

Exploring the Narratives of Young Men who Have Spent Time in a Young
Offender Institution

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Abstract

This study is a small scale research project exploring the narratives of three young males who have spent time in a young offender institution. Qualitative research in this area is sparse, and the quantitative research which exists does not portray the complexities of the lives of these young people. There is little research which emphasises the voice of young people who have offended, therefore within this research I aimed to privilege the voices of the participants and to gain an in-depth understanding of their experiences.

I adopted a social constructionist position in the research, acknowledging that all of the design, the co-construction of the narratives and the interpretation of the stories, were heavily influenced by me as the researcher. Using a voice-centred relational model of narrative analysis, adapted from the *Listening Guide* (Brown & Gilligan, 1993), I explored how the participants' identities were constructed and how they were positioned within the stories, discussing how their narratives relate to dominant discourses about young people who have offended.

The research was extremely challenging, both in respect of gaining ethical consent and in engaging participants. Reflection on these barriers formed an important part of the research, and may go some way to explaining the dearth of research carried out directly with the young people themselves. Power relations are discussed, highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of the limitations in claims of empowerment within research with young people and identifying the benefits and limitations of using a narrative approach in educational psychology practice.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Having grown up in a small market town with a young offender institution (YOI), I have always been curious about the setting, and its inhabitants. It is an environment that relatively few get to experience, but during Year 1 of my doctoral training, I was fortunate enough to secure a special interest placement week in the education department of the YOI. Whilst there, I became interested in the stories of the young men I met, and determined to get more involved with this group as I progressed through my training.

On commencement of my Year 2 placement, I made contact with key staff in the youth offending service (YOS) in my placement local authority (LA) and subsequently met with them to discuss their work with young people (YP) and the educational psychology service (EPS). I was surprised to learn that links between the two services were not strong, and many YP on the YOS caseload had limited or no involvement with the EPS. This was despite the fact that the majority had struggled in education for varying reasons and the LA had one of the country's highest rates, per head of youth population, of custodial sentences for YP who have offended in 2011-12 (Ministry of Justice and Youth Justice Board, 2013).

As an advocate of social justice, I have always tried to support those who are marginalised by society and I feel strongly that the lack of educational psychologist (EP) involvement with these YP was a missed opportunity. I believe that EPs have a lot to offer this group, and as such, I began reading

literature in the area, with a view to conducting my research in the field of youth justice.

Reports such as the Bromley Briefing (Prison Reform Trust, 2014), illustrate that there is a lot of quantitative data regarding YP who have offended, however less is known qualitatively. Quantitative data pertaining to this group of YP gives a narrow picture and can suggest homogeneity across this group. In contrast, I believe it is from the rich, thick descriptions that these YP provide, that we can learn about this vulnerable group in our society, and yet there are few opportunities for these YP to have their voices heard. To be listened to, without being judged, is an experience that these YP may be unaccustomed to, and one which may be empowering for them, yet the voices of YP who have offended appear to be largely absent from the literature.

With this in mind, I set out to explore the experiences of YP who have offended through eliciting their thoughts and feelings about those lived experiences. I aimed to achieve an in-depth understanding of the experiences of YP who have offended, in order that dominant narratives around YP who have offended can be challenged, and alternative more useful narratives might be developed. From a social constructionist perspective, the identities of these YP are constructed through communications and interactions between people (Gergen, 2009a). I believe that EPs have a responsibility to influence the way these YP are constructed through their work.

I hope that my research can provide valuable insights into the experiences of this group. I would argue that research of this type can increase knowledge

and understanding about YP and their offending behaviours, thereby enabling professionals to consider how best to support YP at risk of committing crime, or those who have already offended. By listening to the YP, professionals can provide a service that is tailored to their actual needs, rather than their needs as perceived by professionals, policy makers and the wider society. Finally, I hope that the findings of my study will inform practise in my LA. As previously noted, historically there has been very little joint working between YOS and the EPS, but, with the appointment of a new Principal, and associated changes to the model of service delivery, there is potential for my findings to influence how the EPS supports these YP.

In Chapter 2 of this study, a review of the literature in the area of youth justice is presented, considering the terminology associated with YP who have offended, political trends in youth justice, the risk factors associated with offending behaviour, understandings of childhood, possible selves, structure and agency, and masculinity; and the specific research questions are presented.

In Chapter 3, I set out my epistemological position and explain why I have chosen narrative methods to investigate my research questions. Issues such as reliability and validity are discussed, and ethics and reflexivity are considered.

In Chapter 4, the specific research procedures are outlined, including how the participants were selected, how the interviews were conducted and how the data was analysed.

In Chapters 5 and 6, the interviews are interpreted and discussed in relation to the research questions, firstly as individual stories and then as emerging themes across the stories.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I consider the limitations of the study and suggest areas for future research. Implications for the EP profession are discussed, as well as implications for my own practice as an EP.

Chapter 2 Young People Who Have Offended: A Critical Literature Review

Overview

Within this review of literature related to YP who have offended, I discuss the current situation regarding youth offending in the United Kingdom (UK) and historical trends in youth justice, and define the terminology used within the research. I then explore the risk factors associated with youth offending and the dominant discourses which exist in the literature around YP who have offended.

The Current Picture

The 1989 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) established that all children have a right to *protection, participation, personal development* and basic material *provision*. It has been ratified by 193 states, including the UK, although notably not the United States of America. It is a comprehensive, legally binding document regarding the treatment of children. Together with the 'Beijing Rules' (United Nations, 1985), which are concerned with the administration of youth justice and the 'Havana Rules' (United Nations, 1990) on the rights of children in detention, the CRC provides rules on the matter of youth justice.

These Rules usefully flesh out the provisions of the CRC and other instruments not least because they recognize the social context in which the youth justice process is located, and they also take into account the complex and challenging nature of translating human rights compliant youth justice principles in practice.

(Kilkelly, 2008, p.188)

It promotes the best interests of the child in relation to youth justice and advocates custody as a last resort, distinction from adults in the legal process, and practices that respect the dignity of the child (Muncie, 2008).

Since 2006, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child has reported on the implementation of the CRC. With regard to youth justice, the UN committee assert that children in 'conflict with the law' deserve to be treated with a respect and dignity that recognizes their vulnerability and their lack of full awareness of the consequences of their behaviour. However, whilst the CRC is widely thought to be the most ratified human rights convention in the world, it is unfortunately also the most violated, with the UK being heavily criticised by the committee with regard to the youth justice system. The committee reported that, especially within the area of youth justice, UK policy and legislation did not reflect the CRC principle of acting in the best interests of the child (United Nations, 2008).

Here, the age of criminal responsibility is 10; therefore children aged 10 years or more can be found guilty of committing an offence. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child has stated that an age of criminal responsibility below 12 is not acceptable (United Nations, 2007); indeed in most other European countries the age of criminal responsibility is 14 to 15 years of age. Also, in 1998 England and Wales abolished the principle of *doli incapax*, which granted children under 14 years of age partial exemption from criminal liability as they were deemed unable to fully understand the difference between right and wrong. The UN committee also state that no child should be tried in an adult court, yet in England and Wales children may well find themselves in a

crown court if they are co-accused with an adult, charged with murder or fire-arm offenses, or if they are accused of a crime which is likely to result in a sentence of more than 2 years.

As the age of criminal responsibility is 10 years, any person convicted of a crime who is 10 years or older can be given a custodial sentence within the justice system. Those aged between 10 and 14 years will be accommodated in secure children's homes, and 15 to 17 year olds in YOIs or secure training centres (STCs). The majority of YP in custody are held in YOI's. In the twelve months to March 2014, 1,552 children aged between 15 and 17 years entered prison under sentence and as of autumn 2014, there were 1,068 children (aged 18 and under) in custody, 741 of whom were held in YOIs. Of those children held in custody, approximately 60 per cent were white and 40 per cent were from black or minority ethnic backgrounds, and 96 per cent were boys (Ministry of Justice & Youth Justice Board, 2014; Prison Reform Trust, 2014).

Trends in Youth Justice

Over recent decades there has been a 'responsibilizing mentality' in which the protection historically afforded to children is rapidly disappearing (Muncie, 2008). The 1990s saw a dramatic rise in youth custodial sentences in England and Wales which continued into the 21st Century; an expansion approaching 90 per cent between 1993 and 2003 (Bateman, 2012). Smith (2007) attributed this to the prevailing political ideologies of individual responsibility, and a move away from 'welfare' towards 'justice'. High profile cases, such as

the murder of James Bulger in 1993 by 11 year olds, Jon Venables and Robert Thompson (Bateman, 2012; Smith 2007) and the dominant discourses of anti-social behaviour which saw the introduction of the anti-social behaviour order (ASBO) under new Labour post-1997, served to demonise YP and established the punitive turn (Bateman, 2012; Hughes, 2011; Muncie, 2008).

From some perspectives, all children may be constructed as vulnerable, due to their young age and developmental level, but the shift in emphasis from welfare to punishment in the youth justice context took little account of these 'vulnerability' discourses. However, framing children as vulnerable is problematic in itself, as 'vulnerability' discourses may be used to deny children agency, and to pathologise those children who do not fit with the discourses of 'innocence' and 'vulnerability'. Where YP who have offended are concerned, vulnerability associated with being a child is then compounded by the high incidence of mental health problems, learning and/or communication difficulties, experience of trauma and abuse, and the care system, among children who appear before the courts.

Since 2008, the rate of incarceration of YP aged under 18 has reduced (Bateman, 2012). The shift to a less punitive approach to youth justice since 2008 is however a precarious one; we must not presume that the progress made in recent years represents a permanent change. In August 2011, following widespread rioting across England, punitive approaches were taken to the vandalism and looting largely carried out by YP. The riots were thought to be a reaction to high levels of youth unemployment and YP's feelings of social exclusion; however the public, political and judicial responses arose

from a 'justice' rather than a 'welfare' perspective. There were substantial increases in prosecution and custodial sentences and longer terms of imprisonment for YP involved in the riots, compared with similar youth offenses the previous year, suggesting that the trend away from the punitive position may not be maintained (Bateman, 2012).

Definitions

There are problems of terminology in the area, as the terms *young*, *youth*, *child*, and *juvenile* are used inter-changeably and are understood differently by agencies involved, for example, the care system and the judiciary. Offending is also a term which can be interpreted differently; for example some studies refer to offending as *delinquency*, *criminal behaviour*, *anti-social behaviour* or *law breaking*. Moreover, research may identify YP who have offended as those who have been convicted of a crime, whereas other research may include those who engage in these behaviours but who may not have been detected.

It is contentious to assume that 'offenders' and 'non-offenders' are distinct groups of people. It is certainly true that not all offenders are caught and consequently convicted. Moreover, YP may engage in activities which could lead to an arrest or a conviction, but their behaviours may be constructed as 'normal' in adolescence, and may not come to the attention of the police (Yun & Lee, 2013). Non-legal factors (which will be discussed subsequently) impact upon whether YP will be arrested or convicted, including situational factors, neighbourhood factors and organisational factors (Yun & Lee, 2013).

It is crucial therefore that research set down its parameters for both the population and phenomenon it seeks to explore. For the purposes of this research, 'YP who have offended' refers to children aged 10 to 17 years who have been convicted of a crime, and 'YP who have spent time in a YOI' refers to those who have received a custodial sentence and have been accommodated in a YOI.

Risk Factors Associated With Offending Behaviour

Literature pertaining to YP who have offended has explored and identified numerous risk factors for offending, including, family instability, low socio-economic status, experience of trauma, abuse and neglect, authoritarian parenting, being looked after, low intelligence, school failure, language and communication difficulties, and disrupted education (Bryan, Freer & Furlong, 2007; Hayden, 2008, 2010; Jacobson, Bhardwa, Gyateng, Hunter, & Hough, 2010; Katsiyannis, Ryan, Zhang, & Spann, 2008; Schofield, et al., 2012; Zhang, Barrett, Katsiyannis, & Yoon, 2011). However, obviously not all children who show these characteristics end up in prison; the concept of resilience suggests that these risk factors are mediated by protective factors. Resilience can be understood as achievement of good outcomes despite high risk, continued competence when under stress, and recovery from trauma (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990).

Literature shows that protective factors would include average or above average intelligence, competency and mastery, positive peer-relationships, secure attachments, belonging to a club or group and having religious beliefs

(Daniel & Wassell, 2002). Educational success and attendance at a well-managed and inclusive school also act as protective factors against the likelihood of youth offending; whereas, disengagement, disruptive behaviour, exclusions from school, and lack of success in education are more typical of YP who have offended (Hayden, 2008).

In general, children who are exposed to poor outcome risk factors are predominantly seen as 'vulnerable', however, YP who have offended are not usually afforded this understanding or leniency. Despite being statistically likely to have been exposed to one or more of these risk factors, this group are not normally perceived as vulnerable. They are more likely to be considered 'as risk' than 'at risk'. The dominant discourses of law and order in this country, position the young person as having agency, being autonomous and independent; this is in contrast with the discourse in Victoria, Australia, for example, where a health and well-being discourse emphasises the vulnerabilities and needs of the perpetrator (Hughes, 2011). How we perceive our YP, has a significant impact on how we respond to their behaviour; our punitive measures are in stark contrast to the measures taken in Victoria, Australia where the emphasis is on restorative justice rather than punishment (Hughes 2011).

The following subsections outline risk factors that have felt particularly significant in my practice: language and communication difficulties, low intelligence and being looked after by the LA.

Language and Communication Difficulties

Longitudinal studies have shown that boys who have problems with early language development were at risk of engaging in anti-social behaviours in their teens (Beitchman, et al., 2001). YP who have offended are likely to be at significant risk for previously unrecognized language impairment (Gregory & Bryan, 2011). Bryan, et al. (2007) investigated the language and communication skills of 58 YP who have offended and found that 66-90% of the sample had below average language abilities, with around 46-67% of these YP achieving poor or very poor levels. None of the sample achieved age equivalent scores when assessed on the British Picture Vocabulary Scale; the gap between chronological age and assessed age varying from as little as 1.5 to as much as 11.25 years. And yet, only two of their sample reported having support from a speech and language therapist.

These language and communication difficulties may be misinterpreted as non-compliance and conduct problems in the classroom environment. Children's language difficulties tend to be perceived as behaviour problems and are often overlooked (Beitchman, et al., 1999). In their study of the relationship between language processes, social skills and non-verbal intelligence of YP who have offended, Snow and Powell (2008) concluded that "language and social skills deficits ... are likely to have pervasive detrimental effects on the ability to negotiate the business of everyday life in a way that is judged as socially acceptable and competent" (p.26).

Another study by Yun and Lee (2013) showed that YP with verbal deficits are more likely to be arrested than offending peers of average or above average verbal intelligence. They also highlight that offenders with low self-control, which research has linked closely to language development (Beaver, DeLisi, Vaughn, Wright, & Boutwell, 2008), are more likely to be stopped and arrested than their counterparts with high self-control. Beaver, DeLisi, Mears, & Stewart (2009) showed that this low self-control potentially engenders disrespectful, belligerent and impulsive behaviour in this group of YP when confronted by the police. In turn, this is likely to evoke a response from authorities that is harsher and more likely to result in tougher and more formal sanctions.

In addition, YP who have offended and who have language and communications difficulties are unable to access interventions, such as anger management, drug programmes and literacy interventions aimed at preventing reoffending, as these interventions are largely verbally mediated and therefore difficult for them to engage with (Bryan, 2004). It is arguably more important then, to address language needs before attempting to improve a person's self-control or literacy levels. For these reasons it is argued that adolescents experiencing social or schooling difficulties should have their language and communication assessed (Bryan, et al., 2007).

Bryan, et al.'s (2007) analysis showed that 90% of YP who have offended in their sample ceased to attend school before the statutory leaving age, with 18% of these not attending before 12 years old. Snow and Powell (2004) found that in a sample of thirty 13–19 year olds serving community orders, the

YP were on average functioning 2 years below their peer group even when matched for years of schooling. They conclude that:

The importance of oral language for the collective good of society goes well beyond the benefits it confers on individuals with respect to their own academic pathway through school and beyond. Speech pathologists are ideally positioned to advocate at a policy and practice level for the importance of strengthening oral language competence as a protective factor for all young people, but most particularly those at risk in a psychosocial sense.

(Snow & Powell, 2004, p.228)

Similarly, in another study they compared the language abilities and social skills of 50 young males who had offended with those of a control group and found that the YP who had offended performed significantly worse on all measures. They claimed that:

The findings clearly support the contention that YP who have offended have been overlooked with respect to the role played by inadequately developed everyday language skills in social and educational marginalisation.

(Snow & Powell, 2008, p.23)

Low Intelligence as a Risk Factor for Youth Offending

The issue of intelligence and its relationship with youth offending is one that has been the subject of much research over many years (Yun & Lee, 2013). The construct is hotly debated, as is the contentious nature of using intelligence quotient (IQ) tests as a measure of intelligence, whatever we perceive that to be (Daniel, 1997; Lokke, Gersch, M'gadzah, & Frederickson, 1997; Stobart, 2008). Nevertheless, IQ tests are a reasonably strong correlate

with a range of outcomes including school performance, and delinquency, although admittedly the latter has a weaker correlation than the former.

Yun and Lee (2013) purport that low intelligence has a causal relationship with crime, although they add that YP who have offended with low intelligence are also more likely to be arrested by the police. As mentioned previously (p.17), there are other non-legal factors which influence whether a YP is arrested. Yun and Lee (2013) investigated the impact of intelligence and neighbourhood disadvantage on police arrest. Their study looked at the interactions between IQ and the neighbourhood context and found that YP with lower IQ were more likely to be arrested by police but that the effect was only significant in neighbourhoods which were not disadvantaged. They suggest that this effect can be explained by considering the high level of crime in disadvantaged areas and high frequency of perceived disrespectful behaviour towards police. They hypothesised that this could result in less vigorous actions by the police who may be saddled with high workloads, high crime rates and seemingly disrespectful suspects. In such contexts, legal factors, such as severity of the crime, may be more likely to influence their decision to arrest. Whereas, in advantaged areas police officers may be more likely to impose official sanctions upon youths who appear belligerent; due to the lower levels of crime this situation may be out of the ordinary to them, they are also likely to have more time available and they may be less cynical about the crime rates of the neighbourhood. It is important to note that the effects of IQ in relation to the likelihood of being involved with the criminal justice system, as revealed by their study, were only found in respect of verbal

intelligence. Intelligence in the motor, visual and spatial domains are not so associated with offending behaviour, and so were not considered within their study. It is therefore not clear whether verbal intelligence and language and communication can be considered distinct risk factors.

Looked After Children and YP and the Criminal Justice System

Less than 1% of all children in England were looked after in March, 2011 (Blades Hart, Lea, & Willmott, 2011) and yet 30% of boys and 44% of girls in custody had spent some time in care (Murray, 2012). Looked after children and YP (LACYP) are more than twice as likely as their non-LACYP peers to come into contact with the criminal justice system (Department for Education, 2011).

These statistics are bleak and may lead to the conclusion that residential care is a 'criminogenic' environment (Hayden, 2010). Does this type of care environment help to provide the conditions that produce crime or criminality? Hayden's research draws on the findings from recently completed research on 10 children's homes in a large county LA in England. The data provides evidence of an environment where conflict and offending behaviour are common. It is argued that the residential care environment, especially for older teenagers, presents a set of risks that tend to reinforce offending behaviour and that this is in part due to its 'last resort' status.

The disproportionate number of LACYP accommodated in YOIs may be a result of interacting and shared risk factors for offending behaviour and becoming looked after. Blades, et al. (2011) point out that three quarters of

LACYP are in care as a result of abuse, neglect or family dysfunction. Low socio-economic status, parents who display anti-social behaviour, delinquent peers, low academic achievement, special educational needs and mental health problems are also common to both offending and being in care (Schofield, et al, 2012). Their research concluded that good quality foster or residential care could mitigate the impact of such experiences, and that inappropriate criminalisation (through police and court involvement as a response to challenging behaviour or minor offences in placement) is an additional and serious risk factor for LACYP.

Research conducted by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro, 2003) stated that LACYP in custody have more complex needs than their peers, that they were more likely to report problems on entry to the secure state, to have substance misuse problems, and emotional and mental health problems. Social workers are required to make regular visits to LACYP in the secure state (Blades, et al., 2011), but despite this, half of those interviewed said they had not been visited by their social worker whilst in custody. As a result they reported feeling anxious about the outside and their resettlement plans, particularly about where they would live and whether they would be able to get work. Only one third of YOIs reported that social workers regularly attended planning meetings, which made it difficult to develop a reasonable release plan. More recently, the Prison Reform Trust reported that only 50% of LACYP interviewed knew who would be collecting them on release (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2011).

Towards a New Understanding of YP who have Offended

From a social justice perspective, considering that many of the YP who have offended belong to one or more vulnerable groups as described above, it may be more useful to understand their offending behaviours in a 'normal' developmental framework, in which the YP are constructed as creating their identities as they negotiate adolescence in often challenging circumstances. It is therefore essential that we challenge the general discourses on YP and crime. As most crime is committed by men, this has led to an increased interest in the links between masculinity and crime (Connell, 1995; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001; Phoenix, Frosh, & Pattman 2003; McIntosh, 2004). It is important to consider our understanding of childhood, masculinity and identity when exploring issues around YP who have offended, as they make the transition from boys to men.

Conceptions of Childhood

It seems easy to forget that YP who have offended are in fact children, and as such the way that we conceptualise childhood is crucial to understanding society's response to YP who have offended. As previously noted in this chapter (p.16), it can be problematic to construct children as vulnerable, and "discourses of children as incompetent adults" (Billington, 2006, p.133) "with an emphasis on their vulnerability, incompetence and incompleteness" (Such & Walker, 2005, p.40) function to devalue children's perspectives, giving them little control over their lives, or power within society. This perspective contradicts the prevailing model of YP who have offended as posing a risk,

rather than being at risk themselves. It is juxtaposed to the 'justice model' of youth offending, which is underpinned by 'responsibilization', and positions the YP as having agency. This perspective is not concerned with the context or origins of the behaviour, only with correcting it. The YP in this instance are held fully accountable for their actions but in other situations are positioned as relatively weak (Smith, 2009).

ASBO's, introduced in the Crime and Disorder act 1998, 'responsibilized' children and YP, focusing on the child or YP's individual responsibility to themselves and others. This policy on crime and anti-social behaviour bestowed on children the agency of adults, which directly contradicted the family policy of that time. This took the position that children were not responsible for themselves or others, rather it was the parents and/or carers who were responsible for a child's moral upbringing, reflecting a limited understanding of the concept of childhood (Such & Walker, 2005). Frustratingly, very little research (which points to better ways of dealing with YP who have offended) has translated into government policy; despite the shift towards less punitive approaches as noted previously in this chapter (p.16), the dominant discourses remain punitive and justice led.

Possible Selves

Markus and Nurius (1986) introduced the concept of possible selves as a way of understanding individuals' ideas about their possible future identities.

This type of self-knowledge pertains to how individuals think about their potential and about their future. Possible selves are the ideal selves we

would very much like to become. They are also the selves we could become and the selves we are afraid of becoming.

(Markus & Nurius, 1986, p.954)

They posited that a person may imagine from a wide variety of possible selves, but that those which are available derive from the person's past and present social experiences; the social, cultural and historical context in which that person exists. Therefore the creation of possible selves promises a world of possibilities; yet is also socially determined and constrained, and further restricted by past selves which can define a person again in the future.

Possible selves represent a person's goals, motives, fears and anxieties. A person may seek to achieve or resist these possible selves according to whether or not they represent a preferred identity. Markus and Nurius (1986) highlight the importance of possible selves, arguing that they provide a self-knowledge which can function as an incentive for future behaviour, as well as "providing an evaluative and interpretative context for the current view of self" (p.955), whereby current events related to the self are understood in relation to their meaning for possible future selves.

The notion of possible selves is arguably most relevant in adolescence, the stage when children transition to adulthood and create the selves they could become (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). This involves creating a possible self which fulfils the wants and desires of the individual as well as attending to the responsibilities of adult life. It is important to mention here that this transition to adulthood does not always begin during adolescence; some children bear adult responsibilities at a much younger age, caring for parents or siblings, or

possibly being exposed to violence and drug use, for example, perhaps since early childhood.

Oyserman and Markus (1990) argue that for some this transition is relatively easy, whereas for others it is more challenging.

For...adolescents who become labelled as delinquents, constructing a believable and satisfying future and then working to achieve it is a process beset with difficulty and failure.

(Oyserman & Markus, 1990, p.112)

Although this may be true for some YP, it presents a rather pessimistic view of YP and denies that YP do have some agency. They further argue that those YP who are unable to create a possible self in the conventional realms of family, friends and school are likely to seek alternative routes to achieving a positive possible self. Crime and anti-social behaviour can be one such alternative, constructing them as powerful, tough and in control. Negative representations of the self can be equally powerful in motivating YP to achieve positive outcomes. There should be a balance between interrelated positive and negative representations of the self in order to achieve the possible selves YP would like to become (Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

Structure and Agency

Within the social sciences, the concepts of 'structure' and 'agency' are presented as dichotomous. Structure refers to social patterns which both emerge from and determine individuals' actions; structure can be seen in the ways that social norms shape an individual's behaviour as well as the ways in which institutions constrain and limit opportunities. In contrast, agency

denotes the freedom of individuals to act in whichever way they choose. Structure and agency can therefore be understood as social control and autonomy respectively. Although they are presented here as polar opposites, I acknowledge that the relationship between the two concepts is more interconnected and complex than this (Hay, 1994).

French philosopher Michel Foucault theorised about the ways in which power is exercised over individuals in society. He identifies 'discipline' as one way in which the behaviour of individuals is regulated by society. In his book, 'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison', he analyses power in the context of the penal system and goes on to generalise to wider social institutions. He describes how Western populations have become subjected to 'governmentality' through institutions such as prisons, schools and hospitals, with schools becoming institutions "concerned with social order as much as with learning" (Billington, 2002, p.30). He went on to describe how schools measured, ranked and categorised children, leading to discourses of 'normality' and 'abnormality':

In the eighteenth century, 'rank' begins to define the great form of individuals in the educational order: rows or ranks of pupils in the class, corridors, courtyards; rank attributed to each pupil at the end of each task and each examination; the rank obtains from week to week, month to month, year to year; an alignment of age groups, one after another; a succession of subjects taught and questions treated, according to an order of increasing difficulty.

(Foucault, 1977, pp. 146–147)

As Foucault (1977) noted, some children were not amenable to training and control, these children were categorised as abnormal. Adolescence

particularly is a time when YP seek to assert power and control over their lives, resisting structure and striving for agency. But power operates throughout society, in intricate, changing and often unseen ways. As Foucault advises that we unmask these hidden power relations, I felt it was important for my research to explore the nature and the impact of power relations.

Young Masculine Identities

Masculinities have become contextualized as specific plural identities which intersect with class, ethnicity and sexuality, and which are taken up and performed in particular ways in particular locations such as the school or the streets.

(Pattman, Frosh & Phoenix, 1998, p.126)

The transformation from child to adult is fraught with confusions and contradictions, and this is substantially complicated by issues of gender. Butler (1990) describes gender as something that a person *does* rather than something a person *is*; an act that has been rehearsed through repetition, a performance for a social audience which comes to have the appearance of substance and continuity. As with social construction perspectives where there is no self before the performance of the self, “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender . . . identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (Butler, 1990, p.25).

Therefore, masculinity is a way of *doing* man, and as such is distinct from ‘men’; indeed some men are excluded from masculinity by the way they perform their gender. Masculinity is described by Connell (1995) as active and dynamic, constructed in relation to other men and women through power

relations and hierarchy. She asserts that hegemonic masculinity, that is, the dominant and powerful discourse of what it means to be a 'man', is characterised by toughness, heterosexuality, power, authority, competition and the subordination of women and other men. This hegemonic masculine identity represents the ideal to aspire to, which very few men can achieve, and so they perform their masculine identity through a process of negotiation, positioning themselves in relation to this ideal.

Phoenix and Frosh (2001) argue that young men are positioned by hegemonic masculinities; they describe hegemonic masculinities as plural, dynamic and in competition with each other (as well as with femininities), and as emerging from specific socio-economic conditions. Their investigation of 11 to 14 year old boys from a range of London schools (from working class state schools to private schools) found that there were distinct differences between the ways that their participants 'did boy', mediated by class, and race. The boys from private schools, for example, considered themselves to be more intelligent and less violent than their working class counterparts; however this did not mean that they saw themselves as weak or not properly masculine. 'Hard' boys from the working class schools were seen as fitting into the masculine ideal and therefore were respected and admired. Boys in their study were seen as actively working hard to legitimise their masculine identities; especially it would seem in the feminised setting of school and education. In the private and middle class state school settings, the boys' identities were protected by compelling narratives of school success as a symbol of authority and dominance. However, in settings where no such

alternate narratives exist for boys, they were more likely to reject school work as effeminate, in order to protect their masculine identity.

