to three separate occasions. During these times we will talk about things that feel important to you. I will attend a small number of your classes in the PRU to hear what you and your peers talk about. I will also attend some of the review meetings that your setting organises; I hope that you will also be in these meetings. Finally I would visit your home and talk to your family again, with you there. I may visit your home once or twice.

Our sessions would probably last no longer than an hour and will take place some time between May and October 2013. There are no right or wrong things to say, I am just interested in hearing what you think and what others around you think. It doesn't matter if what you think changes over time. You only have to talk about things that you feel comfortable with and if at any time you wanted to stop that would be ok.

Will I be recorded and if so, how will this be used?

The interview will be recorded using a voice recorder. The audio recordings of the interviews and interactions will only be used for analysis. Analysis means looking back over what has been said and trying to make sense of this. All records, both recorded and written, will be held in a locked cabinet, will be analysed by me and will be destroyed when I receive confirmation that my research project has been successfully completed.

Are there any risks or benefits to taking part?

Risks: Talking about how you see yourself and your future may be quite difficult at first. You can contact me at any time throughout the research if you are worried about something and, although the staff in school will not know what we have talked about they will know that you are taking part in the research and will be available to talk to if you need to do this.

Advantages: I hope that you find taking part in the research an interesting and valuable experience. I also hope that by being part of the research you enjoy talking with me. I hope that the outcomes of this research also helps other girls like yourself, either at PRUs or in their mainstream school.

If you have a complaint at any time you can contact either myself or my research supervisor on the details below.

Confidentiality

All of the information that I collect will be kept confidential. This means that it will not be possible for you to be identified. You will be given a false name so that you can not be recognised in any reports or publications. However, if you tell me something that made me concerned about your safety or the safety of others I would have to pass this information on.

What will happen as a result of the research?

The research will be published in my research report and it is possible that at a later date it may be published, for example in a book.

Who has approved the research?

The research project has been approved by the University of Sheffield

For further information about this research, or to contact me during the process you contact me by e-mail or phone:

Jemma Wilkinson - Trainee Educational Psychologist

edp11jw@sheffield.ac.uk or **01709 822591/07901 514032**

You could also contact my research supervisor Kathryn Pomerantz:

k.a.pomerantz@sheffield.ac.uk or 0114 2228145

Thank you very much for considering whether you would like to take part in this research.

Appendix Three - Information Sheet for Case Study Parents

How do we see ourselves?

Parents Information Sheet

My name is Jemma Wilkinson and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist at the University of Sheffield. As part of my studies I am carrying out some research and I would like to invite both you and your daughter to take part.

Before you decide whether this is something that you would be interested in it is important that you understand why I am carrying out the research and what will be involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully; I hope that it contains all the information you need however if anything is not clear or if you have any questions at any point you can contact me on the details below. It is the **CHOICE OF YOU AND YOUR DAUGHTER** to be involved in this research so please take the time to think about it. However if you do decide that you are interested and then, at a later stage, change your mind then you can stop your daughters involvement at any time.

What is the purpose of the study?

There has been a lot of research looking into 'Identity'. This research has aimed to explore how we see ourselves, and why we see ourselves in that way. There has also been a lot of research around how boys who attend Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) see themselves and there has been research to look into whether there is a better way to work with boys. I am interested in 'Identity' and also in PRUs but I would like to base my research around how a girl in a PRU sees herself. I would also like to explore the language that is used by a girl with the adults involved (e.g parents and teachers). I hope that the study will help people to think about the words that they use when talking about young people and I hope that by taking part in the study you will feel that you have been listened to and been offered the opportunity to talk about your daughter and her future.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been asked to think about your daughter taking part in this research because both I and the staff at (Setting) feel that she has something valuable to add to the research.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you whether or not you and your daughter will take part. If you decide that you are happy to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. Your daughter has also been provided with information and will be asked to sign her own consent form. If you change your mind, that is ok, you can still withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason. If you decide that you don't want to take part that is fine. You don't have to.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

If you decide that you are happy for your daughter to take part I will meet with her one to one on around three separate occasions. During these meetings we will talk about things that feel important to her. I will attend a small number of her classes in the PRU to hear what she talks about with her peers. I will also attend any review meetings that the setting organises; I hope that both you and your daughter will also be in these meetings. Finally I would visit your home and talk to you, and any other members of your family who would like to be present. It is hoped that your daughter would also be present at these meetings. I may visit your home once or twice.

The one to one meetings in the PRU would probably last no longer than an hour and will take place some time between May and October 2013. There are no right or wrong things for your daughter to say, I am just interested in hearing what she thinks and what others around her think. It doesn't matter if those thoughts change over time. She will only have to talk about things that she feels comfortable with and if at any time she wanted to stop that would be ok. The same would apply for the family meetings.

Will I be recorded and if so, how will this be used?

Conversations will be recorded using a voice recorder. The audio recordings of the interviews and interactions will only be used for analysis. Analysis means looking back over what has been said and trying to make sense of this. All records, both recorded and written, will be held in a locked cabinet, will be analysed by me and will be destroyed when I receive confirmation that my research project has been successfully completed.

Are there any risks or benefits to taking part?

Risks: If chosen to take part in the case study then talking about how you see your daughter and her future may be quite difficult at first. You can contact me at any time throughout the research if you are worried about something and, although the staff in school will not know what we have talked about they will know that you are taking part in the research and will be available to talk to if you need to do this.

Advantages: I hope that you and your daughter find taking part in the research an interesting and valuable experience. I also hope that by being part of the research your daughter enjoys talking with me. I hope that the outcomes of this research also helps other girls, either at PRUs or in their mainstream school.

If you have a complaint at any time you can contact either myself or my research supervisor on the details below.

Confidentiality

All of the information that I collect will be kept confidential. This means that it will not be possible for you to be identified. You and your daughter will be given a false name so that you can not be recognised in any reports or publications. However, if you tell me something that makes me feel concerned about your safety or the safety of others I would have to pass this information on.

What will happen as a result of the research?

The research will be published in my research report and it is possible that at a later date it may be published, for example in a book.

Who has approved the research?

The research project has been approved by the University of Sheffield

Contact Details

For further information about this research, or to contact me during the process you contact me by e-mail or phone:

Jemma Wilkinson - Trainee Educational Psychologist

edp11jw@sheffield.ac.uk or 01709 822591/07901 514032

You could also contact my research supervisor Kathryn Pomerantz:

k.a.pomerantz@sheffield.ac.uk or 0114 2228145

Thank you very much for considering whether you would like to take part in this research.

Appendix Four - Information for Adult participants

How do we see ourselves?

Young People's Information Sheet

My name is Jemma Wilkinson and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist at the University of Sheffield. As part of my studies I am carrying out some research and I would like to invite you to take part.

Before you decide whether this is something that you would be interested in doing it is important that you understand why I am carrying out the research and what will be involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully-I hope that it contains all the information you need however if anything is not clear or if you have any questions you can contact me on the details below or speak to me next time I am in school. It is **YOUR CHOICE** to be involved in this research so please take the time to think about it. However if you do decide that you are interested and then, at a later stage, change your mind then you can stop your involvement at any time.

What is the purpose of the study?

There has been a lot of research looking into 'Identity'. This research has aimed to explore how we see ourselves, and why we see ourselves in that way. There has also been a lot of research around how boys who attend Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) see themselves and there has been research to look into whether there is a better way to work with boys. I am interested in 'Identity' and also in PRUs but I would like to base my research around how a girl in a PRU see's herself. I would also like to explore the language that is used by both girls and the adults involved (e.g parents and teachers), to look at whether this has any impact on how girls see themselves. I hope that the study will help people to think about the words that they use when talking about young people.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

As the girl who I am working with will be in some lessons with you I would be attending some of theses lessons and recording the sessions. If you choose to take part then you will be given a different name, so that people cannot identify you, and some of your conversations may be used in my research. If you do not choose to take part then any of the conversations that are recorded that you are involved in will not be used.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide that you would like to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you change your mind, that is ok, you can still withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason. If you decide that you don't want to take part that is fine. You don't have to.

Will I be recorded and if so, how will this be used?

The interview will be recorded using a voice recorder. The audio recordings of the interviews and interactions will only be used for analysis. Analysis means looking back over what has been said and trying to make sense of this. All records, both recorded and written, will be held in a locked cabinet, will be analysed by me and will be destroyed when I receive confirmation that my research project has been successfully completed.

Are there any risks or benefits to taking part?

Risks: Talking about how you see yourself and your future may be quite difficult at first. You can contact me at any time throughout the research if you are worried about something and, although the staff in school will not know what we have talked about they will know that you are taking part in the research and will be available to talk to if you need to do this.

Advantages: I hope that you find taking part in the research an interesting and valuable experience. I hope that the outcomes of this research also helps other girls like yourself, either at PRUs or in their mainstream school.

If you have a complaint at any time you can contact either myself or my research supervisor on the details below.

All of the information that I collect will be kept confidential. This means that it will not be possible for you to be identified. You will be given a false name so that you can not be recognised in any reports or publications. However, if you tell me something that made me concerned about your safety or the safety of others I would have to pass this information on.

What will happen as a result of the research?

The research will be published in my research report and it is possible that at a later date it may be published, for example in a book.

Who has approved the research?

The research project has been approved by the University of Sheffield

Contact Details

For further information about this research, or to contact me during the process you contact me by e-mail or phone:

Jemma Wilkinson - Trainee Educational Psychologist

edp11jw@sheffield.ac.uk or 01709 822591/07901 514032

You could also contact my research supervisor Kathryn Pomerantz:

k.a.pomerantz@sheffield.ac.uk or 0114 2228145

Thank you very much for considering whether you would like to take part in this research.

Appendix Five - Young Person's Consent Form

Title of Project: How discourses are being used by and around a girl labelled with SEBD to construct her identity.

Name of Researcher: Jemma Wilkinson

Initial Identification Letter (before attachment of a pseudonym):

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated [insert date] for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I know that I am free to withdraw my consent (or drop out of the research project) at any time, without giving any reason. Contact number of researcher: 01709 822591/07901 514032 (or edp11jw@sheffield.ac.uk)

3. I understand that what I say will be anonymised (so that I can't be identified by my answers) before analysis.

4. I agree to my conversations with the researcher (named above) being recorded. I also agree to some of my classes, my review meetings and meetings with my family being recorded.

I agree to take part in the above research project

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant.

A copy of this consent form will be sent to parents/guardians and [name of link staff member at school] once signed. The researcher will retain the original in a secure location

---

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Title of Project: How discourses are being used by and around a girl labelled with SEBD to construct her identity.

Name of Researcher: Jemma Wilkinson

Initial Identification Letter (before attachment of a pseudonym):

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated (insert date) explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that both mine and my daughters participation is voluntary and that we are both free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences (contact number for Jemma Wilkinson is 01709 822591/07901 514032). In addition if my daughter or I do not wish to answer any question at any time and understand we are both free to decline.

3. I understand that what is said by all individuals involved will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have accessed to the annoymised responses. I understand that no individuals name will be linked with the research materials and that they will not be identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from my daughter and I to be used in future research.

I agree to/for my daughter and I to take part in the above research project   [   ]

_____

Name of participant

_____	_____	_____
Name of parent/legal representative	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Lead Researcher	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant. A copy of this consent form will be sent to parents/guardians and [name of link staff member at school] once signed. The researcher will retain the original in a secure location

Adult Consent Form

Title of Project: How discourses are being used by and around a girl labelled with SEBD to construct her identity.

Name of Researcher: Jemma Wilkinson

The University Of Sheffield.

Initial Identification Letter (before attachment of a pseudonym):

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated (insert date) explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

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 (contact number for Jemma Wilkinson is 01709 822591 or 07901 514032). In addition if I do not wish to contribute at any point I understand I am free to decline.

3. I understand that what is said by all individuals involved will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have accessed to the annoymised responses. I understand that no individual's name will be linked with the research materials and that they will not be identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from myself to be used in future research.

Relationship to the young person or Role:

_____   _____   _____

Name of Individual   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

 Lead Researcher   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant. A copy of this consent form will be sent to parents/guardians and [name of link staff member at school] once signed. The researcher will retain the original in a secure location. Copies:Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix Eight - Ethical Application

University of Sheffield School of Education
RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Complete this form if you are planning to carry out research in the School of Education which will <u>not</u> involve the NHS but which will involve people participating in research either directly (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and/or indirectly (e.g. people permitting access to data).

Documents to enclose with this form, where appropriate:
This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by an Information Sheet/ Covering Letter/Written Script which informs the prospective participants about the a proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form.

Guidance on how to complete this form is at: http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/ c6/11/43/27/Application%20Guide.pdf

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate email it to the:

<u>Either</u>

Ethics Administrator if you are a member of staff.

<u>Or</u>

Secretary for your programme/course if you are a student.

<u>NOTE</u>
- · Staff and Post Graduate Research (EdDII/PhD) requires 3 reviewers
- · Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 1 reviewer – **low risk**
- · Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 2 reviewers – **high risk**

I am a member of staff and consider this research to be (according to University definitions)   :   **low risk**   ▢
                                                                                            high risk   ▢

I am a student and consider this research to be (according to University definitions):
                                                                                            low risk   ▢
                                                                                            high risk   ✠
*Note: For the purposes of Ethical Review the University Research Ethics Committee considers all research with 'vulnerable people' to be 'high risk' (eg children under 18 years of age).

COVER SHEET

I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a method to inform prospective participants about the project (eg 'Information Sheet'/'Covering Letter'/'Pre-Written Script'?:	
Is relevant	**Is not relevant**
✔ (if relevant then this should be enclosed)	

I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a 'Consent Form':	
Is relevant	**Is not relevant**
✔ (if relevant then this should be enclosed)	

Is this a 'generic "en bloc" application (ie does it cover more than one project that is sufficiently similar)	
Yes	**No**
	✔

I am a member of staff ☐

I am a PhD/EdD student ✔

I am a Master's student ☐

I am an Undergraduate student ☐

I am a PGCE student ☐

The submission of this ethics application has been agreed by my supervisor ✔

Supervisor's signature/name and date of agreement

....
....

I have enclosed a signed copy of Part B

PART A

A1.   Title of Research Project: *How discourses are being used by and around a girl labelled with SEBD to construct her identities.*

A2.   Applicant (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised research projects):

Title: *Miss*   First Name/Initials: *Jemma G*   Last Name: *Wilkinson*
Post: *Trainee Educational Psychologist*   Department: *Educational Psychology*

Email: *edp11jw@sheffield.ac.uk*   Telephone: *07971 620876*

A.2.1. Is this a student project? *Yes*
If yes, please provide the Supervisor's contact details:
Dr Kathryn Pomerantz, Senior Educational Psychologist and
Academic Director, Doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology
Department of Educational Studies
k.a.pomerantz@sheffield.ac.uk Tel: 0114 222 8145

A2.2.   Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable: *N/A*

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

A3.   Proposed Project Duration:
Start date: *January 2013*   End date: *July 2014*

A4.   Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

X	Involves children or young people aged under 18 years
	Involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants
X	Involves only anonymised or aggregated data
	Involves prisoners or others in custodial care (eg young offenders)
	Involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
X	Has the primary aim of being educational (eg student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, MA, PhD or EdD)

A5. **Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?**

This project aims to explore the role of language in the identity constructions of a girl labelled with Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (SEBD). To do this I will be exploring the discourses used by, and around a girl with this label. The research aims to look at the language that is used in a variety of contexts. Firstly, I will be engaging in one to one sessions with a girl with an SEBD label using a creative approach (such as drawing) to enable her to feel comfortable. It is then hoped that I will be able to engage in a naturalistic conversation about how she sees herself. I will have some loose questions to facilitate the conversation if necessary. I also intend to record and analyse the talk used in lessons with the girl and her peers, review meetings about progress and finally a home visit where I will speak with the girl and her family. This will help me look at how the language used may be 'positioning' the girl in a variety of contexts including her self positioning, her positioning within the family and her position within the educational setting. It is hoped that by exploring these constructions practitioners (including myself as a Trainee Educational Psychologist) will be able to engage in a process of reflection on the language that the young people and those around them use and how this language may be giving power to a variety of discourses and constructs. It is also hoped that, by giving the girl involved in the study an opportunity to engage in discourses as part of the research a sense of agency and empowerment may be highlighted.

The research will take a social constructionist approach and analysis will be conducted using discourse analysis. I intend to analyse the text in this way in order to identify 'Interpretative Repertoires' (how the words cluster together to give meaning) as well as the 'performative aspects of talk' (how the talk impacts on positionality). It is not my intention to propose an alternative set of discourses but instead it is hoped that by looking back at how the discourses have been constructed, and their effects, it will allow both myself, as researcher, and other readers to question how the young person is identified.

My research questions at present are:

1) *What identity constructions exist for a girl labeled as SEBD?*
2) *How do these constructions of a girl with an SEBD label position her differently leading to resistance and agency?*

(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person)

A6. **What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?**

The girl, and other individuals, involved in this research will not be exposed to any risks that are greater than everyday life however as the focus of the research is around how one constructs identity, and how others contribute to these constructions, the nature of the research could be considered sensitive, as it may uncover constructs that individuals may not previously have attended to, or considered in depth. Due to this it will be important to ensure that the information sheets provided are adequate and that all involved understand the general area of research before they engage. [see attached] Throughout the research I will remain sensitive and alert to the needs of those involved and ensure that I do all that is possible to make the situation comfortable. I will ensure that those involved know that they have the right to withdraw at any point and I will ensure I communicate this at various stages throughout the research. It will also be important to fully debrief the individuals involved ensuring that they do not leave the sessions with any questions and providing them with the relevant contact details for any questions that may emerge at a subsequent point. Finally, I will be working closely with a key member of staff at the setting that the girl attends who will be available for the girl to talk to in the first instance.

A7. **Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed?** (Especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises.)

I anticipate that the family meetings will take place at home. In order to ensure my safety I will check whether there is a reason that I should not visit an individual's

147

address. I will ensure that I follow protocol for home visits, including informing the EPS office of my whereabouts, the estimated time of my return and ensuring that I have a mobile phone on my person. If I feel that there is a risk associated with a visit I will arrange an alternative meeting venue.

