Relating to reading

– a psychosocial exploration of the experiences of young people

who find reading difficult

J. M. Stonehouse

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Abstract

Although research studies are plentiful regarding the cognitive aspects of children's and young people's reading difficulties, surprisingly few consider the emotional or relational impact of those difficulties. Those which do rarely invite young people to share their experiences of struggling to master this fundamental life skill.

This exploratory, qualitative study used a psychosocial methodology to explore the reading experiences of young people who find reading difficult. A psychosocial ontology and epistemology gave equal consideration to the meaning constructed through participants' social interactions and the unconscious psychological processes at work for participant *and* researcher, and facilitated an understanding of the emotional experience of each participant.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with two 12-year-old boys (UK school year 8) with persistent reading difficulties, using Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) techniques. Each boy was interviewed twice, creating his own narrative in response to initial questions or prompts. The boys were also observed twice in a typical English lesson, using principles of infant observation. A reflective research diary was used to record the researcher's personal responses to all aspects of the research.

Interview data were analysed using thematic analysis. Reflective process notes from each observation provided an additional perspective on each boy's experiences. Psychosocial research supervision enabled a reflexive stance to be maintained, holding in mind the 'whole' person, acknowledging the researcher as psychologically defended, and considering the relevance and appropriateness of themes as they emerged.

Semantic and latent themes specific to each participant were identified. Although the aim was not to generalise between the boys' experiences, similarities were found within the following areas: '(un)helpful helping', 'believed and understood?', 'lazy, dumb and stupid', and 'smarter sisters'.

The findings provide a rich account of participants' experiences as 'struggling readers'. Strengths and limitations of the study are discussed, together with implications for teaching and Educational Psychology practice.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to the students who so generously shared their experiences and told me how reading was for them. By allowing me into their world they gave me an invaluable glimpse into the emotional experience of adolescent learning. My thanks too to their parents for supporting their participation, and to the school staff members who provided practical support with recruitment and data collection.

Supervision has been an important part of my own learning experience during this project, and my particular thanks go to Drs Dale Bartle, Rachael Green, Jill Newton, and Chris Shaldon for providing the professional wisdom, academic insight, intellectual rigour, personal encouragement and space to think which I so often needed.

I have also enjoyed the support of many friends and family members, and am truly grateful for the ways in which each has cheered me on over the past three years. Standing head and shoulders above the rest, of course, have been my husband, David and my daughters, Rachel and Lydia, without whose loving support and encouragement my experience would have been very different. Thank you, family Stonehouse for your unending capacity to offer love, laughter, patience and a well-timed cup of tea.

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List of abbreviations

ADD	Attention Deficit Disorder
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
APA	American Psychological Association
APEP	Assistant Principal Educational Psychologist
BPS	The British Psychological Society
CP	Clinical Psychologist
DfE	Department for Education
DoH	Department of Health
EHCP	Education, Health and Care Plan
EP	Educational Psychologist
EPS	Educational Psychology Service
FANI	Free Association Narrative Interview
LA	Local Authority
LSM	Learning Support Mentor
PEP	Principal Educational Psychologist
SEMH	Social, Emotional and Mental Health
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SENCo	Special Educational Needs Coordinator
SEND	Special Educational Needs and Disability
SENDCo	Special Educational Needs and Disability Coordinator
SES	Socio-economic status
SpLD	Specific Learning Difficulty
TA	Teaching Assistant
TEP	Trainee Educational Psychologist

Confidentiality and anonymity

To protect the identities of participants, their families and educational settings, and colleagues and settings associated with my professional training placement, all identifying details have been removed, anonymised, or replaced with pseudonyms.