Dominant patterns of masculinity are both engaged with, and contested, in child and adolescent development, where the construction of masculinity is played out in peer group structure, control of school space, dating patterns, homophobic speech, harassment.

(Connell, 2002, p.90)

In this way, hegemonic masculinity can be useful to some boys. Katz and Buchanan (1999) explain how labelling schoolwork as effeminate can allow some boys who struggle with their schoolwork to feel comfortable about messing around in school. They argue it is a useful narrative which precludes them from having to take responsibility for their own academic performance, although this perspective seems to blame the individual, rather than the patriarchal (school) system.

In an effort to construct a masculine identity during adolescence, boys may engage in bullying and risk taking behaviours in order to assert their dominance over girls and less 'masculine' boys to promote them up the hierarchy of masculinity.

An adolescent boy's notion of his masculinity is built along the continuum of a 'soft' to 'bad', 'tender' to 'tough' identity and as he makes his transition into manhood he is aware that he does not have enough social capital to accomplish masculinity in the normative hegemonic structures. He establishes a new benchmark for manhood that is sustained by his ability to gain respect... Therefore he uses crime to reposition himself, and in so doing he gains status and he uses respect to maintain that status. It is this act of respect that allows him to 'do gender'.

(McIntosh, 2004, p.199)

Despite efforts by researchers, educators and policy makers, hegemonic masculinity remains a fundamental canon within our society. Has this dominant discourse impacted on the lives of YP who have offended? The vast majority of who are exposed to the working class hegemony of what it means to be a man. Performing a gendered identity seems pertinent when discussing YP who have offended. I was particularly interested in how this group of YP 'do boy' (or 'man') and felt this was important to explore through my research.

Conclusion

The voice of YP who have offended is a marginalised one, and is seldom sought; it could be concluded that the group are often seen as undeserving of a voice. A recent qualitative study of YP's experience of being in prison (Holligan, 2013) highlights the benefits of listening to the voices of YP alongside the statistical data. In addition, participants in the narrative study conducted by Phoenix, et al. (2003) were said to have enjoyed the experience of being interviewed about themselves. One of the key benefits of the process was the realisation that the interviewer was "treating them as social actors, rather than testing them, problematizing them, firing questions at them and embarrassing them." (Phoenix, et al., 2003, p.192) I believe we must seek to understand rather than simply control behaviour. By giving a voice to these marginalised YP we may be better able to understand how their complex and 'messy' lived experiences have resulted in prison sentences. This will thereby give us some insight into how government policy and society's attitudes to YP who have offended can, and needs to change to promote better outcomes for the YP and wider society.

Research Questions

My research project aims to raise the voices of YP who have offended, by exploring the stories, co-constructed with me, through narrative inquiry. In doing so, I will seek to answer the following research questions:

- What narratives do YP who have spent time in a YOI co-construct with me about their experiences?
- What meanings do they give to these experiences?
- How do they construct their identities within their narratives?

Chapter 3 Methodology

Overview

In this chapter, I will describe the methodology which underpins my research. I will set out my ontological and epistemological position, and explain how this position has shaped my study. I will define the term 'narrative' within this research, and discuss my rationale for choosing a narrative approach over alternative methods of enquiry. I will also describe my pilot study and its impact on my research. Finally, I will outline the ethical considerations, and issues of validity, reliability and generalizability relating to the study.

Ontology and Epistemology

Narrative is both a method of knowing and an ontological condition of social life... the stories that people tell and hear from others form the warp and weft of who they are and what they do... stories shape identity, guide action and constitute our mode of being.

(Smith & Sparkes, 2006, p.169)

It is important for researchers to establish an ontological and epistemological position: that is to state their views about the nature of reality and knowledge. My research is underpinned by social constructionism, which asserts that there are multiple ways of knowing and that social reality is fluid, constructed and multi-faceted (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). From this position, I acknowledge myself in this research as a social actor, who has jointly constructed the narrative that has resulted from each interview.

Through our presence, and by listening and questioning in particular ways, we critically shape the stories participants choose to tell

(Riessman, 2008, p.50)

Following Riessman (2008), I believe that it is essential to be as transparent as possible about the interview context and the impact I had on the construction of the narratives that were created. Some narrative researchers pay little attention to themselves in the research, believing instead that they can distance themselves from the creation of the narrative (Ginsburg, 1989); such researchers often remove their words from the narrative transcription. I would contest this. Despite attempts to reduce the power imbalance, to build rapport with the participants, and to minimise researcher influence over the direction of the narrative, I believe it is inevitable that the researcher and the interview context has a significant impact on the narratives produced. The extent of this impact cannot be fully mitigated, or even recognised through reflexivity and transparency.

We cannot know everything that influences our knowledge construction processes, and there are 'degrees of reflexivity', with some influences being easier to identify and articulate during the research, while others may only come to us many years after

(Doucet & Mauthner, 2008, p.405)

Social Constructionism

As we communicate with each other we construct the world in which we live...The realities we live in are outcomes of the conversations in which we are engaged

(Gergen, 2009a, p.4)

Social constructionism challenges us to be critical of those things that we take for granted in the world; the assumptions that we make and the realities that we accept. It denies that our knowledge is a straightforward observation of reality, believing instead that we construct our own versions of reality, through social interaction; therefore there can be no objective facts or “truths” - we cannot have direct knowledge of the world. Our ways of understanding come from other people, through lived experience, not from objective reality. In order to function, a shared version of ‘the real and the good’ is created within social interactions, which society fundamentally agrees on (Gergen, 2009b, p.60). This involves a complex process of negotiation, saturated with power imbalances, in which some people have little or no say in the co-construction of their realities.

Positivists see language as a way of representing the world, whereas social constructionists view language as constitutive. They argue that we understand the world through shared language and culture which provides a frame work for our meaning making (Gergen, 2009a). In this way, language is not simply a passive means of conveying our thoughts and emotions, but an active constructor of categories, concepts and meaning; knowledge is not something that a person *has* but something that people *do* together. Burr (2003) asserts that the constructions that we have of the world cause us to act in particular ways, which maintain some patterns of social action and reject others.

It is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated. Therefore social interaction of all kinds, and particularly language, is of great interest to social constructionists

(2003, p.4)

There are multiple social constructions which could be negotiated between people, and all these ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative. I am interested in how narrators position themselves within the contexts of their experiences and the wider social, historical and cultural influences upon them. As discussed in Chapter 2 (p.26), for example, social constructions of childhood have changed over time and across cultures, and these constructions influence the way we act towards children in our societies. Foucault's theories addressing the relationship between power and knowledge are relevant here. He argued that knowledge is culturally and historically specific, and used as a form of social control through institutions, including prisons, but equally institutions such as schools and hospitals; these 'disciplinary' institutions are used to exercise power over individuals, in order that they comply with rules and traditions of that culture (Foucault, 1977).

I am particularly drawn towards social constructionism, and more specifically narrative approaches and their transformative potential. As, Gergen purports, if we can change the conversations between people then we can reconstruct their realities, transforming problems into opportunities, "the moment we begin to speak together, we have the potential to create new ways of being." (2009a, p.29)

Narrative

There are various different meanings of the term 'narrative', both within and across disciplines (Riessman, 2008); therefore it is important to state from the outset what narrative means to me within this study. Herein, I use narrative to

mean the oral story-telling of individuals that have been composed with me as the listener, at a particular moment in time, therefore the terms narrative and story are used synonymously. From my social constructionist stance, I do not see eliciting narratives as opening a window to the 'truth', but as a way of the speaker and the listener jointly constructing a story, told by the speaker and interpreted by the listener; the story does not speak for itself. Through narrative, meaning is made (Bruner, 1986) and personal identities are constructed (McAdams, 2008).

Human beings are essentially story-telling animals (Smith & Sparkes, 2006). People from all walks of life can give an account of their lives (Bruner, 2004). Bruner claims that the process of storying our lives has the power to organise perceptual experience, to structure memory, to segment and build the very events of our lives, so that we become the stories that we tell about ourselves. Our lived experiences are storied, structured into contingent sequences, where consequential linking of events or ideas creates meaning and enables us to arrive at a coherent account of ourselves and the world around us; but it is noted that a story can never encompass the full richness of a person's lived experience (White & Epston, 1990). The narratives contained within this study are descriptions of life events in context (both immediate and cultural), developed over a single interview; an evolving series of stories which are framed in and through the interaction between researcher and narrator (Riessman, 2008).

Narrative research which is based on conversations between people is invariably a process of ongoing negotiation of meaning. People answer

questions which they think we are asking them, and we respond to the answers with which we think they have provided us.

Our understanding of their worlds is always contingent upon our ability to imagine the worlds they are trying to convey.

(Andrews, Squire & Tamboukou, 2013, p.18)

From the outset, I knew that I wanted to conduct a qualitative study as I feel this paradigm fits with my personal beliefs and values. My work has been heavily influenced by humanistic and feminist psychology, and as such I chose to adopt an idiographic approach, that is specific, individual, unique, and experiential. My aim was to study how individuals interpret the world in which they live and subsequently act the way they do, through exploring individual experience and values. I considered a number of methodologies before opting to carry out a narrative study. A study of human experience would also be suited to interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and discourse analysis (DA) methodologies, but narrative's emphasis on holistic analysis of the story appealed to me; I wanted to preserve the integrity of the narratives as a whole rather than breaking them up into fragments as would be the case with IPA and DA.

Not Being Heard

Whilst story-telling has been shown to be fundamentally human, it is not the case that all people have equal opportunity to tell their stories and to be heard. Whilst some groups' narratives are privileged over others, there are others whose narratives are silenced by the social, cultural and political systems in which they exist. The power imbalances between children and adults make them one such group. Add to this the label of 'young offender'

and further control and subjugation ensues. Such labels serve to alienate YP from 'normal' society and diminish their power to story their lives, whilst at the same time increasing the power of professionals to re-story their lives (Billington, 2000, 2006).

The importance of the 'voice' of the child has been emphasised since the CRC (United Nations, 1989). Narrative approaches are ideally suited to addressing this principle as they seek to reduce imbalances of power by "avoid[ing] superimposing yet another adult preferred account", maintaining a curious stance and "allow[ing] the young person some space to tell of their own preferred story" (Billington, 2006, p.138).

I felt that a narrative methodology was well suited to my research questions. Bruner (1990) explains that narratives often emerge when there is a mismatch between people's 'ideal' and 'real' self, or where there is conflict between the self and society. As the YP I spoke with are necessarily at odds with the society (as represented by the youth justice system), and as narrative is also linked with notions of morality, values and agency (pertinent concepts for this group of YP), I felt narrative was an especially appropriate research methodology.

Therapeutic and/or Emancipatory Potential

Whilst therapy was not a specific aim of my project (the participants neither sought nor consented to therapeutic intervention), the narrative approach can have a therapeutic effect. In their book 'Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends', White and Epston (1990) explore the storying of lived experience and its

potential therapeutic impact, although, this is not to suggest that therapy is always empowering. I believe the narrative interviews I conducted as part of this study may have been beneficial to the participants. Without conflating the two, the opportunity to be heard, particularly by someone who may be considered to be in a position of authority, in itself may have the potential to be both emancipatory and therapeutic. From a social constructionist perspective:

[C]onstructionism... opens a precious space for reflection, reconsideration, and possible reconstruction. Herein lies the emancipatory potential of constructionism – its capacity to let us step outside the taken for granted, to break loose from the sometimes strangulating grip of the commonplace. And herein lies the possibility for new futures, for critical reflection that invites us into a posture of reconstruction. We are prompted to explore alternative understandings of what takes place, and to locate meanings that enable us to go on in more adequate ways. For those who live in complex societal circumstances, the potential for creative reconstruction is a continuous treasure; for lives despondent, tormented, or tortured, such resources may be essential.

(Gergen, 1998, p.1)

Narrative approaches to research have been used where the individual's voice is viewed as a being in opposition to powerful and oppressive social and institutional hegemonies, for example, illness narratives of patients have provided alternative perspectives on illness and treatment, creating possibilities for more empowering practices (Frank, 1995). I hope that my research will amplify the voices and validate the unique perspectives of YP who have offended.

Pilot Study

In the first stages of my pilot study, through informal conversations, I elicited the views of the Principal in my service, as well as those of the EPS and YOS staff, in order to check out that my research aims and ideas were both relevant and achievable. For the next stage of my pilot study I contacted the YOS who in turn approached a 17 year old boy, Callum¹, who had previously spent time in a YOI. I had prepared an information sheet for participants (see Appendix I) and asked him for feedback on the clarity and usefulness of the document. He wanted to know what the role of an EP was, why he had been chosen in particular, and why I wanted to know the answers to the questions I would ask him. Therefore, I amended the document to include further details which addressed his questions, in addition I decided to visit the participants on a separate occasion before their interview, as this would give them the opportunity to ask questions and consider whether they wished to take part. I also added a space for me to sign on the participant consent form to stress the collaborative nature of the research, and demonstrate my commitment to the assurances regarding confidentiality and anonymity (see Appendix II).

Another aim of the pilot study was to practise my interview technique and to test the use of audio recording equipment. I had planned to talk to Callum for around one hour, but in the event the conversation lasted 45 minutes. I found eliciting his stories harder than I had anticipated, although his case worker commented that they were surprised he had agreed to the interview, and thought he had engaged well considering his usual response to professionals.

¹ Pseudonym

Callum had his mobile phone with him, which he repeatedly used to check Facebook and to text his friends throughout the interview. At first, I was frustrated by this, as I felt he was not giving his full attention to the interview. I asked him a couple of times to refrain from this, but as the interview progressed, I understood that he was using his phone as a distraction. He appeared embarrassed to be talking about himself, and I feel the situation would have been too intense for him without the phone as a focus for his attention. In this way, I came to see the mobile phone as a 'transitional object', intermediate between the inner idealised world and the external world (Winnicott, 1971), which offered "a means of negotiating a relationship and playing with ideas and feelings safely" (Billington, 2006, p.62). As such, I could accept its presence and was even able to use it to build on our developing rapport, by asking him about his Facebook and text messages.

I did not have an interview schedule, opting to try an unstructured approach. I had thought about some basic prompts which could start off my interview; these were very general open questions, such as, "Tell me about school" and "What is important to you?", as I wanted the interview to feel as much like a natural conversation as possible, and I did not want to direct, or limit the scope of his responses. However, I think that it would have been useful to start off with some direct/closed questions to help 'warm up' the conversation, such as "When was the last time you were in school?" and "Where did you go to school?", as many of Callum's responses were short and limited in detail. I tried leaving silences in order for Callum to continue speaking, but these appeared to make him uncomfortable, and did not usually result in him

carrying on. He was more likely to return to his phone than to continue with his story. The pilot also highlighted the need to assess in each interview which techniques for extending narratives suit each individual. In addition, for the other interviews, I decided to use an interview schedule to provide a guide for my interviews and hopefully elicit longer narratives.

I had been worried that it would be too difficult to build a rapport with YP from this 'hard to reach' group; however, I found that the rapport began to develop as the interview progressed. This was supported by my use of active listening; showing a genuine interest, use of phrases such as "right" and "ok", echoing what Callum had said to me, and showing empathy, "I can see that you think that was really unfair" and "I'm sure that must have been very difficult for you". Therefore I did not think it necessary to spend time 'getting to know' the participants before the interview in order to elicit their views successfully.

Ethical Considerations

This study was designed to adhere to ethical guidelines from The British Psychological Society (BPS, 2014), and ethical approval was secured from the University of Sheffield and the LA in which the research was conducted, prior to commencement (see Appendices III and IV).

With these guidelines in mind, it was deemed possible that participants may feel some level of stress whilst taking part in the study. Considering the nature of the participant group, it is possible that they will have experienced trauma (Jacobson, et.al., 2010), therefore, some of the experiences being recalled and/or narrated have the potential to evoke negative thoughts and feelings,

either during the interview or afterwards. As the narrative interview allows the participant to tell any stories they wish, there was some potential for psychological harm, distress or discomfort to arise. Sign-posting to appropriate support was considered and incorporated into the participant information sheet (see Appendix I), in order to address this possibility.

In order to minimise the risks of harm to the participants, fully informed consent was obtained from the participants, with particular attention being drawn to whether they felt comfortable discussing the topic areas relevant to the research. It was reiterated at every stage that they had the right to withdraw their consent at any point, and were free to stop talking about any topic that was causing them distress. It had been intended that the potential participants would meet with me before the day of the interview to go through the information sheet and give them time to ask questions and consider whether they were happy to take part. However, due to the considerable difficulties with set up and attendance, it became necessary for the case workers to go through the information sheet with the participants during their routine appointments.

Although it was recognised that the potential for psychological harm does exist, it should be acknowledged that there was also the potential for the participants to enjoy the experience and to experience beneficial effects from being involved (Phoenix, et al., 2003). As discussed earlier in this chapter (p.39), having the opportunity to tell their story can have emancipatory and/or therapeutic effects, although this was not a specific aim of the project (White & Epston, 1990). On balance then, it was determined that the potential for harm

was justified, when compared to the potential benefits, both to the participants, and in terms of increasing the knowledge and understanding of relevant professionals, and the potential to impact on practice and outcomes for those YP 'at risk' /convicted of crimes.

After each interview the participants were debriefed; this involved asking for feedback and checking that they had not been distressed by the process. All of the participants' responses indicated that no distress had been caused as a result of taking part in the research. Similarly none of the participants indicated that they would like feedback on the findings of the research.

Power in the Research Relationship

It is important to discuss here the issue of power imbalance between me as the researcher and the participants as the researched.

The notion of power is significant in the interview situation, for the interview is not simply a data collection situation but a socially and frequently a political situation...typically more power resides with the interviewer: the interviewer generates the questions and the interviewee answers them; the interviewee is under scrutiny whilst the interviewer is not.

(Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p.205)

I hope that the collaborative approach I took to working with the participants in this study minimised this power imbalance throughout the research process. I gave the participants as much control over the interview as possible, for example, where and when it took place, who was present, choice of pseudonym, which stories they wanted to tell and whether they wanted feedback. As Limerick, Burgess-Limerick, and Grace (1996) advise, I viewed

the interview as a 'gift' and was grateful that they chose to engage with the process.

As the researcher, I also had power over how the stories were analysed. I had control over the interpretation and presentation of the stories. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, personal information given by the participants that could identify them remained strictly confidential. This involved using pseudonyms for participants, as well as for the names of people and places in their stories. These pseudonyms were used whilst transcribing the interviews, in discussions with my research supervisor and in writing this thesis. Participants were informed of the steps that I took to ensure confidentiality on the information sheet, and acknowledged this on the consent form (Appendices I and II). However, it was noted that case workers may recognise the participants through the stories that they chose to tell.

Quality in Research: Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

In order to evaluate the quality of this research project it is important to consider notions of reliability, validity and generalizability. Riessman (2008) argues that usual guidelines and criteria for ensuring reliability and validity are not suitable for evaluating the efficacy of narrative studies. Narrative is intended to be an idiographic mode of research, exploring the unique, individual experiences of the participants, rather than a nomothetic study, which would seek to generalise findings to the wider population. In general, the emphasis of my study is on depth and quality, as opposed to breadth and quantity. When dealing with qualitative research methods it is considered

more helpful to think in terms of trustworthiness rather than validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Riessman (2008) argues that in narrative research there are two levels of validity which apply; these are the validity of the story as told by the participant and that of the analysis by the researcher.

It is important to assess the validity of a study from within the theoretical perspective of the particular research project. Studies that come from a realist stand-point would rely on factual truth, whereas this study, which takes a social constructionist stance, is less concerned (if at all) with the verifiability of the story facts. Stories are not seen as a record of events, “but rather as a continuing interpretation and reinterpretation of our experience” (Bruner, 2004, p.692). Therefore no information was sought to triangulate the ‘truth’ of the stories; verifying the facts was less important than understanding their meanings for the participants, so in this respect, validity is evident in the coherence and continuity of the stories (Riessman, 2008). It is likely that the lack of emphasis on proof and verifying ‘facts’ is in stark contrast to other interview situations the YP will have experienced in the police or court arenas. My narrative interviews, therefore, aimed to create a different space in which to allow the participants to tell their stories.

The validity of my analysis rests on the plausibility of my interpretation (Smith & Sparkes, 2006) and the transparency of my research. Participants’ exact words were used as evidence for my analysis, as taken from verbatim transcripts. My own exact words and my reflections (see Chapter 3 – ‘Reflexivity’ and Chapter 4 – ‘Analysis’) were included in the transcripts and analyses to acknowledge researcher influence over the stories’ construction

and interpretation. The rigour of my study rests on being clear, with both myself and the audience, about what I have done and found (Hiles & Čermák, 2008).

Bloor (1978) suggests that another way of increasing reliability is for researchers to take back their research reports to the participants and record their reactions to that report. Feedback was offered to the participants, however, they all declined to take the opportunity. This is illustrative of the difficulties I experienced in engaging YP who have offended with my research; to require the YP to attend for a second appointment would have been an unrealistic expectation. Instead, I endeavoured to check out my understanding of what they were saying throughout the interview by repeating back, paraphrasing and summarising, to offer the participants the opportunity to change their stories. I do not feel that this detracts from the reliability of my study; Riessman (2008) argues that, whilst it may be ethically desirable to take the transcripts back to the participants (e.g. to gain their informed consent a second time, and to check that their identities had been kept confidential), this practice does not establish validity, as, "Life stories are not static; memories and meanings of experiences change as time passes" (Riessman. 2008, p.198). It is important to make it clear that narrative is intersubjective and co-constructed, and that these are my interpretations of the participants' stories, rather than their own.

Reflexivity

Remember that who you are has a central place in the research process because you bring your own thoughts, aspirations and feelings, and your own ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexual orientation, occupation, family background, schooling, etc. to your research

(Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p.46)

As I believe that the researcher participates in the construction of narratives, it is essential to be reflexive throughout the study; reflexive about my involvement in building the narrative, my transformation of the audio recording into transcript, and my interpretation and analysis of the data. My own identities and preconceptions have undoubtedly had an impact throughout the research; especially as all the participants were disparate from me, in terms of age, gender, class, and geography (Riessman, 2008).

In order to be reflexive, we should notice ourselves in the research, therefore we need to:

...be able to be aware of our personal responses and to be able to make a choice about how to use them. We also need to be aware of the personal, social and cultural context in which we live and work and to understand how these impact on the ways we interpret our world.

(Etherington, 2004, p.19)

To this end, I have included reflexive boxes in the interpretation and discussion (Chapter 5), which illustrate my personal reflections and acknowledge my influence over the study. Transparency and reflexivity are mutually dependent; therefore to achieve transparency the researcher must be reflexive about their participatory role (Tracy, 2010; Hiles & Čermák, 2008).

Use of a research diary and discussions with my research supervisor also facilitated the reflexive process. Although, as previously noted in this chapter (p.37), I am not suggesting that reflection will allow me to identify every way that I have influenced the construction, analysis and interpretation of the narratives produced in this research (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008).

Chapter Summary

Summary of Methodology

- Ontology: Social Constructionism – social reality is fluid, constructed in relationships between people and multi-faceted (Burr, 2003).
- Epistemology: Social Construction – we create knowledge through our interactions with others (Gergen, 2009a).
- Narratives are the co-constructed storying of lived experience. They are the means by which we make sense of the world and ourselves (Bruner, 2004).
- Narrative is intersubjective, and this research presents my interpretation of the storied lived experiences of the participants.
- Narrative studies have the potential to be emancipatory and/or therapeutic for the participants although this was not an intention of this piece of research.
- A pilot study was carried out which allowed the interview to be tried out, and informed the development of a semi structured interview.
- This is an idiographic study, exploring the unique, individual experiences of the participants, rather than seeking to generalise to the

wider population.

- Reflexivity is crucial to the trustworthiness of the research, therefore reflection boxes have been used in the research.
- Ethical guidelines from the BPS, University of Sheffield and the LA have been adhered to in conducting this research; addressing issues, including informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality and risk of potential harm.

Chapter 4 Research Procedures

Overview

This chapter will detail the specific procedures which were used to carry out the study, including preparation, sample selection, recruiting participants, data collection and analysis.

Preparation

Before I was able to identify and approach any potential participants I was faced with a number of challenges. As my original intention was to conduct my research with YP who were in custody at the time of the interview, alongside my application to the University Research Ethics committee, I needed to apply for ethical approval from the National Offenders Management System (NOMS). YP who have offended are often understood as a 'hard to reach' group (Hughes, 2007), and I felt that this context would give me the best chance of engaging them with my project. Disappointingly, the project was not approved by NOMS. They felt the research would not be of benefit to them, and as such they could not justify the resource implications. They added that my proposed narrative study would not add to the literature, which they consider provides them with a sufficient knowledge and understanding of the experiences of YP who have offended. It seemed they did not value the type of knowledge that would be gained from a study such as this; I believe this is due to a mismatch between the research traditions in the fields of clinical and forensic psychologists (those practitioners more commonly associated with the youth justice system) and the qualitative research carried out in the field of

educational psychology. I emphasised my aim to privilege the voices of young people who have offended, however this did not appear to be a shared goal; perhaps reflecting their *criminal justice* perspective rather than my own position of *social justice*. Equally their decision may have been motivated by a concern to preserve practices within the youth justice system, precluding any potential for the study to expose or alter professional practice. I was therefore forced to change my plans.

I approached a contact I had made in the YOS during my placement, and she was keen to support the project; however further ethical approvals had to be sought from the LA before I could go ahead. Initially, this too was turned down due to concerns over confidentiality and anonymity. It was felt that the YP in my study would be easily identifiable from the stories they told, due to the small population from which the sample was to be selected. This was frustrating as the project had met ethical guidelines set by the BPS and the University of Sheffield. In order to secure permissions for my study to go ahead I felt I had no choice but to agree to the changes required by the LA; as a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), I did not have the power to challenge their requirements. So, with some significant changes to my application, I was granted approval to access participants through YOS and the Probation service. These changes involved agreeing not to present the stories created within the research to my fellow TEPs, and to place an embargo on the thesis. The LA felt these additional steps would protect the anonymity of the LA, thereby protecting the anonymity of the participants. These stipulations were made by the Principal EP via email correspondence,

and were not specified in the approval letter from the LA; however the approval letter did request that I previewed the report with them before dissemination, perhaps suggesting a form of censorship. Ultimately, gaining ethical approval felt like a very confused and messy process in which neither myself nor the participants held any power. Previous discussion has illustrated some of the barriers to research with YP who have offended; I viewed the process as further obstructing the research and oppressing YP who have offended, rather than acting in the best interests of those YP.

Sample Selection

In order to make the study accessible for as large a group as possible, the participants were selected according to three simple selection criteria; they must be male, aged 16 to 25 and have spent time in a YOI. I felt the custodial sentence would indicate a level of offending behaviour across the sample, and I chose to focus my study on males, as young males are far more likely to offend than young females. Males accounted for 82% of proven offenses by YP, and 95% of YP held in the secure state were male in 2012/13 (Ministry of Justice & Youth Justice Board, 2014). The age of participants was not significant, however in order to have previously spent time in a YOI they would need to be 16 or over, and I felt up to 25 years old would give me a large enough pool of potential participants.

As I selected a narrative methodology for my study, the sample size was small; the narrative methodology is not suited to larger sample sizes, due to the amount of data that would be generated from a large number of narrative

interviews. The aim of the study was not to make generalisations about the population because narrative inquiry is rooted in the particular, therefore a large sample size was not necessary (Radley & Chamberlain, 2001). I felt three participants would produce the right amount of data for an intensive analysis, as well as allowing for some variation within the data collected, without the individual being lost in a large sample (Robinson, 2013). The three participants were all white British males, aged 18, 20 and 21 years.

I had hoped to offer the opportunity of participation to all YP who fit the criteria within my LA placement, to prevent any groups being excluded from the project. However, I encountered significant difficulties in accessing the YP. Due to confidentiality, I was not able to access a list of YP who had received custodial sentences, and so I was reliant on the goodwill and the judgements of professionals working in YOS and Probation. Inevitably this meant that staff targeted particular individuals, who they felt would be likely to engage with the project. Of these, the first three YP who expressed a wish to participate were invited to interview. A considerable number of participants who agreed to participate subsequently failed to attend. The process of identifying participants who met the criteria, gaining their consent and carrying out the actual interview took a lot longer than expected and required perseverance and resilience on my part.

Difficulties in engaging this group is well documented in the research (Hughes, 2007) and is likely to impact on the propensity for research to be carried out directly with this group. However, this was not the only barrier I encountered; safeguarding, confidentiality and the political agendas of

organisations also beset my project. Multiple barriers hinder research in this area, and therefore serve to silence the voices of YP who have offended.