A8.   How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?
Information will be provided to the Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) within the Local Authority (LA) in which I am working. Once they have received this information they will be asked to identify any girls within their setting who they feel may be interested in taking part in the research (this could include any girl within the setting). Once this has been done I will visit the setting and provide information for any girls that express an interest as well as providing information for their parents.I will work closely with a named member of staff at the setting to deliver this information. I will then randomly select one girl to approach to be the main focus of my research. Random selection is felt to be the fairest and most open way to select my main participant. Once a potential individual has been identified I will work with the setting and we will arrange to meet the girl and her parents so that we can talk through the information sheet and answer any questions that they have. They will then be given time to consider whether they would like to participate. If they decide that they would like to take part a home visit will take place to go through the information sheet again, answer any further questions and gain informed consent. As I will be working in a number of contexts I will also need to gather consent from other girls within the peer group (who may be recorded anonymously), their parents, professionals who will be attending the review meetings and consent from any family members who would like to be present at the family meeting. This will follow a similar process of providing information, checking for understanding and answering any questions raised, and finally gaining informed consent. For the parents of the girls who will be present in the classroom settings I will work with the school to provide general information and gain informed consent, this may be in the form of a meeting, a telephone conversation or a face to face conversation at a parents evening-depending on what the setting feels would be most appropriate. Information sheets will contain my contact details if any parent would like to contact me directly at this stage. If I am unsuccessful in gaining interested individuals from the PRUs then I will contact my Fieldwork Supervisor's mainstream secondary schools and follow the same process as outlined above.

A9.   Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?

Yes   ☐ ✓

No   ☐

If informed consent is not to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/policy-notes/consent
Only under exceptional circumstances are studies without informed consent permitted. Students should consult their tutors.

A.9.1   How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):
In line with the BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) and HCPC Guidance on Conduct and Ethics for Students (2009) informed consent will be obtained from those involved. This will follow the process of providing relevant information, as outlined above. Once the information has been provided all individuals will be asked to sign a consent form. I will also ensure that, prior to any data collection taking place, I will revisit the issue of informed consent and re-iterate the individuals' right to withdraw, without reason, at any point.

A.10   How will you ensure appropriate protection and well-being of participants?
During my involvement I will ensure that I am mindful of any signs of distress that an individual may exhibit, for instance the young person may sit with their arms crossed and not engage in conversations or show more subtle signs of discomfort such as

through their facial expressions, shifting in their seat or fiddling with an object (there may be other reasons for this behaviour also so it will be important for me to assess these actions in the context of the situation). I will also ensure that I am available following the conversations to discuss any concerns that an individual may have. This research is not intended to have a negative impact on any of the individuals involved, instead it is hoped that through involvement in the process there is the possibility for those involved to feel empowered. Data will also be anoymised so that young people cannot be identified. Those involved will also have the contact details of my research supervisor should they wish to complain. An identified member of staff within the setting will also be working closely with me and and will be available for any girl to talk to if needed.

A.11   What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?
My data will be recorded on an audio device and transcribed using my home computer. Both the audio and transcriptions will be stored on my home computer which is password protected. Any print outs will be stored in a locked cupboard at my home address. Pseudonyms will be used for all of those involved as well as the setting, and only I will know which pseudonym refers to whom.

A.12   Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided.)

Yes [ ]

No [✓]

A.13   Will the research involve the production of recorded or photographic media such as audio and/or video recordings or photographs?

Yes [✓]

No [ ]

A.13.1 This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded or visual media:
How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media or photographs may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?
The conversations and interviews will be recorded using an audio recorder. They will be used for analysis only and kept in a locked cupboard at my home address. Once there is confirmation that the thesis has been successfully examined the audio tapes will be destroyed of appropriately. Information around this process will be included in the information sheet that is provided to all those involved.

PART B – <u>THE SIGNED DECLARATION</u>

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's 'Financial Regulations', 'Good research Practice Standards' and the 'Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In signing this research ethics application I am confirming that:

1. The above-named project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue': **http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/index.html**

2. The above-named project will abide by the University's 'Good Research Practice Standards': http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/general-principles/homepage.html

3. The research ethics application form for the above-named project is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

4. There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.

5. Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.

6. I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my supervisor or the Ethics Administrator as appropriate

7. I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CICS).

8. I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.

9. I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (eg the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers/supervisors) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.

10. If this is an application for a 'generic'/'en block' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.

11. I will inform the Chair of Ethics Review Panel if prospective participants make a complaint about the above-named project.

Signature of student (student application):

Signature of staff (staff application):

Date:

Email the completed application form to the course/programme secretary

For staff projects contact the Ethics Secretary, Colleen Woodward
Email: c.woodward@sheffield.ac.uk for details of how to submit

---

This Is Me: Hannah

Things I Like

- Spending time with my friends
- Going to the local shopping centre
- Looking after my baby cousins
- Jay Z
- Corro and EastEnders!

Things I'm not a fan of...

- People who are nasty to other people
- People who think they can tell me what to do
- Really busy places

Other Stuff you might want to know about me

- I live at home with my Mum, Dad, Brother, Sister and a few pets
- My friends are really important to me, I like spending time with them when I'm not at the PRU
- I'm about to start a placement at a nursery, I'm hoping to work in childcare when I finish school
- One of the best things about coming to the PRU is that the staff really listen to you.

Appendix Ten - Hannah's Education Timeline

Hannah's Education Timeline

Dates	School	Reason for Leaving
Dates 2003 - 2008	St Theresa's Primary School	**Reason for Leaving** Moved House
Dates 2008 - 2010	Green Bank Primary School	**Reason for Leaving** Moved to secondary school
Dates 2010 - January 2013	Beauchamp Secondary School	**Reason for Leaving** Sent to PRU (remaining on roll at Beauchamp)
Dates January 2012 - January 2013	Attended St Winifred's (PRU)	**Reason for Leaving** Permanent Exclusion
Dates January 2013 - Present (October 2013	Framlingham Secondary School	**Reason for Leaving** Sent to PRU (remaining on roll at Framlingham)
Dates January 2013 - Present (October 2013	Attended Hillside (PRU)	**Reason for Leaving** Still attending at end of research

Appendix Eleven - Transcription Key

(Based on Jefferson 1984)

↑	An arrow direction indicates raised/lowered pitch or intonation
Word	An underlined word demonstrates emphasis
-0.5	Intervals within or between talk (measured in tenths of a second)
(.)	Pause less than one second, too short to measure
(1+)	Pause more than one second
[word	Point of overlapping speech
Word]	Point at which overlapping speech ends
\	Continuing speech interrupted by other (also used to show a person continues speaking over across an intervening line displaying overlapping talk)
?	Questioning intonation
!	Animated tone
WORD	Capitals indicates louder speech relative to surrounding talk
word	italics indicate quieter speech relative to surrounding talk
....	Missing data
((coughs))	Noises in double paraphrases
hhh	Audible out breath
.hhh	Audible in breath

Appendix Twelve - Conversation One (Hannah and Jemma)

Line	Name	
1 2	Jemma	so I just thought that you could kinda start by telling me a bit about what school what primary school was like
3	Hannah	erm (1+)
4	Jemma	what primary school did you go to St Margaret's?
5	Hannah	well then I went to then I went to green bank after (0.4) er St Margaret's
6	Jemma	how long did you go to St Margaret's for?
7	Hannah	(0.6) about year four year free (0.5)
8	Jemma	and how come you moved?
9	Hannah	[no year four (.) what?]
10	Jemma	[how come you moved to]
11	Hannah	\ we moved houses
12	Jemma	Ok
13 14 15	Hannah	so then I moved to green bank (.) erm but (3) … ↑ it were alright ↓ St Margaret's were alright and then (3) like Green Bank I were just (.) mm (1) just like (0.6) cus everyone's rite naughte (1)
16	Jemma	Ok
17	Hannah	so (3)
18	Jemma	so what (.) did you have friends at St Margaret's that you left behind? and (.)
19	Hannah	yeah (.) loads my best friend as well (1) [Chantelle]
20	Jemma	[are you still] in touch with er?
21	Hannah	yeah
22	Jemma	yeah
23	Hannah	known her fu (.) eight years
24	Jemma	↑ mmmmmmmmmmmmmmm
25	Hannah	cus she used to live on same street as mi
26 27	Jemma	((laugh)) .hhh so at St Margaret's then do y (.) what's yur (2) hh what do you remember about St Margaret's? (0.6) and what it was like?
28	Hannah	(3) mm mm I UST TO GET DONE THERE A LOT
29	Jemma	did yu?
30 31 32	Hannah	yeah like at dinner (1) erm I didn't eat me sandwich (3) ((laugh)) hhh and you used to get done from like cus I used to pass it under the table ((laughing))

Line	Name	
33	Jemma	what to someone else? ((laughing))
34 35 36	Hannah	yeah ((laughing)) hhh oh God ((laughing)) ohhhh yeah erm … oh and this dance group I only went in there cus me best friend were in there nd I got kicked outta there cus I weren't payin' attention (.)
37	Jemma	right
38 39	Hannah	cus I weren't really bothered (2) er (2) *I can't really remember owt else really* (1)
40 41	Jemma	wot bout your teachers what do you remember about your teachers from St Margaret's?
42 43 44	Hannah	aaa there were this one called Mr. Matters (.) he were me favourite teacher erm (.) nd then there were (.) *who else were there* (3) Miss Smith (.) Miss M…
45 46 47	Jemma	yeah (2) you say you used to get int into trouble for things like passing your sandwich nd (0.5) what about in class did you used to get into trouble in class?
48	Hannah	no not really
49	Jemma	so just when you were kinda?
50	Hannah	\ yeah (2)
51	Jemma	those social times (1) nnmm (1) did other people get into trouble as well?
52	Hannah	(5) yeh (.) I don't remember ((ha)) (1)
53	Jemma	so then you moved house and moved to Green Bank? (.)
54	Hannah	yeh
55 56	Jemma	and what was that like (1) what was it like making new friends and stuff?
57 58	Hannah	(1) erm (.) cus I didn't I didn't move there straight away to school cus you have tu like get in and that don't you like to get in and [everything]
59	Jemma	[mmmm]
60 61 62 63 64	Hannah	so and on mi street there wer there were this boy next door who were who were in my in my year so nd I uste to like go out with all his friends and that (.) so I got to know them and then wen I wen I went to school I just (.) cus they're all right nice in primary so it's alright you don't need to worry
65	Jemma	Yeah
66 67 68	Hannah	nd then I got (.) so then I like I were always with them and (.) I just got to know everyone and I were alright IT WEREN'T AS BAD cus like when you move like (.) and you're in comp and you move

Line	Name	
69	Jemma	mmm
70 71 72	Hannah	then ur like (.) that's difficult cus um not everybody's nice but in primary it's fine cus everybody's nice (.) but when I moved to Framlingham that were alright
73	Jemma	yeah (.) that
74	Hannah	\ …
75	Jemma	so did you go from Green Bank up to Framlingham (.) or was that was that?
76	Hannah	\ that was (.) this is my [comp]
77	Jemma	[after]
78 79	Hannah	after no I went to Beauchamp didn't a (.) after Green Bank I went to Beauchamp into comp
80	Jemma	yeah
81	Hannah	then I moved to Framlingham
82 83	Jemma	ok (3) so if someone had to (2) if one of ur teachers had tu describe ye when you were in Green Bank what duyu think they'd say about ya?
84	Hannah	if what
85 86	Jemma	if one of your teachers had to describe you if someone said o what's Hannah like (0.5) what duyu think they would of said?
87 88 89	Hannah	(1) they will se (1) that she can be nice (.) she can be so lovely but sometimes she can be mischievous and (.) just (.) thingy and she's got a nice personality that's what they'll say they always say it to mi (0.8)
90	Jemma	yeh
91	Hannah	just stop being naughti (1) *they all se (.) I'm right nice though*
92 93	Jemma	so what kind of things happened at Green Bank then you said you got into trouble a lot there?
94	Hannah	not Green Bank
95	Jemma	not Green Bank?
96	Hannah	Beauchamp do you mean?
97	Jemma	yeah
98	Hannah	yeah
99	Jemma	sorry

Line	Name	
100 101 102 103 104	Hannah	erm (3) *I dunt even rememba* (1) er (1) we just ust to not er I (.) I didn't go to my lessons (.) at all (.) *seems daft* now though cus er I like (.) just seems daft (0.5) didn't ust to go to my lessons erm (.) I ust to argue wit teachers (1) I ust to run out of class (.) emm (0.5) I ust to make everyone laff in lessons (1) *just used to be daft*
105	Jemma	Yeah
106	Hannah	That's it really cus yu just get carried away when everyone's there (2)
107	Jemma	so daft do you think people (.) you said about being mischievous
108 109	Hannah	\ NOT NOOO they they just laughed thought it were funny (.5) told me to jus like (.) like carry on
110	Jemma	Yeah
111 112	Hannah	so you get like egged on don't ya? (1) but it weren't just me who did it there were like a few of us
113	Jemma	ok (1) so what (.) and then you ended up leavin Beauchamp didn't you?
114	Hannah	I got kicked out o Beauchamp
115	Jemma	(1) so were ye excluded from Beauchamp?
116 117	Hannah	they put me in like (.) yu know like (.) when they take yu out of school for a bit
118	Jemma	mm hmm
119	Hannah	and they sort a put me in this place called The Base (.5)
120	Jemma	↑ oh yeah
121	Hannah	do you know what [that is]?
122	Jemma	[yeah]
123 124 125 126	Hannah	yeah erm put me in there for a bit (.) and I were on a part time time (.) table at first (.5) but then I were I wer I were getting' naughtier or summit (.) sooo (.) so then they (.) they put me there full time sed I weren't allowed in school no more
127	Jemma	right
128 129 130	Hannah	erm (1) then we had a meeting (2) errrmm they said that either I stay I stay in The Base (1) or (.) or move schools (1) or what is it (.) them when you like swap schools like [move]
131	Jemma	[like a] managed move?
132 133	Hannah	yeah a managed move and I did a managed move to Framlingham (.) sooo (.) and then (.) *yeah*
134 135	Jemma	so what (.) what (.) what's The Base for in Beauchamp then? what's what's that about?

Line	Name	
136 137 138	Hannah	(1) it's just like (1) you just gu there it's like its (.) ee (.) Beauchamp schools at top nd then it's like it's not like it's like (.) not this distance from Framlingham and Hillside it's not far do you know where Crampton is?
139	Jemma	yeah
140	Hannah	there it's just there and our PE thing that's where we used to go
141	Jemma	right
142 143 144	Hannah	year seven to year nine and all you do is just (.) you just work on your own in a room (.) like this really and they'll be like (.) another kid or two other kids (.) *that's it all you did (3)*
145	Jemma	and what were the what were the other kids like in there?
146	Hannah	(2) errrrrrrr (1) some were alrite cus I didn't really gu with olderuns
147	Jemma	mm
148	Hannah	so but olderuns were naughty
149	Jemma	were they?
150 151	Hannah	(1) ust to run round chuck chairs (.) nd shout at teachers nd swear at um (2)
152	Jemma	but you were in a in a group with younger
153 154 155	Hannah	\ yeah so (.) or just my age sooo they weren't reight (.) they don't intend to be it's only when they're in school like me (.) I wunt be naughty anywhere else (.) only in school
156	Jemma	mmm
157	Hannah	like when I (.) *when I ust to misbehave*
158	Jemma	yeah
159	Hannah	((laughing))
160	Jemma	(2) so (1) were there other <u>girls</u> in (.) ace
161	Hannah	(4) there were but there wernt nun in my group
162	Jemma	right (.) so you had different groups (.) go there?
163 164	Hannah	\ I just had like this (.) these two boys what were in mine oh and one girl Megan Lightfoot yeah she were <u>right naughty</u> (2)
165	Jemma	was she? hmm (2)
166	Hannah	↑ hmm
167	Jemma	so you'd say she was naughty yeah?
168 169	Hannah	(2) it's not I don't it's not <u>naughty</u> really it's just (.) <u>cheeky</u> she were just right nasty tu teachers

Line	Name	
170	Jemma	was she?
171	Hannah	*yeah* (1) hhh
172 173 174 175	Jemma	so do think your (1) the staff in Beauchamp cus <u>yooou</u> said about (1) them (.) saying that your mis mischievous (.) earlier ((cough)) du yu think that is how they would describe yu rather than <u>naughty</u> (.) seeing you as mischievous?
176	Hannah	Framlingham wud se (.) probably mischievous I fink (1)
177	Jemma	((cough))
178	Hannah	some staff
179	Jemma	mm hmm
180 181 182	Hannah	(1) buuuut I'm not too sure about Beauchamp cus I weren't (2) cuuus when I came to Framlingham I weren't as bad as I were in Beauchamp (.) cus obviously uv gotta change (.) come to a new school
183	Jemma	yeah
184 185	Hannah	so I wernt as bad I were there (.) but obviously (.) Framlingham don't take anythin' <u>at all</u>
186	Jemma	right ok
187	Hannah	sooo err (1)
188	Jemma	so were they a bit <u>stricter</u>?
189 190	Hannah	Framlingham yeah Beauchamp's not that (.) they're alright (.) nn that's a bad thing to say buut (.) s'not my fault ((giggle))
191 192 193	Jemma	((giggle)) (.) so what happened when ya (.) so you agreed to that managed move and you started at Framlingham what year were you in when you started there?
194	Hannah	nine
195	Jemma	ok (1) so when youuu <u>mooved </u>did you know anyone at Framlingham?
196	Hannah	(0.5) no just me cousin Anita
197	Jemma	ok and what was that like?
198 199 200 201	Hannah	(1) I it felt <u>orrible</u> like not knowing anyone like but (1) first few days cus (1) it were ar (.) like me cusin ust to come to me lessons and that cus I didn't know anyone it's a <u>mass've school</u> HAVE YOU BEEN IN Framlingham?
202	Jemma	mmm
203	Hannah	it's massI've
204	Jemma	yeah