A note on the use of first- and third-person reporting styles

Although academic research studies are traditionally written in the third person, the researcher's position as an active, 'defended' part of the psychosocial research process made this stance more challenging to maintain within the current study, particularly once the focus turned to reporting on the study itself. To reflect the more direct part played by the researcher, the reporting style within this thesis moves between the first and third person as necessary.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Chapter overview

This chapter contextualises the relevance of an exploration of the social, emotional and psychological experiences of reading for young people who find reading difficult, by:

- outlining national and local contexts, including the study's relevance to the educational psychology profession

- introducing a psychoanalytically-informed approach to research as an appropriate means of exploring the experiences of young adolescents

- considering the value of psychosocial perspectives on teaching and learning to the development of effective support strategies for children and young people

The terms 'dyslexia' and 'reading difficulty/ies' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis to refer to persistent, identifiable difficulties with accurate and fluent word reading and spelling. This reflects the definitions and processes for the identification of reading difficulties currently in use within the EPS in which the study was conducted.

1.1 National context

The ability to read is acknowledged to be a fundamental life skill within Western society (Campbell, 2013) and the written word remains the currency by which individuals and groups transact with each other socially, emotionally and academically. As a consequence, far-reaching assumptions are made with regard to the ability to access and manipulate textual information. One of the most deeply entrenched of these is the assumption that literacy ability reflects and represents general intellectual ability, and those identified with reading difficulties continue to recount their

sense of failure and frustration at being perceived to be academically inferior (Cameron, 2016; Campbell, 2013; Collinson & Penketh, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Ingesson, 2007).

Unsurprisingly then, children's and young people's literacy difficulties have been a very long-standing focus of attention within education. The research literature associated with reading development is substantial, particularly that which considers the cognitive or physiological processes underlying reading. Initial database searches for journal articles associated with dyslexia or reading difficulties yielded many thousands of papers. The majority of these papers were concerned with understanding the cognitive mechanisms associated with reading difficulties, and/or with the development or evaluation of interventions to moderate these, and it is not my intention to describe these further here. Research exploring the affective dimensions of reading is scarce in comparison, and surprisingly few researchers have sought to understand the social and emotional impact of failing to master this fundamental skill. Those who have investigated the social and emotional experiences of so-called 'struggling readers' draw attention to evidence of poor self-esteem and academic self-concept, and increased vulnerability to bullying and ridicule (Cameron, 2016; Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey, 2002; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Ingesson, 2007; Nielsen, 2011). Importantly, all identify a need for more research to be undertaken in this area.

Humphrey has contributed a number of papers exploring the quality of dyslexic children's and adolescents' self-esteem and self-concept (Humphrey, 2002, 2003; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). Commenting on the large number of studies conducted with a cognitive as opposed to an affective focus, he attributes the disparity between the two areas to researchers' belief that understanding the cognitive mechanisms associated with reading disability remains the most fruitful means of supporting young people to overcome their difficulties (Humphrey, 2003). Although cognitive understanding has been instrumental in the development of robust interventions to support and enhance literacy skills, there is increasing evidence elsewhere within educational research of the

impact of meeting young people's social and emotional needs on their cognitive development (Billington, 2006; Frederickson & Cline, 2015; Geddes, 2006).

More recently, the importance of meeting the social, emotional and mental health (SEMH) needs of children and young people in school has received greater prominence. The government's Green Paper on schools' mental health provision for their pupils, currently under consultation with education and health professionals, is an encouraging sign that students' emotional well-being is to be taken as seriously as their academic progress, although the specific structures to fulfil this remain unclear at the time of writing.

Young people's SEMH needs are identified and supported as a category of special educational need in their own right. However the same cannot be said for schools' sensitivity to the social and emotional needs which arise in association with cognition and learning difficulties (for example, the degree to which teachers consider the social and emotional impact of publicly identifying a pupil for additional learning support, or insisting a dyslexic pupil reads or spells aloud in class). What evidence there is suggests that little consideration is given to such matters (Billington, 2006; High, 2012; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). There may be many reasons for this, including teachers' lack of awareness of the affective burden associated with young people's learning difficulties, or a limited ability to empathise with their pupils' experience. This is not to suggest that teachers are deliberately unthinking or uncaring; teaching within the current climate is a demanding and complex process, and teachers' perceived lack of engagement with such issues may well be the result of working within an educational system which places an ever-greater emphasis on accountability, certainty and linear progression (Bibby, 2011; Britzman, 2012; Mintz, 2007).