Interviews

Qualitative data was collected through the use of semi-structured interviews (SSI). Each interview was expected to last between 45 minutes and one hour, although the time taken for each interview varied. The interviews elicited a narrative first person account of life events or lived experiences using a SSI schedule (see Appendix V) developed following the pilot study, as described in Chapter 3 (p.44), using prompts and open questions intended to generate detailed accounts. The participants were invited to describe any events or experiences they wished. The SSI schedule was not intended to be prescriptive, so as not to limit the scope of the data collected, although each question was posed in each interview with follow-up questions to elicit further detail and depth. This non-restrictive structure, coupled with active listening from myself as the researcher, was intended to make participants feel that their views were valued, and that they were able to talk about what was important and meaningful for them (Riessman, 2008).

None of the participants chose to have a familiar adult in the interview with them. Refreshments were offered at each interview; none of them took up this offer. The participants were given a choice as to where they wished the interviews to take place. In all cases the participants chose the location of their usual appointments with their case workers related to their offending.

The interviews were conducted and recorded by myself, using digital audio recorders and then stored as audio files on a hard drive, for play back and transcription. During the interviews, I attempted to create a safe and supportive space in which the participants were comfortable and confident in sharing their stories, through the use of the Rogerian principles of understanding and acceptance; by echoing participants' responses, showing empathy and being open and honest with them (Rogers, 1995).

I recorded my thoughts and feelings in my research diary immediately after each interview to support later analysis and to aid reflexivity. These notes included information about my own emotional responses to the interview together with any non-verbal information such as posture, actions and facial expressions of the participants during the course of the interview. The audio recordings and field notes data was descriptive and exploratory in nature, rather than seeking to confirm or test a hypothesis.

Analysis

There are many different ways in which narrative researchers can analyse their data. The method chosen is only important in as much as it needs to be clear and systematic, and to allow the researcher to generate insights into the structure, functions and social and psychological implications of the narrative (Silver, 2013). Unlike IPA, which gives prescriptive guidance for the analysis of data, narrative analysis (NA) allows for a great deal of flexibility in the analysis and interpretation of the stories co-constructed in the research. As already noted in Chapter 3 (p.41), one of the benefits of NA is the ability to conserve the story as a whole rather than reducing it to codes and categories.

However, Frank (1995) argues that to analyse or interpret a story at all is to disrespect the story. He asserts that through analysis and interpretation the story may lose its integrity, potentially becoming the voice of the researcher more than the voice of the narrator. He advocates that it is enough for a researcher to bring forth a story and present it sensitively. I was mindful of considering how to present the stories; I believe the method I have used allowed me to retain the shape and content of the narratives in order to respect the original story, and to remain aware of the risk of the meanings being appropriated by me, with my own values, theories and discourses.

I took the position that all the talk within the interview was constitutive of the participants' narrative as they chose to perform it to me; other researchers may not hold this same view. For example, Labov (1972) would consider those sections of the talk which adhered to a specific structure as 'narrative'; he would categorise those sections which do not follow this structure as other types of speech event (Squire, 2005), therefore they would not be included in the NA. However, I believe that stories can be organised in many different ways, and that fragmented or reversed stories are no less worthy of analysis than those which follow a typical 'beginning, middle, end' structure as described by Labov (1972).

Another method of analysis which I considered was that of Gee (1991) who takes a linguistic approach to NA. However, this method felt similar to a DA and was not an approach I wanted to take, as previously noted in Chapter 3 (p.41). Rather than applying a method such as Labov or Gee, I chose to use performance analysis when interrogating my data, as I felt this fitted with my

position and would allow me to explore the narratives performed by the participants, considering “how is the story co-produced in spaces between the teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader and history and culture?” (Riessman, 2008, p.105)

I was interested in *how* and *why* particular stories were told; there are many different ways in which experiences can be narrated, therefore the particular way in which a speaker chooses to tell their story is significant, and worthy of analysis (Riessman, 2008). The story-teller positions themselves both in relation to the audience and in relation to the others in the stories (McAdams, 2008), choosing what to say and what *not* to say (Bruner, 2004). I believe it is important to analyse the performative aspect of stories, as stories are narrated within social and cultural contexts, according to social and cultural expectations and norms and with a particular purpose in mind.

Performance Analysis

According to performative perspectives, identity is not something you *have* but something you *do* (Riessman, 2003; 2008), something put on stage and performed for an audience. Goffman (1969) stressed the link between acts of daily social life and theatrical performance. He contended that we do not talk in order to provide information but to present dramas. He said we give performances to construct identities which are situated and undertaken with the audience in mind (Goffman, 1974).

Generally, those within the ranks of narrative inquiry are staunch upholders of the agency of persons in creating and constructing themselves as they wish to be seen and known by others.

(Dillon, 2011, p.215)

Riessman (2008) explains that we are continually constructing versions of ourselves, proffering a definition of who we are and making assertions that we try-out and negotiate with others. Denzin (2001) adds, “There is no inner, or deep self that is accessed by the interview or narrative method. There are only different and interpretive (and performative) versions of who the person is.” (p.29).

Riessman (1993) argues it is difficult to separate transcription from analysis; therefore, the first step of my analysis was transcribing the interview data. Through this process, I was immersed in the data, and thereby became familiar with it. I transcribed the data as soon as possible after the interview to aid recall of non-verbal information.

The transcript conventions (see Appendix VI) were adapted from Jefferson (2004). A small number of conventions were selected in order to capture all the relevant information to allow analysis, without being too arduous or over complicated, or straying into the domain of DA.

Voice-Centred Relational Model

I used a voice-centred relational model to analyse the interview data; the model I used was adapted from the *Listening Guide* (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2006). I felt the *Listening Guide* satisfied my desire to move away from reducing the rich data produced in narrative interviews to a series of codes, which other methods, such as thematic or structural analysis would do. Instead, the

method draws on voice, resonance and relationship, as ways of analysing stories. As far as possible within the context of this research, the method allowed me to retain the integrity of the story respecting the shape and content of the narratives (Frank, 1995). It systematically attends to the various voices embedded in a person's expressed experiences, and goes some way towards addressing my concerns about the participant's voice being overridden by the researcher (Gilligan, et al., 2006). I was attracted to both the structure and the openness which this model offered (Kiegelmann, 2009).

In applying the method, I read the transcripts a number of times to familiarise myself with the data. From here, the text was organised into episodes to make the interview transcripts more manageable. In this way, I was able to listen for the polyphonic voices of the participant, the voice of the researcher, the relationship between the researcher and the participant, and the wider social and cultural context.

I worked through the transcripts repeatedly, focusing on different aspects of the narrative each time (see *Table 4.1*, p.66). In the first listening I was concerned with the drama of the stories; the dominant themes, repeated words and phrases, contradictions and absences. In the second listening, I brought my own voice into the analysis; being reflexive about my subjectivities, my relationship *with* and *to* the participant, and about my own emotional responses. My influence over the narrative construction and interpretation is crucial, and as such should be analysed alongside the participants' narratives.

The first-person voice was the focus for my third listening. Debold (1990) developed the 'I poem' for the purposes of listening to the 'self' within narratives. This involves tracking the use of the first-person pronoun 'I' along with the subsequent verb (and other seemingly important words), extracting them from the text, and presenting them in sequence. Accentuating this first-person perspective is important, as it helps us to understand how a narrator speaks of himself before we speak for him (Brown & Gilligan, 1993).

Next, I attended to the polyphonic voices within the transcripts; listening for and distinguishing between different voices. In this fourth listening, I identified dominant voices, considering the interplay between these voices and their relationship to the first-person voice.

My fifth listening focused on the cultural context and the structured power relations of the narrative, noticing the social and cultural, or 'canonical' narratives which arise out of dominant social and political discourses and serve to justify behaviours and tell of how lives may be lived within the specific cultural landscape (Bruner, 1990).

Finally in Chapter 5 – 'Interpretation and Discussion', I brought each listening back into relationship with each other, so as not to reduce or lose the complexity of the data (Gilligan, et al., 2006).

Listening	Focus	Indicators
1	The Drama	Plot, themes, and events. Recurring words and images. Omissions, gaps, ruptures, interruptions.
2	Researcher Reflexivity	Emotional responses, verbal responses, relationship between researcher and participant, researcher assumptions, views and values.
3	The Spoken Self	First person pronouns. Sequences of “I” phrases or “I poems”.
4	Polyphonic Voices	Identifying different voices within the narrative. Relationship to the first person voice. Tensions between the voices.
5	Cultural Context	Influence of culture and history. Dominant discourses and cultural narratives. Structured power relations.

Table 4.1 Focus of analysis for each transcript listening

Chapter Summary

Summary of Research Procedures

- There were many barriers and challenges involved in setting up this study. It is likely that these challenges serve to limit the amount and scope of research carried out with YP who have offended.
- Design:
 - Sample – 3 males identified by YOS / Probation Service as having spent time in a YOI.
 - Data Collection – semi-structured narrative interviews lasting between approximately 25 and 45 minutes.
 - Analysis – data was digitally recorded and transcribed then analysed using a voice-centred relational model adapted from the *Listening Guide* (Brown & Gilligan, 1993).

Chapter 5 Interpretation and Discussion

Overview

In this chapter I will present my analyses and interpretations of the stories told to me within the context of narrative research interviews; the participants' stories are presented in chronological order. All the names of people and places have been changed to protect the anonymity of participants. The analysis, using the voice-centred relational model, was carried out on the whole of the interview transcript. Whilst I strove to keep the stories whole, focussing on smaller sections of the transcript was necessary within the constraints of this research (word count and time available). Readers should refer to the complete transcripts (see Appendix VII, VIII and VIX) which provide a context for each extract, and the complete analyses (see Appendix X). The participants' first initial is used to indicate their utterances in the transcripts; my own utterances are signified by 'R' for 'Researcher'.

It is important to note that the way in which I have analysed and interpreted these stories is just one way in which they may be constructed. Other readers may consider other moments within the transcripts to be significant and may interpret the stories differently; these interpretations would be equally valid. I believe that as the researcher I "can bring information from the interview context to bear, which other readers may not have access to" (Riessman, 2008, p.111), however, I do not mean to make any claim to truth.

Narrative Segments

It was clear from the outset of my analyses that each of the narrators initially told their stories in short chunks of no more than a few lines; this does not appear to be uncommon in narratives of adolescent boys within the interview context (Emerson & Frosh, 2009). Rather than discounting these short sections of narration, Emerson and Frosh (2009) purport that they should be viewed as 'narrative segments,' which are contained within the main narrative, but which also include non-narrative parts. This fits with my position, as set out in Chapter 4 (p.60), that all the talk within an interview is constitutive of the narrative and therefore worthy of analysis. Therefore all utterances regardless of length or form were included in the analysis, and are referred to as 'narrative segments'.

Tim's Story

Tim is a 21 year old white British male, who has served custodial sentences for convictions he received under the age of 18. He was approached by his Probation worker about taking part in the research, and agreed to meet with me at the Probation office to talk about his experiences before going into custody. The recording of our conversation lasted for 25 minutes and 10 seconds. *Table 5.1* (p.69) shows the overall structure of the narrative episodes within Tim's story.

Episode	Line Numbers
1. Getting Started	1-6
2. School	6-89
3. Leaving School	90-123
4. Family	124-138
5. Drinking and Smoking	139-161
6. Stopping and Starting	162-218
7. Family are Important	219-250
8. Making a Change	251-292
9. The Future	293-303
10. They Could Have Done More	304-330
11. Finishing off	331-347

Table 5.1 Structure of Tim's story

Reflection

I was nervous before Tim's interview, this was the first of my research interviews and the stakes felt high. Despite understanding that the aim of the interview was to create a dialogic space, within which there were no right or wrong things to say, I remained nervous. Tim presented as affable and warm which helped a little. He appeared relaxed and comfortable at the outset of the interview.

Being a 'Little Toe-rag'

The very first story that Tim told me, was a story about him being a 'little toe-rag' in Episode 2 – 'School':

R: So (.) erm just to sort of get you started really (.) the first thing that I was gonna ask you about really was school and what it was like for you

T: It wasn't bad (.) I was just went erm started to just erm (.) well I just got bored and I just ended up doing a lot of shit really (.) to be honest
R: Doing a lot of shit?
T: Yeah
R: What sort of shit did you end up doing?
T: Not going to lessons, fighting (3) be::ing (.) well just being a little toe-rag basically

(Transcript 1, line 5-11)

This feels like a narrative that he has (re)told many times before, when talking about himself. Societal discourses, or canonical narratives such as this, lead to the categorisation of children as 'good' or 'bad', 'normal' or 'problematic'; these polarised categories of children are pervasive, across classrooms and communities. From a very young age, children can be constructed as 'problem' children by the narratives which are told and retold by teachers, parents, and other adults, and these socially constructed labels can stay with children throughout their school careers and beyond (MacLure, Jones, Holmes, & MacRae, 2012). This internalisation of a dominant discourse set the scene for Tim's story, which I felt was narrated in a passive voice, bringing in and speaking through the voices of more powerful others; telling stories which generally positioned him as a bystander in his own life.

Passivity

I felt Tim's narrative constructed him as a hapless character from the outset; one that was besieged by events which he had no control over. He seemed to just sit back and let life happen to him, as if there was a kind of inevitability about life, which he was powerless to change. His stories about stopping and starting related to drinking, smoking and football (Episode 5 and 6, line 139-

218) seemed to reinforce his passiveness. His stories constructed him as an onlooker in the drama of his life. This came through after listening to the transcript multiple times and noticing his passive and ambivalent voice:

T: I was just with ma mates smoki::ng drugs and I just ended up committing a load a crime

(Transcript 1, line 93)

T: I just ended up doing a lot of shit really

(Transcript 1, line 6)

T: I thought I might as well go in it

(Transcript 1, line 121)

T: I'm not fussed me (.) any job will do

(Transcript 1, line 280)

This voice seemed particularly strong when he explained how he came to leave school:

T: I just kept going to jail and jail and jail

(Transcript 1, line 91)

Use of the word 'just' as well as the repetitive use of the word jail, suggests a predictability and routineness of events; as if it was always going to happen.

In Episode 4 – 'Family', Tim introduces the idea that children have agency; choices to make about the paths that they choose to follow in their lives:

T: me mam's always like tried showing me the right way instead of the wrong way (.) but I've never listened

(Transcript 1, line 133)

This is a canonical narrative about good and bad choices, and places children as agentive, autonomous in their actions. He said his mother tried to teach him the right way, but he chose not to listen. Whilst at first this appears to be

an expression of agency, I feel that this is more likely to be a story that he has heard in the discourses of his family, teachers, and other authority figures which he has internalised. From this perspective it reinforces the passive voice, where Tim does not have control over his actions; where actions and events are inevitable and things *just keep ending up* that way.

Structure and Agency

Whilst much of his narration was through a passive voice, there were tensions in Tim's narrative between structured power and agency. At times Tim performs an agentive identity, although I felt he did not really believe that he was in control:

- R: Okay (.) so what was primary school like in the first half then?
T: I was well behaved got on with it and then I just thought (.) why am I doing this?
R: Right (1)
T: And I just started not going (.) every time I went I was just arguing with everyone (2) and that was it (.) just being (.) well how can I say it (.) not cooperative basically
R: Not cooperative (.) okay (.) / Do you know what (.) what made you change (.) [that thinking?
T: Nah] (.) no I just (.) one day I just thought right I'm not doin it
(Transcript 1, line 20-25),

At some points in our conversation he referred to those in authority as 'they' and constructed 'them' as oppressive:

- T: Well I got excluded then I got put back in after two weeks (.) and I dint go (.) and then they barred me from the mornings (.) just make me go at dinner times and afternoons (2) and then they stopped doing that / they barred me from the afternoons and made me go in in the morning and (.) then they just kicked me out and sent me to a different school

(Transcript 1, line 37)

Whilst at other times he constructed 'them' as powerless:

T: They tried making me go into isolation work on one on one (.)
but then that dint work (.) so (1)

(Transcript 1, line 85)

In other segments he subsumes the voice of those in authority into his own:

R: (2) And why couldn't you be arsed do you think?

T: Cos I've got atten (.) small (.) one of them short attention spans

R: Right okay (.) is that something that someone's told you or just
something that you know about yourself

T: That's what I've been told

R: B::y?

T: Doctors and that

R: Okay so have you had some sort of assessment?

T: Cos I had to go for assessment cos they thought I had ADHD

R: Right

T: But I ant it's just my behaviour

(Transcript 1, line 66-75)

In this story, Tim told me what others have told him about himself; in narrating himself he used labels that position him as a wilful offender, which he may have adopted from the discourses of doctors and teachers. In a further example of labelling, Tim describes himself as a 'gold offender':

R: it sounds like the keeping you busy bit is quite important as well

T: Yeah (2) I've got be at probation Monday Wednesday Friday (1)
I get an house visit on a:: Thursday (.) but before when I was out last
time I was on it Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday (1) cos
I'm classed as a:: gold offender or whatever

(Transcript 1, line 283-284)

Tim's stories also suggest that he acts impulsively; this impulsiveness is mirrored in the way he jumps straight into his narrative without providing contextual information.

R: Things changed

T: ((nods))

R: Okay (.) can you erm (.) give me an example of something that happened?

T: I was in lesson someone called me mam a fat slag (.) so I jumped up (.) smashed a tray on his head and punched his head in
(Transcript 1, line 32-35)

R: [Right] okay(1) and then so what (.) with the teachers what happened there?

T: Cos I was having a laugh with one of my mates and the class teacher tried getting mouthy and I said carry on and I'll punch yer head in (.) and he got in my face and I thought fuck you and pushed him over table

(Transcript 1, line 80-81)

It may be that he acts impulsively to counteract his perceived lack of agency, or perhaps his lack of agency is a result of his impulsivity inhibiting his power to make decisions.

Masculinity

Whilst there were themes of fighting and toughness, I did not feel that they dominated Tim's narrative. However, he did position himself in relation to the hegemonic masculinity described by Connell (2002). He positioned himself as a protector in relation to his family, as well as being sporty and tough in his talk about football and boxing. Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002) describe this as typical characteristics of hegemonic "popular masculinity" (p.77). In line with their notion of popular masculinity, Tim appears to avoid identifying with school work; keeping his 'cleverness' hidden from his peers, almost seeming to perform 'clever' secretly, in order to preserve his popular masculine identity.

R: How did you find the learning (.) the work?

T: Easy (1) you know I'm pretty brainy when I put my mind to it so
R: Okay
T: I thought it was pretty easy (.) but they put me in the lowest class (.) you know cos they have them assessments an all that
R: Right
T: An cos I couldn't be arsed they just put me in the lowest class
(Transcript 1, line 60-65)

Again, Tim seemed to need to perform 'clever' to me during our conversation, when he talked about his qualifications, as if he was trying to prove his intelligence to me.

R: Yep (.) okay / did you (.) manage to get any qualifications when you were in custody?
T: Yeah I got a few
R: Okay and what are you gonna do with those then? Are they things that can help (.) you get a job?
T: Yeah they can actually / I've got NVQ level 2 plastering (.) level (???) bricklaying (1) err what else have I got (.) clean / industrial cleaning NVQ level 1 / level 2 health and safety / level 2 food hygiene (.) level 2 English and maths (1)
(Transcript 1, line 297-300)

Respect

R: So (.) what was better about the education in custody than in school?
T: cos they talk to you like normal and they don't get in your face (.) you know when you just don't listen to them they don't get in your face and that (1) they just talk to you with a bit more respect
(Transcript 1, line 104-105)

I was interested in Tim's use of the word 'normal' in this segment. He implies that teachers in school did not treat him as 'normal'. It may be that within the school environment teacher discourses constructed him as abnormal, whereas in prison his behaviour was perceived as normal, which he seemed

to interpret as an indication of respect. In the following narrative segment he reiterated the lack of respect he received from teachers in school:

- R: Okay what could they have done differently do you think?
T: Spoke to me politely instead of making me look like (1) small little small shit on their shoe should I say (.) in front of everybody else
(Transcript 1, line 110-111)

He uses the phrase 'making me look like', as opposed to 'treating me like' or 'talking to me like', which suggests he feels they sought to humiliate him, and that he was concerned most with how he looks in front of his peers. His use of the phrase, "small little small" caused me to wonder whether this was a particularly sensitive point for Tim, as he is small in stature; perhaps this is something he has had to struggle against in order to maintain his masculine identity. This notion of humiliation is echoed later in the conversation when Tim described how people could have helped him in school:

- T: (2) instead of singling me out (1) (???) to everyone
(Transcript 1, line 314)

In the following narrative, Tim talks to me about home tuition, after he was excluded from school. He uses a passive voice to narrate his story to me:

- T: Oh it wasn't bad / she used to come round to me house (.) (???) sit there on me settee / she used to talk to me and say right we're doing this / I'm like no I can't be arsed (.) cos I was at home so I thought yeah I can do what I want (.) but I ended up doing it (.) it / it wasn't bad she was alright with me and that (1) she used to like say if you do this we'll go out for a day or whatever (.) stuff like that so we ended up doing like two weeks work and she take me out and then two weeks work and then take me out
R: Right / so where / what sort of places did you go to
T: Like golf or something like that

R: Oh right / do you like golf do you?

T: Nah I hate it

R: ((Laughs))

T: It's something that she liked doing s::o I thought I might as well go in it

(Transcript 1, Line 115-121)

Here Tim described a scenario where he attempted to resist, but in the end gave in and complied with the teacher's instructions. This story came after others where teachers had tried to get him to comply but did not succeed.

In the closing moments of this episode, Tim revealed a different side to himself. He described doing something for someone else because they like it. Perhaps this was because he perceived this teacher as different to all the others, in that she showed him respect, and so he wanted to show her respect in return.

'Daft Things'

Tim uses the word 'daft' in his story to qualify things that he does:

T: I just went to jail for something daft

(Transcript 1, line 179)

T: I'll play my brother or something like that / family or something daft like that / or me mates

(Transcript 1, line 210)

In this way he constructs his actions as silly and meaningless. This fits with the passive voice with which he narrates; as though no conscious decisions were made, these 'daft' things just happen. He then goes on to attribute this 'daftness' to the actions of others in relation to him, their actions also being silly and meaningless:

T: probation's helping me as well and to trying to keep / stop me committing crime and that / putting me on daft things
(Transcript 1, line 264)

T: if work so hard you get (.) a surprise at the week (.) end of the week or something /we'll take you out or something daft like that
(Transcript 1, line 314)

Going to jail for something 'daft' serves to diminish the seriousness of his actions and their consequences. This is echoed in his claims to be 'too old' to go back to jail, as though offending is usual behaviour for the young:

T: That's it for me I'm too old for it now
(Transcript 1, line 276)

Family

In Episode 4 – 'Family', Tim narrates a story of a happy family life; he constructs himself as loyal, protective and supportive of his family:

R: Erm (3) so the next thing I was gonna ask you was things / about things that are important to you

T: Family (1) that's the only thing that's important to me

R: Right

T: cos you only get one family don't you so you've gotta be there for them

(Transcript 1, line 219-222)

Only having one family is in sharp contrast to the many school placements he has had; he was unable to recall the names of some of his schools and lost track of when he attended different schools. In contrast his family are a constant in his life, and appear to provide stability:

R: Okay (.) erm (2) I've put can you remember a time when things were really good (.) in your life?

T: Yeah when I were younger (1) we used to go out / going day out and that (.) stuff like that (1)

(Transcript 1, line 225-226)

Granddad seems to have been a particular source of resilience in his life, and he describes how things changed when he died:

T: Me granddad was alive then in it so (.) he used to come take us all out as well

R: Okay

T: Cos I was close to me granddad all the way through 'til I was 16 (2)

R: Right (.) and how did that (.) affect you do you think?

T: I just went on a mission (1) I was drinking every day fighting everyone / committing whatever crime I wanted

R: Yeah it can be hard when we lose somebody (.) special to us

T: Ay::e / cos he brought me up like me dad cos me dad wasn't there so

(Transcript 1, line 236-242)

Tim uses the first-person voice fairly consistently throughout the interview. But his use of *we* here stands out from his use of the pronoun 'they' when he talks of teachers, doctors, and so on. I could see a genuine fondness when Tim recalled time with his Granddad. Following on from the separation from his father, the loss of his Granddad seems to have affected him deeply.

Reflection

This was the first point in our conversation where Tim outwardly showed his emotions, and presented a different side of himself; I could now empathise with the character he was performing for me.

Determination

In parts of his narrative, Tim constructed himself as someone who has determination:

- R: You sound quite determined
T: Aye I am (.) when I put my mind to something I'm gonna see it through / that's the only way / difference with me
(Transcript 1, line 175-176)

However, other narrative segments went on to discredit this voice of determination, as if he did not believe it himself. In Episode 6 – 'Stopping and Starting', Tim told me about when he tried to stop smoking:

- T: I stopped for three month and then I started again cos I got stressed out
R: Right and have you had help with that / stopping?
T: I've got some patches and stuff like that / chewing gum and mints and all that
R: Does that work?
T: Nah ((laughs)) it's all about manpower in it / that's what it is
R: Yeah definitely (.) sometimes you need to make that decision in your head don't you?
T: Yeh but it's hard for me when everyone smokes around me as well s::o
R: It is hard (.) er::m / but then you said that if you put your mind to something s::o
T: I stopped for three month and then I just got stressed out one day I said fuck that I'm buying the fags (.) and I just had a fag and started since then
(Transcript 1, line 189-197)

The use of the word 'manpower' (line 193) as a synonym for willpower is interesting. Perhaps he feels that 'real' men should be able to stop without help, and yet he recognises that he has so far been unsuccessful. There are

tensions here between his preferred self and his actual self; it seems he wants to be agentive and powerful, but believes he will inevitably succumb. The 'I poem' below illustrates the 'to and fro' nature of his struggle with cigarettes, a story of resistance and capitulation (refer to Chapter 4, p.65 for an explanation of Debold's (1990) 'I poems').

I started
I just got
I just went to jail
I ended up stopping
I just give up
I regret
I'm just not
I used to be
I think
I might
I'm getting there
I smoke
I stopped
I started again
I got stressed out
I've got
I stopped
I just got stressed out
I said I'm
I just had a fag and started

But in another battle, in Episode 8 – 'Making a Change', Tim spoke with a voice of determination. It may be that his Granddad evokes these feelings of determination and self-belief:

R: 16 and your granddad died (1) did you (.) how did you (.) come out of that do you think? How did you deal with it in the end?

T: Well I just thought to me sen / well he may be gone but he's still inside me / he's in me heart so that's why I thought right if he's still there I can get on with me life / cos he wanted me to do the best so I might as well just prove a point to everyone that I can

R: Right

T: And more to show that I could / I'm willing to do it (.) for him you know what I mean / I'm willing to show him / well obviously I can't show him but you know what I mean / that I can change
(Transcript 1, line 253-256)

He seems to want others to perceive him as having a strong, agentive and resistant identity; to want to 'prove a point to everyone'.

Tim's narrative positions him in various and often contradictory ways, giving the impression of an ongoing battle. He seems passive and yet agentive, agentive and yet subject to structured power. But more than a story of resistance against structural power, Tim's struggle seemed to be with himself; a battle against the inevitability of his life and the things he *ends up* doing, which he constructs as resulting from his impulsiveness, his lack of will power, inability to maintain things and susceptibility to giving in. These are constructions of himself which may be his own, or may be other people's structural constructions which have influenced the way he thinks about himself.

Mohammed's Story

Mohammed is an 18 year old white British male, who has served custodial sentences for convictions he received under the age of 18. He was approached by his YOS case worker about taking part in the research, and agreed to meet with me at the YOS offices, to talk about his experiences before going into custody. The recording of our conversation lasted for 41 minutes and 3 seconds. *Table 5.2* (p.83) shows the overall structure of the narrative episodes within Mohammed's story.

Episode	Line Numbers
1. Getting Started	1-6
2. School	7-90
3. Getting in Trouble	91-130
4. Family	131-146
5. I Don't Plan	147-158
6. I do What I Wanna do	159-177
7. I'm not an Idiot	178-194
8. Injuries and Hospital	195-246
9. Choices	247-273
10. Worries	274-280
11. Boredom	281-322
12. Finishing off	323-341
13. Carrying on	342-355
14. No Point	356-379
15. Coping in Jail	380-385
16. Realising	386
17. Growing up	387-396
18. YOT verses Probation	397-416
19. Finishing off Again	417-423

Table 5.2 Structure of Mohammed's story

Reflection

I was uncomfortable at points during this interview. I felt that Mohammed was not engaging and I was nervous that we would not be able to produce rich data as a result. His responses were short and quiet, and he gave me little eye contact. It was difficult to establish a rapport with Mohammed, and there were threats to our tentative rapport at points during the interview.

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter (p.68), Mohammed initially narrated in short chunks, or narrative segments. However, as the interview continued, the segments of Mohammed's narrative extended. I interpreted this as the rapport which had developed over the course of the interview, enabling Mohammed to talk at greater length.

Despair

Mohammed's story started off quite positively as we talked about his experiences of school. He constructed a picture of a popular boy who liked school:

R: Okay so (.) really I just want to find out a bit about what school was like for you

M: It was alright ((laughing))/ I liked school

R: You liked school (.) / What was good about school then?