160

Line	Name	
205 206 207 208 209	Hannah	like I didn't even know where I were goin until like 5 weeks later I didn't even <u>know</u> (.) I didn't even ah God its massive yeah and then she ust to come to my lessons (.) and then ((clears throat)) I ust to stay stay wiv her and her friends (2) but they were popular her friends (.) who she ust to chill wiv
210	Jemma	ok
211 212 213 214 215	Hannah	sooo and then that's why everyone likes tu like everyone was speaking to everyone nnn (.) these girls in <u>my</u> year ((swallow)) in my English Cherese Matthews Miss told her to speak to mi and then we got along and I started chillin with all them and THEY WERE all popular in my year (.) so I stayed with them and then I got to know like iil everybody
216	Jemma	mmm (0.5) and was that important for them to be (.) <u>popular?</u>
217	Hannah	\ nooo
218	Jemma	no
219 220 221	Hannah	I didn't even wanna I DIDN'T WANNA LIKE cus I know I knew full well if I start chillin with them people again cus they all know the pop popular people
222	Jemma	mm
223 224 225	Hannah	so if I if I did that again ((clear throat) they weren't they're not (1) like (2) I don't know how to explain popular to y'all like (0.5) cus (.) there's (.) kids like what are just right quiet and then (1)
226	Jemma	mmhmm
227	Hannah	and then (0.5) then there's kids what are like <u>known</u>
228	Jemma	yeah
229 230 231	Hannah	soooo and but I didn't wanna do that again cus I know that then on first day I went out wiv um so I knew full well if I did that then (.) like I'd go back to how I were and that's what I did
232	Jemma	ok
233	Hannah	sooooo
234 235	Jemma	so do you think when you started did they know anything about (.) what had happened with you before do you [think]?
236	Hannah	[noo]
237 238	Jemma	were you just just new and they didn't know anything about it. what about the teachers do you think they knew [about]?
239 240	Hannah	[yeah] some <u>no</u> there were only there were (2) at first there were only two what knew
241	Jemma	mm

Line	Name	
242 243 244 245 246 247 248	Hannah	Miss Walters but she left now (1) and Mr. Andrews my head o year … Miss Shoe (.) they knew (1) head teacher obviously (1) err but then like later on (.) CUS AT FIRST I WERE FINE (.) but then later on like cus I were just cheeky and that to the staff then (1+) they found out like sum of um soo (.) most of um know noow but they didn't at first nobody knew cus Miss Walker was like nobody knows so (.) it's a new start for you and and everyfing
249 250	Jemma	yeah (.) and did you feel like it was a new start with all the teachers as well as (.) the kids?
251 252	Hannah	(2) not really cus (.) it's just moving like I dunno s'just another school really (0.5) ↑ it's not gonna change yu is it?
253	Jemma	no?
254 255 256	Hannah	just like a different building innit? that's it so (.) obviously they think ahh she's got she's gonna do it now (.) new start and if she dunt do it then she's stupid but (1) it's just a nnn different school you're not gunna (1+)
257	Jemma	mmm
258 259 260 261	Hannah	(1) I dunno (0.4) can't just change like just cus your moving school (1+) cus your your gonna misbehave even more when you move school (.) when you don't know no one (.) your gonna be angry (.) 'bout movin school nd (.) sooo
262 263 264	Jemma	(1+) yeah (.) what do you think would have helped(.) do you think there's anything that would of helped? (1) instead of moving schools or moving [schools and something]
265 266	Hannah	[I didn't really have no workers] like you know when I moved to Framlingham I had loads
267	Jemma	mmm ok
268 269 270 271	Hannah	I had loads and they were (.) just (.) like (.) they were there nd nd if I ad more workers there I think I would of behaved (1) y'know more people telling me to behave nd stuff nd like I would have matured a bit more then (1) cus I was Immature a lot
272 273 274	Jemma	yeah (2) ok so you said you kinda (.) you made some good friends when you got to Framlingham after hanging out with ya cus, cousins friends (.) and then (.) things started to go (0.5) a bit downhill there as well
275	Hannah	yeah
276	Jemma	what, what happened there?
277 278 279 280	Hannah	(1) umm (1) like we were just talking a lot nd then aft (2) like u (1+) nd then we got moved and then we started not gonna to lessons (.) um (3) ↑ what did I ust to do …(2) oh yeah we ust to run owt (.) school (2) and um like main thing that I did was not go lessons that's it really
281	Jemma	oh k

Line	Name	
282	Hannah	yeah (1) yeah that's it, WE UST TO GET CAUGHT ALL TI'ME
283	Jemma	by the staff?
284	Hannah	yeah (laugh)
285	Jemma	what ud happen when [ud get caught]?
286	Hannah	[outside having] a fag or something ((laugh))
287	Jemma	what ud happen when you get (.) got caught?
288 289 290	Hannah	(1) umm ah (2) then you know you're in trouble cus uh they put you in like supervision, it's <u>orrible</u> like supervision they'll get get you excluded they're not bothered
291	Jemma	right
292	Hannah	they just tell yu there and then that's it cus they're right strict aren't thay?
293	Jemma	(1) right (1) so when did you start coming here? (1) coming to Hillside
294	Hannah	(2) ehh (1) ((Cough)) (2) my memory's soooo bad
295	Jemma	does it feel like forever ((laugh))
296 297 298	Hannah	((laugh)) yeah errr *when did I start coming to Hillside* (2) I dunno cus at first I was just coming here like (.) <u>a day</u> and I was still in school like I were at (.) you know when I was going to The Base
299	Jemma	yeah
300 301	Hannah	cus this is y'know St Winifred's I was goin to St Winifred's do you know St Winifred's?
302	Jemma	oh right yeah
303 304 305 306 307 308	Hannah	I ust to go there for Framlingham (.) I mean for Beauchamp (1) nd I only went there tw once on Tuesdays and I I ust to do that that ere (1) but obviously because I've been kicked out of school I have to come ere now (.) or I could have moved school but I prefer to not move school again because there's <u>NO POINT</u> (.) cus I'm not gonna behave (.) again (.) so I'd just rather do this cus I behave ere
309 310 311 312 313	Jemma	yeah (.) so when you (.) when you started (.) when Framlingham said about coming here and when Beauchamp said about going to St Winifred's what (2) how did they describe it (.)? what (.) when you were coming what did you think it was gonna be like (.) and why why did you think you were coming?
314 315	Hannah	(.) cus my behaviour and I knew (1) they didn't really (.) they just said that (.) *I can't remember what they said* (1)
316	Jemma	No
317	Hannah	No (1)

Line	Name	
318	Jemma	were you <u>worried</u> about coming the first time?
319 320 321 322	Hannah	yeahh cus I didn't I didn't nnn nnn not not in <u>Beauchamp</u> cus I knew everyone cus they were all from my school (1) but (.) obviously cus comin ere they're all from different (1) like (.) cus I knew loads of people what went there (1) St Winifred's and I didn't know anybody ere from here
323	Jemma	yeah
324 325 326	Hannah	it's like nobody (.) like I know a <u>few</u> people what come ere but they're not really in my set on same timetable as me (.) but e rm (1) I didn't know anybody from here (1) and then I got to know um so
327 328 329	Jemma	yeah (3) and you said about (.) cus of your <u>behaviour</u> (1) so what what kind of (3) what kind of behaviour do you think <u>makes</u> (1) schools send (.) children to (.) here and St Winifred's?
330 331	Hannah	(3) ummm (2) not goin to lessons (.) not behaving (2) umm (2) *swearin at staff*
332	Jemma	mmmm
333	Hannah	I ust to throw my lipstick at people's heads
334	Jemma	did ya (1) what teachers?
335	Hannah	no staff (.) no no I mean kl pupils
336	Jemma	yeah
337 338	Hannah	(inhale) chucked a pen at a staff once (2) I (.) got done (.) for sexual assault (2) cus it hit his bum (3) … (2)
339	Jemma	(3) do you think that was a bit over the top?
340	Hannah	cus I didn't mean to chuck it at him I wouldn't
341	Jemma	mmm
342 343	Hannah	wouldn't wanna do that (2) but you get like carried away and your chucking pens and (3) ↑ got excluded for it
344	Jemma	right (1) so how many times were you excluded (.) do you know?
345	Hannah	erm (5) hmmm dunno (2) *not loads of times*
346	Jemma	how did you feel when you got excluded what was it like
347 348 349 350	Hannah	(1) at first I weren't that bothered cus I hadn't had it before I though it's alright but when I was getting excluded again I was like oh God and then I were like I wanted to change it and like ↓ but you can't can ya (.) you've done it
351	Jemma	mmm (1) like go back and change what'd happened
352	Hannah	yeah I wish I could I'd like to be back in school (.) at Framlingham
353	Jemma	would you (1) back in Framlingham

Line	Name	
354	Hannah	yeah (1) cus obviously I *can't go back to Beauchamp*
355	Jemma	(2) would you <u>prefer</u> to go back to Beauchamp?
356	Hannah	(1) no
357	Jemma	no (.) why not?
358 359 360 361	Hannah	I WOULD you know when I first started Beauc er Framlingham (.) er but I know like that I just go back to how I ust to be all my old ways (.) but in Framlingham I know that I'd be alright because there ain't that many (.) kids in <u>my year </u>what are (2) what behave bad
362	Jemma	mmm
363 364	Hannah	so (2) I dunno (1) so I'd be alright if I went back cus I've matured a lot and they have
365 366	Jemma	yeah (1) so do you think you ust to behave bad then? would you have described yourself as behaving badly?
367	Hannah	yeah
368	Jemma	yeah (1) and why do you think you you were
369	Hannah	I don't know myself I don't even know <u>why</u> I did it
370	Jemma	mmm
371	Hannah	I honestly don't (2) if I knew then (3) *I dunno*
372 373 374	Jemma	(2) so so what are the people like that come here? How many people come? (2) ((clears throat)) like are in your groups and stuff how does it work?
375 376 377 378	Hannah	(1) hm they all y'll you you get to wiv all ovum anyway somehow (.) cus sometimes we're in different groups today Friday we (.) we're wiv like same people same group (.) erm Mondays we swap (1) but we're in same group but we're always getting on though
379	Jemma	yeah so you get to know everyone
380	Hannah	hhh I know everyone now
381 382	Jemma	yeah and is it like a little mini school where you have to do all your classes and stuff
383	Hannah	(2) err
384	Jemma	does it not feel like that?
385	Hannah	dunt feel like school
386	Jemma	↑no (.) what's it feel like?
387	Hannah	erm (1) I don't really think about that

Line	Name	
388 389 390	Jemma	what are the differences do you think between (.) if you were having to describe (.) like Framlingham and then describe Hillside what would be the big differences?
391 392 393 394 395 396 397	Hannah	(6) hmm *I don't know* (3) cus it's some days it'll be alright here (.) and some days like (.) but IT AIN'T been bad here for ages (.) it's all fine (.) some people kick off for some daft reasons and they'll go off mad and they'll just be (.) thingy but then like then (.) couple minutes later or (.) an hour later or half an hour later they'll be fine and it'll be all normal it's never really (2) never really thingy ere like (1) YOU <u>WOULD</u> THINK (.) cus it's like (.) a P R U
398	Jemma	yeah
399	Hannah	you'd think ah it's gunna be (.) hectic and all this but it's not really
400	Jemma	no
401 402	Hannah	nooo (1) there's only like a few what'll (.) misbehave sometimes but (.) you'll see worse at schools I <u>I</u>… think you would
403	Jemma	yeah
404 405 406 407	Hannah	but you wouldn't think it but ere you don't (.) it's not bad cus (.) pu (.) <u>they're not that bad</u> (1) they're just obviously when they were with their friends and I <u>even I I usta do it</u> (.) you just big yourselfs up when you're with your friends
408	Jemma	mmm
409 410	Hannah	but when they're when they're friends aren't ere they don't really do it soo (.)
411 412	Jemma	do so you think that's one of the main reasons that it's calmer here (.) cus it's
413 414 415 416	Hannah	\ mmmm and I like it more cus it's a smaller environment (.) and when I'm like with loads of people (1) like when I was before (.) it were like (.) I were just (.) badly behaved (1) but when it's small I'm fine I can just concentrate on my own
417	Jemma	yeah (1) and what about (.) how many girls come?
418	Hannah	not a lot (.) like two Sherise and Holly (3)
419	Jemma	so there's kinda three
420	Hannah	\ and there's some
421	Jemma	there's that girl group as well isn't there?
422 423	Hannah	yeah but they don't spend dinner or anything with us so they're on their own (2)
424 425	Jemma	what's it like just having a couple of other girls? (.) do you get on with the other girls?

Line	Name	
426	Hannah	yeah (1) except for one (3) *and that's it* (3)
427	Jemma	is it strange not having as many girls
428	Hannah	\ yeah
429	Jemma	(2) why do you think there's not as many girls?
430 431	Hannah	I don't know y'know (1) I honestly don't cus at St Winifred's there were ↑ loads of girls there
432	Jemma	was there?
433 434	Hannah	and you come here and there's no girls but they probably might be ona different timetable I don't know but they're not are they?
435	Jemma	I don't know (.) I don't <u>think so</u>
436	Hannah	↑I don't think they are you know (3)
437	Jemma	so do you end up having to sort the boys out? keep them in check?
438	Hannah	((Laugh)) don't know (1) yeah sometimes I can
439 440	Jemma	(1) yeah ((laugh)) and you said you don't really get into much trouble here
441	Hannah	no
442	Jemma	what are the staff like?
443	Hannah	right (.) really good
444	Jemma	hmmm yeh
445	Hannah	yeah they are (2)
446 447	Jemma	what d'ya think's different between staff here and other staff that you've had before?
448 449 450 451	Hannah	(1) they're not really interested in what you've gotta say (.) other staff (1) they're not (.) they never yeyeye they'll just get (.) they won't listen to like they'll think they'll listen to ya what you've gotta say but they won't believe ya
452	Jemma	mmhmm
453 454	Hannah	and like these (1) they won't they will they'll listen to you for ages if they have to, you know if they have to
455	Jemma	yeah
456 457 458	Hannah	but (1) these are (.) *I don't know* (.) they deal with it a lot calmer (.) cus ya obviously you don't get done as much you get done more when your (.) when you're in school
459	Jemma	yeah

Line	Name	
460 461	Hannah	like obviously you get done but (.) ya know you've not got supervision and suff
462	Jemma	yeah so it's kind of (1) less people means there's more time to do stuff?
463	Hannah	yeah
467	Jemma	(2) so how do you think your behaviour's changed since coming ere?
468	Hannah	(5) why or how?
469	Jemma	(2) both
470	Hannah	erm (3) I think I've just matured
471	Jemma	yeah
472	Hannah	I think that's it (3) I just realised that yeah (2)
473	Jemma	just realised that
474 475 476 477	Hannah	**I'm** not gonna get nowhere in life if I just carry on and I wanna (.) get my job and everything (1) I'm doing a placement now *at a nursery* so (1) cus in year ten ↑ you do placements and that don't you like work experience
478	Jemma	mmm
479 480 481	Hannah	so (1) so cus I've only got like two years left (.) think about it be naughty all them years (.) what's what's point (1) I were just silly then (2) I wish I could start over agen naaw
482	Jemma	yeah? (1) where would you go back to? if you could turn the clock back
483	Hannah	\ year seven year seven (1) that's it year seven (2) I'd go back there
484	Jemma	yeah (1) what do you think would be different?
485	Hannah	(2) <u>everything</u> (.) I'd be in school I'd probably be a boff (2)
486	Jemma	yeah?
487	Hannah	yeah I actually would (3) *for good* (2)
488 489	Jemma	would that mean that you wouldn't have the same friends and things then?
490	Hannah	(2) yeah (.) most likely
491 492	Jemma	(1) so (.) you said earlier (.) that you (.) were only really naughty at school so (.) what's it like at home how are you at home?
493	Hannah	(5) …
494	Jemma	have you got one brother
495	Hannah	one brother and one sister
496	Jemma	is your sister older or

168

Line	Name	
497	Hannah	\ yeah she's seventeen
498	Jemma	and what about your brother
499	Hannah	twelve, no firteen naw firteen
500	Jemma	so you're in the middle (.) the middle one
501	Hannah	yeah ummhmm
502	Jemma	and a cat
503	Hannah	yeah ((laugh))
504	Jemma	and twooo rabbits
505	Hannah	Yeah two rabbits ((laughs))
506 507	Jemma	((laughs)) (2) so when you're at home do you go out much with your mates in the evening
508	Hannah	yeah
509	Jemma	and do you get into trouble when you go out with them
510 511 512 513 514	Hannah	(3) not anymore no not (1) no (2) cus like if some if like before like when I went out and I were younger and that (1) probably in Green Bank (1) we were all like (.) you know like (3) *bad* (1) errmm erm and if someone did it now and they were with me I woudn't like it (.) I'd just it'd just put me off
515	Jemma	mmm
516 517	Hannah	cus obviously I've matured and stuff (.) and I wouldn't wanna go back to that (2) I wouldn't anyway (1) I wouldn't be able to (1) do it
518	Jemma	no?
519	Hannah	no (2) it's <u>daft though</u> I shouldn't have bin naughty in first place
520	Jemma	what do you think (.) why do you think you were?
521	Hannah	I don't know dunno (.) *I don't know* (2)
522 523	Jemma	d'ya think other people ever expected you to be naughty and it was easier?
524	Hannah	↓ sometimes (2)
525	Jemma	what about staff here what do you think they expect?
526	Hannah	to behave (2)
527	Jemma	do they make that quite clear that kindov (.) expectation do you think?
528 529 530	Hannah	(2) no (.) but when they like speak to you like if you've done something they'll just be like (1) I know you can do it and all this and they'll just be like (.) be like you *don't need to misbehave* (1) nd everythin

Line	Name	
		Discussion interrupted by bell to signal end of the day
531	Hannah	uhh I didn't realise it was that time
532	Jemma	no worries (2) erm I'm in school again on Tuesday (.) perhaps we could carry on talking?
533	Hannah	Tuesday yeah I'm in then so yeah

Appendix Thirteen - Conversation Two (Hannah and Jemma)

Line	Name	
534	Jemma	This chairs not as comfy as the other one
535	Hannah	mmm
536 536	Jemma	so when we were talking on Friday we kind of got to (.) we spoke through primary school didn't we [and a] bit about (.) what Beauchamp and Framlingham were like and things (.)
539	Hannah	[mmm]
540 541 542 543 544 545	Jemma	so I thought today it (.) it would be helpful to talk a bit about how you feel _now_ and (1) what you see for your future and what you were kinda WHAT YOU WANT and what other people (.) want for ye (0.5) and what and what _that's_ like (1) cus sometimes other people can want different things for us and that can impact on (.) on us (1) so what (.) when your here what lessons are you doing? what are you working towards?
546 547 548	Hannah	erm on a Monday (.) we work with I think we work with James all _noo what_ ... yeah I were with James we work with James all day and we do like (.) we do like proper work what you would do in schools
549	Jemma	mm hmm
550 551	Hannah	erm on a Tuesday we ust to do (.) catering all day like you ust to do work about it first then you ust to go un (.) mek it
552	Jemma	yeah
553 554 555 556 557 558 559	Hannah	and we ust to make mek like dinners and stuff erm (0.5) but now they've changed that because (.) **obviously we need to work** as well so we go in Sharon's (.) for first bit nd we do stuff in there like today we med box (.) we med a box to put our sweets in what we're gonna mek next week nd then you go to James and you do some work in there we did summit about I think (0.5) do y'know about have you heard of John Kennedy or summit?
560	Jemma	yeah
561	Hannah	a president, president of America
562	Jemma	yeah
563 564	Hannah	well we're learning about him and we watched a clip of him sh (0.5) getting shot and what happened a documentary
565	Jemma	mm hmm
566 567	Hannah	that umm and then we go mm what then we go Ruth's and then we do like (.) arts and stuff
568	Jemma	yeah (1) so they throw a bit more work in there for you?