1.1.1 The dyslexia debate

In recent years there has been much debate within the psychology and education communities with regard to the identification and diagnosis of children as dyslexic, and the potential difference in support and outcomes for those with dyslexia versus unspecified reading difficulties, (e.g. (Elliott & Grigorenko, 2014; Gibbs & Elliott, 2015). Largely due to the work of Elliott and colleagues (ibid.), and of Rose and advisors (Rose, 2009), the nature of support for children and young people with reading difficulties has been subject to significant reappraisal, and many long-held assumptions about dyslexia as a unique category of need have been robustly challenged.

The 2009 Rose Report to the UK government on the identification and teaching of children and young people with dyslexia (Rose, 2009) made a number of recommendations, including: ensuring that school teachers and support staff are trained to a sufficiently high standard to enable them to identify, understand and support the needs of pupils with reading difficulties, including dyslexia; that teaching and learning should take place within an environment which provides high quality teaching and high expectations for all pupils; and that early intervention is preferable to allowing pupils to fail before their difficulties are supported. Importantly, Rose also highlighted the need to adjust previously held beliefs around dyslexia with regard to intelligence and academic ability: new research findings indicated that dyslexia occurred in individuals of *all* intellectual abilities, and the so-called discrepancy model[1] should no longer be used as a diagnostic criterion. Indeed, the notion of diagnosis itself was called into question, with a process of identification being a preferred means of establishing the presence of reading difficulties.

The debate regarding the value and purpose of securing a dyslexia diagnosis remains a matter of some controversy. It raises a number of issues concerning fairness, inclusion and the distribution

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[1]In the years preceding the Rose Report (Rose, 2009), a diagnosis of dyslexia required an individual to demonstrate at least average levels of intelligence or general ability on a standardised IQ test *and* unexpectedly low reading ability.

of resources, and challenges professionals to rethink the ways in which the cognitive characteristics of reading difficulties have been socially constructed (Elliott & Resing, 2015).

Rose (2009) drew some attention to the impact of persistent reading difficulties on young people's self-esteem and self-concept. Like Burden and Burdett (2007), Glazzard (2010), and Humphrey and Mullins (2002), Rose and his colleagues recognised that learners' ongoing struggle to access resources which prioritised the written word over other ways of presenting information quickly led to anxiety, disillusionment and a deep sense of failure. Acknowledging the social, emotional and psychological complexities of a protracted failure to achieve reading proficiency, Rose reports that dyslexic school pupils experience many more incidents of bullying and ridicule than their lexic peers (2009). This echoes Humphrey and Mullins's earlier findings recording experiences of bullying among dyslexic secondary school pupils (2002).

1.1.2 The current climate

Nine years on from the Rose Report (2009), in an environment in which thresholds for Local Authority (LA) Educational Psychologist (EP) involvement have risen yet higher, LA EPs now rarely (from anecdotal evidence and experience) assess children and young people for reading difficulties alone. Individuals' needs are more commonly identified following assessment by school staff, who are then expected to put the necessary support and strategies in place to enable such pupils to access the teaching and learning opportunities enjoyed by their peers. Managing ever-tighter SEN budgets, SENDCos appear resigned to meeting the needs of children with reading difficulties with minimal input from EPs, and have refocused their resources on staff training to support the delivery of largely evidence-based cognitive interventions.

Within such a climate, a diagnostic label is no longer considered necessary, or even appropriate, to the support of children with reading difficulties. Nonetheless, the presence or

absence of such a label has been found to have an impact on young people's identity and self-concept. Gibbs and Elliott (2015) found that teachers surveyed about their perceptions and experience in supporting children labelled as either dyslexic or with unspecified reading difficulties perceived that those with dyslexia would be harder to motivate and their difficulties less likely to change as a result of teachers' efforts. Teachers perceived that they would feel more able to motivate and support those they understood to have unspecified reading difficulties, with those children being more likely to be able to overcome their difficulties and make progress.