M: (3) Dunno (.) it gives you summut to do every day (3) see all your friends and that don't ya?

R: See your friends (.) / yeah it's a good place to socialise int it (1) did you have lots of friends at school then?

M: umm (.) yeah

R: (2) any particular ones

M: Everyone (2)

(Transcript 2, lines 7-14)

However, a change in tone occurred following Mohammed narrating his time at school, contemplating what had been lost:

M: I regret it now though (.) I wish I could go back to school (2) I actually would love to go back to school (3)

(Transcript 2, line 46)

Here he states his desire to go back to school twice, as if he has only just come to the realisation that he wants to go back to school, and is emphasising it as he states it for the second time.

By line 50 (3 minutes into the interview), the tone of the conversation became much more negative, and largely remained so. From this point, Mohammed's voice was predominantly one of despair. He was apathetic, down-beat and constructed a futile world:

M: It's the same shit out here as it is in there so what's the difference?

(Transcript 2, line 278)

M: Err like (.) your (.) your job is to try and help people Err ((sighs))
(2) I don't know (.) it's their choice / you can't help no one /it's their own choice (.) if they wanna change they'll change and if they don't they don't (2) simple as that / you don't' (.) you can't help s:: (.) I don't know (8)

(Transcript 2, line 260)

M: ((sniffs)) (12) but the / you're gonna be (.) that / people you're gonna work with (.) they just gonna be (.) when you're working with em they're gonna be (???) and all that shit (.) not listening to you (1) no point (.) just let em do what they want (2) cos they go to jail/ go to jail when you tried helping them (5) if you're gonna probably write that down it will be a waste a time

(Transcript 2, line 368)

Here, Mohammed refers to me writing down his story as a waste of time. I felt that Mohammed was challenging my role here, transferring his own doubts about the efficacy of professionals' efforts onto me. He seemed to experience his own life story as a waste of time:

M: (11) It's just a fucked up cycle in it (.) life (???) I:: don't know just let em do what they want if they go to jail it's their fault in it (2) you've tried helping em / nowt you can do

(Transcript 2, line 376)

After pointing out my lack of usefulness, Mohammed goes on to absolve me of blame, in what felt like an attempt to repair any damage to our rapport which may have been caused by his assertion. In doing so, Mohammed's narrative blocks possible alternatives again, inferring an inevitable, impenetrable cycle of time-wasting and pointlessness.

When listening for polyphonic voices in Mohammed's narrative, the voice of despair stood out as powerful throughout the interview; it was particularly resonant in Episode 5 – 'I Don't Plan', and Episode 14 – 'No Point'.

Episode 5, which is mostly narrated in the first-person, was a response to my question about what he does in his spare time, and I feel illustrates Mohammed's low mood, particularly when presented as an 'I poem':

I don't care
I'm doing
I don't care
I'm out
I don't care
I don't care
I don't care
I just don't care
I just take a day
I'm not sure
I don't plan ma day
I just go with it

My reflections note how depressing this interview had felt; read in this context, the first-person voice conveys despair in this narrative segment. The 'I poem' accentuates the repetition of the words 'I don't care'; Mohammed is unable to care or to plan. He feels he has nothing to do with his time, a thread which is woven through his stories. In Episode 1 – 'School', he talked of liking school because it gave him something to do every day (Transcript 2, line 10), and in Episode 11 – 'Boredom' he constructed his home town as shit and boring (Transcript 2, lines 282-314). His narrative generally constructs a life without meaning or purpose.

Reflection

Whilst initially relatively upbeat, Mohammed quickly became dispirited and the conversation became rather depressing. I was worried for Mohammed as he seemed like a young man who was without hope. He was generally lethargic and disengaged; he mumbled and spoke quietly appearing to lack confidence. There were considerable pauses which I interpreted as time to process his thoughts and feelings. I felt there was a lot he was not saying during the interview.

Possibility

There were, however, moments in Mohammed's story that felt more optimistic. When reading for polyphonic voices, I noticed towards the end of the interview that a voice of optimism was beginning to play a part in

Mohammed's story. However, this voice was quiet, and silenced by the voice of despair whenever it was heard, as if Mohammed could not allow himself to be optimistic. In Episode 14 – 'No Point', Mohammed asked me how my work was going to help people. I felt Mohammed was looking for hope, having previously positioned himself as doubting the efficacy of professionals:

M: Mmm (9) what / so how is this gonna help?

R: (4) Don't know yet

M: ((exhales holding broken hand))

R: I just think it's really important that hear (.) young people's views (.) a::nd (.) [respect

M: They do it all for] attention anyway (.) that's all that they're doing it for (.) attention (.) if you dint give em no attention and dint (.) do all this for em they probably wouldn't do it (1) just let em do what they want and (.) if they go to jail they go to jail (1)

(Transcript 2, line 362-366)

This narrative segment illustrates the voice of despair returning immediately to silence his tentative optimism and amplifying the doubt he appears to shoulder.

Whilst Mohammed rarely talked about his future, even when asked directly, he did speak, albeit cautiously, about a possible positive future. This cautious optimism is heard more clearly in this 'I poem' taken from Episode 15 – 'Realising'. Here Mohammed allows himself to think about an alternative future, one in which things are good:

I'm out

I'm out

I can

I want

I want

I want

I want

But again Mohammed returns to his previous position. In fact, Mohammed was only able to confidently construct a future self in the context of future convictions:

M: And obviously after that order (.) I'm on YOT 'til I'm nineteen and half no matter what (.) and after that I'm not on nothing unless I commit another offense and that's when I go on probation
(Transcript 2, line 408)

This is reiterated in Mohammed's final narrative segment, where he shares a story about YOT and probation, which is reproduced from stories his friends have narrated to him, and attributes his imagined future custodial sentences to their strict and uncaring rules:

M: and that's what / that'll make me fuck up (11)
(Transcript 2, line 412)

As our conversation drew to a close, he reverted back to the voice of capitulation, heard in earlier episodes. Although he invoked voices of masculinity and agency, resisting dominant discourses of structured power, in some episodes, this does not appear to be secure enough to maintain a position of agency within his narrative; agency would seem to be something he longs for rather than something he possesses.

Structure and Agency

In addition to personal narratives, wider societal, or 'canonical narratives', were threaded through Mohammed's story. A particularly compelling canonical narrative was one of structured power.

I was interested in Mohammed's use of the pronoun 'they' to refer to those adults in authority, including probation workers:

M: they probably won't even know your name when
(Transcript 2, line 410)

teachers:

M: they wunt say nothing to us now
(Transcript 2, line 170)

and doctors:

M: And the / they actually said like the first night they said it'll be / this time tomorrow you'll be going home (1) s:o/ and that's what pissed me off even more cos they lie.
(Transcript 2, line 242)

At other times, it wasn't clear exactly who 'they' were but it seemed from Mohammed's perspective that 'they' were all the same; the establishment, those in authority, those who oppressed him.

M: they said that (.) we're not allowed to associate with each other until we go to court and that (1)
(Transcript 2, line 118)

M: when I came out they wouldn't let me do it again
(Transcript 2, line 104)

In these narrative segments, Mohammed is constructed as powerless; 'they' are in control, making decisions which impacted on his life.

M: and they were saying that we weren't allowed to be with each other (.) to you know like associate with each other (.) and then / it were on our license and that (.) s::o one(.) like one of us had to move schools / so I had to move schools again
(Transcript 2, line 80)

M: they took me back in year eight (1) and I was being good and then I got kicked out in year nine again

(Transcript 2, line 72)

M: I went to custody while I was doing ThinkFast (.) coming out / and when I came out they wouldn't let me do it again

(Transcript 2, line 104)

Reflection

In my questions and responses I tried to minimise attention to his offending behaviours - referring to them as 'stuff' and 'bother' - aligning myself with him, as opposed to with 'them'.

In Mohammed's story, structure limits the choices and opportunities available to him; the social and cultural narrative of structured power was ever present in the conversation. However there were points when Mohammed resisted this dominant discourse, for example during Episode 8 – 'Choices'.

R: Would you make different choices now do you think?

M: I just wouldn't do it (.) cos I don't wanna no more (2) if I wanted to do it (.) I'd do it (4) li::ke (2) do you know what I mean like / there's nowt anyone could ever say to anyone or (.) learn em or nothing / it's not (1) I can't explain it (1) if they wanna do it they'll do it in it (1)

R: Yeah (.) I [know what you're saying

M: Not gonna stop] (.) they're not gonna stop and think oh yeah remember that (.) remember that YOT session when they said you can't (.) don't do that / they're not gonna do that are they? (3) they're just gonna do it

R: But you have changed what you want to do (.) so what do you think made that change if it wasn't somebody telling you?

M: Me (1) me (.) I made the change in it (.) it was me (1) and I might make a change tomorrow that I wanna do it again ((blows fly off his arm))

R: So you're in control of what you (.) do and

M: Yeah (.) I don't like it when [people] telling me what to do and that (9)

(Transcript 2, lines 265 – 272)

This narrative segment stood out for me, as it positions Mohammed as agentive, whereas previous talk had positioned him as lacking agency. In this episode the voice of resistance can be heard, defying the voice of capitulation which had previously dominated Mohammed's talk.

Institutionalisation

Mohammed's stories were often confused and he was frequently uncertain. He found it difficult to remember and rarely spoke with confidence. This seemed to me to be a result of his numerous educational placements and periods in and out of prison; an effect of losing track of time.

M: No (1) I don't care what (.) I don't care (.) I just don't care (.) I just take a day as it comes

R: So what will you do today?

M: (2) Whatever (.) I'm not sure (6) I don't plan ma day / I just go with it

(Transcript 2, line 150-152)

I came to understand this 'losing track of time' as a consequence of being in custody; time begins to take on different meanings and results in institutionalisation of people who are 'serving time'. I was interested in the way that prison was constructed in this narrative segment:

M: It's the same shit out here as it is in there so what's the difference ((blows fly off arm)) (4) in there it's less worries as well (.) less shit to worry about (9)

R: What don't you have to worry about in there then?

M: Like (.) your appearance / clothes / money / girls (1) what you're doing in a what you're doing in a day (1) you don't have to worry about nothing (5) just do your own thing (3)

(Transcript 2, line 278-280)

Here Mohammed talks about prison as a place to escape, where life is easier without the worries of the outside. Again in the penultimate episode, Mohammed speaks of prison with a fondness, re-emphasising that prison is a safe and even a preferred future for him:

M: Altogether / like with this / I been out like four months / so I've been out like ten month (.) since fourteen (4)

R: So you've done most of your growing up (.) in custody

M: (5) And now I've realised (2) there's a lot more to it ((yawning)) but it is good / I'm not gonna lie / I do like it (.) I'm not / I'm not gonna lie I / probably will go back (.) err (.) not / not for nowt long though (2) it's hard with ma license and that (.) everyone / everyone's on ma case (5)

(Transcript 2, line 394 -396)

Institutionalisation is usually framed as a negative concept, the embedding of oppressive and inflexible systems of social control over individuals. However, when listening to Mohammed, being institutionalised is framed positively, in contrast to his experience of being 'out'.

Masculinity

In his talk about school, Mohammed positioned himself as the head of the school:

M: It were my school

R: It was your school

M: Yeah ((laughing))

R: In what way was it your school?

M: I just don't know man (1) it was good

(Transcript 2, lines 17-21)

I came to understand this as the voice of supremacy or hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2002; Frosh, et al., 2002), through which he performed a masculine identity. This voice dominated the text, although there were moments where conflicting voices could be heard as despair and capitulation, discussed in earlier sections.

Another example of this hegemonic masculine identity being performed appears when Mohammed talks about prison:

- M: And about half of them they work with (.) they're guaranteed they won't cope with jail / so just (.) let em (3)
R: Did you cope with it?
M: Yeh (1) I was it (6)

(Transcript 2, lines 380-382)

Previously he had claimed ownership of the school, but in this metaphor, he goes further stating he *is* the prison; his performance is one of a strong masculine identity and the voice of supremacy is heard again.

This masculine identity performed by Mohammed, involved being seen as hard, tough, dominant and in control; this type of hegemonic masculinity is described by Frosh, et al. (2002), as "popular masculinity" (p.77). In their research, boys with hegemonic masculine identities are constructed as antithetical to boys who work hard at school and achieve academic success. Whilst Mohammed's masculine voice is omnipresent, his performance did not suggest this polarisation, as he constructed himself as a conscientious pupil:

- R: (1) Okay (.) so how were lessons then?
M: They were still good (.) I still liked it / I'm not / I dint like mess about and that (.) in lesson
R: That's good

M: I did ma work and all that
(Transcript 2, lines 25-28)

Although he did go on to admit that he probably didn't like the work, he later added that he succeeded academically:

R: Did you get some qualifications?
M: I got loads (2) loads (4)
(Transcript 2, line 127-128)

Whilst the popular masculine identity as described by Frosh, et al. (2002) is central to Mohammed's performance, he resists the less attractive aspects of this identity, not wanting to be seen as a bully:

M: (3) Teachers (1) none of the kids'd say it anyway (5) I want a bully or owt (1) I'm just saying they wouldn't a said it (5)
R: Do you think that other people thought you were?
M: Not really (.) I dint pi / I want a bully (2) dint pick on anyone or owt (.) I just did my own thing
(Transcript 2, line 172-174)

But this is contradictory to other voices within his story; when he describes how he coped with prison, he portrays himself as someone that others fear, due to his older peer group, his physical strength, and his unpredictability.

R: How did you do that then? How did you cope with it?
M: Huh ((laughing)) I don't know (1) probably cos / like I said I'm the youngest out of all my friends (.) so when I first went all my older friends were there anyway (.) do you know like for the first time (.) and the second time I just thought (.) I just started acting like Charles Bronson anyway (.) started going mad
(Transcript 2, line 383-384)

I was particularly interested in the narrative segment where Mohammed constructs himself as 'not an idiot'. He reiterated this numerous times, causing

me to view this as an important part of his masculine identity, however he resisted this, saying it was not important to him.

M: Not necessarily (.) I'm not an idiot (.) like people harder than me (.) like do you know what I mean like (.) if I'm in year seven I'd be scrapping with year eleven (1)

R: Right

M: I wouldn't let no-one take me for an idiot

R: Right (1) what sort of things did you fight about then?

M: I don't (.) honestly it was ages ago (.) I'm not even sure (1) I just (.) don't let no-one take me fer an idiot

(Transcript 2, line 176-180)

Language and Communication

Throughout Mohammed's interview, he appeared to have difficulties expressing himself; frequently saying that he couldn't explain, stammering, and struggling to find and pronounce words. The literature demonstrates clear links between speech and language difficulties and youth offending (Snow & Powell, 2008, Beitchman, et al., 1999, 2001), although, whilst 'links' may give us some ideas about the contributions of risk factors, we cannot infer that speech and language difficulties are a direct cause of youth offending. Other factors such as poverty, violence, and school attendance may influence or cause both speech and language difficulties and offending behaviours. However, I wondered to what degree these difficulties had contributed to Mohammed's offending behaviour, and whether he had received support for these difficulties at school. This is a concern because many YP who have offended go undiagnosed (Bryan, et al., 2007; Gregory & Bryan, 2011).

Reflection

I felt a great deal of compassion towards Mohammed at these times; my son has speech and language difficulties and I am well aware of the impact this can have.

Being a 'Little shit'

In the opening narrative segment of Episode 3 – 'Getting into trouble', Mohammed firmly positions himself as a naughty child. Mohammed seems to have internalised this dominant discourse of 'problem' children:

R: When was / when did you first start getting in trouble with the police

M: Probably when I was like S:: / nah / mainly when I was like thirteen but I started being a little shit when I was seven

(Transcript 2, line 91-92)

In the dominant discourses below, which are reproduced by Mohammed, YP who have offended (himself included) are constructed as bad, attention seeking, too old for their years, deserving what they get, and undeserving of help:

M: They do it all for] attention anyway (.) that's all that they're doing it for (.) attention (.) if you dint give em no attention and dint (.) do all this for em they probably wouldn't do it (1) just let em do what they want and (.) if they go to jail they go to jail (1) if they don't like it they won't (.) do it all again will they (.) they won't be a little shit again (1) but

if (.) but if (1) let em do it in it (2) it's their choice (4)
(Transcript 2, line 366)

M: all the help I could get (.) and I just chuck it back in their face (3)
I wouldn't listen
(Transcript 2, line 378)

Mohammed narrates with the voice of his mother, reproducing a story that he has possibly heard many times, and yet he is unsure as to whether it is true.

R: So we talked a little bit about yo::ur erm family (.) yer cousin /
can you tell me any more about the rest of yer family
M: (2) Not really (.) dad died at seven that's when I come / come a
little shit
R: Right
M: (3) Well that's what my mum thinks anyway
R: Do you think that's probably true?
M: ((laughs)) (1) I'm not sure (5)
(Transcript 2, line 131-136)

But it seems that the wider societal discourses are more powerful than those of his mother, as he returns to them time after time:

R: So is that what you think then it was your / it's your fault
M: Ye::ah (.) like I've had loads of help / I've had people like you
trying to help me in my past (.) and they're not like trying and whatever
/ at scho::ol (.) all the help I could get (.) and I just chuck it back in their
face (3) I wouldn't listen / and twag school (.) smoke weed and all that
shit man / everyone (.) everyone knew that (???) would do it and then
end up in prison or whatever (1) just let em in it (.) it's their choice (.)
but if they wanna sort their life out (4) then they can (4) but if they're / if
they're not listening to you and that / I wouldn't try with them / I wouldn't
(.) I'd just let em (.) and they'd probably think aww fucking 'ell she's not
(.) she's not messing about here (8)
(Transcript 2, line 377-378)

During the course of this narrative segment, Mohammed switches between the first person and the third person; shifting from a personal narrative to one

of the wider society, identifying with YP who have offended in general, bringing in voices of those who represent structured power and shaping the way he talks about himself. But, in Episode 16 – ‘Realising’, Mohammed begins to move away from this ‘little shit’ identity, towards a new understanding of himself. At this point his narrative is told in the first-person almost exclusively, which is strikingly different from other episodes. The ‘I poem’ taken from this episode highlights the point at which Mohammed began to ponder on his life, and come to this new understanding of himself.

I just thought
I thought
I was invincible
I thought I was hard
I thought
I just realised
I’m a kid
I need

‘I Wish I Could Tell Ya’

Finally, I return to my earlier reflection about there being a lot that Mohammed was not saying, which became explicit in the following narrative segment:

R: So do you feel a bit like you’ve (.) told a bit of your story today
M: (2) Yeah (3) ((sniffs)) aw::w that was only the beginning of it as well (.) it’s just I’ve been through some (???) shit
R: Sorry I can’t hear / I didn’t hear that
M: I said that’s only a little bit of it as well cos I’ve been through (???) shit /I’ve seen some mad stuff (2) and I wish I could tell ya (5)
R: But you can’t
M: I don’t know (?????) (.) I’ve been through some mad shit though (7)
R: Well obviously I just want you to tell me what you think you can (5) or what you think you want to tell me (11)

(Transcript 2, line 349-355)

This felt like a poignant moment in the interview. I sensed sadness from Mohammed, which was different to the voice of despair he predominantly spoke with. It may be that he did not wish to share these stories with me, perhaps because they were too painful to tell, or perhaps his not telling was a form of resistance (MacLure, Jones, Holmes, and MacRae, 2010) to the structured power which exists within the context of research interviews (Riessman, 2008). However, I sensed that he wanted to share more, but felt he was unable to. Perhaps this was because I am female, and he felt that the stories would be too awful for me to cope with, or perhaps because he saw me as holding a position of power with the authority to impose consequences for the telling of these stories. As Frank points out:

Storytellers have learned formal structures of narrative, conventional metaphors and imagery, and standards of what is not appropriate to tell.

(Frank, 1995, p.3)

It seems Mohammed has learned which stories he can tell about his life, and which he cannot.

Kane's Story

Kane is a 20 year old white British male, who has served custodial sentences for convictions he received under the age of 18. He was approached by his Probation worker about taking part in the research, and agreed to meet with me at the Probation offices, to talk about his experiences before going into custody. The recording of our conversation lasted for 25 minutes and 7 seconds. *Table 5.3* shows the overall structure of the narrative episodes within Kane's story.

Episode	Line Numbers
1. Getting Started	1-8
2. School	9-66
3. Up-bringing	67-116
4. Being in Care	117-161
5. Moving School	162-207
6. ABSO	208-251
7. Making a Change	252-257
8. Working Life	258-293
9. Family and Friends are Important	294-325
10. Dad	326-333
11. Being Stitched-up	334-353
12. The Future	354-367
13. Finishing off	368-394

Table 5.3 Structure of Kane's story

Reflection

Kane arrived late to our appointment, so initially there was some doubt as to whether he would attend. After many failed attempts to produce interview data – I was relieved that this interview went ahead. He was the only YP I had met prior to interview, therefore I felt more confident going into it. Kane on the other hand arrived in a fluster, having just woken up and rushed down on his bike.

Kane on Stage

As discussed in Chapter 4 (p.62), Goffman (1969, 1974) asserted that we give dramatic performances in everyday social situations to perform our preferred identities in specific contexts. I felt that Kane exemplified this notion more explicitly than Tim and Mohammed; it felt like Kane was on the stage performing his identity to me.

R: So (1) do you wanna start off by telling me about what school was I like?

K: What school was like for me?

R: Yeah

K: It was sh:: um (.) it was quite crap (.) I think (.) what I can remember of it

(Transcript 3, line 9-12)

By opening his story with this narrative segment, which he performed in a comedic, dramatic style, Kane set the tone for much of our conversation. His theatrical way of elongating the 'sh::' sound which suggested (but didn't go as far as) using an expletive in this segment, made me smile and quickly

established his fun-loving and humorous side, which I felt was a dominant voice through which he narrated his story.

Despite arriving late and out of breath from rushing, Kane spoke confidently from the start. He generally played the role of a 'cheeky' character, pushing the boundaries of what he perceived as socially acceptable within the context of the interview. For example:

- R: Have you got a girlfriend at the moment?
K: (2) Sort of
R: Sort of (1) does she know she's sort of?
K: She knows where she stands
R: Okay
K: ((laughing, slaps hands on table))
(Transcript 3, line 360-365)

Pushing the boundaries allowed him to shift the power balance within the interview, through challenging questions and comments:

- K: Do what] friends do together (1) hang about (4) exactly what you do with one of your friends I do with my friends
R: Yep
K: Except we smoke a bit of cannabis / probably you don't (2)
R: Okay
K: Although looking at that smile on your face you do ((laughing))
(Transcript 3, line 319-323)

This concurs with the view that power is changeable and is discursively constructed through the interview and is not the realm of either contributor (Limerick, et al., 1996). As with the previous two narratives, issues of power were threaded throughout the stories and will be discussed further in later sections.

Family

In the first narrative segment (see p.103, Transcript 3, line 9-12) Kane constructs school as 'crap' but from the segments which followed, it seemed that he attributed this to a chaotic and unhappy family life. The stories about his relationship with his mother and father produced over the course of the interview revealed that, although Kane presented as a 'big' character that was confident and chatty, there was also a vulnerable side to him:

K: Mum and dad used to always argue so when I got home my mum would never be there / or my dad wont there (.) door was locked so I'd have to go round to me nanna's (1) then it just got worse from there

(Transcript 3, line 14)

He explained that things deteriorated when his mum changed:

K: She turned into a smack head

(Transcript 3, line 78)

This 'turning' suggests that previously she had been different, but he does not narrate any stories about how she had been before. I felt this showed that his relationship with his mother had broken down beyond the point of being able to recall happier times. In his story of when he was taken into care Kane constructs a woman who did not care for her child and he appears to hold a great deal of bitterness towards her:

K: Yeah yeah (.) I went into care when I was (1) nine to eleven (.) I never used to see ma (.) I never used to see ma mum (1) cos I hated ma mum (.) cos when I went into care yeah she err ((sniffs)) I knew one lad who was in there (.) and she said oh go to the shop with him (1) when you come back blah blah (.) went to the shop come back and she'd gone (.) so I just hated her for that (.) ever since

(Transcript 3, line 117)

His use of the phrase 'blah blah' suggests that this was a typical and routine experience for him. He clearly felt that his mother did not care for him, reiterating it several times in his story, whereas he constructed his father as the opposite. In his stories, his father was the caregiver, the person he could rely on:

K: And my dad looked after us (.) me and ma sister

R: Right (.) [(???)

K: And he still] does now

(Transcript 3, line 82-84)

K: Anything I want (1) he'll do it

R: Like?

K: Anything (2) if I wanted (.) him to do summut (.) for me he'd do it (1) that's what sort of person he is you see

(Transcript 3, line 329-331)

K: Took me out (.) know what I mean and did things with me / she dint (.) she wont bothered (.) she was more bothered about drugs

(Transcript 3, line 121)

Similarly, his time in foster care sharply differed from his construction of his mother's ability to care for him:

R: Hmm (2) and an what (.) what was it like with the foster carers?

K: Good (2) lived like a king

R: Right

K: ((laughs))

R: What sort of things (.) were good?

K: Everything

R: Can you remember?

K: Everything

R: Can you give me some examples?

K: ((laughs)) Everything was good / the way we lived (1) everything / the things we did (1)

(Transcript 3, line 122-130)

I noticed that in Kane's narrative those who he did not perceive to care for him are constructed as outsiders and referred to as 'they' or 'she', such as his teachers, the police, and his mother. Whereas, he uses the first-person voice 'we', 'our' and 'us' when narrating stories about his father, his siblings, his foster carers, his best friend, and his peers.

K: I think she come back once or twice but it was ma dad who come every weekend

(Transcript 3, line119)

K: (2) But no (3) they don't give a shit

(Transcript 3, line 233)

Kane returns to the theme of being cared for frequently within his narrative, repeatedly performing the identity of someone who is cared for. It seems to me that his perceived lack of care from his mother, and his experience of what he constructs as 'uncaring systems', has had a significant impact on his identity.

Absolutes

Kane generally spoke with a voice of absoluteness for most of his narrative, although there were moments where he appeared less certain (discussed in the next section). He constructed himself as someone who 'knew' about life, who saw things as clear cut, with no room for grey areas. This was evident from his frequent over-generalisations and his expression of absolute truths:

K: Yeah that is the main problem with everyone going to prison (3)

R: Right

K: Their background (.) the way they're brought up

(Transcript 3, line 72-74)

K: Cos when I used to / when I used to go to school / get took there by my mum (.) / mum and dad used to always argue so when I got home my mum would never be there

(Transcript 3, line14)

In this narrative segment, Kane speaks again with certainty; he was absolutely sure that the arguments at home had affected him, despite not really knowing what those arguments were about:

R: S::o you said that there was arguments and stuff at home

K: I don't know what it was about (1) I was too young to understand (1)

R: Right so that was before you were six / before you moved out

K: It used to happen all the time yeah

R: Right (3) but you don't know what they were about

K: Nah

R: But you think that that affected you at school

K: It did (.) hundred percent it did

(Transcript 3, line 98-105)

As his narrative progressed, Kane became more certain about things; this seemed to coincide with his heightened state of arousal as he told stories which he appeared to find emotionally difficult:

R: S::o (2) what things are important to you then?

K: Family and that's it (2)

(Transcript 3, line 294-295)

R: Right (1) do you think you're gonna stick at it?

K: Do I think / I know

(Transcript 3, line 282-283)

Kane continues to speak with a voice of absoluteness even when the stories he tells appear to be retold from those he has heard around him. He narrates stories about himself which feel like they have come from wider social

discourses about poor parenting, being a 'little bastard' and terrorising the wider community:

K: I was a little (2)] I was just a little bastard (1)
(Transcript 3, line 26)

K: I used to terrorise the school

R: Terrorise the school (1) okay (.) so what did you do that terrorised people

K: ((laughs)) everything ((sniffs))

R: Give me some examples

K: Everything / I just used to take the piss out of people (.) be a bit of a bully

(Transcript 3, line 60-64)

The word terrorise is a powerful word, which has been used by the media to describe the behaviour of YP in their communities:

Children who terrorise their neighbourhoods will be "grounded" for up to a month by the courts under tough new proposals from the Conservatives.

(Whitehead, 2009, February 23)

[Three boys] were part of a gang of yobs that terrorised a neighbourhood and left some locals feeling "physically ill".

(Byrne, 2014, April 7)

A ten-year-old Wirral yob who has been terrorising the community was slapped with a two-year anti-social behaviour order (ASBO) – just weeks after his brother received a similar order.

(Pattinson, 2014, December 11)

However, I felt the power of this word was diminished in this narrative. Kane again used his comedic, theatrical voice to narrate this segment, stressing the word 'terrorise' and appearing to think it a bit of a joke. I was unsure whether he was performing hegemonic masculinity in this story, as he appeared to be

constructing a 'tough' boy who was feared by his peers, but then he played it down with his comedic voice and by adding that he was a '*bit* of a bully'. He did not seem to want to perform a threatening, bully identity to me, instead leaving room for alternative understandings. Had he been performing his masculine identity to a male researcher or indeed his friends, or prison officers, it is possible that he would have positioned himself as far more dominant and threatening.