569	Hannah	yeah
570	Jemma	and what's that like?
571 572	Hannah	it's alright its <u>good</u> cus I wanna do more work because obviously I'm not in school (2)
573 574	Jemma	so what do you want when you when you leave here and when <u>do you</u> leave here?
575 578	Hannah	err (2) I won't leave here I will leave like where area is but there's a there gonna change it aren't they
579	Jemma	right
580 581	Hannah	cus they're moving it somewhere else but I dunno if I'll still be in it but I'll be in summit else um (1) what did you say?
582 583	Jemma	like what (.) what happens next? what are you working are you working towards exaamms or/
584	Hannah	/no not yet ermmm you asked me what I want to do after didn't ya
585	Jemma	mmm
586 587	Hannah	er I want to do childcare but if I can't do that cus I like ain't be to school and that I'll do beautician
588	Jemma	ok (1) so what is it about childcare that you [find (.) interes]ting?
589	Hannah	[I love kids]
590	Jemma	d'ya?
591 592	Hannah	(1) *yep* (1) got a placement at a nursery as well [(1) and] then a beaut and then I can go to Stern park you can do hair and beauty there
593 594	Jemma	<u>[brilliant]</u> oh ok so when do you start your nursery placement?
595 596 597	Hannah	umm I was meant to have started last week but I didn't go but there gonna swap my dates to Wednesdays (.) cus I'm (.) on Thursdays I'm ... that beauty place
598	Jemma	so you'll have something every day then?
599 600 601	Hannah	yeah (2) cus I'm not at school while three so I need something to do (2) and then (1) so I've I've wanted to do a placement for ages so they've put me that in
602 603	Jemma	mmmmm (1) so when you say childcare what kinda thing (.) so what would that entail?
604 605	Hannah	y'know like (1) I dunno prob (1) I dunno if I'd like (1) nursery assistant ooorr (1) like I'd probably do that yeah nursery assistant
606 607 608	Jemma	oh ok so (.) umm and what qualities do you think you need as a person to do that kind of that job? (1) like what personality and things? (1) what skills do you think you could bring to it?
609 610	Hannah	(1) errrrmmmmmm like helping helping um and (2) being a good influence on um

611	Jemma	yeah
612	Hannah	be nice
613	Jemma	(2) have you got kids in the family have you got/
614	Hannah	/ yeah <u>loads</u> of cousins and I always look after them so
615	Jemma	yeah (2) is that your job? everyone knows that you're good at that
616	Hannah	yeah
617	Jemma	and they're just like /
618 619	Hannah	/yeah just babysittin babysittin um (2) but (1) I don't find it boring or WELL I LIKE IT I like babysitting so (3)
620	Jemma	and what ages (.) what ages are your cousins?
621	Hannah	erm ones three now
622	Jemma	yeah
623 627 628	Hannah	and ones seven then there's twins they're (.) five no they're (.) they're both six and their little their little sister she's she's three and there's um (.) who else is there? that's mainly the most ones I look after
629	Jemma	yeah
630 631 632	Hannah	there's loads of us but I don't really (.0) I do like when I go to me nans and that then I'll play with um .... er but them ones them kids I've just mentioned ..... I mainly babysit them ((giggle))
633 634	Jemma	((laugh)) yeah (.) my niece is nearly three and she's so (.) so funny oh she's just so cheeky and like the things that they say and do/
635	Hannah	/yeah I know just so funny ((laughs))
636 637 638	Jemma	so (1) so when I was at your house the other day your mum was saying about you working hard cus so you can cus your bright and you know to get your grades and stuff
639	Hannah	yeah
640 641	Jemma	d'ya think (.) is that what your mum and dad want for yu as well to go into childcare and/
642	Hannah	/yeah she just wants me to do what I want (2) so (1)
643 644	Jemma	that's good (2) and how do they feel about (.) what was it like at home when everything was going a bit wrong at school?
645	Hannah	(1) she were just tellin me to behave (.) everyday (.) that's it really (4)
646 647	Jemma	and was it (.) how do they see Hillside what do they ever say to you about comin ere?

648 649 650 651 652 653	Hannah	they didn't at first they didn't like they didn't want me ere (.) because like there's other kids aren't there and (.) they're here because like (.)obviously for a reason (1) obviously they're not good so um she just didn't want me around them (.) think I'd be (.) just think it'd be bad (.) influence on me but now like obviously cus I'm like she knows that I'm good here sooo she's alright with it
634	Jemma	yeah (1) so she's seen/
635 636	Hannah	/she'd still prefer me at school but I didn't want that (1) she still says to me now ↑ do you wanna move schools? *noooo* ((laugh))
637	Jemma	((laugh)) what about your dad does your dad ever say anything about it?
638	Hannah	(2) not really (.) he just says same as my mum really (2)
639	Jemma	yeah (2) my dad is a bit like that, he tends to agree with my mum!
640	Hannah	yeaahh ((laughs))
641	Jemma	((laughing)) does what he's told
642	Hannah	((laughing)) yeah (inhale)
643 644 645	Jemma	so what's it like (2) you know how we were talking the other day about there only being a couple of girls here (.) d'ya think it's different for a girl that comes here compared to a boy?
646 647 648 648	Hannah	(2) yeah because there's more boys nd they can like (2) cus I'm alright with um cus ...but the other girls like Sherise bless her she comes in and she just sits on er own, like I talk to her sometimes but she at dinner and break and that she'll sit on her own
649	Jemma	mmm
650 651 652 653	Hannah	us obviously there's more boys and that but when Amy Amy's here she's meant to come on a Tuesday but (.) I don't know where she is *um something's happened* um (1) so then she's on her own (.) if there were more girls in here the it'd be alright
654	Jemma	yeah
655 656	Hannah	but obviously all the boys they can just be together (2) but I'm not bothered really
657	Jemma	d'ya get on with everyone?
658 659	Hannah	**yeah I do now** at first I was cus I didn't know anybody and they were all boys mostly
660	Jemma	do you feel like you fit in?
661	Hannah	not at first no (.) but I feel alright now
662	Jemma	what d'ya think it was at first when you came in/
663 664 665 666	Hannah	/I think it's different for other girls though cus they're not really (.) they don't like (.) I don't know (2) *I think they get intimidated by um* because (.0 <u>they do</u> actually like say stuff sometimes (1) if they're like (.) what were you saying before sorry

667 678	Jemma	just about what it's like so it's that's quite interesting. so you think the other girls are perhaps a bit more scared of the boys/?
679	Hannah	/yeah soo (2)
680 681	Jemma	↑ did you feel like that initially when you cus you said when you started you were a bit you were different to what you're like now
682 683 684	Hannah	yeah I were I were scared (3) and (1) I didn't Holly when she came ere I were alright with her THERE WERE MORE GIRLS HERE THOUGH when I first started
685	Jemma	oh ok
686 687	Hannah	there weren't there were more boys obviously but there were like there were four girls
688	Jemma	mmm
689 690 691 692 693 694	Hannah	er and then the first like cus there were loads of boys out there and I didn't want I didn't wanna like talk to um and stuff cus it were a bit weird (.) and awkward (.) because they were just they were weird they were! (1) erm first time I can remember I ate in that room I didn't wanna eat in front of everybody I UST TO DO THAT FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS and then I started eatin in front of all these
695	Jemma	ok
696	Hannah	((laughing)) that's it
697	Jemma	((laughing)) why do you think there are less girls that come here?
698	Hannah	(2) I'm not that I'm not sure I don't know (1)
699	Jemma	d'ya think less girls get into trouble in school? (2)
700 701 702 703	Hannah	I know loads of girls that get into trouble so (1) can't be that (.) I dunno what it is though (2) maybe cus they're from different schools cus this is only like (.) a few schools (1) like certain schools like St Winifred's in Ratby that's for Beauchamp and some other schools (2)
704	Jemma	were there more girls there you said/
705 706 707	Hannah	/ermm (2) no there weren't they ust to be like y'know the beauty girls they they ust to come in and do the work and that's it really (.) we ust to go out for a fag together and that's it (1) didn't see um at break or owt
708	Jemma	yeah and the beauty girls here are quite separate here is that right?
709	Hannah	yeah yeah they are
710	Jemma	so do they come here for a different reason do you think?/
711 712	Hannah	/oh they're not naughte they're just doing a course placement thing boyt beauty (.) beautician (1) so (1)
713 714 715	Jemma	erm and you said earlier about being (.) some other girls perhaps feeling intimidated when they first came by some of the boys (2) how do you think you got over that?

667 678	Jemma	just about what it's like so it's that's quite interesting. so you think the other girls are perhaps a bit more scared of the boys/?
679	Hannah	/yeah soo (2)
680 681	Jemma	↑ did you feel like that initially when you cus you said when you started you were a bit you were different to what you're like now
682 683 684	Hannah	yeah I were I were scared (3) and (1) I didn't Holly when she came ere I were alright with her THERE WERE MORE GIRLS HERE THOUGH when I first started
685	Jemma	oh ok
686 687	Hannah	there weren't there were more boys obviously but there were like there were four girls
688	Jemma	mmm
689 690 691 692 693 694	Hannah	er and then the first like cus there were loads of boys out there and I didn't want I didn't wanna like talk to um and stuff cus it were a bit weird (.) and awkward (.) because they were just they were weird they were! (1) erm first time I can remember I ate in that room I didn't wanna eat in front of everybody I UST TO DO THAT FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS and then I started eatin in front of all these
695	Jemma	ok
696	Hannah	((laughing)) that's it
697	Jemma	((laughing)) why do you think there are less girls that come here?
698	Hannah	(2) I'm not that I'm not sure I don't know (1)
699	Jemma	d'ya think less girls get into trouble in school? (2)
700 701 702 703	Hannah	I know loads of girls that get into trouble so (1) can't be that (.) I dunno what it is though (2) maybe cus they're from different schools cus this is only like (.) a few schools (1) like certain schools like St Winifred's in Ratby that's for Beauchamp and some other schools (2)
704	Jemma	were there more girls there you said/
705 706 707	Hannah	/ermm (2) no there weren't they ust to be like y'know the beauty girls they they ust to come in and do the work and that's it really (.) we ust to go out for a fag together and that's it (1) didn't see um at break or owt
708	Jemma	yeah and the beauty girls here are quite separate here is that right?
709	Hannah	yeah yeah they are
710	Jemma	so do they come here for a different reason do you think?/
711 712	Hannah	/oh they're not naughte they're just doing a course placement thing boyt beauty (.) beautician (1) so (1)
713 714 715	Jemma	erm and you said earlier about being (.) some other girls perhaps feeling intimidated when they first came by some of the boys (2) how do you think you got over that?

716 717 718 719 720 721 722	Hannah	(1) I just got along with um that's all (1) cus I'm cus (.) I dunno I'm not bothered about what I say in front of anybody like when them and they're like obviously they're gonna be shy and they I just got talking to um (.) most of um went to the school and I knew like Kieron and all of these boys were his friends (1) and I ust to go down drive and I ust to talk to Kieron and then (.) got talking to his friends and ever since then we've just got along (1) so it's alright
723	Jemma	good (.) but I'm guessing (.) well have you just had a run in with someone/
724	Hannah	/yeah Darren I were gonna kill him
725	Jemma	what happened?
726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736	Hannah	er I threw a pen EARLIER he were throwing pens at me in Sharon's room no blu tack or whatever and (.) obviously I didn't wanna get into trouble so I just left it I though is that even worth it and then (exhale) we don't argue hardly though me and Darren (0.5) and then I chucked a pen at his he had a hat on and it just went on his hat and he chucked a pen and it landed on me face so (.) it were (.) I (.) I just got angry and there were like a tray in front of me and I just chucked it all over 'I'm (1) because he hit my face I didn't I didn't say owt to 'I'm earlier and then he's done it again well he hit it on my face (.) I didn't purposefully I didn't get aim for his head face or anything and he's got my face on purpose so I've chucked it all in his face (2)
737	Jemma	so what will happen as a result of that do you think?
738 739 740 741 742	Hannah	well nowt cus I'm not really naughty so they can't really do owt(.) cus it's Darren's fault for chucking the pen in my face (1) ((giggling)) WELL IT'S NOT REALLY BUT (.) I ONLY CHUCKED IT AT HIS HAT FOR A MESS ABOUT and then he got angry and chucked a pen at my face so I got angry (1) so (3)
743 744	Jemma	so do you think the boys treat the girls differently to how they treat the other boys in here/
745	Hannah	/yeah (.)definitely
746	Jemma	in what way?
747 748 749	Hannah	cus they're all like friends and they'll people they don't like they'll they'll say nasty things and they'll just say stuff and start laughing and like all boys (2) so
750	Jemma	so do you th/
751	Hannah	/I'll tell um to shut up though
752	Jemma	do ya?
753 754 755 756	Hannah	yeah (1)cus it's not fair like, Jozef, have you seen that Jozef in ere, that boy (1) they said they were gonna one bomb 'I'm I said NO YOUR NOT he ain't done nothing wrong to ya (.) cus they just say stuff like that and like one bomb means like punch um in the face
757	Jemma	right
758	Hannah	nd there's no need for that (.) whereas before I would have said yeah do it

759	Jemma	yeah
760 761 762 763 764 765 766	Hannah	but now obviously I've matured and (.) that's why they were winding me u, they were all being daft and stupid in there, being right immature and saying stupid things to Ruth nd Ruth were telling um to shut up and he were like who are you to tell me to shut up and I went obviously she's the teacher (.) and he were like who you telling to shut up (.) obviously she's telling I'm. They're right immmatuuuuure and most of um are older than me (2) … *so it drives me mad cus they're weird and daft and immature*
767	Jemma	mmm
768	Hannah	and I don't like um like that
769	Jemma	(2) are there times when they are different (1) and [do act] more mature
770 771 772	Hannah	[yeah] can be (1) it's like when they're all together they'll just be idiots in lessons (1) and Callum's the most naughty one in (.) out of boys
773	Jemma	is he
774	Hannah	cus he's got ADHD and that so (1)
775	Jemma	so he can find it difficult?
776	Hannah	yeah
777	Jemma	who's who would say is the girl that comes that gets in the most trouble?
778 779 780 781	Hannah	nobody (.) it ust to be me but not anymore so nobody (.) cus no girls'll come really they're all alrite (1) I think now it'd probably be Holly, she comes on a Wednesday Thursday Friday but I'm not here Wednesday Thursday no more, only Friday. but she can be a pain
782	Jemma	do you get on with her?
783	Hannah	no (1) we ust to (1) I ust to be friends with her
784	Jemma	outside of/
785	Hannah	/outside of here (1)
786	Jemma	Does she go to your/
788 789 790	Hannah	/no she goes to Thwistle but obviously cus I ust to live in Green Bank I ust to hang around with a lot of people and she's from like Thwistle but Thwistle's rite close to Green Bank and everyone were together really so (3)
791	Jemma	so you had a fallout?
792	Hannah	yeah (4)
793 794 795 796 797	Jemma	((cough)) so if you could turn back the clock so you said (.) last week a couple of times that you'd have liked things to be (.) a bit different (.) if you could go back you would (.) have you (.) what do you think (.) have you ever thought about what <u>other</u> people might have been able to do differently?