For pupils themselves, a dyslexia diagnosis was often perceived as having a positive impact on their self-esteem: by providing a reason for their difficulties it stopped them seeing themselves as 'stupid' or 'thick', provided a way of explaining their problems to their peers, and enabled access to more specific and targeted support (Glazzard, 2010; Taylor, Hume, & Welsh, 2010). However, this was not universally the case, and adolescents' perceptions were more varied. Ingesson (2007) reports that although some felt relieved at their diagnosis, an equal number found the process painful and embarrassing. Indeed, the majority of the teenagers and young adults she interviewed recalled spending much of their first six years of school feeling different, inferior and stupid because of their reading difficulties (Ingesson, 2007).

With or without a diagnosis, feelings of intellectual inferiority appear to be common among those with reading difficulties in school. Cameron (2016), Collinson and Penketh (2010), and Learned (2016) draw attention to the ongoing disabling practice of using literacy ability to establish individuals' wider academic or general intellectual ability. Scherer (2016) found that even very young children identified as poor readers assumed that their low reading ability was a reflection of how (un)clever they were.

1.2 Local context

In response to the Rose Report (2009) and Elliott et al.'s work in challenging archaic and unhelpful constructions of reading difficulty (Elliott, 2015), many LAs, including my own, published a dyslexia guidance document[2] as part of their SEND Local Offer. Such guidance is presented to parents and schools as a means of establishing a common understanding about the development of skills required for reading, and a clear support structure for the children who struggle to acquire them.

Within my LA, a cognitive model of reading is offered as a pragmatic, evidence-based means of explaining the physiological and cognitive processes involved in reading fluently and with automaticity (Coltheart, Rastle, Perry, Langdon, & Ziegler, 2001). Phonological processing ability is also widely recognised as a key component of successful reading and writing development (Rose, 2009; Shapiro & Solity, 2016) and phonological skills are systematically taught via synthetic phonics within many UK schools. For many children this proves to be a successful route to reading fluency. However, the approach is not universally effective, and teachers and EPs acknowledge that, for some children, teaching reading through phonics appears not to 'work'.

The EPs who authored my own LA's dyslexia guidance document suggest that there may be many factors contributing to the difficulties some children experience when learning to read, including the quality of their social relationships and early language environment, and their emotional well-being. Echoing the Rose Report (Rose, 2009), they draw attention to the negative impact of prolonged academic failure on children's and young people's self-esteem, identity and academic self-concept, and emphasise the need for teaching and remediation which enables them to experience success regularly and consistently.

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[2]To preserve the anonymity of those associated with the current research, a citation has not been included for this published document

EPs are of course well-placed and well-versed in considering all aspects of a young person's learning environment, and systemic practice lies at the heart of the observation and consultation model of assessment now routinely employed by UK EPSs (Farrell, 2006; Leadbetter, 2006; Randall, 2010; Wagner, 1995, 2008; Wicks, 2013). The application of current legislation and guidelines associated with SEND (Children and Families Act, 2014; Equality Act, 2010; SEND Code of Practice (Department for Education & Department of Health, 2015) enables EPs to work closely with schools to ensure that appropriate and sensitive adjustments are made to the ways in which pupils with special educational needs and disabilities are taught, adjustments which will support both cognitive *and* affective aspects of their learning. An important feature within this approach is ensuring that young people's own views and experiences are sought, along with those of their family (Billington, 2006; Hill, 2013).

1.3 A psychosocial perspective on learning

Social learning theorists describe the learning process as something which takes place within a social context, and requires the formation of a number of learning relationships, between peers, students and school staff, and within the student's own family, mediated through the social construct of language (Cullen & Shaldon, 2003; Rodgers, 2004/2005; Smith, Cowie, & Blades, 2011). Although social interaction in itself mediates and enhances learning (Atkinson, 2009; Rodgers, 2004/2005), the dynamic interaction between young people's social processes and their own internal, unconscious processes can have a profound impact on their ability to learn, to accommodate their strengths and difficulties, and to develop a positive view of themselves as learners (Bibby, 2011; Geddes, 2006; Waddell, 2002; Youell, 2006).