Ambivalence

Despite the dominant voice being one of absoluteness, there were some moments of ambivalence within Kane's narrative; sometimes this was presented as uncertainty:

- R: Right (1) what did you run away from school for do you think?
K: I don't know (.) for attention I think
R: Attention
K: Yeah that's what it might have been for
(Transcript 3, line 15-18)

Other times he appeared to hold two conflicting ideas:

- K: I was dragged up ((laughs)) no I was brought up good by my / til I was about six and then I (2) then I went to go live with ma dad and the::n (.) he took care of me after that (.) and that way I didn't have to live with ma mum
(Transcript 3, line 76)

The ambivalent voice used when talking about his up-bringing is amplified by the 'I poem' taken from Episode 3 – 'Up-bringing':

I was brought up
I was dragged up
I was brought up good

I don't know
I was
I can't remember
I don't know
I don't know
I just
I used to
I used to
I think so

I think the ambivalence heard in this episode is a reflection of his confusion, the conflicting emotions he feels about his experiences of family life and the breakdown of his family unit.

Structure and Agency

There were many references to structured power within Kane's story. He seems to hold a lot of resentment and anger for those in authority which comes through in almost all of the episodes in his narrative. The first-person voice in this 'I poem' taken from Episode 6 – 'ASBO' demonstrates how strongly Kane feels subjected to structured power:

I got
I was twelve
I used to
I got
I was
I started going to jail
I didn't
I wouldn't
I wasn't allowed
I live
I wasn't allowed
I wasn't allowed
I wasn't allowed

Receiving an ASBO appears to have been a critical point in Kane's story, and he narrates this episode with a voice of anger and resentment:

K: I haven't (.) they just do it cos they want that little (2) bit of whatever on us (3)

R: A power thing you mean?

K: Yep (1)

R: Hmm (.) and how long's that for then / how long's your licence for?

K: Til next November (.) he's not staying on it all that time mate (.) not a chance (.) I'm not (1)

(Transcript 3, line 309-313)

I felt that Kane held a lot of resentment towards those who held structured power over him. He constructs himself as a victim of those in powerful positions:

R: And what about erm (1) people at school or people round (.) the sort of criminal justice the youth justice system (.) did you have anyone that you thought helped or supported you there?

K: No (.) they all s::titch me up that's what they do

(Transcript 3, line 334-335)

It became clear that he passionately believes that the police are corrupt. As he narrated the longest single segment of all the interviews he became agitated, gesturing as he spoke, and altering the tone and volume of his voice:

K: See I got out of prison in May yeah / listen to this right (.) I got out of prison in May (1) I was out for twenty three days yeah

R: Uh huh

K: I went to (.) go meet this lass in town (.) but I seen two of my mates before I went to the (.) to meet this girl yeah

R: Hmm

K: And they said aw (1) come to his house for a spliff and was / the lass was gonna be ten minutes anyway so I said alright then (.) she only lived round the corner (.) so I went to this house with these lads (.) sat down (.) made a (.) made a joint (1) went outside smoked it come

back in (.) the two lads that I was with pulled out two knives (1) and started to rob these people and I sat the lads down with the knives and I said I don't want nothing to do with it (.) I'm walking away so I stood up and I told the whole house (.) so they were they were all sat there I thought I don't want nothing to do with it I've just got out of prison (.) I'm walking away from it (.) So I walked away from it (.) went and met this girl (.) went to my house (1) the next day (.) coppers are chasing me all over (.) want / I'm wanted for robbery (.) I handed my sen in (.) they bailed me for it (.) then I got arrested for (.) summut else (.) and then (.) when I went to (.) ahh cos I got a recall cos I got arrested (.) went to prison (.) and they give me a full recall cos (.) of the robbery (.) and I was a witness to it (.) people in the house said that Mr Smith stood up and walked away (1) and I still get arrested for it (.) and recalled (.) so that's not stitched up?

(Transcript 3, line 343-347)

At the beginning of this story he stressed the phrase 'twenty three days' to emphasise the shortness of this period of liberty before the police were 'chasing' him. He then went on to detail the ways in which he went about his business and avoided trouble, and yet still he was accused of wrong doing. By narrating in this way, he constructed himself as the victim of the police's harassment, using persuasive devices such as rhetorical questions, irony, and repetition, to convince me. It felt as though he was accustomed to telling stories for the purpose of persuading the listener to sympathise or agree with him; as though he had often defended his actions or reactions to others.

His use of first-person voice in Episode 11 – 'Being Stitched-up' emphasises the sense of victimisation:

K: It's] like they want me back (???) (2) It's like they want me back to prison when I'm out but when then I'm in (1) they're not bothered about me they just think leave him in there he'll be alright (.)

(Transcript 3, line 341)

This segment could have been narrated in the second-person, as if all inmates are treated in this way, but Kane chooses to narrate in the first person, indicating that he takes their attitude very personally.

Reflection

I enjoyed talking with Kane. He presented as a 'big' character, confident and chatty with a good sense of humour. However, as the interview progressed, I began to see him as more vulnerable – hurt by his experiences, and left feeling angry and resentful. He became agitated in the latter half of the interview and I sensed that he was dwelling on something, he seemed to be trying to persuade me to sympathise with him. I felt he was struggling to deal with the emotions that his stories invoked.

The Future

In spite of his apparent anger and resentment about past events, Kane was able to remain positive about his future. His imagined future pulled on some of the most common cultural narratives:

K: A job] (.) kids (.) a wife (.) a house a car a bike (1) loads a money

R: Sounds like a good dream

K: Might be / I'll fulfil that dream one day (.) belie::ve me I will
(Transcript 3, line 355)

K: I'm a] working man now (.) so I don't need to do any of that do I
(Transcript 3, line 239)

He had already constructed himself as a 'working man' in Episode 8 – 'Working Life', and he appears to be confident that he will realise this possible future self, using rhetoric to persuade me of his capacity to do so. This is reiterated in Episode 7 – 'Making a change', where he speaks with certainty:

I am
I've changed
I've not been in trouble
I don't
I don't want
I've realised

Across the interview Kane's mood had been changeable; swinging suddenly between good humour and anger and resentment. He appeared to be more comfortable playing the cheeky character with a good sense of humour and someone who pushed the boundaries, but he struggled to suppress the voice of anger and resentment which continually emerged as he narrated emotionally painful stories about being separated from his mother, being victimised by the police, and being subjected to structured power. By the end of the interview I felt he was tired by the struggle against these intense negative feelings, and wanted to stop.

Chapter Summary

Summary of Interpretations and Discussion

- Each of the three narratives produced in this research were individually analysed using a voice-centred relational model based on the *Listening Guide* (Brown & Gilligan, 1993)
- The stories were interpreted in relation to my understanding of the narrator, the context of the interview, my own emotional responses, and the impact of wider society and culture, with reference to the literature.

Chapter 6 Further Discussion

Overview

Whilst every narrative is unique and should be respected as such, it is important to note some of the common themes, voices, and social and cultural narratives, which were present in the stories; some of which are discussed further in this chapter. For clarity, quotes from participants in this chapter, where all three transcripts are referred to, will be indicated by their full pseudonym rather than first initial.

Structure and Agency

Issues of power have been central to this research, not only in the narratives told by the YP, but in the research process as a whole. From the power of the YOI to veto my project and the power of the LA to impose restrictions, to the power of the case workers to influence participant selection and my power to influence the construction and interpretation of the narratives; power relations are threaded throughout this research in complex and changing ways. This highlights the need for professionals to think critically about the systems within which the children they work with are placed, and about how they themselves work with those children.

Structure, content, and the performance of stories as they are defined and regulated within social settings often articulate and reproduce existing ideologies and hegemonic relations of power and inequality.

(Elliott, 2005, p.146)

Structured Power in Research Interviews

The structured power relations, within the context of research interviews, means that the participant is usually less powerful than the interviewer. The interviewer has instigated the meeting, developed the rationale and questions and will ultimately interpret the responses as they choose. Therefore in the interview context it is important not to add to the powerlessness or vulnerability of the participants.

Encouraging participants to speak in their own ways can, at times, shift power in interviews; although relations of power are never equal, the disparity can be diminished.

(Riessman, 2008, p.24)

In attempts to redress this power imbalance, I aimed to give the participants the freedom to speak as much or as little as they wished, about the experiences they felt to be important. However my inexperience and nerves, particularly in the first interview, resulted in an over-reliance on the interview schedule and this may have limited the participants' autonomy to tell the stories they wanted to tell. I also offered the participants choice over where the interview took place, whether they had their case worker present, what pseudonym they wanted to adopt, and whether they wanted feedback. These choices were offered with the best of intentions but reflection on the interviews has caused me to question the efficacy of these measures in diminishing the power differential. Using Hart's model of Youth Participation, I had intended to share the power with the YP who participated in my research, however, I feel

that 'tokenism' may be a better approximation to the level of participation achieved (Hart ,1992).

Pseudonyms

One of the most compelling matters within each narrative was the question of pseudonyms, which was raised at the end of each interview. As noted in the previous section, I had originally included the question as a means of going some way towards redressing the imbalance of power that is inherent in research interviews (Riessman, 2008). I had anticipated it to be a simple process, which would give the participants a small amount of autonomy over the write up of their story, and would function as a way of drawing the interview to a close and ending the interview relationship. In reality, the question of pseudonyms threw up interesting and important ideas and ethical dilemmas.

At first Mohammed shrugged off the notion of choosing a pseudonym, but he changed his mind and offered a suggestion:

R: And when I write this up it will have erm (.) fake names and things so that everyone's anonymous / would you like to choose a name

Mohammed: ((laughs)) No I'm alright

R: You're alright (.) I'll choose one for you then shall I (4) so [how

M: Mohammed]

(Transcript 2, line 329-332)

Initially he laughed, as though the idea of choosing a fake name was silly, and declined the opportunity to join in with such silly games, but after a second or two to ponder the question, he changed his mind. Mohammed was of white

British background, but he chose a name which would be more typically associated with people from an Asian or Muslim background. In choosing this name, I believe that Mohammed was taking the opportunity to mock the system within which our interview was situated.

Tim quickly decided on a pseudonym which appeared to be a reference to size and caused me to think that the pseudonym he had chosen was actually a nick name by which he was known.

R: I was gonna ask you about a pseudonym / what would yo::u want to be called (.) a pretend name for them erm project? (1) Is there anything you want to be called?

Tim: Call me Tim in it

(Transcript 1, line 337-338)

Despite my inclinations, I did not ask him about this at the time. I think that this was because the name was potentially a reference to his physical appearance, which I had already sensed some sensitivity over; therefore I was apprehensive about raising it and potentially offending him. Using a nickname clearly had implications for Tim's anonymity within the research, and as such I decided to change it to an unrelated pseudonym. I was uncomfortable with this as Tim's choice of pseudonym may have been a way of him retaining his identity within the research, however I cannot be sure that he had any strong feelings about the pseudonym.

Conversely, Kane was very clear on his feeling about pseudonyms:

R: Well (.) would you like to choose a pseudonym cos I'll (.) a pretend name (.) cos when I write it up I'll use a different name (.) also

Kane: No I want you to use my name (.)

R: You want me to use your name

Kane: Yeah

(Transcript 3, line 376-379)

His insistence on retaining his own name presented a difficulty for me. From the conception of my research a great emphasis had been placed on confidentiality and anonymity, and by using Kane's real name I would be putting his anonymity and perhaps the whole research project in jeopardy. Considering all the barriers I was presented with regarding obtaining ethical approval (as discussed in Chapter 4, p.55), not using Kane's real name was the most pragmatic course of action, however, this was not necessarily the most ethical option. In removing Kane's name in order to conceal his identity I had gone against his explicit wishes and denied him the very voice that I had promised to raise. The fact that he had expressly asked for his name to be included highlights the power differential in the research/participant relationship, in that ultimately I took the decision to anonymise his story.

Parker (2005) warns of the dangers of treating participants as "fragile beings needing to be protected by others" (p.17). Despite claiming social justice as a driver for my research, I have myself positioned the participants as vulnerable. Interpretations of what it means to be vulnerable differ and whilst Kane may have positioned himself as a victim I do not feel he would wish to be positioned as vulnerable.

Interestingly, when Kane talked about his best friend, he said:

Kane: I'm not telling you] their name

(Transcript 3, line 299)

This was in stark contrast to his request for me to use his real name in this thesis. This may have been a way of taking power in our conversation or it may be that he feels it not his place to share his friend's personal details. Secrecy and anonymity could be important to his friend, whereas being known to others could be more important to Kane. At any rate the issue of anonymity is not as straight-forward as one might first imagine.

Structure and Agency within the Narratives

Performing narrative is “unavoidably enveloped in the reproduction of power as well as possibilities for resistance” (Langellier, 2009, p.153). All of Tim, Mohammed and Kane's narratives contained strong themes of structure and agency within them. As detailed in the analysis of each individual story, all participants used the pronoun ‘they’ to refer to those in authority. It seemed that almost all the professionals with whom the YP had been in contact represented an establishment which sought to control and contain. One of the key themes which emerged was the importance of how ‘they’ spoke to the YP:

Tim: cos they talk to you like normal and they don't get in your face
(.) you know when you just don't listen to them they don't get in your
face and that (1) they just talk to you with a bit more respect
(Transcript 1, line 105)

Kane: I don't know (.) they just know how to speak to you I think (1)
they sort of understand you (1)
(Transcript 3, line 189)

The YP appeared to resist the control of those who they perceived to be not speaking to them in the right way. Whereas they seemed better able to interact with teachers who spoke to them in a way that was perceived to be

acceptable, showing respect and understanding. Pupils who have been excluded “commonly refer to a breakdown in pupil-teacher relationships” (Sellman, Bedward, Cole & Daniels, 2003, p.893); it seems that the construction of relationships with professionals in these narratives would support this (although Mohammed offers an exception to this understanding). I feel the narratives generally construct those in authority as abusing the power they hold over children by being disrespectful, unjust and corrupt.

Childhood

The way that childhood is conceptualised has significant bearing on the way in which we view children and YP who have offended. In each of the three stories, being a child is constructed as a time of not understanding, not knowing, and perhaps a time when offending behaviour is expected or even accepted; there is also a sense that these behaviours will be ‘grown out of’ as they transition into adulthood:

Kane: I don't know what it was about (1) I was too young to understand
(1)

(Transcript 3, line 99)

Kane: I don't have a clue (2) I was only young

(Transcript 3, line 177)

Tim: That's it for me I'm too old for it now

(Transcript 1, line 276)

Mohammed: ((yawns)) do you know what I mean (.) I just thought fuck it / I thought I was invincible / I thought I was hard as fuck / I thought (2) then I just realised and it just like (.) and you just click on thinking / you know I'm a kid (.) I need to grow up man (2)

(Transcript 2, line 386)

In Mohammed's narrative, there was tension between being a child and needing to grow up, mirroring the tension in social and political culture. In these narratives, as in law, the child is viewed as an 'incompetent adult' (Billington, 2006, p.133), too young to be able to make decisions, but at the same time old enough to know better and be legally and morally responsible for their actions.

'Problem' Children

All of Tim, Mohammed and Kane's narratives included a description of themselves as a 'problem' child very early on in their stories; using the terms 'little toe-rag', 'little shit', and 'little bastard' respectively. Tim perhaps constructed his 'problem' nature less seriously, which fits with the voice of his wider narrative, but the harshness of the descriptions seemed to increase with each participant's story. As discussed in the analysis of Tim's story (p.70), the social discourses around some children can construct them as 'problem children' from very early on, giving them a 'reputation' which can be very hard to move away from (MacLure, et al., 2012). Certainly it felt as though they had all been categorised as 'naughty' children in the narratives they had been exposed to, and had all learned to retell this as part of their own narrative.

As well as the child being understood as the 'problem' in these discourses, so too are the parents. MacLure, et al. (2012) studied the 'discursive devices' teachers used to frame pupil's problem behaviour and found that their behaviours were attributed to the child, but also to the child's parents and community. In addition, they noted the use of medicalisation as a discursive frame, for example, attributing 'problem' behaviour to underlying physical or

psychological causes, such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). These wider socio-cultural discourses were evident in the narratives produced in this research; Kane explicitly blames parents for the behaviour of children, including his own parents and himself in this assertion, and Tim hypothesises that ADHD may be the reason for his offending behaviour.

These perspectives can be seen in government policy, where children and parents are simultaneously blamed for 'problem behaviours':

Children are at once portrayed as wilful 'tearaways' that terrorise teachers, communities and each other and as the innocent 'victims' of 'feckless', irresponsible parents. Policy responds with anti-social behaviour orders and child curfews to control and punish children, and with parenting orders and parenting classes as sanctions for adults. Government is not clear as to what extent children and young people can be responsible for themselves and others.

(Such & Walker, 2005, p.40)

The resulting punitive response is present in all three of the narratives, with ASBO's, curfews, custody, and licenses appearing in the stories of each participant.

Exclusion

There is a clear link between exclusion from school and offending (James, 2007). Many YP who have offended have experienced exclusion from school and in the twelve months to March 2014, 37 per cent of boys who had been in custody before the age of 18 had not been in school since they were 14 years of age (Prison Reform Trust, 2014). In Holligan's (2013) study nearly all the participants had been excluded from school for fighting. All three of my

participants had experienced multiple school exclusions, with all three of them repeatedly describing it as being “kicked out”:

Tim: then they just kicked me out and sent me to a different school
(Transcript 1, line 37)

Mohammed: and then I got kicked out in year nine again (.)
(Transcript 2, line 72)

Kane: I've been kicked out of every school I've been in except North Street (.) and I've been in about seven or eight schools
(Transcript 3, line 169)

I felt that their use of the term ‘kicked out’ illustrates the feelings of rejection that these exclusions invoked. If children are constructed as ‘problems’, as discussed in the previous section, then exclusion can be perceived as the solution. Discourses of ‘zero-tolerance’ fail to recognise that it is often the school systems which “perpetuate the need to exclude some young people while failing to recognize or address the emotional needs that have led to the behavioural difficulties in the first place” (Pomerantz, 2007, p.75). Kane identified clear emotional needs impacting on his ability to behave in the expected way in school and thus leading to his exclusion. He did not mention any attempts by school to meet those needs, but any attempts that may have been made appear to have been unsuccessful, as his emotional needs appear to remain unmet. Similarly, from his presentation during the interview I felt that Mohammed too had unmet emotional needs.

Masculinity

As discussed in the literature review, 'doing boy' has significant impact on the behaviour of YP especially as they transition from childhood to adulthood. Research has observed that the "desire to portray a violent hegemonic masculinity is reflected in the popularity of the prison gym" (Holligan, 2013, p.3). Tim explicitly noted his enjoyment of football and boxing, and whilst the other two participants did not mention the gym, they both possessed muscular physiques, with Mohammed in particular regularly touching and flexing his arm muscles through his T-shirt, which I interpreted as part of his performance of masculinity. The voice of hegemonic masculinity was dominant in the narratives co-constructed in this research. From stories of fighting and swearing, and football and boxing, to stories of 'being there' for your family, all participants performed 'tough', 'hard', 'sporting' and 'protective' identities, conforming to the hegemonic masculine ideal. It seemed of great importance to these YP to maintain their masculine identities.

Chapter Summary

Summary of Interpretations and Discussion

- Themes which were present in all of the narratives or which were of particular relevance to the literature were discussed further.
- Issues of structure and agency as constructed in the narratives of the YP were considered, and reflections on the structured power relations within research interviews were shared.
- Wider social and cultural discourses around children which position them as 'problem' children and offer exclusion as the 'solution' were considered.
- Narrators' performances of hegemonic masculine identities were reviewed.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

Overview

In this final chapter, I present my thoughts and conclusions, including considering the limitations of the study and the possibilities for future research, and implications for Educational Psychology (EP) practice.

Aims of the research

From the social constructionist perspective, individuals construct their identities within social interactions which occur in specific interpersonal, cultural and historical contexts (Gergen 2009a). By co-constructing and interpreting the narratives of Tim, Mohammed and Kane, I have gained a deeper understanding of these how YP who have spent time in YOI make sense of their experiences, and how their identities are constructed by themselves and others. YP who have offended are often seen as a homogenous group, who can be understood through statistical knowledge. However the knowledge constructed in this research goes beyond the statistics and illustrates that, although there are some commonalities in their experiences, each YP has constructed different meanings from these experiences, and each narrator is unique.

Limitations of the Study

The research methods I have used have their own intrinsic limitations. The social constructionist epistemology posits that the stories produced within this research represent one point in time, in a specific context between me, the

researcher, and the individual participants. The process of co-constructing the narratives may offer an insight into the experiences of the participants, but they by no means represent the 'truth' about an event or about the narrators themselves. Had the interviews been held on a different day, or in a different setting, or with a different interviewer, they would have been quite, or even entirely, different. Narratives cannot be repeated exactly, as stories are performed differently in different social contexts and vary over time (Andrews, et al., 2013). Similarly, in interpreting the stories I have been influenced by my personal experience, my training at university, the background reading I undertook prior to commencing the research, and the culture and ethos of my LA placement. Other analysts reading the transcripts, or my own future analysis, may yield very different interpretations. I hope that my study's integral reflexivity and my efforts to make the research as transparent as possible have gone some way to countering these limitations.

There were limitations in my study related to the selection of participants. Firstly, I was unable to access the participants directly as their details were confidential and therefore I was dependent on professionals from other agencies approaching potential participants. These professionals, influenced by their own social and cultural context, values and emotions, are likely to have excluded potential participants from the research, by choosing who they asked (and didn't ask) and how they asked them. This does not present a problem of sample bias undermining generalizability (it was never an intention of my research to produce knowledge that could be said to represent the general population), but does raise concerns that as a researcher of

vulnerable or powerless people, I may have failed in my obligation to be inclusive (Cohen, et.al, 2011). Secondly, my research aimed to give YP who have offended an opportunity to be heard, however, the self-selecting nature of the sample resulted in those 'hard to reach' YP becoming further marginalised by refusing the opportunity.

Throughout my research I have used reflexivity to highlight and/or reduce the impact of researcher influence over the data production, interpretation and presentation. However, as noted in Chapters 3 and 4 (p.37 and p.53), my influence cannot be fully known. Whilst I was concerned to respect each story in its entirety, through the process of analysis, I was necessarily selective, and reductive, at every stage of the research; therefore the representations herein are incomplete, partial and selective. Despite efforts to the contrary, the stories may have become more mine than the participants' (Riessman, 2008).

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that narrative interviews are preferable to structured or semi-structured interviews as "the agenda is open to development and change, depending on the narrator's experiences" (p.31). Following my pilot study (see p.44), where I had found it difficult to elicit a narrative account from the YP using an unstructured approach to co-constructing narratives, I decided to use a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix V). Whilst this had felt important after the pilot, in the event I found that I became over reliant on the SSI, causing our conversations to be somewhat rigid and guided more by my own agenda than that of the participants. I opened with a question about school as it is a domain which seemed important considering my role is one of supporting young people in

educational settings; however the participants may not have prioritised school experiences within their narratives. The SSI therefore resulted in me controlling the direction of the conversation more than a narrative approach would advocate. I felt this was particularly evident during the first interview (see Appendix VIII), where I was nervous and over-reliant on the questions. If I was to repeat this study I would not place an emphasis on the young people's experiences of school.

All structured interviews and most aspects of semi-structured interviews come under the question-and-answer type, where the interviewer sets the agenda and in principle remains in control of what information is produced.

(Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p.31)

I set out to be ethical in my research; hoping to empower the YP involved through working *with* them in an attempt to redress the power imbalance within the participant- researcher relationship. During the interviews, power was negotiated in different ways, with the power balance shifting as previously discussed (p.103 and p.118). However, various aspects of the research highlighted the difficulty in achieving this balancing of power in a meaningful way. I had intended to promote the autonomy of the participants by using co-signatures on the consent forms, offering the participants a choice over the setting and timing of the interviews, encouraging them to talk as little or as much as they wished about whatever experiences they chose, and inviting them to choose a preferred pseudonym. But in reality, I was in control of the questions, I was the more educated party, I made the decisions about what to put into the write up and how to present it.

Recommendations for Further Research

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, there is a dearth of qualitative research with YP who have offended. Further narrative research within this field would increase the socially constructed knowledge in this area, and lead to a multi-layered and complex understanding of this group of YP.

I would be interested to find out more about the impact of using a narrative approach to intervention as I believe it can offer the YP a different way of coming to know themselves and facilitate positive change. For example, this research could mark the beginning of an intervention with Tim, Mohammed and Kane, which would contribute to their rehabilitation programmes, through multi-agency assessment and intervention.

I would also be interested in similar research with YP who are considered to be at risk of offending, or those whose offending behaviours have not resulted in custodial sentences. It would be interesting to compare how they position themselves in their narratives and to explore the impact of experiencing a prison environment. Similarly, narrative interviews with the professionals who work with this group would allow us to explore the ways in which they narratively construct the YP.

Finally, I would like to return to the narratives co-constructed in this research after a period of time. Other studies, such as Riessman (2004), have returned numerous times to the same interview data, producing different meanings each time. As the researcher's perspective continually changes, I would be

interested to see what alternative interpretations I would make of the same transcripts.

Implications for Practice

I embarked upon this study in order to gain a deeper understanding of how YP who have offended construct themselves and of the meanings they give to their experiences, in order to inform both my own practice and practice within my placement LA. Through completing this research, I have seen the potential for narrative approaches in working with YP who have offended, not just in terms of research, but also the potential to inform EP practice.

Strength of narrative approaches

The performative power in story telling – embodied and precarious materialises a horizon of possibility and hope.

(Langellier, 2009, p.157)

Working within a narrative methodology, has convinced me of the power of narrative methods to enable professionals to better understand the YP they are working with, and how they might best be supported. If practised sensitively, narrative interviewing can offer a way “to forge dialogic relationships and greater communicative equality” (Riessman, 2008, p.26). Using a narrative approach gives a different viewpoint, one which comes from a first-person rather than the usual third-person perspective of these YP.

In analysing the stories of the participants, I have gained a deeper understanding of how the discourses around YP position them and limit the possibilities for YP who have offended. Bruner (1986) asserts that we become

the stories that people tell about us, which has damning implications when the stories that are told are negative and restrictive for YP. Narrative approaches offer a humanistic way of working which has the potential to be both ethical and empowering (although, the limitations of empowering YP in this context have been noted). Listening to the narratives of YP who have offended allows us to hear beyond the usual discourses, and to notice where those discourses have become internalised, or are resisted by those YP that we are working with. Narrative methods may empower YP to voice their views and give them the opportunity to re-author their lives; therefore it is important that we enable YP to tell their stories. White and Epston (1990) argue that a great deal of a person's lived experience falls outside of the dominant story and that these outlying lived experiences "provide a rich and fertile source for the generation, or re-generation of alternative stories" (p.15). EP's are well placed to listen to the stories of YP who have offended and notice opportunities for alternative stories to become available to be performed (White & Epston, 1990). Hermans (2003) posits that different voices which develop in the dialogic space are constitutive of who we are (in response to others) and can allow a person to gain insights about themselves "leading to new or altered voices that generally infer a positive gain in self-definition" (p.109).

The 'stuck' situations which many of these YP find themselves in, and which often lead to exclusion from school and criminal convictions, make it difficult for YP to perform a different identity, to act or behave in a different way. Through this deeper understanding, resulting from the rich picture that narrative accounts provide, EPs will be better placed to notice indications and

opportunities for moving 'stuck' situations forward. Working narratively offers the potential for transformative, therapeutic conversations with YP who have offended who otherwise may not see a future beyond the crimes which seem to define them.

Difficulties in engaging YP who have offended in work with professionals indicates that new and creative ways of working are needed. Generally the YP are *required* to attend appointments/engage with professionals, for example, with head teachers following incidents and exclusions, police following arrest, and probation workers following conviction. Such appointments are likely to have given rise to negative experiences and consequences. EPs must be distinct from these other professionals working with YP who have offended, emphasising the agency of the YP over the work is being undertaken, and indeed over whether they wish to engage at all. Appointments should be flexible, for example, meeting the YP at their home may offer them greater power over the relationship and potentially provide a contrast to previous experiences of meeting with professionals.

In general a nurturing rather than authoritarian or punitive approach to working with YP who have offended would seem to be more ethical and potentially more successful. EPs can support schools, youth offending and probation services in developing warm and empathic relationships, promoting active listening skills and giving YP who have offended an experience of being genuinely heard.