798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806	Hannah	((clears throat)) erm (1) yeah I said last week like if I had more workers and stuff (.) probably would have changed my behaviour now look it's not took me long to change so they could have given me a bit more time, they could have put me more in ere or something instead of just kicking me out straight away (1) I understand where they're coming from and that but there's more people what didn't you know what I mean I mean obviously I know I was on my last warning but I didn't do anything <u>really</u> (3) I don't know what the word is but I didn't do anything really bad, like other people (1) so (3)
807 808 809	Jemma	so what would you say were the reasons then? cus you said about not going to lessons and talking back to teachers and stuff. Do you think it was all that stuff or were there other things that happened as well?
810 811 812 813 814 815 816	Hannah	(2)oh yeah ((clears throat)) *there were other things* erm I (3) I were violent to people I had a lot of things on my whatever you know at school you have Sims or summit and I had a lot of them on erm (3) for like I dunno, it's hard to explain it. I ust to like chuck I dunno (2) but then they ust to get hurt so then I ust to get done for like assaulting people, chucking water on, threw water on somebody in dinner (3) there were more bits and bobs but I rite can't remember. there were loads of stuff (2)
817	Jemma	Do ya think that staff in school thought you should behave differently?
818	Hannah	no not really
819 820	Jemma	do you think there are the same expectations for everybody, of behaviour?
821 822 823	Hannah	not in schools but they probably do in their own head, like boys and girls, *y'know like they shouldn't be behaving like this cus they're girls* but I never really felt that
824	Jemma	do you feel that you had staff who trusted in you?
824 825	Hannah	erm ((clears throat)) yeah I had a few Mr I had Mr Clarke do you know him?
826	Jemma	erm I recognise the name but I've not met him
827 828 829	Hannah	head of year head of my year he he trusted me. he tried everything to keep me in school (1) yeah I think I were closest with him can't remember any of the others
830	Jemma	but you felt he tried really hard to keep you in?
831	Hannah	yeah he did, he said to me c'mon I'm trying so hard for ya
832	Jemma	mmm
833	Hannah	why don't you behave? AND I SHOULD HAVE LISTENED TO HI'M (2)
834	Jemma	why do you think you didn't?
835 836 837 838 839 840 841	Hannah	I don't know (.) I don't know why I didn't listen, it was stupid not to listen to him, cus he was only saying good things you know, I was saying bad things to him so (1) I shouldn't have. I think it's because, I dunno, I moved from that school and I was ust to that behaviour and I've come ere and kids (.) the kids I were with they were just like I ust to be so (.) and you just wanna, you're just ust to doing that and I didn't really know how to behave good then (2)

842	Jemma	so do you feel that/
843 844 845 846	Hannah	/I couldn't even sit like in Beauchamp I couldn't even sit in a lesson (1) I couldn't even I dunno I just wouldn't do my work I don't know why and they were saying all the time we're gonna kick you out (.) I didn't listen then either (2)
847 848 849 850	Jemma	what about your friends? how do you think your friends ↑ saw you? (4) like did your friends, what did they say to ya about the way you were behaving and when you were nearly gonna be kicked out of Beauchamp did they ever say anything to you
851 852 853 854	Hannah	ah they were like you just need to behave all of um were (.) they were like get your head down, just behave in lessons, don't miss lessons (.) when I when I were like at the stage where they said they were gonna kick me out
855	Jemma	mmm
856 857 859	Hannah	that's when they said that (1) BUT I dunno (.) at first they were just doing it with me, but they weren't they (.) we were both like, we were all doing the same thing and I got (.) they're still in school and I'm not
860	Jemma	↑yeah
861	Hannah	(2) so (2) it makes no sense
862 863	Jemma	no (2) so did you, did you do the same things? (4) so why do you think things were different for you?
864 865	Hannah	*dunno* (1) maybe because of what I were like in Beauchamp and they were like give her a try but she's not doing it (2) probably why
866 867 868	Jemma	ok, so you were saying that you made friends with those popular people and sometimes the things you were doing were the things that you do when your with popular people to fit in (2)
869	Hannah	yeah
870 871	Jemma	and thinks like that. (2) How important do you think it is to be popular when you're in school?
872 873	Hannah	(3) it's not important (.) you just (2) I dunno it's weird (.) I don't know how to explain it, how it goes and stuff
874 875 876 877 878	Jemma	umhum (2) do you think at the time when you were in it I mean when I think back to my time at school I went to two different schools and at both schools I would say that I was part of the popular group, not on purpose, but I wonder if it it made school different, y'know being friends with popular people?
879 880 881	Hannah	yeah (1) it does really because (1) if you're not friends with the popular people if you're like, they'll do anything really they'll be orrible to ya and you'll you'll not wanna go to school cus they'll pick on you and stuff
882	Jemma	mmmm

883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895	Hannah	that's what'd happen if I went into (.) I'm not saying I didn't choose to like hang like become friends with popular people (.0) but obviously because I wasn't like a geek sooo I wouldn't fit in with them (.) so I think that's probably why we got along, why I got along with the popular people (.) but it would be totally different because <u>they do</u> treat you differently (1) and if you were in lessons it'd be like, I know loads of people like that go to Framlingham or Beauchamp and they ust to bully um and they hate going to school but they have to obviously (2) so (.) so that's why it's really (.) but there's so much more the (.) the year 11's like those what've just left there were loads of geeks in there but the popular people were actually friends with them (.) but like the little kids, year eights and that they can be so nasty and year sevens t'you know not popular, not so popular people (1) so it is differently (.) massively
896 897	Jemma	yeah (.) hmm I wonder, I mean you spoke a bit about you having matured and I wonder if that just happens generally as you get older at/
898	Hannah	/yeah that did
899 900	Jemma	and you kinda think actually it's not that [you know if we get on then we get on]
901 902 903	Hannah	[yeah, yeah] like whereas before I'd be like 'what's she looking at' (.) now I don't I think why did I even do that? (1) stupid
904	Jemma	so if maturing is something that happens as we get <u>older</u> (2)/
905 906 907 908 909 910	Hannah	/I don't know I don't I wonder if I just matured because I wasn't in school and I knew that I needed to change cus if I didn't change then I wouldn't be going nowhere so I think like (.) I just (.) I dunno it just happened really <u>I did want</u> to change though I think me wanting to and I were just like getting on with me work <u>but</u> like I dun't know, these six week holidays, you know when we had the six week holidays?
911	Jemma	yeah
912 913 914 915 916	Hannah	and I came back I wasn't (.) I think I matured then (1) cus when I came back I didn't (.) cus I was going out and being mature and stuff and I wasn't really doing what I was before like going on the streets, being an idiot (.) I were just like going to Fallow Fields and stuff and doing normal things
917	Jemma	yeah
918 919 920 921 922 923	Hannah	and I think (.) when I came here I thought I'm not gonna be naughty and weird and be daft and silly and childish when (.) that's not me anymore like when I go out I'm different I'm not (.) like (1) I'm not naughty really. I dunno you just mature when your with your friends so I think if I'm like that when I'm out so I can be like that at school and just (1) I didn't I didn't feel the need to do what I did before, if you know what I mean
924 925 926	Jemma	mm (2) so you said like over the summer you started doing different things was it the same friends that you started doing different things with or (.) did you have a bit of a change of friendships?
927 928 929 930 931	Hannah	I had a lot of changes of friendships, loads, I've always done that I don't know why but (.) cus there's loads of popular people and (.) and like in Beauchamp I dunno I were friends with these (.) I've always been friends with um all but I've just changed who I was hanging around with outside school or inside school (1) so (2)

932 933	Jemma	so do you think that made any difference to things that happened in school? were you different with different [friends]
934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942	Hannah	[yeah] because (3) I (2) in Beauchamp when I were in about year eight I started knocking about with people older than me so then obviously they were naughty and then that changed my behaviour and so I think that were it and then when I moved to Masborough (2) um before I started Framlingham because you have to get into school don't ya first cus I was already out of Beauchamp and I weren't allowed back in there so I couldn't go back to school and um er no I was going to school when I was living in Masborough (1) I were waiting for Framlingham to accept me
943	Jemma	ah ok
944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951	Hannah	so I were goin to Beauchamp but then when I were (.) obviously I didn't really wanna go out in Greenbank cus it were getting late about seven so if I, I'd have to walk home from Green Bank or my mum would have to pick me up and I've had to come back over her and I was knocking about with Ivan and she's like older she's like 18 19 17 umm and (3) like (.) there were more (.) she chilled with older people as well and they were like different to what I did before and they were just (1) and I think that changed me *yeah it it did* cus they were a lot they were like 20 or summit
952 953	Jemma	in what way do you think that that changed ya? were they the ones who your friends with now?
954	Hannah	no
955	Jemma	no
956	Hannah	that was like (.) ages, that was like a year ago now yeah
957	Jemma	so is that when you were going to Framlingham?
958 959 960 961 962	Hannah	Beauchamp, that's when I was still going to Beauchamp (2) then when I moved to Framlingham I made friends with all them (.) Gina and everyone and I were with them BUT OUT OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL WE WEREN'T NAUGHTY cus gina's, I don't know like cus her mum (.) her mum and dad are right (.) posh sooo she talks right posh but she's not a posh kid [((laugh))]
963	Jemma	[((laugh))]
964 965 966	Hannah	like she's not she dunt like I dunno its weird how she is cus if you look at her you think ah she's cus like the way she talks she likes speaks yunno (.) I dunno (1) like I speak differently to you don't I!
967	Jemma	yeah
968	Hannah	like she speaks more pleasant like you
969	Jemma	ok
970 971	Hannah	so (.) and then you think and then her behaviour comes out and you're like (.) *gosh*
972	Jemma	so did Gina ust to get into trouble as well?
973	Hannah	not really

974	Jemma	no
975	Hannah	she were alright (3)
976	Jemma	and who are you friends with now? what's your group of friends now?
977 978 979	Hannah	erm I'm chilling with one of my old friends Leigh Anne (2) she's 17 but she's like a lot mature and we just (.) she's got her own house so we just sit at hers and (.) watch DVDs and chill and have takeaways
980	Jemma	yeah
981 982 983	Hannah	we go to Fallow Fields and stuff (1) so I'm doing like, I dunno, I'm not going out on the streets CUS IF I WERE I think if I were still on the streets I wouldn't have changed
984	Jemma	ok
985	Hannah	but because I'm not like involving with everyone, mixing with all that again
986	Jemma	mmhmm
987 988	Hannah	like with all people that were wrong I know I'll just change again if I do so I don't wanna (3)
989 990	Jemma	ok, so do you feel like that's a choice that you've <u>made</u> [and] tried [hard] to stick to
991 992 993	Hannah	[yeah] [yeah] cus I know full well that I'll change if I go back to hanging out on the streets (2)
994 995 996	Jemma	and is that because (2) things (.) people expect you to be different if you're (1) out on the streets with them, do they expect a different (.) *type of behaviour I guess?*
997 998	Hannah	(inhale) I dunno (.) not really but you just change cus yu see what they're doing (.) you don't expect anything
999	Jemma	so do you just fall into the same type of behaviour that they are doing?
1000	Hannah	yeah
1001	Jemma	and does that usually involve getting into trouble?
1002	Hannah	yeah (6)
1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008	Jemma	what about things like (.) what you see on the tele and in magazines I don't know whether you read magazines and stuff but like you know on the tele when they (.) like on the tele, say in EastEnders and Coro and stuff (2) the bad guys are always there aren't they, sometimes they're guys and sometimes they're women. erm I dunno , I'm not really making any sense
1009	Hannah	I don't make any sense ((laughing))
1010	Jemma	yes you do
1011	Hannah	did you even listen back to that tape yet, there is no way I made any sense ((laughing))

1012 1013 1014 1015 1016	Jemma	((laughing)) of course you did, anyway there is no sense or no sense, it's just about us chattin so it's all fine (4) erm I guess I'm just wondering, like talking about there not being many girls in here and stuff I was just thinking (1) like I wonder if when girls are bad they are made out to be what they do is made out to be worse than if a boy did it
1017 1018 1019 1020	Hannah	(2) most likely yeah (1) because (.) I dunno cus they do kind of expect it from boys (.) cus they're boys aren't they and girls they just want them to be all (.) they go ah that's not ladylike is it? summthing like that, but boys they don't have to be ladylike do they so (.) they could get away with it
1021 1022	Jemma	hmm so do you think you get that in schools in a slightly different way, like they're boys so you expect that but girls like (.) you don't?
1023 1024 1025 1026	Hannah	cus I've always felt like there's nowt different between boys and girls because everyone's always like yeah he's a boy though it's different and I'm like no it's not (.) we're all same we're all human aren't we! it's not different so (4)
1027	Jemma	ok so do you think (.) do some people think it is/
1028	Hannah	/yeah a lot of people do think that (.) al lot of people (3)
1029	Jemma	and who (.) like people in schools or people generally or (3)
1030	Hannah	some teachers have said it! and my friends and stuff and …
1031	Jemma	mmm (2) do you think that makes it harder/
1032 1033 1034	Hannah	/yeah it does (2) when they're saying in cus WE'RE NOT DIFFERENT they're not allowed to do it if we aren't (.) if they can do it then why can't we
1035	Jemma	yeah
1036	Hannah	how is it acceptable for them but not us! (2) makes no sense
1037	Jemma	hmmm
1038	Hannah	is that the actual time?
1039	Jemma	don't think so
1040	Hannah	was gonna say we ain't be in here for like two hours have we ((laughs))
1041	Jemma	((laughs)) no. It's erm, its ten to two
1042	Hannah	is it really? got ten minutes till the taxi
1043	Jemma	is there anything you need to get done before then
1044	Hannah	I've just gotta take this work back to class
1045	Jemma	well do you wanna do that now, we can leave this here if you want
1046	Hannah	erm yeah ok can do
1047	Jemma	ok I'll just stop the dreaded recorder ((laughs))

1048	Hannah	((laughs))

Discussion finished

Appendix Fourteen - Conversation Three (Natalie, Angela and Jemma)

1049 1050 1051	Jemma	So it's just really, cus I've obviously spoken to Hannah I thought it would be a good if we just had a bit of a chat about how Hannah ended up coming here
1052	Natalie	Yep
1053 1054	Jemma	So what was the background and what do you know about Hannah and how it all (.) how did she end up coming to this pru?
1055	Natalie	I knew that (.) initially Hannah transferred to Beauchamp school
1056	Jemma	mm
1057	Natalie	which were her catchment school
1058	Jemma	yeah
1059 1060	Natalie	and she went there and ettended thee errm (.) she were having problems around behaviour MAINLY social times
1061	Jemma	mmm
1062 1063 1064 1065	Natalie	so it weren't necessarily to do with er learning it were more about her friendships groups and that she were (.) errrmm (.) iit (0.7) I think her need to be included overtook (0.7) how you behave in some ways (.) like er er priority were to be included and to fit in with everyone else
1067	Jemma	yeah
1068 1069 1070 1071	Natalie	and that were it were about that time I think she started changing her name didn't she on emm Facebook and things so she were known as Hannah Smith and not Hannah Khan I think there there must be issues around identity ↑ as well
1072	Jemma	mm
1073 1074 1075 1076	Natalie	and fitting in and she got herself slowly and surely into more and more trouble because (0.5) I know in a mainstream school sometimes when (.) you get into trouble you become high profile (.) spotlight seems to be on ya a bit more than it does tend to be on other people
1077	Jemma	yeah
1078 1079	Natalie	and so she started receiving pru support on a part time timetable from St Winifred's which is a pru in Ratby
1080	Jemma	yeah
1081 1082	Natalie	that intervention weren't really successful because her behaviour in school still escalated to point where they permanently excluded
1083	Jemma	yeah
1084 1085	Natalie	soooo (.) she were permanently excluded from Beauchamp and erm shhhee applied to go to Framlingham
1086	Jemma	mm
1087 1088	Natalie	er with support of local authority soo (.) she were successful at gaining a place at Framlingham

		Lady came in with cups of tea
1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095	Natalie	erm so she were successful in gaining a place at Framlingham (1) then she started Framlingham and idea was that a fresh start (.) for her erm erm away from those peers might be what she needed to be able to succeed in education but the thing was (.) it weren't just (1) I don't think that they looked at the <u>social </u>circles that she were moving between because she'd stilled got (1) similar peers accessing that school site so it weren't long before she found herself back in same habits
1096	Jemma	mmhmm
1097 1098 1099 1100 1101	Natalie	and then erm I think she been there about three months and they rang up to get some support from school because basically she were just not accessing lessons being erm threats of violence towards other girls erm (.) trying to just be (.) I suppose top dog really that's erm way to describe it it's a bit of ↑ survival of the fittest
1102	Jemma	yeah
1103 1104 1105 1105 1107 1108 1109	Natalie	in some ways yeah (0.5) and that's when we that's when we became involved and they referred through to us and we picked up a referral for two days initially and then slowly but surely they found it more and more difficult to manage behaviour in school t'point where she is now (.)she's accessing (.) I reckon that she accesses majority of her timetable off site because she accesses ere and she accesses Stern Park which is also an off-site provision
1110	Jemma	right
1111	Natalie	so it's not school based
1112	Jemma	yeah ((cough)) (2) what will happen to her after Christmas?
1113 1114 1115 1116 1117	Natalie	(2) after Christmas she'll be relocated to one of the other pru sites so it'll be about (2) erm either moving to riverside (1) or moving to St. Mary (1) I SUPPOSE Hannah's in a bit of a sticky wicket where (1) if (.) she (.) receives another permanent exclusion then another school don't have to take her because she'll have had two on her file
1118	Jemma	yep
1119 1120	Natalie	so if they permanently exclude from Framlingham (1) erm then (1) she's (.) she's in that position which is not a very good position for her to be in
1121	Jemma	yeah
1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129	Natalie	but then I don't know what kind of (2) erm (1) TO BE HONEST WITH YA I think that there's a lot of erm (1) there's there's been a lot of thought about erm about background her background and her heritage towards erm (.) what they communicate [with home] so I know a lot of professionals that I've spoke tu have spoke about not having communication with dad because of fear of (.) that if heeee realised how she were behaving that there would be (.) erm (2) there would be a knock on effect (1) because it were seen as she were shaming the family
1130 1131	Jemma	[right] mmm

1132 1133 1134 1135	Natalie	so mum took a lot of brunt of behaviour and things (.) but mums really not that strong (1) at parenting so I think and she and Hannah <u>knows that</u> as well so when mum tries to put boundaries in place it sometimes it's not working she's not responding
1136	Jemma	yeah
1137 1138	Natalie	whereas I know that out family they're quite ↑ they're quite a religious family aren't they
1139	Angela	yeah
1140 1141	Natalie	yeah and they all attend mosque apart from Hannah she (1) erm she [refuses to go]
1142	Angela	[she refuses]
1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148	Natalie	erm (1) so erm (1) I think what they've tried to do (.) erm to protect Hannah is to not involve Dad whereas sometimes we're erm I I dun't know whether that was always best (.) best choice and I don't know whether that were through a bit of (2) I suppose ignorance really to what (.) what her situations actually like because I don't I DON'T BELIEVE THAT dad is actually like that I just think he struggles with his communication
1149	Angela	very much so
1150 1151	Natalie	and he he struggles to understand [sometimes] what people are saying to him so urmm (3)
1152	Angela	[yeah yeah]
1153	Jemma	ok (1) so is dad in the home
1154	Natalie	[yeah]
1155 1156 1157	Angela	[yeah] IiI I erm came across Hannah through (.) obviously when she's been referred here and we were doing a little bit of mentoring work and trying to give her some positive role models
1158	Jemma	mm
1159	Angela	and (.) also with the sexual exploitation team
1160	Jemma	right
1161 1162 1163 1164 1165 1166	Angela	as she puts herself in (1) in risky situations and risky (2) friendship groups em (2) and we're <u>still w</u>orking closely <u>with</u> erm CAC and in fact I'm just checking there cus I've e-mailed today and we're trying to get a meeting (.) here <u>with mum</u> cus Hannah's <u>choosing</u> (1) her attendance at the moment she's not come in today so I've tried to ring Mum (1) no answer from the telephone and when you <u>do get through</u> mum ull often say she's ill
1167	Jemma	right
1168 1169	Angela	erm I have spoken to dad about her attendance and dad will be honest and say I don't understand and pass you onto mum
1170	Jemma	right ok
1171	Angela	so there is there is definitely a language (1) problem