Those working within a psychoanalytic perspective consider learning to be influenced by a number of ongoing unconscious processes and drives, such as anger, envy, anxiety or fear, which

can have a profound effect on an individual's ability to interact successfully within their social environment. Bibby (2011), High (2012), Mintz (2007), Salzberger-Wittenberg, Williams and Osborne (1999), Waddell (2002), Youell (2006), and others present evidence for the impact of unconscious psychological processes on many aspects of teaching and learning, for children and adults alike. Bibby (2011) and Salzberger-Wittenberg et al. (1999) present learning and teaching as experiences charged with powerful emotions at both a conscious and an unconscious level and suggest that there is much to be gained from viewing the dissemination and acquisition of knowledge through both psychoanalytic and social constructionist lenses.

1.4 Relevance of the current study to EP Practice

Opportunities to listen to young people describing their hopes, fears and frustrations in relation to their learning have been among the most valuable features of the assessments I have undertaken to date as a TEP. The new perspectives I have gained on young people's day-to-day experiences of negotiating their difficulties within school and at home have informed my understanding of the learning difficulty itself and, importantly, the experience of living with that difficulty. On a practical level, capturing those experiences within the statutory assessment process has ensured that the development of outcomes and provision to meet their needs has been more appropriate and more achievable for the young person and those who support them. This has, in turn, provided a means of supporting young people's longer-term social and emotional well-being, since it has the potential to influence the perceptions of those who teach and support them in school.

As discussed, the scarcity of research around the social and emotional dimensions of young people's reading difficulties is striking, particularly given the wealth of new knowledge being generated with regard to associated cognitive processes. A noticeable gap within this already

sparsely populated field is the lack of opportunities there have been for children and young people with reading difficulties to speak directly through the data and give their own account of their experiences. Given the imperative within my day-to-day practice to draw directly on the views of young people when formulating my understanding of their difficulties (DfE/DoE, 2015), this gap appears even more stark. The rich narratives I had been told through asking young people about their experiences in living with other learning difficulties had made me curious about what those with persistent reading difficulties might say about *their* experiences, given the opportunity.

In keeping with the systemic ambitions of my placement LA, my aim in undertaking the current piece of research is to ensure that EPs and others working within education have as full an understanding as possible of the potential factors contributing to a child's reading difficulties, whether cognitive, social, emotional or psychological. The focus for my study has been to explore those young people's social, emotional and psychological experiences in relation to the activity and process of reading. A psychosocial methodological approach appeared to offer an appropriate means of doing this, maintaining as it does a perspective which takes account of both the social and the psychoanalytic and thus a consideration of the gestalt or 'whole' person (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Applying such an approach to the widely researched and yet seemingly intractable problem of persistent reading difficulty presented an opportunity to generate new insights into how so-called struggling readers might be better supported by EPs and other education professionals. Offered alongside more cognitive models of reading, a psychosocial understanding may elicit new insights into the specific difficulties experienced by individual children. By taking account of the influence of a child's conscious *and* unconscious processes on their learning, teachers and EPs should be able to add greater depth, quality and specificity to the support they are currently able to provide.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has introduced the relevance of exploring young people's own reading experiences through the current research study, and has provided an overview of the wider contextual landscape, including the opportunities presented by psychoanalytically-informed methods of enquiry. The psychosocial research methodology will be fully considered in Chapter 3 – Methodology, but first a critical literature review will locate the current study within existing research literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter Overview

This chapter describes the process and outcome of a systematic review of the literature in relation to the current study, as follows:

- a record of the systematic exploration of existing research literature in relation to the social, emotional and psychological experiences of young people who find reading difficult

- a critical appraisal and description of relevant research and findings

- a consideration of issues arising from these findings which are of relevance to the current study

- a justification for the aims and purpose of the current study, including locating it within the research literature to date and setting out potential areas for new knowledge creation

2.1 Literature Review question

This literature review sought to answer the following question:

- What does existing research say about the direct, personal experiences of young people who find reading difficult?