Importance of Being Reflexive

In our work as EP's, we must distinguish between our knowledge of children generally (acquired from experience and literature) and our interpretations of the specific child before us, between any descriptions of those children that we construct and descriptions that the child may construct for themselves, and between the specific child before us and any label that they have been given (Billington, 2006). To be able to make these distinctions we must consider what we bring to a situation when working with YP, their families and other professionals. Wider societal and cultural narratives resonate within the stories of all three participants in this research; impacting on how they interact with others to construct their identities and how they imagine their future selves. This emphasizes the power that we have to influence how a child or YP constructs themselves, or is constructed by others. It is of vital importance that we are critically reflexive on how we speak about and write about the YP that we work with (Billington, 2006).

Issues of labelling and positioning children and YP are of particular concern to the EP profession. Whilst we might resist the use of some labels, we may be more inclined to use others. As noted in Chapter 6 (p.120), in constructing my research, I have positioned YP who have offended as a group, and the participants in particular, as 'vulnerable', 'marginalised' and 'hard to reach'. This may be useful when advocating social justice; however, it may not be useful in other respects (Hughes, 2007). Labels such as these emphasise the child and/or family as the problem rather than focusing on the power relations within the structure which give rise to and uphold inequality. It is important that

as EPs we use all language with the utmost care, to avoid stigmatising and labelling children and families, recognising that we have the power to either expand or limit possibilities for YP.

EPs and TEPs like myself, may be asked to support YP who have offended, or are at risk of offending. Improving access to the curriculum, raising attainment, increasing motivation, developing relationships with staff and peers, building resilience to negative experiences and existing risk factors, reintegrating or transitioning to alternative provision, represent some of the pieces of work we may be tasked to do when supporting this group of YP. Rather than applying the 'usual' and often narrow ways of thinking about these YP, the stories in this research, along with the individuals' own stories can inform the way we construct YP and how we carry out our work, ultimately leading to more positive outcomes for YP who have offended.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet

Research Project: Information Sheet for Young People





Date: [REDACTED]





Hello, my name is Sarah, and I am training to become an Educational Psychologist (EP) with University of Sheffield, supporting young people who have had some difficulties with their education.



I am looking for young people to take part in my research project about the experiences of young people who have previously been placed in a Young Offender's Institute (YOI). I am particularly interested in hearing about their experiences before coming into the YOI. I hope that your voice will give professionals such as EPs, teachers and YOS workers, some insight into how to improve the experiences of the young people they work with. Before you can decide to take part, there are some things you need to know:

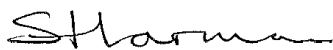
1)  If you agree, I will visit you at the YOS to talk with you for about an hour, to give you a chance to have your say. I will have some questions prepared to help you tell your story, but you are free to tell me about what you choose.

2)  I will record our conversation so that I remember what you have said. This recording will be kept safe and confidential and will be deleted once the research is complete.

- 3)  You will remain anonymous, as I will not use your real name in the research. I will not share anything you say with your case worker (unless you choose to have them present in the interview) or anyone else, unless you tell me something that makes me think that you, or someone else, are in danger.
- 4)  You can have written or verbal feedback about the project when it is complete, if you wish to.
- 5)  If you wish to make a complaint at any time, please speak to me first, and then if you are still not happy, please contact my supervisor, Professor Tom Billington at School of Education, University of Sheffield (Tel: 0114 222 8113; email: t.billington@sheffield.ac.uk). If you remain unhappy, you can contact the University of Sheffield's Registrar and Secretary.
- 6)  If you wish to take part you will need to sign a consent form, and if appropriate your parents can sign one too. You can change your mind at any time.



I look forward to working with you,



Sarah Harman
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Address Deleted

Appendix II: Participant Consent Form



Consent to take part in research project:

Exploring the narratives of males who have spent time in a Young Offenders Institute

Please put your initials in each box next to indicate you agree with each statement:

I have looked at the information sheet and I understand what the research is about.

I give my consent for Sarah to talk to me about my experiences before entering the YOI.

I understand that my parents will also need to give their permission, if I am under 16 years old.

I give my consent for Sarah to record our conversation, but I understand that what I say will be kept confidential, and that a false name will be used in the research.

I know that it is ok for me not to talk about something if I don't want to, or to change my mind about taking part.

Participant: Name _____ Signed _____ Date _____	Researcher: Name _____ Signed _____ Date _____
--	---

Appendix III: Ethical Approval Letter- University of Sheffield



**The
School
Of
Education.**

S Harman
c/o DEdCPsy Programme

Head of School
Professor Cathy Nutbrown

School of Education
333 Glossop Road
Sheffield
S10 2JA

27 May 2014

Telephone: +44 (0)114 222 8187
Email: DEdCPsy@sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Sarah

ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

Exploring the narratives of males placed in a Young Offenders Institute

Thank you for submitting your ethics application. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved.

We recommend you refer to the reviewers' additional comments (please see attached). You should discuss how you are going to respond to these comments with your supervisor BEFORE you proceed with your research.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

Professor Dan Goodley
Chair of the School of Education Ethics Review Panel

cc Tom Billington

Appendix IV: Ethical Approval Letter - Local Authority

[REDACTED]

Sarah Harman
Trainee Educational Psychologist

[REDACTED]

1st July 2014

Agreement for Research

Dear Sarah

In line with your research proposal:

Exploring The Narratives of Young Males Who Have Spent Time in a YOI

Which started in June 2014, and will end in June 2015.

We agree to support your proposal and we would like to draw your attention to the following points:

Your research is undertaken in accordance with your proposal and in line with our Research Governance Framework and the roles and responsibilities within it. Any changes to your research proposal should be drawn to our attention and discussed with us at the earliest opportunity.

All research in [REDACTED] must respect the rights and well-being of service users, their relatives and carers, and members of staff and observe the authority's policies and procedures. Please ensure the security and confidentiality of information regarding service users and staff. I'm sure you are aware of your responsibilities under the Data Protection Act and will not use personally identifiable information.

We would appreciate it if copies of publications, report etc. to be used in dissemination of research results are previewed with the us beforehand so that we are clear about how you are using the outcomes of this research with our service users.

Yours sincerely

[REDACTED]

Research and Information Officer

Appendix V: Semi Structured Interview Schedule

Research Working Title: Exploring the narratives of young males who have spent time in custody

Sarah Harman (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Semi Structured interview Schedule

These questions will be used to facilitate a narrative interview; this means the structure of the interview will not be prescriptive and may change direction depending on the responses of the participant. They will be encouraged to talk about what is meaningful for them, in talking about events and experiences they have had prior to being in custody. The interviews are intended to allow the participants the space to tell their own stories as they choose to do so.

Prompts/questions to facilitate narrative accounts:

- What was school like for you?
- Tell me about your family.
- What do you enjoy doing?
- Tell me about the things that are important to you.
- Can you remember a time when things were good for you? And when things were not so good?
- Who do you have to help and support you?
- What things might have helped you to avoid custody?
- What are your hopes for the future?
- Is there anything else you want to tell me about or any questions you wished I had asked you?

Appendix VI: Transcript Conventions

Transcript Conventions:

(.)	Pause less than a second
(2)	Pause length in seconds
((coughs))	Non-verbal activity
[]	Speakers overlap
::	Sound Stretching
(???)	Inaudible

Symbols selected from Jefferson (2004)

Appendix VII: Transcript 1 – Interview with Tim

1. Tim (T): Best put ma phone on silent then an a
2. Researcher (R): Yeah you best had yeh (2) okay (.) so umm (.) so we're here today to talk about erm your experiences of erm (.) school, life, education before (.) erm, you went into custody really (.) erm and anything else that you want to talk about (1) erm , my aim is to give you the opportunity to tell your story (1) erm so you've signed the consent form to say that you are happy for me to record em and that you know that the em information that you give me will remain confidential and anonymous
3. T: Yeah
4. R: Okay? (1)
5. T: ((nods))
6. R: So (.) erm just to sort of get you started really (.) the first thing that I was gonna ask you about really was school and what it was like for you
7. T: It wasn't bad (.) I was just went erm started to just erm (.) well I just got bored and I just ended up doing a lot of shit really (.) to be honest
8. R: Doing a lot of shit?
9. T: Yeah
10. R: What sort of shit did you end up doing?
11. T: Not going to lessons, fighting (3) be::ing (.) well just being a little toe-rag basically
12. R: A tearaway?
13. T: Yeah
14. R: Yeah (.) okay / so is that how you'd describe yourself then?
15. T: Yeah that's how I'd describe [it
16. R: when] you were at school / so (.) how old are you now?
17. T: 21
18. R: 21 (1) so was that (.) primary school or just high school
19. T: Half way through primary school then all the way through secondary school
20. R: Okay (.) so what was primary school like in the first half then?
21. T: I was well behaved got on with it and then I just thought (.) why am I doing this?
22. R: Right (1)
23. T: And I just started not going (.) every time I went I was just arguing with everyone (2) and that was it (.) just being (.) well how can I say it (.) not cooperative basically

24. R: Not cooperative (.) okay (.) / Do you know what (.) what made you change (.) [that thinking?
25. T: Nah] (.) no I just (.) one day I just thought right I'm not doin it
26. R: Right (1) can you (.) think when that was? (.) about
27. T: When I was about nine ten
28. R: So up until then (.) had you quite liked school?
29. T: Yeah I liked it yeah
30. R: Right (.) erm (.) and then after nine and ten (.) so you were sort of year five and six
31. T: Yeah
32. R: Things changed
33. T: ((nods))
34. R: Okay (.) can you erm (.) give me an example of something that happened?
35. T: I was in lesson someone called me mam a fat slag (.) so I jumped up (.) smashed a tray on his head and punched his head in
36. R: Right Okay (1) and what happened after that?
37. T: Well I got excluded then I got put back in after two weeks (.) and I dint go (.) and then they barred me from the mornings (.) just make me go at dinner times and afternoons (2) and then they stopped doing that / they barred me from the afternoons and made me go in in the morning and (.) then they just kicked me out and sent me to a different school
38. R: Okay (.) so that / what was the first school you went to?
39. T: Midtown primary school
40. R: I::n
41. T: In Middleham
42. R: In Middleham right (.) and then you went t::o erm a (.) a different primary [school
43. T: Yeah I went to / oh what do you call it (.) it begins with an s anyway/that's all I know
44. R: Right okay(.) so that was(.) for the last year or so?
45. T: No the last three weeks cos obviously (.) I dint go (???) the time
46. R: Okay (1) and then / when you (.) so you went from there to high school
47. T: Yep
48. R: Okay / which high school did you go to?
49. T: Uptown High School
50. R: Is that in Middleham as well?
51. T: Yeh
52. R: Okay so you're new to this area then
53. T: Yeh
54. R: How long have you been in this area?

55. T: Err (.) Just over (.) since 2012 I think
56. R: Right Okay so you went to school over in a different authority
57. T: Yeah
58. R: Okay so erm when you were kicked out of primary school were you(.) did you get any help with anything
59. T: Nah
60. R: How did you find the learning (.) the work?
61. T: Easy (1) you know I'm pretty brainy when I put my mind to it so
62. R: Okay
63. T: I thought it was pretty easy (.) but they put me in the lowest class (.) you know cos they have them assessments an all that
64. R: Right
65. T: An cos I couldn't be arsed they just put me in the lowest class
66. R: (2) And why couldn't you be arsed do you think?
67. T: Cos I've got atten (.) small (.) one of them short attention spans
68. R: Right okay (.) is that something that someone's told you or just something that you know about yourself
69. T: That's what I've been told
70. R: B::y?
71. T: Doctors and that
72. R: Okay so have you had some sort of assessment?
73. T: Cos I had to go for assessment cos they thought I had ADHD
74. R: Right
75. T: But I ant it's just my behaviour
76. R: Okay(.) Okay (.) erm (.) so that was primary school / and high school you say that you didn't go so much
77. T: No every time I went I was fighting (2) trying to assault teachers always getting arrested for twagging and that's it
78. R: Twagging?
79. T: Truanting [not going]
80. R: [Right] okay(1) and then so what (.) with the teachers what happened there?
81. T: Cos I was having a laugh with one of my mates and the class teacher tried getting mouthy and I said carry on and I'll punch yer head in (.) and he got in my face and I thought fuck you and pushed him over table
82. R: Right (.) and how old were you then?
83. T: Errr (.) just about 12
84. R: 12 (.) so (1) did you (.) what sort of things did they do to try and help you with your behaviour / cos I'm presuming you found it difficult to try and manage your behaviour
85. T: They tried making me go into isolation work on one on one (.) but then that dint work (.) so (1)

86. R: Right
87. T: But then they got fed up (.) chucked me out and then put me in a different school / they tried doing the same / dint work (.) went to about three or four different schools (1) then I went to this other school like a behaviour school (2) I was there and they was alright (.) they worked with you and like (.) if you worked during the week then the week after they'd take you motor-biking or something like that (.) so you've gotta prove em (???) do that / so that was alright
88. R: Okay / so was that better for you then?
89. T: Aye it was a bit better (.) I stayed for that for about (1) three month
90. R: And then (.) what (.) how did you leave school? Just when you got to the age
91. T: Nah I left at about 14 15 (.) cos I've been home tutored and that and I just kept going to jail and jail and jail
92. R: Right (.) okay (.) so how did that happen then?
93. T: I was just with ma mates smoki::ng drugs and I just ended up committing a load a crime
94. R: Okay so (.) you mentioned mates a few times are you usually with your mates when these [sorts of things
95. T: yeah yeah yeah]
96. R: And then you ended up in (.) sort of offending behaviours that ended you in custody basically
97. T: Yeh
98. R: Erm (.) and what was the first time (.) that you went into custody?
99. T: About 14
100. R: Okay (2) And what was that like?
101. T: Not bad / I enjoyed it
102. R: Right
103. T: It was just relaxed (.) and I did my education there a bit like / for me time and that (.) so I wasn't really missing out on owt
104. R: So (.) what was better about the education in custody than in school?
105. T: cos they talk to you like normal and they don't get in your face (.) you know when you just don't listen to them they don't get in your face and that (1) they just talk to you with a bit more respect
106. R: Okay / so it's about respect
107. T: yeah ((sniffs))
108. R: So you (.) I'm guessing then that you didn't think the teachers in school respected you
109. T: Yeah
110. R: Okay what could they have done differently do you think?

111. T: Spoke to me politely instead of making me look like (1) small little small shit on their shoe should I say (.) in front of everybody else
112. R: Right
113. T: And that would a been fine
114. R: (2) Okay (.) s::o (1) school had its good points then / and bad points (.) it was good in primary then it went a bit off(.) then you had a bit of home tutoring / what was that like?
115. T: Oh it wasn't bad / she used to come round to me house (.) (???) sit there on me settee / she used to talk to me and say right we're doing this / I'm like no I can't be arsed (.) cos I was at home so I thought yeah I can do what I want (.) but I ended up doing it (.) it / it wasn't bad she was alright with me and that (1) she used to like say if you do this we'll go out for a day or whatever (.) stuff like that so we ended up doing like two weeks work and she take me out and then two weeks work and then take me out
116. R: Right / so where / what sort of places did you go to
117. T: Like golf or something like that
118. R: Oh right / do you like golf do you?
119. T: Nah I hate it
120. R: ((Laughs))
121. T: It's something that she liked doing s::o I thought I might as well go in it
122. R: Oh okay (.) give it a go (.) might as well
123. T: Might as well / never learn do ya?
124. R: No (.) no / so erm (.) what about your family then / tell me about your family
125. T: All good (1) well they're always there for me
126. R: So who's in your family?
127. T: Me mam me brother and me sister
128. R: Okay and so (.) are you oldest / youngest?
129. T: Nah I'm the middle one
130. R: So erm you've got an older (1)
131. T: Brother and a younger [sister
132. R: And a younger] sister / okay (.) so you say they're there for you / what does that mean (1) to you?
133. T: Well for me (.) if I get in trouble they've got me back / me brother and that (.) and if they're in trouble I've got theirs / and me mam's always like tried showing me the right way instead of the wrong way (.) but I've never listened
134. R: And how does your mum feel about that (.) not being listened to?

135. T: She got upset and stuff like that and I felt sorry for her (.) and then I'd just be started behaving after a little bit but then (.) I just end up going back round that way
136. R: So it was hard to keep it up (.)
137. T: [Yeah
138. R: So you] wanted to do things different (.) [perhaps
139. T: Yeah] but then it just all changed and just went back down when I started smoking drugs again
140. R: Okay (.) so what / what got into that then do you think?
141. T: I dunno / just went out a few times round town and that with a few mates a:nd we just ended up smoking weed (3) that was it really then we starting drinking as well
142. R: Okay (.) Em / what sort of age would you say that was?
143. T: Well I started smoki::ng weed when I was about 11 12 (1) and then I stopped for a bit and then I started again at 14 15
144. R: Right / So do you think that's got quite a big part to play in (.) what's happened since then?
145. T: I think my drinking has yeh
146. R: Right more your drinking than the smoking
147. T: Yeah
148. R: So how (.) how does that affect what you do?
149. T: Cos I used to go into school drunk as well
150. R: Right
151. T: That was (.) (???) when I was in year 9 (???) so before then I was alright (???) I started getting year 9 and year 10 and all that
152. R: So what (.) made you do that do you think?
153. T: Cos I like to have a drink
154. R: You like to have a [drink
155. T: Yeah]
156. R: Okay (.) and do you still like to have a drink?
157. T: Nah / I've stopped drinking cos it always ends up back in jail so I've just stopped
158. R: Okay (.) and that's I presume what Mike was talking about / your curfew
159. T: Ye::ah / Cos he knows that on a Friday I go out and end up getting arrested (2) if I have a fight you know (.) drunk and disorderly or something daft like that
160. R: Right (.) so do you still hang about with the mates that (.) you got into trouble with?
161. T: Na::h
162. R: Okay (3) so I was gonna ask you what you enjoy doing
163. T: Boxing
164. R: Boxing / oh that sounds cool (.) what kind of what like in a gym?

165. T: (???) go down to the boxing gym and do a few bits a training and that and that's it (.) for a couple of hours and then go back home
166. R: Do you do that every day?
167. T: Every three days
168. R: Every three days / and do you think that keeps you out of trouble?
169. T: Yeah
170. R: How long 've [you been
171. T: I've been doing] (.) I've been doing it now for about three year (2) and it's something that I like doing cos I wanna be a professional at it so I'm just gonna keep doing it and doing it and doing it.
172. R: Okay (.) so do you think you've got a chance of doing well in it then?
173. T: Yeah
174. R: You sound quite determined
175. T: Aye I am (.) when I put my mind to something I'm gonna see it through / that's the only way / difference with me
176. R: Okay so what / what in the past have you put your mind to do you think and seen it through?
177. T: Football
178. R: What did you do with football?
179. T: I started playing with Middleham Town / playing under 16's and that and then (2) I just got / I just went to jail for something daft (.) so I ended up stopping so I just give up
180. R: Right so do you think that things could've been different if you hadn't
181. T: Ye::ah
182. R: Yeah (.) is that something that you regret do you think?
183. T: I regret it yeah
184. R: Could you go back to football or is that (.) done now?
185. T: No it's not done I just not fit as I used to be so I think I might give it a miss ((laughs))
186. R: Yeah / you have to be pretty fit for boxing as well though
187. T: Aye / I'm getting there slowly but surely / cos I smoke as well so it's a bit hard for me
188. R: Alright (.) and would you like to stop?
189. T: I stopped for three month and then I started again cos I got stressed out
190. R: Right and have you had help with that / stopping?
191. T: I've got some patches and stuff like that / chewing gum and mints and all that
192. R: Does that work?

193. T: Nah ((laughs)) it's all about manpower in it / that's what it is
194. R: Yeah definitely (.) sometimes you need to make that decision in your head don't you?
195. T: Yeh but it's hard for me when everyone smokes around me as well s::o
196. R: It is hard (.) er::m / but then you said that if you put your mind to something s::o
197. T: I stopped for three month and then I just got stressed out one day I said fuck that I'm buying the fags (.) and I just had a fag and started since then
198. R: Right (.) so if you did stop again (.) you could get a bit fitter maybe and do some [more
199. T: Yeah] do something more
200. R: more boxing (.) and maybe pick up football again
201. T: maybe (1) see how it goes
202. R: Yeah (2) / anything else that you like doing then apart from football and erm (.) boxing?
203. T: Nah (.) just playing on the Xbox / that's about it
204. R: Xbox (.) what sort of games do you play on that?
205. T: Call of duty
206. R: Yeah I've heard of that / I've never played it but I've heard of it
207. T: It's a good game
208. R: Do you play that online with [people o::r] do you play it with people in the room o::r?
209. T: [Yeah yeah]
210. T: Depends what day it is (1) If it's like weekends I'll go on Xbox live (1) and if it's during the week I'll play my brother or something like that / family or something daft like that / or me mates
211. R: Have you done that fo::r a long time / played err since you were a kid?
212. T: Played em / ever since I was old enough to play on a PS2 (.) or a PS1 or whatever you call em
213. R: Yeah the old ones ((laughs))
214. T: Yeh and a Nintendo sixty whatever (.) you know the old ones with a cartridge that you used to put it the middle yeah / [one of them
215. R: Yeah] yeah (1) so (1) you've / it's always been part of your life has it playing games
216. T: Yeah
217. R: Erm (2) so was it? / it was a sociable thing though you played with friends
218. T: Yeah yeah

219. R: Erm (3) so the next thing I was gonna ask you was things / about things that are important to you
220. T: Family (1) that's the only thing that's important to me
221. R: Right
222. T: cos you only get one family don't you so you've gotta be there for them
223. R: True (.) this is true (.) so what (.) what do you do to be there for them?
224. T: Try and stay out of jail (.) and look after them when I'm out (1) tell em that everything's gonna be alright (.) that's about it
225. R: Okay (.) erm (2) I've put can you remember a time when things were really good (.) in your life?
226. T: Yeah when I were younger (1) we used to go out / going day out and that (.) stuff like that (1)
227. R: Can you think of [one?
228. T: Going] down Ashville on the weekend and stuff like that / going on the 2P machines
229. R: With your family?
230. T: Yeah
231. R: So how / how(.) how old would you have been then do you think?
232. T: Abo::ut five six
233. R: Right (.) Erm / and that was (.) a good time
234. T: Yeah to me yeah
235. R: Because?
236. T: Me granddad was alive then in it so (.) he used to come take us all out as well
237. R: Okay
238. T: Cos I was close to me granddad all the way through 'til I was 16 (2)
239. R: Right (.) and how did that (.) affect you do you think?
240. T: I just went on a mission (1) I was drinking every day fighting everyone / committing whatever crime I wanted
241. R: Yeah it can be hard when we lose somebody (.) special to us
242. T: Ay::e / cos he brought me up like me dad cos me dad wasn't there so
243. R: Right I see / so he'd go down to Ashville with you on the two penny machines
244. T: Ay::e ((smiling))
245. R: Yeah they're good fun those aren't they (.) and quite cheap ((laughs))
246. T: Ye::ah

247. R: Er::m (.) and where your brother and sister and your mum there too [or was it just you and your granddad
248. T: Ye::ah] No all of used to go (.) family (.) they say family things on a weekend in it so
249. R: Yeh
250. T: We all used to go down there (.) we had our little arguments but that was it but (.) duck off a water's back in it
251. R: Yeah (1) yeah / good times (.) to remember (.) so (.) the next thing was t::o talk about a time when things were not so good which I can see [was perhaps when] you were (.)
252. T: (???)
253. R: 16 and your granddad died (1) did you (.) how did you (.) come out of that do you think? How did you deal with it in the end?
254. T: Well I just thought to me sen / well he may be gone but he's still inside me / he's in me heart so that's why I thought right if he's still there I can get on with me life / cos he wanted me to do the best so I might as well just prove a point to everyone that I can
255. R: Right
256. T: And more to show that I could / I'm willing to do it (.) for him you know what I mean / I'm willing to show him / well obviously I can't show him but you know what I mean / that I can change
257. R: Okay (.) so that's something you want to do
258. T: Yeah (2)
259. R: And (.) was that a time when you needed to support your family as well?
260. T: Yeh (.) well when he died I was in jail 'til (.) well three weeks before the funeral anyway so (.) I got out then I helped em all out and that (.) showed em all that (1) well (1) looked after em and that
261. R: Yeah (3) erm (.) and my next thing was wh::o / some of these you've questions you've sort of answered a bit already but you might want to say a bit more about / so I've put who do you have to help and support you?
262. T: Family in it (1)
263. R: Yeah you've talked about erm [being there for your family
264. T: And I've got probation] / probation's helping me as well and to trying to keep / stop me committing crime and that / putting me on daft things
265. R: Putting you on daft things?
266. T: Yeah like curfews and all of that lot
267. R: Ahh the curfews (.) yeh
268. T: Cos they know I can't stick to curfews
269. R: But do you think it is helpful / really?