1172	Jemma	yeah
1173	Angela	yeah which I think ↑could be addressed
1174 1175 1176	Natalie	yeah (1) yeah I think as well that's historical when first when referrals were first made to social care due to social circuits she were were in cus that's had a bit impact on her education
1177	Angela	<u>massive</u>
1178 1179 1180 1181	Natalie	because (1) she were she were socialising with people in school that were having an impact on her behaviour but then she got she erm she became quite notorious and she got a bit of (2) of a bravado to keep up I suppose in some respects
1182	Angela	mmm
1183 1184 1185 1186	Natalie	she's got family links out in community that are <u>quite</u> notorious (1) and so (1) she dun't when you when (.) when you put yourself in a risky situation when <u>Hannah</u> puts herself in a risky situation it's not risky to her cus she's got that protection
1187 1188	Angela	she (.) she feels that her cousins etc will will [look after her] but actually it's trying to make <u>herself</u> look after herself
1189	Natalie	[will look after her yeah]
1190	Natalie	yeah
1191	Angela	yeah and to try and be self-aware
1192 1193 1194 1195 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1201 1202	Natalie	yeah and they're quite notorious so she were hanging about with <u>males</u> in particular that you probably wouldn't want her to be hanging about with A LOT OF OLDER those, these circles are full of people who are a lot older than what she was so that's when CSE team became involved um (2) um and social care received a referral (.) and that's the referral information where I got about er her dad not being included <u>in the referral process by social care</u> because of the fear that there would be repercussions on Hannah but I don't <u>actually</u> think that that's right (1) my understanding is that Dad (.) there is definitely a language barrier and I know that they're of a different culture but I don't believe that erm that (.) that there's any intention of/
1203	Angela	/I'd like to know where that was founded
1204	Natalie	yeah I agree
1205 1206 1207	Angela	on what grounds have they made those decisions (.) because mums parenting (1) would be made stronger if she were acting as a team with dad
1208	Jemma	mmm
1209	Natalie	yeah
1210 1211 1213 1214	Angela	whereas now its erm its quite underhand a lot of the things (.) with Hannah <u>and mum</u> and they seem to be one team where dad (.) and mum (1) she's managed to break that up (1) which I don't think it good for the dynamics of the family and certainly not good for Hannah
1215	Jemma	mmm

1216	Natalie	yeah
1217 1218	Angela	she likes (1) she's got erm a tendency to ↑ bully (1) and control and I feel she does that with mum
1219 1220	Natalie	yeah (1) she does (1) erm you do see er display same behaviours with children aged younger with her mum
1221	Jemma	yeah
1222 1223	Natalie	yeah very much so (2) and she's got an older sister and older sister (1) you don't seem to get any of these kinda/
1224	Angela	/I don't think there is with any [of the rest of the family]
1225 1226 1227	Natalie	[yeah but it's not something yeah] (1) whereas sometimes you'll tend to find with students that are referred here there's [sibling groups] come through
1228	Angela	[its historical]
1229 1230	Natalie	yeah it's historical (1) it's not erm it's something that's like specific to Hannah
1231	Jemma	Ok (1) is her sister a lot older?
1232	Natalie	erm she's at college int she so I would imagine she's about 16 17
1233 1234 1235	Jemma	oh right, cus I was gonna say I met her brother I think her brother was at the house when I went round (.) her younger brother but I didn't know she had an older sister
1236 1237 1238 1239	Natalie	yeah she's got an older sister as well (1) erm so (1) and I think (.) I I think personally that (.) a lot of issues are to do with identity and erm the way that she comes across is she always has to look a certain way (.) she's really you know she's beautiful to look at
1240	Jemma	mmm
1241	Natalie	but she's very conscious about her appearance
1242	Jemma	yeah
1245 1246 1247	Natalie	she's very (1) she's more conscious she's more bothered about what other people think about her than of what she thinks about herself do you know what I mean?
1248	Jemma	yeah
1249	Natalie	it's erm everything is about being judged erm in some ways/
1250	Angela	/and she's said/
1251	Natalie	/I think that's/
1252 1253 1254	Angela	/she's said one or two quite frank conversations with me about erm (1) I can't say y'know about your background an and and family dynamics and things so she is very conscious of it
1255	Jemma	mmm

1256 1257 1258 1259 1260 1261 1262 1263 1264	Natalie	yeah and she and she's a clever girl as well and sss (.) I can't quite I can't quite (.) grasp how she dun't understand that being through the pru system is going to have a negative impact on er (.) later on in life because for me it's (.) it's something I'd have I would have <u>expected</u> her to understand because she'll talk about when she leaves that she wants to get a <u>job</u> she wants a good job she wants to be able to drive so she's got (.) those ambitions there and (1) and its (.) she's not putting herself in that position where she's gonna be able to get (.) she's not going to be able to get those things
1265	Jemma	yeah
1266 1267 1268	Natalie	because (.) she's putting herself in a position where her education is suffering which she could be achieving (.) she's <u>definitely</u> capable of achieving
1269 1270 1271	Angela	but I think that's because (.) her actual self-esteem is <u>sooo little</u> and so low that she <u>needs</u> the kudos of all those other outside influences that need is stronger than than her understanding of the need for her education
1272	Jemma	yeah
1273	Angela	and it's that <u>massive pull</u> that she's got
1274 1275	Jemma	mmm (1) she spoke a bit about wanting to go into childcare with me and doing that but we spoke as well about being popular
1276	Angela	mmm it's huge to her huge
1277 1278 1279	Jemma	but she (.) when we spoke about the move from Beauchamp to Framlingham she didn't talk about that as a permanent exclusion (.) well when she was talking to me
1280	Natalie	mmm
1281	Jemma	wouldn't (.) didn't describe it as a permanent exclusion
1282	Natalie	yeah she erm (1)
1283	Jemma	she said she moved to stop that happening
1284 1285 1286	Natalie	yeah (.) that's one of her (.) one of her traits of her of her behaviour is that if you ask her about something (.) if it's a negative she does not explicit she won't be able to articulate properly exactly what's happened
1287	Jemma	mmm
1288 1289 1290 1291	Natalie	and that comes in line with (.) her exclusion, her behaviour, if she's involved in a bullying incident and you can receive a a er (.) a set of statements from people that were there that all match (.) Hannah's version of events would be very different
1292	Jemma	mmm
1293 1294	Natalie	cus it's as if she struggles with negatives (2) and she can't (.) it's as if she can't admit it
1295	Jemma	mm
1296 1297	Natalie	you know you can <u>never</u> get her to sit down and actually <u>admit</u> what she's done

1298	Jemma	yeah
1299 1300	Natalie	if she's done something (.) it's like taking responsibility for it she don't want to do it(.) no
1301 1302	Jemma	how does she get on (.) how many girls are in the classes that she's in here
1303 1304	Natalie	one or two (.) majority of o o of time its po possibly one (.) erm obviously there's a lot of boys that access pru provision
1305	Jemma	yeah
1306 1307 1308	Natalie	errrmm (1) erm to be fair she don't really get on well with (.) we've got another girl that comes about the same amount of time and they don't get on all
1309	Angela	no
1310	Natalie	but that's that's [not that's not] that's an historical issue
1311 1312	Angela	[that again…] it's an outside historical issue that (1) I don't think either one of them can let go
1313	Natalie	yeah
1314	Angela	I know it seems to be mainly the other one but I do I think it's on both parts
1315	Natalie	yeah and they're very similar girls
1316	Angela	hm
1317 1318 1319 1320 1321 1322	Natalie	y'know in most respects they're very similar VERY ALIKE it's actually a bit strange how alike they are cus we've got students here with a range of needs and they're all really different (.) these two girls are actually quite similar and they really don't like each other it's really y'know it's not errrmmm (.) its (2) she gets on well (2) with the younger like Shereise I think she sees as younger (1) and quite erm/
1323	Angela	/like a bit of a project
1324 1325	Natalie	yeah (1) so she gets on well with Shereise she knows that she can work that relationship she's got control of it
1326	Jemma	yeah
1327 1328	Natalie	and I think similarly with boys because boys look at her and she's really pretty and she uses she'll use that for them to y'know to/
1329	Angela	/yep definitely [she manipulates them}
1330	Natalie	[like for her gain]
1331	Angela	I wouldn't (2) I don't think I would go as far as saying she's any friends
1332	Natalie	no
1333 1334 1335	Angela	she's got (2) and I feel a bit harsh saying this but she's got people who she uses for different things but I don't know that she's got a [real close ally]

1336 1337 1338 1339	Natalie	[I wouldn't know if] like a proper friendship (.) I don't know what her understanding of friendship would be if you asked her
1340	Angela	no
1341	Natalie	I should imagine it'd be different to what other peoples would be
1342	Jemma	yeah
1343	Natalie	we're we're probably a stronger relationship in that respect
1344 1345	Jemma	yeah (.) do you think she'd say she's got friends <u>outside</u> of (.) school and the pru?
1346 1347 1348	Natalie	I think Hannah's (2) Hannahaaaas like her understanding of friendship I think she would yeah (.) but I think if you actually looked at it (.) whether they were true friends
1349	Jemma	yeah
1350	Natalie	I mean she's got thousands of Facebook friends
1351	Jemma	yeah
1352	Natalie	and she knows <u>everyone</u>
1353 1354	Jemma	yeah, yeah we were just talking and she was like and this person and this person
1355 1356	Angela	yeah and I think that would also apply if you said have you got friends at Hillside she'd say ↑ yes (1)
1357	Natalie	mmm
1358 1359 1360	Angela	and it's that understanding (.) I think she thinks she probably has (1) she'll tell you who she doesn't like <u>quickly</u> but the rest of them are all her friends and in actual fact *they aren't*
1361	Natalie	mmmm
1362 1363 1364 1365 1366	Jemma	(3) mm so do you think when she has to move on to somewhere else (2) will there be (1) cus I don't know what the breakdown will (1) I don't know <u>whose</u> going to the (.) I know it's been kinda (.) we've spoken about it a couple of times haven't we (1) but is everyone who is here going to be going to somewhere else?
1367 1368 1369 1370 1371 1372 1373 1374	Natalie	yeah so what it is is we've had conversations with schools and said look this is the time now where we'll look at either reintegration back into school (.) it's an ideal opportunity because this facility is not going to be available (.) or it's continued pru support but it's got to be umm (1) FOR ME (.) I feel that if <u>if</u> a student is on a mainstream school role that they should be accessing the mainstream school site it shouldn't be a case of them being offsite at all different provisions I don't think it provides enough consistency
1375	Jemma	yeah
1376	Natalie	there's to many holes and gaps for young people to/
1377	Angela	/and they lose the the their identity they lose their identity

1378	Jemma	ok like where do they belong?
1379 1380 1381 1382 1383 1384 1385 1386	Natalie	yeah yeah erm (1) and so what I've said to schools is we will offer pru support for all the students but for no more than 50% of the timetable (.) and the rest needs to be honoured by school because (1) it's not it's not serving a purpose I suppose and for school to look at the core curriculum that the students need (.) and for us it's got to be (1) about offering the academic side of things but it's got to be about addressing the issues of why they're accessing pru provision in the first place because otherwise (.) it manifests into something more and you're not solving a problem
1387	Jemma	yeah you're just trying to contain it
1388 1389 1390	Natalie	yeah yeah yeah (.) so that's a big piece of work that we've got to look at. I'm sure erm (.) that's not just in relation to Hannah it's in relation to all students that access the pru so so
1391	Jemma	yep yep so she'll be going back to Framlingham for a bit of the time?
1392	Natalie	yeah (1)
1393	Angela	the way that (.) may get round it is that she may access the youth centre
1394	Natalie	yeah
1395	Angela	which is not on Framlingham's main site
1396	Jemma	its (.) is it still the one up the road?
1397	Angela	yeah yes so that may be the way round it for her
1398 1399	Natalie	it's difficult because there's such tight guidance around what we're doing at minute and everything's changing and funding's changing and (.) all these different (.) factors have an impact on what provision you can offer and there's cert (.) because the students are so different
1400	Angela	yeah
1401 1402 1403	Natalie	and there needs are so different (.) the approach has got to be different so it can't be it [can't be one approach that fits] all and that's what's evolving at minute and it's not it's not really gonna work
1404	Angela	[one size fits all]
1405	Jemma	no
1406 1407 1408 1409 1410 1411 1412	Natalie	erm (.) and its difficult cus I mean we've got (.) this is not Hannah but we've got a student in here that's not accessed school since y three and he were seen as a boy that couldn't access any school provision whatsoever (.) went through complex needs provision erm (.) really y'know gone through (1) provision after provision (.) and he's accessing school (.) sit now with our support in maths lessons in an outstanding school and he's doing well
1413	Jemma	yeah

1414 1415 1416 1417 1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 1423	Natalie	it's because there's only certain things (.) if you target the successes then obviously that's that's where you start (.) but it's having that ability to be able to do it and working with schools to be able to sort it out cus at the minute I think it's very much (.) because pru's are led by local authority and (.) this ull strategically this will impact on every child and strategic decisions but it will impact on so you're looking at pru's being run by local authority and schools bein ran by schools and if they're not working in conjunction with each other which they're not at the minute because there's a lot of urm a lot of other things impacting on it er em um end result is it impacts on child
1424	Jemma	yeah
1425 1426	Natalie	it has a negative impact on um and I think that's that's (.) where we are at minute it's sad int it
1427	Angela	yeah very
1428 1429	Jemma	mmm (1) and do the do the young people know that things are changing and/
1430 1431 1432 1433 1434 1435	Natalie	/yeah we've tried to be as [honest] and open as we can with um (1) but with factual information so (.) obviously we wouldn't disclose anything to um that we don't actually knnnow cus that's gonna give them (.) erm (.) type of stu they're anxious students anyway ↑ aren't they so to add to add to that anxiety y'know I mean we've seen changes in behaviour from majority of the students cus it's unsettling
1436	Angela	[open]
1437	Jemma	yeah
1438 1439	Natalie	y'know it's not nice it's not a nice experience (.) and we've had students that have been in four five provisions
1440	Angela	yeah
1441 1442 1443	Natalie	and they're moving from place to place y'know it's not (1) it's not ideal is it but (1) that's (.) we're doing (.) we're doing as much as we can to help them
1444 1445 1446	Jemma	that's it and I mean it's changing all the time int it (.) you'll hear one thing one month and then the next it's like well that's not gonna happen quite like that
1447	Natalie	yeah
1448 1449	Angela	Its just the way it's all happening as well (1) our young people do not like to be given an ultimatum really do they?
1450	Natalie	no
1451 1452 1453	Angela	so (1) and (1) that's how it's got to be (2) we've no choices there's no working round it and we've had an example of it today really haven't we and (1) its jusssstt (.) how they've got to cope with it
1454	Natalie	yeah its difficult
1455	Jemma	how do you think it will impact on Hannah?

1456 1457 1458	Natalie	(2) I think that (.) it'll depend because of because of Hannah's history she's already accessed one Pru site that's gonna remain open already she's been to St Winifred's
1459	Angela	↓ yeah
1460 1461 1462 1463 1464 1465	Natalie	so the cho (.) the thought of going back to St Winifred's is not one that she (.) that really likes very much (1) and that's (.) that's a worry because she doesn't want to go back to St Winifred's cus she's been there and she's got history there (2) but she dun't wanna ac (.) she'd probably prefer to access Riverside if you <u>gave</u> her the option but if you give Hann I don't think that's appropriate because/
1466	Angela	/ *no I don't*
1467 1468	Natalie	the behaviour of the students at (.) the type of students that they've got at Riverside would be far worse for Hannah to be in that in that in an area/
1469	Angela	/yeah in that environment
1470 1471 1472	Natalie	yeah that environment because it's the type of behaviours that we don't want her round because she's just repeating what what other people are doing
1473	Jemma	umhum
1474	Natalie	and s cus there's a massive difference
1475	Jemma	yeah
1476 1477	Natalie	and so <u>I think</u> that she'd be better of at St Winifred's but if Hannah's given that choice she will choose Riverside
1478 1479 1480 1481	Angela	eh eh I don't know I'd it's not surely not up to the young people to choose <u>and</u> (2) when is that decision being made about Hannah because we know that you're going there and if Hannah knew maybe that you were going to St Winifred's
1482	Natalie	yeah
1483	Angela	that (.) would give her a little (.) might alter her opinion
1484	Natalie	yeah (0.5) yeah we could try that
1485 1486 1487	Jemma	I mean do you do you think (1) cus you said like Hannah would say she's got friends do you think she would do you think she feels that she <u>belongs</u> at Hillside?
1488 1489 1490	Angela	I think all our students have a strong sense of identity (.) with the staff and to an extent with their peer group but definitely to the staff they all feel quite (.) <u>safe</u> and that's that's a huge thing for these kids to feel safe
1491 1492 1493 1494 1495	Natalie	yeah I would say if you ask the majority of our kids they would say they felt safe when they came to school when they were here (.) if you could (.) you'd have to differentiate if you said to um do you feel safe when you go to school they'd probably say no if you said do you feel safe (.) when you go to Hillside they'd probably say yes
1496	Angela	yeah
1497	Jemma	mmm what do you think it is about (.) here?

1498 1499 1500 1501 1502 1503 1504 1505 1506	Natalie	I think its possibly (2) it's a smaller environment for a start which is not as busy so if you go to a mainstream comp it's a lot of hustle and bustle and its quite y'know it can get (.) I think (1) you get away wi more (.) in school but ye can get away with more little things while you're in school it's not till there's a big incident that somebody actually comes and gives (.) deals with it there and then whereas ere the staff are (.) about all the time so we can we can see what's going on we we're preventing things rather than reacting (.) I thinks that's a big difference I think in comprehensive schools because they're so big/
1507	Angela	/its reactive yeah
1508	Natalie	it's quite a reactive environment to be in with regards to behaviour
1509	Jemma	yeah
1510	Natalie	whereas this is totally different
1511 1512	Angela	I I think I just go back to we had a young by here who had been through ten different schools hadn't he
1513	Natalie	mmm
1514 1515 1516	Angela	and and when he left the the thing he said it was respect (.) that we gave the young people respect and in turn then he was able to feel he could give us respect/
1517 1518 1519 1520	Natalie	/ I think as well from from me like (.) from my point of view (.) from like (1) looking at the unit as a whole (.) that boy in particular that you're talking about (.) he experienced mainstream and special school and then he came here
1521	Jemma	yeah
1522 1523 1524 1525	Natalie	so he'd been through a mix of different provisions and I think as well (.) the difference here is (.) the training and support that staff get is very different to what you'd experience as a mainstream secondary school teacher (.)
1526	Jemma	yeah
1527 1528 1529 1530	Natalie	I think that (.) there's a lack of understanding in some ways towards (1) erm difficulties [that these] students have (.) I think that there's er manda you get mandatory safeguarding training but I've never known anybody have any mandatory a s d training or anything like that or be erm/
1531	Angela	[yeah] \ no seal or anything/
1532 1533 1532 1533 1534 1535 1536 1537 1538	Natalie	\ you know that's not like there's not a requirement to do that as part of you're teaching practice and it's important because you cannot pick and choose the work you do as a teacher unless you want to go and work in a school that's (.) like erm (.) you know a priv like a high flying high paying o o (.) these schools are the the context what you work within (.) and you've got to sort of try and meet the needs of the students and the pupils that are in there so you'll find from (.) different schools you'll have different sets of students and you'll have different needs to meet (.) but I don't think that's understood enough
1539	Jemma	no

1540 1541 1542 1543	Natalie	sometimes I think that's why that's why sometimes students succeed more in here and I think that that goes for (.) through everything from relationships to teaching (.) so what's involved what's in the teaching and learning
1544	Jemma	yeah
1545 1546 1547 1548 1549	Natalie	it stems from it stems from everything that the experiences within mainstream schools compared to what it is here I think that (.) er academically its more accessible (1) they group erm the works more accessible for students I think that plays a big part CUS EVEN THAT'S A BARRIER SOMETI'MES
1550	Jemma	yeah
1551 1552	Natalie	when you're sat in a classroom and works not tailored appropriately or (.) y'know/
1553	Angela	\ and we do a lot of seal work and (1)
1554	Natalie	yeah
1555 1556 1557 1558 1559 1560	Angela	and we've got the luxury of being a small (.) specialist team I think so if if for instance it didn't work for Hannah one day in catering they you know you've seen them they'll either wonder into nics or they wander down here and they plonk down and that's (.) I think (.) when we do our real work because that's when you unpick all that knotting and you say alright we'll deal with that you can go back in now
1561	Natalie	yeah
1562 1563	Angela	whereas they just have to keep that bubbled inside don't they and they don't get that chance (2)
1564 1565	Jemma	mmm (.) do you think you've seen sides to Hannah that if you spoke to the staff at Framlingham or Beauchamp and said oh this (.) they wouldn't believe
1566	Angela	yeah
1567 1568 1569	Natalie	yeah and I think there's key members of staff within each area that do experience that side of Hannah but it's not majority it's it's a few (.) [and you tend] to find /
1570	Angela	[she'll choose]
1571	Jemma	\ what here or at Framlingham?
1572 1573 1574	Natalie	er er in her school I think it'd be (.) minimal whereas I think everyone else ud probably have same kind of regard for Hannah ere I don't think there's anybody that would have any different (.) opinion of her
1575	Angela	no
1576 1577 1578 1579 1560	Natalie	erm (1) but then (.) and I don't mean this to sound (.) disrespectful or awful but you'll probably find the people who have the (1) high regard for her in school it may be one teaching assistant that's been assigned to work with her it won't be through the teachers or the head of year y'know the people that can (.) impact (.) on other people (1) I think that I think that's/
1561	Angela	\yeah

1562	Jemma	mmm
1563 1564 1565	Natalie	a big difference (3) you tend to get one person fighting a battle for somebody like one of these children and (1) and it's really difficult then y'know (3)
1566 1567	Jemma	yeah (1) she talked very highly (1) you know about here and feeling that (1) she was allowed to be herself and people got er
1568 1569 1570 1571 1572 1573 1574	Natalie	ahhh I think it's difficult though because from our point of view I think I mean we have parts where we could probably be better (5) erm there's parts that we could do better as well because (.) that's good and you come into the pru and its like you get that (.) period of stabilisation and it it it you have to be really careful not to fall into a rut with that and that we just carry carry on at one level cus we're stabilising all the time (.) it's about saying right we've got this stability now so we need to build on that
1575	Jemma	yeah
1576	Natalie	yeah yeah (1) yeah and I think that's [right for the majority]
1577 1578 1579	Angela	[well we've started doing that] with with going back into the (1) erm mainstream for maths and English and and moving um on
1580	Jemma	yeah
1581 1582 1583 1584 1585	Natalie	yeah but the only way we can do that is getting senior leaders in school to buy in y'know its took me a lot of time to (.) to sort of build those relationships with people for me to be able to say look I've got this group of students could they access your school site (.) and it's a trust (.) I suppose it's a trust thing
1586 1587 1588 1589	Angela	and I think maybe you could use our could use the beauty (.) erm (1) the beauty trial (.) as an example because when I spoke to the <u>tutor</u> of the mainstream school she said she was <u>dreading</u> (.) this group of <u>pru girls</u> coming
1590	Jemma	yeah
1591 1592 1593 1594	Angela	to access beauty (.) she was <u>really</u> anxious (1) she had thoughts from all her all her equipment being pocketed ((laugh)) to things being (.) just (.) and actually at one point they were the best group she'd got (1) because these (.) for a start I think they really wanted to do it
1595	Jemma	yeah
1596 1597	Angela	and they <u>appreciated</u> that they'd been given this big <u>chance</u> to do something
1598	Natalie	mmmm
1599	Angela	whereas maybe in mainstream at that time it was just another option
1600	Natalie	yeah
1601 1602	Angela	whereas these girls had been (1) put in not put in a pru but were in pru and your options are llimited
1603	Jemma	yeah
1604	Angela	y'know choices they get smaller

199

1605 1606 1607	Natalie	I think it's different as well I think sometimes that (.) erm (.) what's what's happened to Hannah is they've tried to move the geography of the situation and hoping that remedies it and it were never gonna happen
1608	Angela	mmm
1609 1610 1611	Natalie	because they didn't dig dig deep enough to look that she'd already got those links (.) but I think for a few of our students that come ere (1) that will be a fix
1612	Angela	yeah
1613 1614	Natalie	because all you've got to do is take them away from that from those Impacting areas
1615	Jemma	mmmm
1616 1617 1618 1619 1620 1621 1623 1624 1625 1626	Natalie	and put them somewhere else and then you can start to have a real impact on why they were presenting those behaviours in first place when they've not got that same group of peers around them so for some students it does work and I think that's another factor in the beauty girls [is that] they're out of their comfort zone where they misbehave because they've got in that cycle and they're accessing somewhere where they need to they know the expectations and they're set (.) and it's a group of girls that don't really know each other so they've got to (.) they've got to (.) they were modelling you know you were giving um that model of what a friendship should be like and that were Important
1627 1628 1629 1630 1631 1632 1633	Angela	[yeah] and the luxury of being (.) I say luxury because I don't think mainstream have it all the time of being able to you know you can come in one morning and you can quite clearly see there's an upset (.) situation and you can say right just for this first half hour (.) and work and do make not be directly aimed at that particular girl but you can do work so it diffuses and calms (.) you can't you can't do that can you when you've got such a rigid timetable and targets to meet (3)
1634 1635	Jemma	do you think (.) that other girls in the pru (.) including Hannah see the beauty girls as part of the pru?
1636	Natalie	(2) sometimes yes sometimes no [just depends]
1637	Angela	[difficult one]
1638 1639 1640 1641	Natalie	yeah (.) I think if you asked the girls that do the beauty because they access the pru site they would say yes but I think that the other girls that access the pru would say noo (.) I think it's the way you look at it because its separately run (1) and they access the (2)
1642	Angela	different breaks and everything
1643 1644	Natalie	yeah different breaks and everything so they're not part of the same daily routine so I think they'd probably say no (.) yeah
1645	Jemma	ok (1) so what reasons do you think Hannah thinks she's here for?
1646 1647	Angela	(2) I think she would know she can't cope in mainstream school without (.) I think if you were to ask her she'd think it's answering back to teachers
1648	Natalie	YEAH
1649	Angela	or something very very basic/

1647 1648	Natalie	\ or something like like I can't put my finger on what she said was it something like throwing blutack at someone (2)
1649	Angela	it would be that sort of thing that sort [of REALLY LOW LEVEL]
1650 1651 1652 1653	Natalie	[that's it like a really small] thing yeah yeah like I threw blutack at someone and that's why I'm in the pru (.) and I would (.) and I would say that cannot be why you're here (.) it's not just about that
1654	Angela	mmm
1655 1656 1657 1658	Natalie	you know you don't just you don't just get put in a pru (.) because you've thrown a piece of blutack at someone, it's not that simple (1) but erm she doesn't I don't think she even understands herself why she's here (.0 and I think that's difficult
1659	Jemma	yeah (1) yeah (.) do you think she relates to the other lads that are here?
1660	Natalie	(1) I think she gets on (.) I think she feels safer surrounded by boys
1661	Angela	YES
1662	Natalie	than she does girls because she/
1663 1664	Angela	\because she plays on it she plays on her beauty and (.) her size (.) everything about her she she I think she's very aware of/
1665 1666 1667	Natalie	\↑ I think her mannerisms as well are more like a boy in some ways. you know like way she talks because she knows everybody and like our so and so and this and this
1668	Jemma	mmm
1669	Natalie	she acts like a boy in some ways/
1670	Angela	\ quite tough
1671	Natalie	↑yeah (1) and she's got that bravado same as the boys have
1672	Angela	yeah yeah
1673 1674	Natalie	whereas you don't really get that with girls that come they can (.) they're a bit more reserved aren't they
1675	Angela	yeah
1676	Natalie	whereas Hannah's not reserved at all she's in there and she's in the thick of it (1) so I think she feels comfortable with that like that like exchange (2) I think so I think that swhy you tend to find that she gravitates towards boys/
1677 1678	Angela	\ I think she communicates a lot easier with the boys than she does the girls
1679	Natalie	mmm it's more straight forwards int it
1680	Angela	yeah
1681	Natalie	yeah
1682	Jemma	boys often are a lot easier to get aren't they whereas girls can be/

1683	Angela	\girls can be quite bitchy
1684 1685	Natalie	it's like there's a whole separate judgements from girls as there is from boys (.) boys seem to accept her a bit easier
1686	Angela	mmm
1687	Natalie	d'ya know what I mean? (.) they they just get on with it don't they!
1688	Jemma	yeah
1689	Natalie	whereas girls (.) it's like as if you've got to try and fit to their expectations
1690	Jemma	when I spoke to Hannah she spoke to me about wanting to childcare
1691 1692 1693 1694 1695 1696 1697	Natalie	I think it's difficult you know as well because what I'd say is that (.) and I know this is like I'm not saying this is the same for every pru but I would say that our girls are more academically able that the boys and I think if you put someone in a class (.) like you'd put Hannah in a class with the boys (.) she knows she can get on with the work and she can achieve and she can help the boys and then she can jig them along but it's when she's in with the girls its more erm more of a competition in that respect
1698	Jemma	right
1692 1693 1694	Natalie	because they are quite bright and you do tend to find that (.) I don't know why but I would say for our pru the girls are far more academically able that the boys
1695	Angela	yeah
1697 1698	Jemma	(2) so at break times and stuff when there's another girl in does she does she gravitate towards them at all?
1699	Natalie	[no]
1700	Angela	[no]
1701 1702	Jemma	no? (1) so she sometimes gets on with them alright in the classroom but its if they're out/
1703	Natalie	\straight back to /
1704 1705 1706 1707	Angela	\ unless she thinks she caaan man manipulate (.) and I say manipulate she might call for one to go down to the bottom of the drive but I can't think (.) because (.) with that other young girl I don't think she even does that does she?
1708	Natalie	not really
1709	Angela	she'd call for the boys to go with her
1710 1711 1712 1713 1714 1715 1716 1717	Natalie	but I think (1) I think that if you were in a normal school environment (.) like we've got a girl here she's quite little she's quite petite she's quite vulnerable she'd be a target (.) erm for Hannah in every sense of word (.) if you were in school she'd be on that girl and she'd be taking her out for a cigarette (.) but because she's here and she knows we'll say no you're not as soon (.) we're on it straight away she won't even try she wouldn't even attempt it (.0 and I think she knows that (.) cus she knows that as much as we look after her (.) we look after everyone else same

1718	Angela	yeah
1719 1720	Natalie	and she wouldn't be allowed to get away with doing that we'd be like no you're not doing it/
1721 1722 1723	Angela	\ when we're talking about her eth nic cis ity I can never say it right ((laughs)) it I find that dynamic quite odd because she was targeting our one of our (.) erm (.) um Slovak boys (.) she didn't know he was Slovak
1724	Jemma	right
1725 1726	Angela	but she was <u>targeting</u> him (.) erm in a <u>subtle</u> way but she do you remember when she was doing that?
1727	Natalie	mmmm
1728 1729 1730 1731	Angela	and I found that odd because really she'd she'd pulled him out (.) she'd no idea what his what is background was or anything and I've I found that quite an interesting little dynamic that she <u>couldn't</u> see she was just the same
1732	Jemma	right
1733	Angela	erm but she thought it was quite alright to to call him
1734 1735	Jemma	hmm (.) mm (1) has she ever said anything about not going to mosque? or or not that kinda side of things
1736	Angela	she's spoken a little bit to me/
1737 1738	Natalie	\she's just told me that she dun't go (.) she dun't want to go so she dun't go yeah
1739 1740 1741 1742 1743	Angela	she's spoken a little bit to me because my granddad was Indian and my mum is sooo (.) when we've been having little chats she'll say about it and say did it bother you and (.) all of those sorts of things and <u>very interested</u> in Helen because Helen's quite dar my daughters quite dark quite interested in it
1744	Jemma	yeah?
1745	Angela	and she doesn't want anything to do with it
1746 1747 1748 1749	Jemma	no? (2) it's interesting that if (.) um (.0 I'm just thinking back to that kind of opinion from earlier that dad (.) is (.) can be very controlling (.) that something that if they're a very religious family could be seen as quite significant to the family her not going to mosque
1750	Natalie	[mmm]
1751	Angela	[↑mmm]
1752	Jemma	y'know that she's able to <u>not</u> do that (.) it's just interesting that (.) dad/
1753	Angela	\ would allow it! you know to my mind if he's such a controlling man/

1754 1755 1756 1757 1758 1759 1760 1761	Natalie	\I THINK personally and this is just my opinion that that information has been relayed by school (.) I think it's something they've picked they've passed onto social care (.) and rather than actually looking at it properly social care have taken that information and used it and said (.) we'll we'll isolate dad from (.) we'll not involve him because there's a risk (1) instead of really understanding that there int a risk it's just (.) he don't become involved in her education because he can't understand what you're saying
1762	Jemma	yeah
1763	Natalie	y'know it's like a language barrier it's not (2)
1764 1765	Jemma	yeah (2) and I mean there's a lot about Hannah and the home that might not be considered to be <u>traditionally Muslim</u>/
1766	Angela	\oh massively massively
1767 1768	Jemma	yeah so it's interesting and interesting that its followed through (1) especially coming from Cramford as well
1769	Natalie	yeah you wouldn't expect that
1770 1771 1772 1773	Jemma	no so was that where was that where social work got involved then when she was at Beauchamp so it's not even like it's a team it's a social work team that don't have a vast deal of experience working with families from minority groups
1774	Natalie	I know I can't I can't understand quite how and why this/
1775 1776	Angela	\ I'm not sure if it's a preconceived idea through (.) a couple of experiences that they've had with other young people
1778	Natalie	yeah at that time [there were there] were yeah
1779	Angela	[yeah they had a few] what was happening if erm if some children were not [going through] er properly families were sending them back home/
1780 1781 1782 1783	Natalie	[we had a boy didn't we] \and we experienced that here cus we had a boy that attended our provision that all of a sudden went missing
1784	Jemma	yeah?
1785 1786	Natalie	yeah and he'd been sent to Pakistan by his dad cus he were misbehaving and he weren't coming back
1787	Jemma	mmm
1788 1789 1790 1791	Natalie	and it were there semt to be like an influx of it all at once and it were about that time so whether there's been a big response to that (.) across the board (.) they've not looked at each case when actually I don't I don't think that that's right
1792	Jemma	no
1793	Natalie	I don't know I I really don't
1794 1795	Jemma	no (.) no (1) cus like you say you'd think that not going to mosque would be like a

1796	Angela	huge
1797 1798	Jemma	a big focus for a family that was that way (2) inclined (.) you know without everything else that Hannah/
1799 1800 1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806	Natalie	\yeah sometimes I worry as well about mums understanding of what's going around because when you have a conversation with her she's not (.) herself she's like not very good at holding a conversation with you it's not like erm erm an interaction that you would have every day it's very (.) erm erm I think mums you can sort of get a feeling towards mums attitude for education when you sort of have a conversations you know that she's tired and she's <u>fed up</u> y'know trying to get her to talk to you is really difficult!
1807 1808 1809 1810 1811	Jemma	mm (.) mm(2) when I've popped into the house we had a <u>brief</u> conversation about exams (.0 and urm about mums mum was saying y'know ooh she's gonna do really well in her exams and Hannah was like *well I'm not but she thinks that I am* but I'm not cus I don't really do (.) I don't go to school all the time!
1812	Natalie	yeah
1813 1814	Jemma	but mum still kinda had that she said she still thinks that I'm that I'd do alright
1815 1816	Natalie	I'm not really sure if mum realises sometimes that she's not where she's supposed to be
1817	Jemma	mmmm
1818 1819 1820 1821 1822 1823	Natalie	cus (.) like amount of times she's supposed to be in school and she just turns up somewhere else I mean they phone and say to mum she's not their but when you turn up and say and staff turn up to pick her up in the morning mum dangles outta window and says she's not comin slams door shut erm slams window shut and that's it y'know there's no there's no conversation about it or (1)
1824 1825 1826 1827 1828 1829	Angela	and I've had an um quite a pointed conversation where I rang and she said oh she's ill and I said she's ill <u>again</u> on a Friday and I've suggested I've said have you taken her to the doctors because she's ill every Friday (1) no she's just ill and its erm so there is a certain amount of wok mum works with Hannah (3) now whether that's because it's an easier life because I can imagine her being quite a handful/
1830 1831	Natalie	\ and I know that Sharon Needham f c s e worker we have conversations with Sharon quite regularly you more than me
1832	Angela	yes yes
1833 1834 1835 1836 1837 1838	Natalie	yeah (.) but I've had conversations with Sharon and Sharon has (.) y'know (2) it's about multi-agency working int it we've shared our concerns we've spoke to mum about it and Sharon's tried to reinforce it at home and said c'mon she needs to go to school you've got to do your part everyone's trying to play their part in this you <u>need</u> to play your part as well and I think it it it comes into kick for a week or so
1839	Angela	yeah
1840	Natalie	and then it drops of again
1841	Angela	yeah