270. T: It is helpful cos I been / I haven't been out for about (.) I've only been out since 1st anyway so (.) bout nine days I've been out
271. R: Right
272. T: So I'm not doing that bad
273. R: No / s::o (.) so you don't wanna go back I'm assuming
274. T: Na::h
275. R: Right
276. T: That's it for me I'm too old for it now
277. R: Okay erm so (.) what do you want to do then (.) in the future / that's another thing (.) what are your hopes for the future?
278. T: Hopefully get a job while I'm (.) doing everything else I need to do / me boxing m::e whatever else I've gotta do (1) so a job will keep me occupied / and I've got that on a night time and that'll do me (2)
279. R: Right (.) and what kind of job do you fancy doing?
280. T: I'm not fussed me (.) any job will do
281. R: Just something to get you some money (.) keep you busy
282. T: Save signing on
283. R: Save signing on ((smiles)) yeah (.) it sounds like the keeping you busy bit is quite important as well
284. T: Yeah (2) I've got be at probation Monday Wednesday Friday (1) I get an house visit on a:: Thursday (.) but before when I was out last time I was on it Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday (1) cos I'm classed as a:: gold offender or whatever (1) but / cos I used to commit a load a burglaries at night time so they were like right we'll put you on a curfew this time
285. R: Right (1) okay / so that will hopefully keep you (.) out of trouble
286. T: Hopefully yeah
287. R: Okay / how long do you think you'll be on a curfew for then?
288. T: He said hopefully / he said I'd be off it next month hopefully (.) but cos I've gotta do this month he said and ma::ybe next month we'll take you off (.) if you stick to this one
289. R: Hmm / but it's a slightly shorter one now because (.) today
290. T: Yeah I get 'til eleven o'clock / that's a bonus
291. R: It is a bonus (.) well I'm glad that that's helped you out (.) as well as helping me out ((laughs))
292. T: ((laughs))
293. R: (1) Er::m so long term then (.) longer term (.) future (.) what / what are you thinking / sort of I don't know (.) ten years' time? [do you see yourself
294. T: Hopefully I'll be] married and have kids and that and I'll be doing what I like doing (2) that's what I think anyway

295. R: Yeah sounds like a good plan (.) what kind of things? (2) the the boxing and the::
296. T: Yeah just do boxing and that
297. R: Yep (.) okay / did you (.)manage to get any qualifications when you were in custody?
298. T: Yeah I got a few
299. R: Okay and what are you gonna do with those then? Are they things that can help (.) you get a job?
300. T: Yeah they can actually / I've got NVQ level 2 plastering (.) level (???) bricklaying (1) err what else have I got (.) clean / industrial cleaning NVQ level 1 / level 2 health and safety / level 2 food hygiene (.) level 2 English and maths (1)
301. R: Right / so they sound quite practical things that you can actually sort of get into something like plastering and bricklaying / they're all things that you know could help you get something / so do you fancy doing that type a work
302. T: No cos it's boring
303. R: Okay ((laughs))
304. T: I only did it cos obviously it breaks up the day in jail and that's the only reason why I did it
305. R: But did you find anything that you found interesting to do (.) while you were inside
306. T: The gym course (.) that was alright
307. R: Okay / and that sort of helped you
308. T: With my fitness and all that
309. R: (???) for your boxing then did it o::r (2) did you / can you do boxing in
310. T: Nah
311. R: No (3) so (1) do you think that (.) th::e school could have done something more like that to keep yo::u (.) in school and motivated by the lessons
312. T: Yeh (.) I reckon they coulda done yeh (1)
313. R: What sort of things might have helped you in school then?
314. T: (2) instead of singling me out (1) (???) to everyone and just like saying look (.) if work so hard you get (.) a surprise at the week (.) end of the week or something /we'll take you out or something daft like that (.) you know people are gonna knuckle down thinking yeah we're gonna / were gonna rewarding us for our good behaviour (.) not for the bad (2)
315. R: Right (1) so perhaps something that was mo::re err (.) motivating in terms of something that you can get
316. T: Yeah

317. R: From them (1) okay / but what about the subjects and things that you were doing (.) at school
318. T: Make em more fun (1) ((sniffs)) instead of just saying look that's what you've gotta do now do it (.) (???) some fun with it
319. R: Yeah (.) especially cos you had erm (.) difficulty keeping your attention on things
320. T: Yeah
321. R: So perhaps something more (.) practical or hands on (.) like the stuff that you were doing erm (.) in custody might have been more useful (3) okay / can you remember any people particularly that (.) sort of helped you at school or was there not anyone (1) any staff or professionals that
322. T: There were a couple of members of staff in isolation cos I was spending most of my time down there / they was always telling me /look you don't wanna go down this road (.) and was just like yeah I can do what I want its nowt to do with you / you're not me family so I don't have to listen (2) but they was trying to help me in a point / but I just wasn't thinking at the time (.) when I think back I know what they was trying to do (1) trying to stop from getting kicked out a school and get on with me work (1)
323. R: So (.) you've said that they couldn't tell you what to do because they're not your family
324. T: Yeh yeh
325. R: So (.) would your family telling you (.) have helped?
326. T: Well it would a done but (.) I just dint listen (.) cos they like / when at the time was just like yeah it's my world I can do what I want
327. R: Yeah
328. T: So just trying to (.) not let people burst me bubble (1) so I was just trying do what I want when I want
329. R: Yeh (2) ye::ah I know erm (1) you know a lot of (.) young people do have difficulties in school a::nd and sort of learning to listen to advice and that sort of thing and (.) perhaps sometimes it's not always given in a way that's supportive maybe
330. T: Yeah
331. R: Erm (2) so (.) is there anything else that you want to talk to me about
332. T: Nah I'm (???) well done me
333. R: Anything that you wish that I'd asked you (.) that I haven't asked you?
334. T: No
335. R: No
336. T: I can't think to be honest with ya

337. R: You can't think? Erm (1) I think you've answered pretty much all of ma questions (2) erm (.) I was gonna ask you about a pseudonym / what would yo::u want to be called (.) a pretend name for them erm project? (1) Is there anything you want to be called?
338. T: Call me Tim in it
339. R: Tim right (.) okay (.) erm (.) and how've you found talking about yo::ur (.) past and the experiences you've had
340. T: Not too bad
341. R: Not too bad
342. T: No
343. R: Well I'm glad about that ((laughs))
344. T: Ha ((laughs))
345. R: Okay (.) erm well (.) thanks very much for talking to me (.) erm (.) and if you did want any feedback or anything in the future then if you just talk to Mike (.) or use the information that's on th::e erm information sheet to contact me and then I can give you that (.) okay shall I turn this off now
346. T: Aye you can do ((laughs))
347. R: ((laughs)) Thank you

Appendix VIII: Transcript 2 – Interview with Mohammed

1. Researcher (R): Okay so I'll just turn the recorder on erm and we'll leave it there erm and hopefully try and forget that it is there
2. Mohammed (M): ((clears throat))
3. R: Erm (1) so you've agreed to talk to me about your experiences of scho::ol and life (1) when you were younger
4. M: Yeh
5. R: Erm (.) and you know that it's being recorded erm and that you can stop if you don't want to talk any more
6. M: ((nods))
7. R: Okay so (.) really I just want to find out a bit about what school was like for you
8. M: It was alright ((laughing))/ I liked school
9. R: You liked school (.) / What was good about school then?
10. M: (3) Dunno (.) it gives you summut to do every day (3) see all your friends and that don't ya?
11. R: See your friends (.) / yeah it's a good place to socialise int it (1) did you have lots of friends at school then?
12. M: umm (.) yeah
13. R: (2) any particular ones
14. M: Everyone (2)
15. R: Everyone
16. M: It were my school
17. R: It was your school
18. M: Yeah ((laughing))
19. R: In what way was it your school?
20. M: I just don't know man (1) it was good
21. R: It was good (2) / What about (.) so what did you do (.) with your mates at school (.) what sort of things did you [get up to
22. M: All my mates] are older (.) so I was never with em (2) but I was / I'm the youngest out of all ma mates
23. R: Right (3) so you weren't with them in lessons
24. M: No
25. R: (1) Okay (.) so how were lessons then?
26. M: They were still good (.) I still liked it / I'm not / I dint like mess about and that (.) in lesson
27. R: That's good
28. M: I did ma work and all that
29. R: Yeah (.) did you find (.) err (.) that you enjoyed the school work then?
30. M: Probably not (1) I got on with it
31. R: That's good
32. M: But I probably dint like it

33. R: (1) Did you have a favourite subject?
34. M: No I don't think so
35. R: (1) was there any particular subjects you didn't like
36. M: Maths (2) but I'm good at it / I like it now
37. R: You like it now?
38. M: I just dint like the teacher
39. R: Ah right (.) yeah that can be a problem can't it? (1) Did you like most of your teachers though?
40. M: Yeh all /yeah all of em probably (1) they all tried to help
41. R: They all tried to help (.) and what sort of things did they do / do you think that / that helped?
42. M: (4) Don't know (???) / they did help (3) but I just dint want it
43. R: Right (2) why do you think you didn't want it
44. M: ((laughs)) I don't know
45. R: You don't know (3)
46. M: I regret it now though (.) I wish I could go back to school (2) I actually would love to go back to school (3)
47. R: What would you do then / differently do you think?
48. M: Not differently I'd do everything the same but (.) just go / stay at it (1) not get kicked out or whatever
49. R: Did you get kicked out of school then?
50. M: ((yawns)) Got kicked out of a couple (2)
51. R: Which primary school did you go to?
52. M: Eastham (.) like W::estham and Eastham and Eastham / it's called Eastley now I've forgotten what it was called now (.) Eastham comp (1) re::hensive
53. R: Right (.) so that was the high school (.) so did / how did you get on at primary school?
54. M: Alright a think (1) I eh it (.) I was alright / what does that mean like year s::
55. R: Yeh / Up to year six
56. M: Yeh I was alright I think
57. R: Right so you dint get kicked out a primary school
58. M: Nah / I was like excluded and that (.) but dint get kicked out
59. R: Right so you had some time out for (.) getting into bother
60. M: ((nods))
61. R: Okay (.) what sort of things might have got you into bother?
62. M: Just fighting (.) and like swearing and that
63. R: Yeah (.) they don't like it when you swear at them do they? ((laughs))
64. M: No
65. R: No s::o (.) you think that primary school was alright (.) you got on alright there
66. M: ((nods))

67. R: Yeah (.) sometimes the (1) the difficulties start when you get to high don't they?
68. M: Yeah
69. R: So you went to Eastham High School and the::n (.) you got kicked out of that one did you? (1) What year / can you remember what year you got kicked out?
70. M: Seven
71. R: Seven (.) right so quite soon after you'd started
72. M: Yeah / then I went to Dearby Centre (.) for like a year and they took me back in year eight (1) and I was being good and then I got kicked out in year nine again (.) (???) Dearby Centre (.) not Dearby Centre sorry / North Field (.) and [then
73. R: North] Field / what's that?
74. M: It's like / I can't / this school in it
75. R: Like the Dearby Centre (.) or is it a different high school?
76. M: It's like the Dearby Centre but for older people / it's better
77. R: Right okay
78. M: North Field / it's PRU in it
79. R: Right a PRU (.) and it was better than the Dearby Centre
80. M: (?????????) / ma cousin (?????) / me and ma cousin were doing stuff together (1) and they were saying that we weren't allowed to be with each other (.) to you know like associate with each other (.) and then / it were on our license and that (.) s::o one(.) like one of us had to move schools / so I had to move schools again and I went to Lawton (.) so that (.) in Longborough
81. R: Right
82. M: I went there (.) and I had to get up at like half six every morning and get picked up (.) and finish about four and I was on tag at seven (1) so I had like an hour out every day (2) and I just thought f:: I'm not off to this and I just refused to go (.) but it was on my license so they sorted something out right ((yawning)) (.) I came to YOT twice a (.) twice a week and ThinkFast (.) that (???) that is a school where / like where you fix motorbikes (.) and like ride em and that at the end of the day
83. R: Mmmm
84. M: And I did that three times a week (1)
85. R: So (.) what year was it would you say that you went t::o (.) that you stopped going to
86. M: School (.) altogether
87. R: Yeah
88. M: I'd say Year nine
89. R: Year nine
90. M: Year 10 / what (.) start of year 10 / I don't / I forgot
91. R: When was / when did you first start getting in trouble with the police

92. M: Probably when I was like S::/ nah / mainly when I was like thirteen but I started being a little shit when I was seven
93. R: Right (.) when you were seven? ((laughs)) a little shit when you were seven / that's very young to call yourself a little shit (1) what (.) what sort of things do you do when you were seven then?
94. M: (2) Like rob stuff out my house and that (.) and sell it and that
95. R: Okay (.) but you didn't get in bother with police then
96. M: (1) Twelve thirteen
97. R: Thirteen (1) and you said you were with your cousin (.) getting into trouble with your cousin
98. M: (3) Mmmm
99. R: (2) so (.) when you went to erm (.) a place that was / you were having to get up too early and go far / had you been in (.) in custody by that point
100. M: Yeh
101. R: How old were you when you first went into custody
102. M: Fifteen I think / no (.) I'm not sure / what age (.) are you in year nine?
103. R: Year nine (.) fourteen
104. M: I probably / I was already at that school then (.) then I went to (.) I went to custody while I was doing ThinkFast (.) coming out / and when I came out they wouldn't let me do it again
105. R: Ri::ght
106. M: So I went to that scho::ol (.) and then fucked that off and I started doing ThinkFast (.) (???) doing ThinkFast (.) (???) I got sent to prison (.) the first time
107. R: Right (.) and then when you came out you weren't allowed to (.) hang round with your cousin
108. M: Yeah we want allowed anyway(.) like do you kno::w
109. R: Before [that
110. M: Before] then yeah (.) we want allowed since we've been like thirteen (1) that's why we've been like (.) out like Licen not not / like ASBO or (.) bail conditions and all that
111. R: Right okay (.) so did you (.) erm (1) did you find that hard (.) cos he's your family in the
112. M: Yeah (4) they take the piss
113. R: Hmmm (1) and is that still the case / are you still not allowed to
114. M: (?????????) two days ago it stopped
115. R: Ahh right (.) so now you can (.) hang round with him again
116. M: ((nods))
117. R: And is that good?
118. M: Ye::ah (.) but like (2) this is the first time (.) since thirteen (.) something like I've been proper allowed to hang round with him (.) but then (.) err (.) I got arrested and that (1) about two month ago (.) for coming off a motor bike / a::nd (.) we got fucked up anyway (.) and err (.) they said that (.)

- we're not allowed to associate with each other until we go to court and that
(1)
119. R: Which is?
120. M: It was the other day
121. R: Right
122. M: It's got dealt with
123. R: Right (.) so do you think you'll be able to (.) manage to keep out a trouble together/
124. M: Hopefully (1) It's not like we cause trouble (.) we just (1) I don't know / uh uh this is the first time we've been together s:: / on like out (.) together like do you know (.) on like outside and that (.) since we've been like fourteen (1) together / we've always been in jail with each other
125. R: With each other in (.) in custody ri::ght (5) s::o (.) err (.) did you carry on with school stuff when you were in custody then?
126. M: Yeah (1)
127. R: Did you get some qualifications?
128. M: I got loads (2) loads (4)
129. R: And what (1) do you think that they're gonna be helpful to ya
130. M: Should be (1) hope so (2)
131. R: So we talked a little bit about yo::ur erm family (.) yer cousin / can you tell me any more about the rest of yer family
132. M: (2) Not really (.) dad died at seven that's when I come / come a little shit
133. R: Right
134. M: (3) Well that's what my mum thinks anyway
135. R: Do you think that's probably true?
136. M: ((laughs)) (1) I'm not sure (5)
137. R: Have you got any brothers and sisters?
138. M: A little sister (1)
139. R: How old's she?
140. M: Fifteen (.) fourteen I think (2)
141. R: Okay / and how do you two get on?
142. M: Alright ((yawning)) (.) S'alright (1)
143. R: And do you live at home with your mum still?
144. M: Mmm (2)
145. R: And how about your mum / do you get on with her?
146. M: Uh huh (2) o:h ((yawning)) (3)
147. R: S::o (.) what sort of stuff do you like doing then (.) in your spare time?
148. M: Don't know / anything (1) I don't care what I'm doing me (1) (???) I don't care (???) (.) as long as I'm out I don't care
149. R: As long as you're out (2) so you don't like being inside then?
150. M: No (1) I don't care what (.) I don't care (.) I just don't care (.) I just take a day as it comes

151. R: So what will you do today?
152. M: (2) Whatever (.) I'm not sure (6) I don't plan ma day / I just go with it
153. R: You just go with it (2) do you have any sort of / do you do any sport or anything like that?
154. M: I play football and that and whatever (2) ((sniffs)) (3)
155. R: Whereabouts do you play football?
156. M: I dunno
157. R: Like just knock about with a ball?
158. M: Yeah just kick about
159. R: Yeh (7) erm (3) what do you think (3) do you think that some people could have done something to help you when you were in school (.) more?
160. M: No (.) not really (.) I did what I want (1) still do (1)
161. R: Ya still do
162. M: (2) Yeh (6)
163. R: So what do you wanna do?
164. M: What do you mean (.) like a job?
165. R: Well yeh / anything (.) you just said I do what I wanna do (.) s::o what
166. M: Na (.) if I don't wanna do summat I don't do it (.) and if someone tells me to do it I don't do (.) just for the fact of telling me (2)
167. R: Right (1) did people do that a lot to you when you were in school (.) tell you what to do?
168. M: ((laughing)) probably yeah (6) (???????) they did anyway (.) cos if they did it now they wouldn't do anyway (1) they wouldn't do it (???) cos they wouldn't
169. R: Why wouldn't they?
170. M: They just wouldn't / I just know they wouldn't (1) like they (.) they just think they're big don't they (3) how old were I in school (.) like thirteen n'that (.) they wunt say nothing to us now (.) not (???) (6)
171. R: The teachers you mean (.) or the other kids
172. M: (3) Teachers (1) none of the kids'd say it anyway (5) I want a bully or owt (1) I'm just saying they wouldn't a said it (5)
173. R: Do you think that other people thought you were?
174. M: Not really (.) I dint pi / I want a bully (2) dint pick on anyone or owt (.) I just did my own thing
175. R: But you did get into fights
176. M: Not necessarily (.) I'm not an idiot (.) like people harder than me (.) like do you know what I mean like (.) if I'm in year seven I'd be scrapping with year eleven (1)
177. R: Right
178. M: I wouldn't let no-one take me for an idiot
179. R: Right (1) what sort of things did you fight about then
180. M: I don't (.) honestly it was ages ago (.) I'm not even sure (1) I just (.) don't let no-one take me fer an idiot

181. R: Nah (.) I can see that it's important to you that people don't (.) take the mick (.) take you for an idiot (4) Do you think that people still do that now(.)
182. M: What?
183. R: Any kind of people?
184. M: ((nods))
185. R: Like who?
186. M: What d'ya mean like
187. R: Well do people still try to take you for an idiot?
188. M: I'm not sure / no not really (4)
189. R: So what's important to you then? We've said that it's (.) you've said that it's important that people don't take you for an idiot (.) is there anything that / any other things that are important to ya?
190. M: (4) Like what?
191. R: I don't know
192. M: That's not important to me (.) that's not important / I don't (.) It's just like (2) I'm not (2) I'm not gonna treat them (.) do you know what I mean like (.) talk to them that way (.) so I expect the same
193. R: Right so its [about
194. M: And like if someone's (????????) I tell em (.) I won't think twice (.) I won't (.) I don't think about I just tell (1) or smack em (2) and its pissing me off thinking of it (1)
195. R: Right (5) / so what about the future then (.) what do you think the future will hold? What do you want (1) longer term?
196. M: (1) a job
197. R: (.) a job (2) / any ideas?
198. M: everything at the minute (.) I don't care (?????)
199. R: You don't care (4) / have you had a job?
200. M: Not now no
201. R: Not before now
202. M: I ant got one even now (2)
203. R: Yeh
204. M: / I broke my hand at the minute
205. R: Sorry what d'ya say?
206. M: I broke my hand at the minute
207. R: You've broke yer hand / oh yeah that's why you couldn't do the other day wasn't it?
208. M: ((sighs))
209. R: How's it feeling?
210. M: Killing
211. R: It's killing / What happened?
212. M: Fighting
213. R: Fighting / oh dear (4) do you wanna tell me about that?

214. M: ((laughs))I hit the wall (.) fighting with a wall
215. R: ((laughs)) you were fighting with a wall (1) I'm not sure you can win
216. M: I know (4)
217. R: Yeah that's gonna hurt yer hand
218. M: (7) I just can't bear getting a pot on it man (.)I don't want a pot / I told em I don't want a pot (3)
219. R: Why don't you want a pot?
220. M: I just can't be arsed man / I hate hospitals
221. R: Yeah they're not my [favourite place
222. M: I were in] hospital about a month ago with a broken jaw for five nights (2) I was in hospital (.) for five nights with a broken jaw
223. R: How did that happen?
224. M: I come off a bike
225. R: Oh when you fell off yer (.) the bike yeah (1) was that (.) that was the thing with your cousin
226. M: ((sniffs)) That were (.) that were the (?????????)
227. R: How do they fix that then?
228. M: I've got two plates there (.) ((points to jaw)) and one plate there ((points to second place on jaw)) and I've got fucking (.) like wire in my chin (.) I'll never be able to feel ma chin again
229. R: Right so you've got no sensation in your chin?
230. M: No I can't feel any o' that ((touches chin))
231. R: (2) Oh that's weird
232. M: ((stroking chin)) (8) And ma knee (.) I can't feel ma left knee neither
233. R: From the accident as well
234. M: I reckon that's (.) I trapped a nerve though (.) like a couple of nerves / that's what they said (.) they just said that it'll just be numb forever ((laughing)) (.) feels fucked (6)
235. R: Ri::ght / you've got lots of injuries (1) so how long will it take your hand to heal
236. M: Hopefully a couple of weeks (1) I just move it about and that me / like it's nothing (.) do you know what I mean (2) exercise it or whatever (.) I don't know ((laughing)) (4)
237. R: So you don't want a pot on cos you don't wanna go to hospital
238. M: No I hate hospitals
239. R: Well having spent five nights in there
240. M: I know
241. R: I can understand why
242. M: And the / they actually said like the first night they said it'll be / this time tomorrow you'll be going home (1) s:o/ and that's what pissed me off even more cos they lie/ do you know what I mean / if they said ye::ah we don't know when you're getting it done (.) do you know (.) but they said this time tomorrow you'll be home (.) at that time (.) fucking four days later

- I was still there with a snapped jaw (2) that's what pissed me off (1) just chat shit (4) ((sighs holding hand a moving position in the chair)) (1) but I can't sleep or owt with this (4)
243. R: Hmm (.) you gotta keep it (.) aware /you can't / when you're asleep you don't know do you
244. M: Mmm
245. R: You turn over or whatever on to it (1) so how long will that take to heal without a pot then?
246. M: About a month ((yawning))
247. R: Oh gosh (4) so how many times do you have to come into here then? (2) How often do you come in?
248. M: I think it's three times a week (2)
249. R: And what do you do with the rest of your time?
250. M: (4) I don't know (1) shit (.) do whatever (1) boring man (.) it's shit
251. R: (4) Yeah that's the thing in it cos you said that you like to have summut to do
252. M: (3) ((yawning)) that's the shit outside (3) there's nowt to do ever
253. R: Hmm (.) do you think if you had more to do you wouldn't get into trouble as much
254. M: I don't get into trouble no more
255. R: (2) Right
256. M: If there was more to do before then probably yeah (2) cos I had a drink with me mates (.) getting in trouble (.) / if there was more to do then I wouldn't of (???)
257. R: Ye::ah
258. M: (4) But it's not what / it's (.) when people say shit like A::ww (.) if there were more stuff to do because you're bored and that / it's not (.) It's the person (.) if that person wants to go (.) do whatever / they'll do it in it (1) it's not /do you know what I mean (.) it's their choice
259. R: Yeah (.) people make choices
260. M: Err like (.) your (.) your job is to try and help people Err ((sighs)) (2) I don't know (.) it's their choice / you can't help no one /it's their own choice (.) if they wanna change they'll change and if they don't they don't (2) simple as that / you don't' (.) you can't help s:: (.) I don't know (8)
261. R: Do you think that it was all your choices and and (.) nothing that anyone could have done or said would have made any difference
262. M: Na::h (1) if I wanna do something I do it like I say (6)
263. R: So do you think then that you chose t::o do (1) stuff that would get you ending up in custody
264. M: Yeah (9)
265. R: Would you make different choices now do you think?
266. M: I just wouldn't do it (.) cos I don't wanna no more (2) if I wanted to do it (.) I'd do it (4) li::ke (2) do you know what I mean like / there's nowt anyone

- could ever say to anyone or (.) learn em or nothing / it's not (1) I can't explain it (1) if they wanna do it they'll do it in it (1)
267. R: Yeah (.) I [know what you're saying
268. M: Not gonna stop] (.) they're not gonna stop and think oh yeah remember that (.) remember that YOT session when they said you can't (.) don't do that / they're not gonna do that are they? (3) they're just gonna do it
269. R: But you have changed what you want to do (.) so what do you think made that change if it wasn't somebody telling you?
270. M: Me (1) me (.) I made the change in it (.) it was me (1) and I might make a change tomorrow that I wanna do it again ((blows fly off his arm))
271. R: So you're in control of what you (.) do and
272. M: Yeah (.) I don't like it when [people] telling me what to do and that (9)
273. R: [think]
274. M: They're having more fun in jail at the minute anyway
275. R: Why's that?
276. M: You get to do (???)
277. R: Sorry I missed that
278. M: It's the same shit out here as it is in there so what's the difference ((blows fly off arm)) (4) in there its less worries as well (.) less shit to worry about (9)
279. R: What don't you have to worry about in there then?
280. M: Like (.) your appearance / clothes / money / girls (1) what you're doing in a what you're doing in a day (1) you don't have to worry about nothing (5) just do your own thing (3)
281. R: Do your own thing (.) outside?
282. M: In there (2) outside is shit (.) it's boring (9)
283. R: Are there times when you weren't bored when you were outside?
284. M: ((Yawns)) If you're doing something ((yawning))
285. R: I dint hear that [sorry ((laughing))
286. M: If you're] doing something
287. R: So (.) can think of a time that you / recently (.) when you've not been bored?
288. M: ((nods)) (4)
289. R: And what / what sort of thing were you doing?
290. M: Riding motorbikes or something? (7)
291. R: Yeah you've mentioned motorbikes a few times (.) is / your quite into them then
292. M: I just like em
293. R: Have you got your own?
294. M: (4) No (3)
295. R: And are there any places round here where you can like ride them?
296. M: No / I mean there is tracks yeah

297. R: Yeh (.) so do you get to go there sometimes
298. M: I could yeah (1) like there a g (.) ThinkFast (.) there's a (.) he owns the track (.) that place where I used to go (.) he owns it (???)
299. R: And can you go back there now
300. M: Yeah the track (.) anyone can go to the track (.) but I was doing (.) like I:: was (1) like helping him
301. R: Yeah
302. M: Do you know what I mean I was (.) not working there but just (.) like basically school (1) like three days a week like
303. R: Right so you're too old for that now are ya?
304. M: No (.) I don't think (1) but like (.) I don't / can't explain it (1) Do you / YOT got / ran it instead of school
305. R: Can you not go back there though / is that s::?
306. M: ((shakes head))
307. R: How come?
308. M: I reckon I'm too old for the thing
309. R: Ye::ah that's what I meant really
310. M: Yeah (.) I can go there though (.) I could go there and could fix the bikes and that stuff (1) work experience or whatever
311. R: Is that something that you'd quite like doing?
312. M: Yeah (8) ((yawning))
313. R: It would help with the boredom wouldn't it?
314. M: (4) It's Waverley anyway (.) the whole thing's shit (.) Waverley's shit (6)
315. R: Have you always lived round here?
316. M: (2) Yeah (3)
317. R: Would you like somewhere else / like to live somewhere else?
318. M: Probably
319. R: Any ideas?
320. M: Out a Waverley and I don't care (2) new faces in it
321. R: Mmmm (4) Fresh start(5) ((knocks into the digital recorder)) o::o
322. M: How do you know that's even recording?
323. R: Cos its (.) the time's going on (5) so (2) is there anything else that yo::u would want to talk about (.) or thought we might talk about (.) that we haven't talked about
324. M: ((shakes head))
325. R: Any questions that you wish you / I'd asked you
326. M: No
327. R: O::r (1) anything that you want to tell me that we haven't (.) discussed
328. M: No
329. R: And when I write this up it will have erm (.) fake names and things so that everyone's anonymous / would you like to choose a name
330. M: ((laughs)) No I'm alright
331. R: You're alright (.) I'll choose one for you then shall I (4) so [how

332. M: Mohammed]
333. R: Go on then sorry
334. M: Mohammed
335. R: Mohammed (1) so how have you found (.) talking to me
336. M: Alright
337. R: Alright
338. M: Mmmm
339. R: Do you normally talk to / normally get a chance to share your views and tell people what you think
340. M: (2) Normally I wouldn't talk to strangers (2)
341. R: We::ll I appreciate you talking to me (1) it has been really helpful
342. M: (4) Now what you gonna do /do ya (.) listen to it and write it all up and that
343. R: Yeah just think about the sorts of erm (.) views that young people have (.) cos sometimes people who sit in offices and erm (.) work with young people don't re::ally know what the views of those young people are (.) and it's not always easy to listen
344. M: What so it's (???) little brats at school and that
345. R: No (2) No they're not little brats ((laughing))
346. M: What are they like sixteen and that?
347. R: Well I work with children who go from like zero / babies (.) up to twenty five year olds (2) erm (1) and some (.) some of the stories that you hear about kids are things like you said (.) little brats o::r like you described yourself / little shits but ((laughs)) but they're not really (.) it's just (2) they've all got a story to tell
348. M: (1) I know (2)
349. R: So do you feel a bit like you've (.) told a bit of your story today
350. M: (2) Yeah (3) ((sniffs)) aw::w that was only the beginning of it as well (.) it's just I've been through some (???) shit
351. R: Sorry I can't hear / I didn't hear that
352. M: I said that's only a little bit of it as well cos I've been through (???) shit /I've seen some mad stuff (2) and I wish I could tell ya (5)
353. R: But you can't
354. M: I don't know (?????)(.) I've been through some mad shit though (7)
355. R: Well obviously I just want you to tell me what you think you can (5) or what you think you want to tell me (11)
356. M: How come you're at YOT then?
357. R: Ho::w (.) sorry
358. M: How come you're at YOT then?
359. R: How come I'm at YOT / because we work with erm (.) some of the YOT staff so I've been having conversations with Jenny to see how we can work together
360. M: ((exhales holding broken hand))

361. R: Erm (1) to see if there's anything we can do to change things for young people
362. M: Mmm (9) what / so how is this gonna help?
363. R: (4) Don't know yet
364. M: ((exhales holding broken hand))
365. R: I just think it's really important that hear (.) young people's views (.) a::nd (.) [respect
366. M: They do it all for] attention anyway (.) that's all that they're doing it for (.) attention (.) if you dint give em no attention and dint (.) do all this for em they probably wouldn't do it (1) just let em do what they want and (.) if they go to jail they go to jail (1) if they don't like it they won't (.) do it all again will they (.) they won't be a little shit again (1) but if (.) but if (1) let em do it in it (2) it's their choice (4) ((exhales holding broken hand))
367. R: It is (.) we all have choices
368. M: ((sniffs)) (12) but the / you're gonna be (.) that / people you're gonna work with (.) they just gonna be (.) when you're working with em they're gonna be (???) and all that shit (.) not listening to you (1) no point (.) just let em do what they want (2) cos they go to jail/ go to jail when you tried helping them (5) if you're gonna probably write that down it will be a waste a time
369. R: (4) Maybe (.) I hope not
370. M: Why? (.) have you helped people? (.) have you already helped people?
371. R: Yeah (.) I think so / I hope so?
372. M: What that have cha::nged their lives around?
373. R: Yeh / not just me on my own (.) there are other people that I work [with
374. M: Why have you got a firm?
375. R: No I work fo::r Blankshire (.) at the moment
376. M: (11) It's just a fucked up cycle in it (.) life (???) I:: don't know just let em do what they want if they go to jail it's their fault in it (2) you've tried helping em / nowt you can do
377. R: So is that what you think then it was your / it's your fault
378. M: Ye::ah (.) like I've had loads of help / I've had people like you trying to help me in my past (.) and they're not like trying and whatever / at scho::ol (.) all the help I could get (.) and I just chuck it back in their face (3) I wouldn't listen / and twag school (.) smoke weed and all that shit man / everyone (.) everyone knew that (???) would do it and then end up in prison or whatever (1) just let em in it (.) it's their choice (.) but if they wanna sort their life out (4) then they can (4) but if they're / if they're not listening to you and that / I wouldn't try with them / I wouldn't (.) I'd just let em (.) and they'd probably think aww fucking 'ell she's not (.) she's not messing about here (8)
379. R: Hmm (4)