205

1842 1843 1844 1845	Natalie	and it's about having that cus I now they were looking at closing the case which (.) I understand she might not be a CSE risk anymore but as soon as that that supports drawn away we're then back at back on this cycle again of/
1846	Angela	\and I'm just trying to get back on it
1847	Natalie	yeah
1848	Angela	because she's dropped off again
1849 1850	Jemma	mmm (2) do you think she sees that she's a at risk from boys and kinda vulnerable in that resp/
1851 1852 1853	Natalie	\no (2) she sees that she's got erm she has an uncle er is it an uncle or a cousin that lives in this local area <u>he's very well known</u> and she sees that she has to mention his name and then nobody will/
1854	Angela	\ she's protected
1855 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860 1861 1862	Natalie	yeah that's like her protection (.) whereas I've said to her if some if somebody decides to (.) if they want to commit some kind of crime like that (1) and they're serious about it and it's not just someone from in your community and they target you out because you're putting yourself in a risky position they will do it because because people don't have time to think through you know so and so so and so it's (.) that's that's what happens y'know it's not as simple as I think it's her understanding of (.) situations that she puts herself in
1863	Jemma	mmm
1864 1865 1866 1867	Natalie	she thinks that (.) that's her protection and it's <u>really not</u> ITS QUITE SCARY in some ways because when when (.) we know from like from working with young people and experiences that that's not right what she's the way she's thinking about it ain't right
1868 1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875	Angela	I've recently been told of an incident where (.) she'd pushed her luck with some <u>girls</u> in the community and these girls were going to get her so Hannah ran into the shop (.) a shop shouting Coz such and such a person (.) shop keeper wanted her out of the shop she said you can't shove me out I'm going to get beaten up and the shop keeper pushed her out (1) she she (.) she doesn't seem to get it that people DON'T JUST HAVE TO PROTECT YOU and they won't protect you especially when you've been abusive
1876	Jemma	yeah
1877 1878	Angela	cus the next day she's quite likely to go into that same shop and be abusive to people
1879	Jemma	mmm

1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893	Natalie	it's difficult as well because you look at where she's coming from (.) and you look at how she's moved through different schools and you think she's moved from Beauchamp she's moved from Framlingham (.) the (1) the difficulties with the social the social circles the peer groups (.0 now for somebody I would say for somebody of that age its imperative that you don't put her back in that situation at all because her her brains obviously not functioning in a way that she can peers are coming first adults are coming second and that's that's what she's choosing to do (1) so it would be better to look at taking her away from that situation (.) and maybe putting her somewhere where she's got a peer group a peer group that's decided for her I suppose instead of putting her A PERSON SHE'D GET ON WITH I'm not saying put her with someone who she but somebody who would possibly have a bit more of a positive influence on her because she's going peers with her brain all the time
1894	Jemma	yeah
1895	Natalie	she's not going adults that's (.) that's not coming into it
1896	Jemma	no
1897 1898 1899 1900 1901	Natalie	and so I think really (.) that er er in some ways it's not BUT I THINK (.) that's about the understanding of people (.) that have worked (.) around that transition (1) the understandings not been there that that's scientific (.) you know that's a fact that's what she's gonna do because that's the way children's brains develop that's (.) that's
1902	Jemma	and I guess that's what's important for her
1903 1904	Natalie	yeah yeah it's that time (.) that's (.) that's how she's choosing to so I suppose how how to behave/
1905 1906	Angela	\yeah and on top of all that she's a teenager with all the other stuff that's going on
1907	Natalie	yeah yeah
1908	Angela	((laughing)) you know in a normal teenage life it's quite troubled
1909 1910 1911 1912	Natalie	you try and learn for yourself at that age don't you you try to learn to be an adult and you try and make right choices and sometimes when you're surrounded by that you can't as much as you wanna make those choices you can't do it
1913 1914	Jemma	(1) yeah (2) do you think a lot of her friends, or those she'd call her friends are friends from around the area that she lives in as opposed to/
1915	Natalie	\I think she flits around to be honest/
1916	Angela	\ she moves from circle to circle
1917 1918 1919 1920 1921	Natalie	yeah she goes around all different places in Resingham and she has groups of friends that but then she'll like the incident that we've got here with another girl is that she decided to have a friendship group around Green Bank and she were hanging about with this girl that well this particular girl and the other girl that's here
1923	Jemma	mmm

1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930 1931	Natalie	became one of their (.) in their circle as such from somewhere bit of an outsider and when this girl left her bag in a room between the two ofum somebody stole her mobile phone and so (2) what (.) you try and ex (.) Hannah sees Rotherham as a massive place (.) what she didn't realise is that when she moved to this pru the girl would be here and there'd be a consequence (.) consequence is that this girl don't think very highly of her cus she thinks she stole her mobile phone and I think she's found that difficult hadn't she
1932	Angela	yeah
1933 1934	Natalie	she's found it difficult because she's realised that there's a consequence to what she's done
1935	Jemma	yeah
1936 1937	Natalie	and it's here and it's not going to go away (2) d'ya know what I mean it's something we've got to work through
1938 1939	Angela	but she seems to (0.8) she had that with that area so she'll leave that area/
1940	Natalie	\leave that one and go to another one somewhere else
1941	Angela	yeah and that's what she does
1942	Jemma	so this could be one of the first times times she's had to really face that
1943	Natalie	[yeah]
1944	Angela	[yeah]
1945 1946	Jemma	that backlash (2) and what (.) what does she do is she blaming the other girl? is she (2)
1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956	Natalie	she'll say (.) at first she denied it said she didn't do it (.) and then she said she were there but she'd not taken the phone (.) and then urm (.) it's quite funny actually because normally when she's quite errrrm boisterous I suppose in yer face she becomes quite reserved in that situation you know if you put her in the same class (.) but because the other girls quite similar she then takes that role and she then becomes very boisterous and says oh it's her she's in my class and she's done this that and the other and then you see Hannah withdraw but what she'll do is she'll withdraw but she'll (1) get one of the boys (.) the younger boys that she can have some influence over and then she'll have her have a spat with them about it/
1957 1958 1959	Angela	\ get them involved and then get the girl involved and then so outwardly you would think that Hannah's sat there all meek and mild and it's this big character here that's but actually no she's just agitated nicely underneath
1960	Natalie	[yeah]
1961	Jemma	ok so kind of getting it (.) getting it addressed by another route?
1962	Natalie	yeah
1963	Angela	↑clever girl
1964 1965	Natalie	I would say that Hann it's only because socially Hannah's got more social skills that this other girl

1966	Angela	definitely
1967 1968	Natalie	yeah this girl in particular so Hannah will then y'know she'll go initially she'll be quiet and/
1969	Angela	\ yeah she almost looks like the victim
1970 1971 1972 1973	Natalie	yeah yeah this other girl she just comes in and she has just got very limited social skills y'know she'll sort of she'll just just she'll just say all sorts of stuff and Hannah's like crikey that's not quite right (.) that's not how you behave (.) so it's funny that she can associate with her out yeah
1974 1975	Angela	well we've ended up where we've had to have one of them down here and one outside
1976	Natalie	yeah
1977 1978 1979	Jemma	(5) I mean (.) I think it's interesting you know that there's only a couple of girls and and that's erm that's the reaction especially when I mean sometimes when you are really similar to someone you do clash but (2)
1980 1981	Natalie	I mean she don't obviously there's be a few incidents but the other girl that comes on the same day she refuses to even entertain her
1982	Jemma	really?
1983 1984 1985 1986 1987	Natalie	yeah! she calls her names and all sorts of stuff because they come from same school this other girl erm (.) has a lot of (.)there's a lot of rumours about her boys all sorts of rumours around about her and Hannah's in with these boys so she will continue that behaviour when she's here and she will not be/
1988	Angela	\she chooses the boys
1989	Natalie	yeah she won't entertain her whatsoever won't speak to her won't/
1990	Angela	\ but I also I also think that's part of Hannah's image
1991	Natalie	mmmm
1992 1993	Angela	because this girl doesn't (.) fit that image that Hannah has of how you should look and I I she doesn't fit that sort of stereotype does she
1994	Natalie	no no she doesn't
1995	Angela	yeah she wouldn't she wouldn't have her in her group
1996 1997	Jemma	(2) what do you think (1) what are the boys like with Hannah? how do they respond (.) to her?
1998	Angela	(0.5) they respond! (1) definitely and personally I I think it's a mixture of awe a little bit of fear because she/
1999	Natalie	\ I think it's a bit (.) she's still (.) erm because of how notorious she is
2000	Angela	yeah

2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012	Natalie	the name! everyone knows her. <u>everybody</u> (1) I I and I think that (2) well you hear some right stories half of them aren't true but she'll <u>go along</u> with the stories [for a bit] more bravado do you know what I mean? and you think and you sit there and think (.) you'll sit and have a conversation with her and she'll say ooh it's not true and you'll unpick it and it's really <u>not</u> <u>true</u> but in that social situation she won't say hang on a minute no that's not right s<u>he'll go along with it</u> and she'll let um think that (.) that whatever people are saying about her is right (1) she'll have been to this house where they'll have been <u>raving all night</u> and smoking drugs and de de and when you actually remove her from it and you say y'know this is serious and you'll ring and she were at home at such and such a time and it's never even happened but she'll she/
2013 2014	Angela	[yeah] \she uses it to her advantage
2015	Natalie	yeah
2016	Jemma	is there anyone in here that she that she's a bit y'know/
2017	Angela	\I think she might be scared of the girl
2018 2019 2020 2021 2022	Natalie	yeah I think she might be scared of Holly (2) if you ask her I DON'T KNOW WHETHER SHE'D ADMIT IT but I think I definitely think she is FROM THE BEHAVIOUR that school say will say that she portrays towards other students that she's intimidating she's violent erm she uses abusive I've never seen her do that here <u>never</u>
2023	Jemma	no
2024	Natalie	never
2025	Angela	I've seen her trying to intimidate Jozef
2026	Natalie	yeah (1) quite erm quite (.) <u>silly</u>
2027	Angela	yeah
2028	Natalie	like shouting hello to him in silly voices and things you know/
2029	Angela	\yeah I also think that that was a touch of bravado to the boys (.) as well
2030 2031	Natalie	yeah but I've never seen her like she were in trouble all the time at Beauchamp comp for fighting <u>all the time</u> with girls/
2032	Angela	\no and we've never seen that
2033 2034 2035	Natalie	we've never had anything like that here we've not (.) so I think (.) if she weren't frightened she'd have responded but because she is frightened she's not
2036 2037	Jemma	umm yeah (1) so what's the kind of worst thing, that's a horrible word isn't it, you know the kind of behaviour you've seen that has surprised you
2038	Natalie	I think that's it!
2039	Angela	has she refused?

2040 2041 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050	Natalie	no (4) thing is she'll try and test boundaries like she'll try and go down drive for a cigarette in morning when she's not supposed to but you just fetch her back up and <u>she knows</u> she's not supposed to and that with Jozef a bit of like [erm like] (.) if she knows that there's an issue between someone (.) she will then add to the issue by then being really like (2) I don't know like (.) erm (.) there were an issue between two boys and then Jozef they were being quite racist to him so she got to being over the top with Jozef like being all over the top with him when he already felt bad and you could tell he were feeling vulnerable (.) she then she were making everybody's attention on him and targeting him (.) and she does that (.) she'd do that not just with Jozef with anyone/
2051 2052	Angela	[bullying] \with anyone
2053 2054	Natalie	if <u>she knew</u> if she can get a whisper that there's something going on she's got to try and get involved (1) but that's that's/
2055 2056	Angela	\she did with the beauty group (.) there's two fractions to the beauty group a Framlingham and at Wittick
2057	Jemma	yeah
2058	Angela	and she tried to target the Wickersley girls at one bit/
2059	Natalie	\ who are really meek and mild/
2060 2062 2062	Angela	\they're just gentle little souls but she'd come in and like yep mmmm mm and they (.) and they (.) that made it worse and when I asked her she was like what's wrong I'm only trying to be friends (.) you know very/
2063 2064	Natalie	\yeah (2) but yeah she's not like (.) Its <u>daft really</u> cus if you came here you'd be like why's she here?
2065	Angela	yep yep <u>definitely</u>
2066	Natalie	<u>why</u> is she here? cus she dun't do any of that kinda thing does she
2067	Angela	no no
2068 2069 2070 2071 2072	Natalie	<u>at all</u> (1) cus if I ask her to do something she'll do it straight away (.) but I'll be dead honest with her I'll say to her if I don't like what you're doing I'll say to her I don't like it and you're not doing it and she'll accept it she's not (.) sometimes I think she thinks I'm being a bit miserable but that's (.) top and bottom of it
2073	Jemma	(2) but she'll still go along with it?
2074	Natalie	[yeah] yeah
2075	Angela	[yeah]
2076 2077	Jemma	(3) so it sounds like if you read kinda her records and stuff it would sound like quite a different person to who you see
2078 2079	Natalie	yeah like I don't know when she's <u>ever</u> been rude to a staff member here (3) I don't/
2080 2081	Angela	\ no I don't think she has (.) I've I've been <u>sharp</u> with her and she'll go a*lright alright*
		((laughter))

2082	Angela	and you kinda feel (.) you know you've got through
2083 2084	Jemma	(3) I guess it's just it's interesting isn't it. I guess it just goes to show how important an environment can be
2085	Natalie	yeah
2086	Jemma	and those relationships
2087 2088 2089 2090	Natalie	yeah I think I think it is key relationships I mean we do (.) I know that (.) well I'm doing some training for NQTs in January around behaviour and stuff like that and looking at strategies but I think before we even look at strategies for schools it's about understanding that relationship
	Interruption - N was called to deal with an issue and so finished conversation	

Appendix Fifteen- Clustered Words and Key Phrases

Conversation One - Hannah and Jemma			
I weren't really bothered Don't need to worry Not everybody's nice In primary everybodys nice Seems daft now though Weren't just me I wunt be naught anywhere else I ust to It's not naughty really I werent as bad Not my fault It felt orrible I didn't even wanna I knew full well if I started chillin with them people I didn't wanna do that I'd go back to how I were It's not gonna change yu Can't just change like that You're gonna be angry More workers Matured I was immature When it's small I'm fine Go back to my old ways I'd be alright if I went back Don't even know Why You get carried away I wanted to change I'd like to be back in school There's no point They think they'll listen Just realised	Everyones rite naughte Only went in cus my best friend were in there I were always with them Got to know everyone Yu just get carried away when everyone's there They just laughed Funny Told me to carry on You get egged on They were all popular You just big yourself up when you're with your friends I know everyone now We were all bad	I ust to get done there Got kicked out Stop being nauti Didn't go to my lessons I were gettin naughtier Ust to throw Chucked Sexual assault Excluded Get caught Supervision	She can be nice She can be so lovely Nice personality I'm right nice Didn't mean to I wouldn't I know you can do it
Identity as Reflective	**Identity as Influenced by Others**	**Identity as Challenging**	**Identity as a Nice Person**

Conversation Two - Hannah and Jemma			
Obviously we need to work It's alright It's good I want to do childcare She just wants me to do what I want Just think it'd be a bad influence I didn't want that If there were more girls Not bothered really I were scared They're not naughte Before Matured It drives me mad They're immature It ust to be but not anymore Changed Shouldn't be behaving like this I should have listened to him I don't know I couldn't even sit in a lesson They're still in school and I'm not Makes no sense Choose Why? I did want to change	I'm alright with um I know loads of girls that get into trouble I just go along with um For a mess around Doing it with me Popular They'll be orrible People older than me…they were naughty	I were gonna kill him Threw a pen Got angry Chucked it all over im Chucked it in his face I were violent Hurt Assaulting Threw Loads of stuff	I love kids Got a placement at a nursery Helping Being a good influence Always look after them I'll play with um She knows that I'm good here Obviously..didn't want to get into trouble Didn't purposefully I'm not really naughty Outside of school not naughty
Identity as Reflective	**Identity as Influenced by Others**	**Identity as Challenging**	**Identity as a Nice Person**

Conversation Three - Natalie, Angela and Jemma			
Mainly social times Friendship groups Need to be included Priority Fitting in High profile Fresh start Social circles Survival of the fittest Socialising with people who were having an impact on her behaviour Family links Needs the kudos Massive pull Just repeating Lot of rumours She'll go along with the stories	Problems around behaviour Getting herself into trouble Behaviour escalated Permanently excluded Threats of violence Shaming the family Risky situations Risky Friendship Groups Bully Control More bothered about what others think Everything is about being judged Very conscious of it Manipulates Targetting Calls her names	She wants a job Wants to be able to drive Ambitions	Changing her name Issues around identity She refuses to go (to Mosque) Lot of issues Has to look a certain way Self esteem so little So low Struggles with negatives Understanding of friendship I don't think she even understands She couldn't see she was just the same
Identity as Influenced by Others	**Identity as Challenging**	**Identity as a Nice Person**	**Identity as Confused**

Appendix Sixteen - Discursive Devices

The discursive devices that were used to position Hannah, both by herself and by the adults around her were explored. Some examples are listed below:

- Repetition - The repeated use of words or phrases
- Extreme Case Formulations - This refers to when claims are taken to the extreme in order to provide justification
- Disclaiming - This refers to when a speaker may convey a negative view whist claiming not to have a negative view towards what they are speaking about
- Stake Inoculation - This is a strategy that speakers use to convey an account as fact.
- Rhetorical Questioning - This is when a speaker involves others directly in conversation (Questions are usually very persuasive and aim to make the listener agree with what the speaker is saying)
- Emotive Language - This is often used by the speaker to arouse strong feelings

Appendix Seventeen -   Interpretative Repertoires and how they position Hannah

Identity as….

Reflective	Influenced by Others	Challenging	Nice	Confused
Positions Hannah as… Powerless Scared Weak	**Positions Hannah as …** Weak Vulnerable Scared Powerless Oppressed	**Positions Hannah as…** A Victim Mis-understood Weak Immature Opressed	**Positions Hannah as …** Mis-understood Powerful Motherly Feminie Fearful Vulnerable	**Positions Hannah as…** Scared Vulnerable