380. M: And about half of them they work with (.) they're guaranteed they won't cope with jail / so just (.) let em (3)
381. R: Did you cope with it?
382. M: Yeh (1) I was it (6)
383. R: How did you do that then? How did you cope with it?
384. M: Huh ((laughing)) I don't know (1) probably cos / like I said I'm the youngest out of all my friends (.) so when I first went all my older friends were there anyway (.) do you know like for the first time (.) and the second time I just thought (.) I just started acting like Charles Bronson anyway (.) started going mad (.) started getting transferred and all that
385. R: You got transferred to a different (.) jail?
386. M: ((yawns)) do you know what I mean (.) I just thought fuck it / I thought I was invincible / I thought I was hard as fuck / I thought (2) then I just realised and it just like (.) and you just click on thinking / you know I'm a kid (.) I need to grow up man (2) I I I (.) I did like fifteen month this time and after this I thought fuck it (2) and I've been out quite a bit / longest I've been out this time anyway (3) Like I said / I / before I got out I thought / do you know (.) like when I'm bored and that (.) that's when I start (.) that's when I start doing stupid stuff but (.) I just think / I just / when I'm bored I don't even care cos I'm out / do you know what I mean I'm out / I can home when I want (.) get a nice meal when I want (1) do owt (.) meet a girl when I want (.) well ma girlfriend but (1) meet / do what I want (3) and you realise that (2) but all the people you're with probably won't yet (3) so that's why you should let (.) check it out and they'll (.) probably realise their selves
387. R: So you think you need to learn from experience
388. M: Well I / that's how I learnt (.) like all the / all the people that dealt with me / they dint help one bit but (.) obvious::y (.) they dint h / I listened and that (.) but I just thought they were chatting shit (1) (???) you grow up don't ya (5)
389. R: So it's about m::aturing
390. M: I've been mature for my age anyway like (.) when I was like fifteen and that (.) when I was like first going to jail (.) people th:: / like thought like yeah how old are you like / do you know what I mean they thought I was older than I was and that (.) always / like no one ever thought I was fifteen (.) that's probably why I was (.) like chilling with people older than me and that (.) and like meeting girl older than me (.) and like / do you know what I mean / that's how (1) Oh I can't ((sighs)) I can't explain it (1) I probabl::y (2) I don't know / like say I was fifteen / I was probably living like a twenty year old or summut like /do you know what I mean
391. R: Hmm
392. M: I was / like taking drugs and all that shit / but like selling drugs taking drugs making money (.) like do you know what I mean (.) at fifteen (1) I

- reckon I grow / grow too quick (6) what's it / I don't / I can't even know what the first (????) is (.) but since I've been ((yawning)) (2) since fif / since fourteen to eighteen say (.) I've had like six months out altogether (.) not including now
393. R: Right
394. M: Altogether / like with this / I been out like four months / so I've been out like ten month (.) since fourteen (4)
395. R: So you've done most of your growing up (.) in custody
396. M: (5) And now I've realised (2) there's a lot more to it ((yawning)) but it is good / I'm not gonna lie / I do like it (.) I'm not / I'm not gonna lie I / probably will go back (.) err (.) not / not for nowt long though (2) it's hard with ma license and that (.) everyone / everyone's on ma case (5)
397. R: Everyone's on your case (.) do you mean (.) erm (.) YOT
398. M: Nah YOT are alright man (.) if I was on probation it would be different (.) if I were on / if I were on probation I'd be / I'd be / I would have gone back time ago (1) but like these give me chances (.) these help me and that
399. R: Yeah
400. M: These / I'm always on YOT at the minute (.) I'm on YOT 'til I'm nearly twenty
401. R: How old are you now?
402. M: Eighteen
403. R: Right (2) so when do you swap over to probation?
404. M: I don't (2)
405. R: [But you be in YOT if yo::u're (.) old
406. M: I'm not (.) yeah (.)] I'm a I'm a I'm on YOT 'til I'm nineteen and half
407. R: Right
408. M: And obviously after that order (.) I'm on YOT 'til I'm nineteen and half no matter what (.) and after that I'm not on nothing unless I commit another offense and that's when I go on probation
409. R: Right (3) and then you think that will be harder
410. M: Probation will yeah (1) they don't / they're (.) like / you get like (.) / probation / they see / they see s:: / how many people a week and smack heads and that a we::ek (.) they probably won't even know your name when / like everyone knows me in here (.) like everyone knows people by like first name and that in it / in there (.) but (.) its different man (.) all ma friends are in there like (1) they don't help with nothing (2) like if you're one minute / like you're one minute late (.) they breach you and all that shit (1) fucking hell you could be (.) four days late (.) like / see what I mean the other day when I rang up I said I can't come today (.) they've arranged it for today (.) and if that was them / they'd be like A::h you've gotta come in blah blah blah
411. R: Right

412. M: Shit like that (.) and that's what / that'll make me fuck up (11)
413. R: So YOT's helping you (4)
414. M: ((nods))
415. R: Oh that's good (1) I'm sure they'll be pleased to know that
416. M: (2) They do know that (5) ((exhales holding broken hand)) (4)
417. R: Right (2) we ((laughing)) sort of already finished the interview and then we started again dint we (.) erm (.) s::o (.) have you said everything you wanted to say then
418. M: ((nods))
419. R: Okay well (.) thanks a lot for talking to me (.) I do really appreciate it and
420. M: Alright
421. R: And (.) I hope that (.) erm it will be helpful erm (3) so thanks very much
422. M: You're welcome
423. R: (1) I'll turn this off now

Appendix IX: Transcript 3 – Interview with Kane

1. Researcher (R): Ok so erm (.) you've agreed that you're happy to erm take part in the research (.) and that you're happy for me to record it (.) that it's gonna be confidential
2. Kane (K): Yep
3. R: Erm a:and that if you want to stop talking about something or you want to stop the interview you can
4. K: ((nods))
5. R: Okay (1) so I've put the recorder on but erm hopefully we'll just (.) [forget about it
6. K: Yeah]
7. R: Erm being there (1) so ((exhales)) / when we met last week you agreed t::o erm (.) do the interview which I was very grateful for / I've had a lot of trouble getting people to turn up for appoints so thank you very much to start with (1) erm / so really I just want to get yo::ur erm story on (.) what school was like erm / err you sort of started to talk to me a little bit last time about what you thought were the problems that (1) err people who end up erm in custody (.) have faced
8. K: Hmmmm
9. R: So (1) do you wanna start off by telling me about what school was I like?
10. K: What school was like for me?
11. R: Yeah
12. K: It was Sh:: um (.) it was quite crap (.) I think (.) what I can remember of it
13. R: Okay
14. K: Cos when I used to / when I used to go to school / get took there by my mum (.) / mum and dad used to always argue so when I got home my mum would never be there / or my dad wont there (.) door was locked so I'd have to go round to me nanna's (1) then it just got worse from there (1) started running away from school (.) getting kicked out of schools (2)
15. R: Right (1) what did you run away from school for do you think?
16. K: I don't know (.) for attention I think
17. R: Attention
18. K: Yeah that's what it might have been for
19. R: And (.) which school did you go to?
20. K: Woodside (.) and Eastmoor (1) I went to (.) / I went to loads of schools
21. R: Right (.) cos / is that cos ya got kicked out of some?
22. K: ((sniffs)) (1) Yeh
23. R: Okay (.) when did that start at primary school then?
24. K: Yeh

25. R: Right (.) and what sort of thing would yo::u (.) was it / did you get kicked out cos you ran away (.) do you think /or were there [other things
26. K: I was a little (2)] I was just a little bastard (1)
27. R: And what did that look like? What did (.) that mean?
28. K: ((sniffs)) I don't know (.) it just (.) I just used to kicked out and then when I got older it started getting / I started getting in trouble with the police (1) ((tutts)) and going to jail
29. R: Right (2) ((sniffs)) so even at primary school (.) you got kicked out of primary school
30. K: Yeah
31. R: Right (.) and did yo::u (.) did you like the lessons in (.) school
32. K: Can't remember em
33. R: You can't [remember
34. K: ((laughing)) Can't remember the lessons like (???) in school
35. R: Right (2) did ya have mates and stuff [at school?
36. K: Yeh]
37. R: So you didn't have any problems with that side of things
38. K: ((sniffs and shakes head))
39. R: Right so the lessons weren't great then
40. K: I can't remember
41. R: Ri::ght
42. K: So they must not have been (.) good if I can't remember them
43. R: Right / no / true (.) if you'd 've held your attention you might remember em
44. K: Yeah
45. R: So perhaps they weren't interesting enough (.) to be remembered
46. K: Yep
47. R: Okay (.) what about your teachers (1) did you get on with them?
48. K: E::rr (.) can't really remember em
49. R: Right (.) [is that
50. K: Don't really] like remembering teachers to be honest with you / I don't wanna grow up and shit and (???) like that was a teacher
51. R: Ri::ght (.) and what [abo::ut erm
52. K: ((coughs))]
53. R: erm secondary school then (.) which secondary school did you go to?
54. K: John Moore's (.) Middlemoor now it's called
55. R: Right
56. K: ((sniffs))
57. R: And how / did yo::u manage to stay in that school?
58. K: I got kicked out in year (.) beginning a year 8 (.) or year 7
59. R: Right (.) okay so that's quite early then (1) and
60. K: I used to terrorise the school

61. R: Terrorise the school (1) okay (.) so what did you do that terrorised people
62. K: ((laughs)) everything ((sniffs))
63. R: Give me some examples
64. K: Everything / I just used to take the piss out of people (.) be a bit of a bully
65. R: Oh right (.) okay (1) and what do you think (.) that was about? (1) Do you know?
66. K: I don't know (2)
67. R: You said before [something about
68. K: Yeah maybe summut to do with at home
69. R: Yeah and you [s::
70. K: The way] I was brought up
71. R: Okay (.) you mentioned that the other day when we talked that you thought that was the main problem
72. K: Yeah that is the main problem with everyone going to prison (3)
73. R: Right
74. K: Their background (.) the way they're brought up
75. R: Right (.) so do you want to tell me a bit about your background (.) and the way you were brought up
76. K: I was dragged up ((laughs)) no I was brought up good by my / til I was about six and then I (2) then I went to go live with ma dad and the::n (.) he took care of me after that (.) and that way I didn't have to live with ma mum
77. R: Right
78. K: She turned into a smack head
79. R: Your mum did?
80. K: Hmm
81. R: Right
82. K: And my dad looked after us (.) me and ma sister
83. R: Right (.) [(???)
84. K: And he still] does now
85. R: You what sorry
86. K: Still does now
87. R: You got err younger sister or older sister?
88. K: Younger sister and younger brother (.) and an older sister
89. R: Are you all still at home then?
90. K: Na::h I'm still at home
91. R: My little sister s::leeps over at weekends (.) with my little brother
92. R: How old are they?
93. K: F::ive and twelve thirteen
94. R: Right so there's quite a big age gap between you and
95. K: Hmm
96. R: Err (.) and them then

97. K: ((sniffs, nods))
98. R: S::o you said that there was arguments and stuff at home
99. K: I don't know what it was about (1) I was too young to understand (1)
100. R: Right so that was before you were six / before you moved out
101. K: It used to happen all the time yeah
102. R: Right (3) but you don't know what they were about
103. K: Nah
104. R: But you think that that affected you at school
105. K: It did (.) hundred percent it did
106. R: Hmm (1) made you wanna run away?
107. K: ((nods))
108. R: Where did you run to?
109. K: I can't remember / I don't know (1) I don't know I just used to / I used to get caught (.) I used to run out of school and get caught (1)
110. R: By?
111. K: The police council ma dad (2) mum
112. R: Did you want them to catch you do you think?
113. K: I think so yeah
114. R: Yeah cos you said you wanted it for attention (.) you thought maybe (.) perhaps if there was stuff going on at home you (.) felt a bit like you weren't getting that (3)
115. K: ((nods))
116. R: And then maybe (1) when you got to high school (.) you were with your dad by that point (.) you said
117. K: Yeah yeah (.) I went into care when I was (1) nine to eleven (.) I never used to see ma (.) I never used to see ma mum (1) cos I hated ma mum (.) cos when I went into care yeah she err ((sniffs)) I knew one lad who was in there (.) and she said oh go to the shop with him (1) when you come back blah blah (.) went to the shop come back and she'd gone (.) so I just hated her for that (.) ever since
118. R: Right (.) gone as i::n for good (.) or just
119. K: I think she come back once or twice but it was ma dad who come every weekend
120. R: Right
121. K: Took me out (.) know what I mean and did things with me / she dint (.) she wont bothered (.) she was more bothered about drugs
122. R: Hmm (2) and an what (.) what was it like with the foster carers?
123. K: Good (2) lived like a king
124. R: Right
125. K: ((laughs))
126. R: What sort of things (.) were good?
127. K: Everything
128. R: Can you remember?

129. K: Everything
130. R: Can you give me some examples?
131. K: ((laughs)) Everything was good / the way we lived (1) everything / the things we did (1)
132. R: Was that in this area?
133. K: It was in Killington
134. R: I don't know that
135. K: Rinton
136. R: Oh [yeah hmm
137. K: (???)]
138. R: And then / so you came back here to live with your dad.
139. K: Yeah
140. R: Why (.) do you know why that was (.) why did you come out of care and go back to [dad
141. K: (???)] prove that he were / I don't know (???) prove summut to em obviously (3)
142. R: Prove that (.) he could (.)
143. K: Look after us
144. R: Look after you and be a good dad (.) and do you think that (.) [that
145. K: Well he's done a good job of it (.) he's looked after us since I were six (.) fourteen year (.) and my older sister (.) my older sister he looked after her
146. R: Yeah (.) so you were glad to (.) to go back to dad's then
147. K: Yeah
148. R: And did you stay in contact with foster carers or
149. K: Yeah / yeah I did yeah
150. R: Are you still in touch with them?
151. K: No
152. R: Do you know why (.) what happened there (.) what
153. K: I went to jail (.) end up losing their numbers (.) Blah em
154. R: Right
155. K: Just couldn't be arsed with it
156. R: But you had a good relationship with them
157. K: ((nods))
158. R: That's good cos some people don't have very good experience of care do they?
159. K: No (1) I did
160. R: Yeah
161. K: ((sniffs))
162. R: That's good (2) em (.) so then (.) you came back (.) and you were living with dad and then you were going to Middlemoor (1)
163. K: Yeah
164. R: Erm

165. K: No I went a (.) I went to a different school (1) before Middlemoor (.) I went to a few schools before Middlemoor but then when I (1) eventually started living back with ma dad I did go to Middlemoor (1)
166. R: Right (1) and what happened at those other schools?
167. K: (2) Kicked out
168. R: When you say a few [schools
169. K: I've been kicked out of every school I've been in except North Street (.) and I've been in about seven or eight schools
170. R: Right (.) wh wh where's North Street
171. K: Down the North Street industrial estate
172. R: Was that a:: secondary (.) or a primary
173. K: It's a secondary school but it's (2) for naughty people I think
174. R: Right so it's a specialist provision place (.) it's not erm (.) a main high school
175. K: Yeah
176. R: Right (1) okay (.) s::o how did you end up there then?
177. K: I don't have a clue (2) I was only young
178. R: Right (1) / so you got kicked out of Middlemoor (.) and did you go to there from Middlemoor
179. K: Yeah
180. R: Right (.) okay (1) erm (.) and you said you we::re a bit of a bully at school and did you get in bother with the teachers as well?
181. K: Yeah (.) all the time (1) I used to hate em (3)
182. R: Any one in particular or just all of them?
183. K: Just all of them (.) all the same to me
184. R: Right
185. K: But the ones we had at North Street was all good though
186. R: At th::e the place down the industrial estate (1)
187. K: ((nods))
188. R: Right (.) so what was different about those ones do you think?
189. K: I don't know (.) they just know how to speak to you I think (1) they sort of understand you (1)
190. R: Sort of
191. K: Hmm
192. R: Do you think anyone can really understand you?
193. K: No (2)
194. R: But sort of is as good as it gets?
195. K: Yep (4) ((rubs at mark on trousers))
196. R: So what kind of stuff did you do there? Learning wise
197. K: Ride go-karts ((smiling))
198. R: Ride go-karts ((laughing)) sounds like (.) sounds like err Middlemoor couldn't really compete with that

199. K: If you were (.) if you're good you get to go go-karting at the end of the week
200. R: Right
201. K: Do that every week (.) it used to be the best bit go-karting
202. R: Which suggests that you were good (.) then (.) most of the [time
203. K: The best]
204. R: So (.) I mean (.) I meant good well behaved actually (.) / but also good at go-karting ((laughs))
205. K: Yeah
206. R: So yo::u (.) you were motivated by that (.) do you think?
207. K: Yep (4)
208. R: Erm (1) and then afte::r / obviously along / while you were there I presume you were in trouble with the police (.) at that point (1) so what sort of things did you get up to that ended you up getting in bother with the police then?
209. K: I got an ASBO when I twelve (1)
210. R: Right
211. K: A four year ASBO for riding motorbike and stuff and that's what I used to get arrested for all the time (1) then when I got a little bit like thirteen fourteen and that's when I was fourteen fifteen that's when I started going to jail (3)
212. R: Was it just (.) the same
213. K: It was a (???) if I didn't get an ASBO yeah (.) I wouldn't be (???) even (1) been in trouble with the police (2) but cos they give me an ASBO (.) that just fucked me up / I wasn't allowed to the shops where I live I wasn't allow I want allowed in six roads on my estate I wasn't allowed to hang around with more than three people
214. R: Right
215. K: It was bullshit
216. R: Yeah I've heard other people say that AS (.) getting an ASBO was like the beginning of their major problems
217. K: Yeah that's what it was for me
218. R: So do you think that the ASBO was [an over-reaction
219. K: It stitched me] fucked me up that's what it did (3) shouldn't have got an ASBO (2) for four years then they extended it for another two years (.) so I was on it for six years (1) It's a long time that isn't it
220. R: It is a long time [(???)
221. K: Not allowed] in my s::h (.) in my own shops (.) not allowed in the other half my estate (.) it were crap mate
222. R: Twelve is very young
223. K: ((coughs))
224. R: To have that sort of restriction on you isn't it / for that length of time
225. K: Yep ((sniffs))

226. R: Can't imagine you can see the end of four years when you're twelve (1) you know it seems like forever (2) seems like a long time for me but (1) for a kid of twelve (5) So do you thin that the ASBO was an over-reaction to [the motorbike riding and stuff
227. Yeah it was yeah]
228. R: What do you think would have (1) made a difference then
229. K: Built a fucking track or summut down Eastmoor ((sniffs))
230. R: Summut for you to do
231. K: Summut for everyone to do
232. R: Hmm
233. K: (2) But no (3) they don't give a shit
234. R: Hmm (6) so (.) we've talked about school we've talked about your family
235. K: Talked about crime
236. R: Yeah ((laughing)) what do you like doing then (.) in your spare time
237. K: I don't I (.) nothing (.) I don't do anything (.) cos if I do summut I probably get in trouble (.) so I just do nothing (1) smoke a spliff here and there that's what I do
238. R: Right (2) and [what
239. K: I'm a] working man now (.) so I don't need to do any of that do I
240. R: Oh of course (.) you've got a job now
241. K: So work all night (.) sleep all day and party all night
242. R: Okay so after here you're off partying are ya?
243. K: Hmm ((nods))
244. R: So you started working (.) just last week you said
245. K: ((nods))
246. R: How old are you now?
247. K: Twenty ((yawns)) Why do I look older than twenty?
248. R: You what sorry?
249. K: Do I look older than twenty
250. R: Errr (.) no I'd say you looked about your age (1) you don't wanna look older
251. K: No (3)
252. R: So (1) you said (2) you've (1) last time we saw you told me that you were a reformed criminal [that's what you said to me (.) they were your words
253. K: That's right (.) I am]
254. R: So what does that mean what [what's changed
255. K: What does it mean?] It means I've changed
256. R: What's changed?
257. K: I've not been in trouble / I don't (.) I don't want to be sat in prison (.) I've realised that / that's not (.) the life (.) for me
258. R: So what (.) what is the life for you then?

259. K: Working life
260. R: Okay and you've started
261. K: (???)
262. R: Working life's good (.) you've started working (.) and what's that been like?
263. K: (2) Good ((smiling)) I could go in at six today but I'm not going (2)
264. R: What? To do overtime
265. K: To do a twelve hour shift
266. R: I'm not sure I'd be up for a twelve hour shift either ((laughing)) (5) and (3) is it (.) I think you did tell me last time that it's the first time you've had a job
267. K: It is yeah
268. R: Yeh (2) so has it been difficult to get work?
269. K: I've never really tried to be honest with you (.) but this time I thought fuck that / I'm not off back to jail and if I don't get a job I'll end up going back so (2) I got ma sen a job
270. R: So (.) it was pretty easy once you decided then?
271. K: Hmm
272. R: Yeah [(???)
273. K: It's not] hard to get a job is it?
274. R: Some people would say it was / I don't know I've not looked for a job round here but some people would say that there aren't the job opportunities especially for people who been in trouble with (.) the police
275. K: Well I've been in trouble since the ((stretching)) age of fourteen and I still get a job
276. R: Yeah
277. K: Criminal record's massive / you don't tell them you've got a criminal record anyway do ya?
278. R: I don't know (.) I suppose if they ask you should (.) if they don't ask I wouldn't imagine that you would (.) no ((laughing)) so [you working
279. K: Well I dint]
280. R: You're working in erm Packing (.) packing boxes / packing factory
281. K: I fix (.) putting car plastics together
282. R: Right (1) do you think you're gonna stick at it?
283. K: Do I think / I know
284. R: You know you are (.) that's the right attitude (2) and (.) have you got your first pay packet yet?
285. K: Yeah
286. R: And what are you gonna do with that
287. K: ((laughs)) Spend it on drugs
288. R: ((laughs))
289. K: No im not gonna do (.) I just let it sit there (.) Christmas soon
290. R: Yeah (.) you can get some Christmas presents

291. K: Yeah for myself
292. R: For yourself? ((laughing)) what about your family?
293. K: Nah I will get em summut (4)
294. R: S::o (2) what things are important to you then?
295. K: Family and that's it (2)
296. R: Right
297. K: And one friend (2)
298. R: Who's that? [one in particular
299. K: I'm not telling you] their name
300. R: No you don't have to say their name but just (.)
301. K: My best mate
302. R: Known him a long time?
303. K: Yep / you know what (.) I'm not allowed to hang round with him
304. R: Ahh (.) because [of
305. K: We've] never been in trouble together (.) we've never been arrested together (.) we've never (1) even thought about doing a crime together and when I got out of prison they put him on my licence
306. R: Right
307. K: So that's not a stitch up? (.) yeah it is
308. R: I can see how you might think that (1) it doesn't feel very (.) fair / especially if this person's important to you (.) and you've never got into trouble with them
309. K: I haven't (.) they just do it cos they want that little (2) bit of whatever on us (3)
310. R: A power thing you mean?
311. K: Yep (1)
312. R: Hmm (.) and how long's that for then / how long's your licence for?
313. K: Til next November (.) he's not staying on it all that time mate (.) not a chance (.) I'm not (1)
314. R: So you're looking forward to him coming of so you can do some
315. K: He is coming off (1) I'm working (.) I'm not gonna go burgling am I (.) 's stupid mate (3) pissed me off (9)
316. R: And what kind of things do you two do together then
317. K: We don't do nothing together because we're not allowed together
318. R: Well before (1) when you were (.) before [you w
319. K: Do what] friends do together (1) hang about (4) exactly what you do with one of your friends I do with my friends
320. R: Yep
321. K: Except we smoke a bit of cannabis / probably you don't (2)
322. R: Okay
323. K: Although looking at that smile on your face you do ((laughing))
324. R: ((laughs))
325. K: ((laughs))

326. R: So who do you have to give you a bit of help and support then if you need it
327. K: My old man (3)
328. R: Anyone else? (.) what kind of things does your dad do for you then?
329. K: Anything I want (1) he'll do it
330. R: Like?
331. K: Anything (2) if I wanted (.) him to do summut (.) for me he'd do it (1) that's what sort of person he is you see
332. R: It's good to have someone like that supporting you int it
333. K: (???) (7)
334. R: And what about erm (1) people at school or people round (.) the sort of criminal justice the youth justice system (.) did you have anyone that you thought helped or supported you there?
335. K: No (.) they all s:titch me up that's what they do / see when I'm out yeah (.) I'm of prison like ((sniffs))
336. R: Hmm
337. K: (2) When I'm in prison (2) aw wait there (.) I had it in my head the other day / when I'm out of prison (2) when I'm out of prison yeah
338. R: Hmm
339. K: (1) They don't wanna help me (2) aw I forgot what I was / they don't wanna help / I can't remember what I was gonna say
340. R: You were gonna [say
341. K: It's] like they want me back (???) (2) It's like they want me back to prison when I'm out but when then I'm in (1) they're not bothered about me they just think leave him in there he'll be alright (.)
342. R: Right
343. K: See I got out of prison in May yeah / listen to this right (.) I got out of prison in May (1) I was out for twenty three days yeah
344. R: Uh huh
345. K: I went to (.) go meet this lass in town (.) but I seen two of my mates before I went to the (.) to meet this girl yeah
346. R: Hmm
347. K: And they said aw (1) come to his house for a spliff and was / the lass was gonna be ten minutes anyway so I said alright then (.) she only lived round the corner (.) so I went to this house with these lads (.) sat down (.) made a (.) made a joint (1) went outside smoked it come back in (.) the two lads that I was with pulled out two knives (1) and started to rob these people and I sat the lads down with the knives and I said I don't want nothing to do with it (.) I'm walking away so I stood up and I told the whole house (.) so they were they were all sat there I thought I don't want nothing to do with it I've just got out of prison (.) I'm walking away from it (.) So I walked away from it (.) went and met this girl (.) went to my house (1) the next day (.) coppers are chasing me all over (.) want / I'm wanted for

robbery (.) I handed my sen in (.) they bailed me for it (.) then I got arrested for (.) summut else (.) and then (.) when I went to (.) ahh cos I got a recall cos I got arrested(.) went to prison (.) and they give me a full recall cos (.) of the robbery (.) and I was a witness to it (.) people in the house said that Mr Smith stood up and walked away (1) and I still get arrested for it (.) and recalled (.) so that's not stitched up?

348. R: Hmm (1) so you think that your reputation or your (.) past [was held against you

349. K: It is (.) yeah]

350. R: Hmm (2) and what about now then (1)

351. K: What do you mean? ((rubbing at trousers))

352. R: Your probation worker now (.) do you think that she's gonna be able to support you (.) or do you not think that you need her help

353. K: I don't need anyone's help (.) I can do it by my sen (10)

354. R: So what do want for the future then? We've talked a little bit [about that already

355. K: A job] (.) kids (.) a wife (.) a house a car a bike (1) loads a money

356. R: Sounds like a good dream

357. K: Might be / I'll fulfil that dream one day (.) belie::ve me I will

358. R: Good (3) well you wouldn't without determination would you?

359. K: No ((putting on hat and gloves))

360. R: Have you got a girlfriend at the moment?

361. K: (2) Sort of

362. R: Sort of (1) does she know she's sort of?

363. K: She knows where she stands

364. R: Okay

365. K: ((laughing, slaps hands on table))

366. R: Er::r

367. K: ((laughing, slaps hands on table))

368. R: What else have we got to talk about? ((smiling))

369. K: ((slaps table)) (4)

370. R: Is there anything else you want to talk me about?

371. K: No (.) nothing

372. R: Anything else you've got to say

373. K: Nope

374. R: No (.) erm (.) any questions you wished I'd asked you (.) that I haven't

375. K: No

376. R: Well (.) would you like to choose a pseudonym cos I'll (.) a pretend name (.) cos when I write it up I'll use a different name (.) also

377. K: No I want you to use my name (.)

378. R: You want me to use your name

379. K: Yeah

380. R: Right (.) okay (.) err a::nd (.) what have you thought about the interview (.) how have you found it?
381. K: Alright (1)
382. R: Alright (.) not sorry you came / you don't regret coming?
383. K: I am a bit now
384. R: Why?
385. K: I don't know (.) cos I wanna go / I haven't even had a shower
386. R: You wanna go home (.) I know you came in looking (.)erm very (.) stressed cos you were (.) you'd been cycling I saw you (.) on the bike / you [looked
387. K: Woke] up yeah (.) she rings me so I come straight up here / don't get a shower
388. R: [Right
389. K: I don't] have time to jump in the shower (.) I don't have [time to brush my teeth
390. R: Well I (.) you have no idea how much I [appreciate it
391. K: I don't have time] to cut my toe nails
392. R: ((laughs)) honestly you've no idea how much I appreciate it (.) really really do (.) it's been very difficult so thank you very much
393. K: My pleasure (1)
394. R: And now you can go home and get your shower

Appendix X: Transcript Analyses (CD)

Please see the CD in the pocket (inside back cover) for the full analyses of the transcripts; annotated and colour coded.