2.2 Search strategy

A literature search was conducted through the EBSCOHost platform across four databases: PsycINFO, PEP Archive, Education Source, and SocINDEX. Searches were undertaken in November and December 2017, and January and March 2018.

2.2.1 Key search terms

Pilot searches in November and December 2017, and January 2018 enabled the development of a combination of key search terms considered appropriate for identifying relevant literature. Terms were grouped under four categories, associated with research participant age group, reading difficulty, educational psychology, and means of expressing experiences. Including a key search terms category around psychosocial terms was discounted following pilot searches as this appeared to limit access to literature of relevance to the literature review question to an unacceptable level, and yielded no additional articles employing a psychosocial methodology. Key search terms were refined for use within final searches undertaken during March 2018. These latest searches also enabled the identification of the most recently published literature.

Terms within each key search term category were separated by the Boolean operator "OR". The Boolean operator "AND" was used between key search term categories. The truncation symbol * ensured that all variations of the word would be identified and included, for example "dyslexi*" for "dyslexia" and "dyslexic".

Where available, limiters were applied to restrict the scope of searches with regard to research population age group, year of publication, publication/material type, and review status. Psychosocial research methods first caught the attention of the academic research community during the early 1980s although they are still not widely used within educational or psychological research. Setting the lower limit for publication year at 1985 was intended to capture existing psychosocial studies alongside more widely used research methods.

Final key search terms used and limiters applied are listed by database in the table at Appendix A.

2.2.2 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion and exclusion criteria were established ahead of the final searches, to ensure that the research papers shortlisted for review would contain sufficient, appropriate information in relation to answering the literature review question. Inclusion and exclusion criteria employed to define papers for review are provided in Table 1.

Table 1 – Inclusion and exclusion criteria employed to define papers for review

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Peer-reviewed empirical research articles published in academic journals	Review or evaluation papers, positioning/discussion papers, conference proceedings, editorials, book reviews, unpublished dissertations, psychoanalytic case notes
Research conducted with an adolescent or young adult population (ages 13-21 years) in/recently out of secondary or higher education	
	Research published before January 1985 (date when researchers began to employ psychosocial research methods)
Research conducted by professionals working in/with an interest in education, e.g. EPs, CPs, specialist/class teachers, SENDCos, academic researchers	Studies measuring/evaluating effectiveness of reading interventions, teaching programmes, instructional/pedagogical approaches
Research exploring young people's self-reported social, emotional and/or psychological experiences of ongoing reading difficulties	Papers measuring/exploring cognitive aspects of reading difficulties
Qualitative studies/small-scale mixed methods studies where qualitative data has been collected with the aim of exploring participants' experiences	Studies focusing on the process of identification/diagnosis of reading difficulties
	Studies where young person's voice/self-reported experience is not present
Studies capturing the direct voice of young people with identified reading difficulties	Large-scale quantitative studies aiming solely to generalise participants' experiences and/or establish statistically significant associations/phenomena
	Studies where reading difficulties were not the primary focus of the research
	Studies with focus on learners of English as an additional language (EAL)

The final literature searches yielded 377 papers. 337 papers were excluded from review on the basis of reading the title alone. In the majority of cases this was due to their clear focus on cognitive aspects of reading difficulties, or on the experiences of adults working with young people rather than of young people themselves. Abstracts were read for the remaining 40 papers, and a further 14 papers were excluded. In 11 cases this was on the basis of an absence of participants' expression of direct, individual experience, for example to support closed responses to standardised questionnaires, or where the focus was on the experiences of those working with young people with reading difficulties. In three cases, participants were either significantly younger or older than the age group stipulated within the inclusion criteria. The remaining 26 papers were read in full to establish the degree to which they met inclusion and exclusion criteria, after which 16 papers were excluded. Appendix A shows the number of papers excluded at each reading stage. Papers read in full and reasons for their inclusion/exclusion are listed at Appendix D.

One further, seminal paper was referred to extensively across many of the articles shortlisted for review (Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). Although this paper did not appear within the searches conducted, its consideration against inclusion and exclusion criteria showed it to be highly relevant to the current study. The decision was thus taken to include this paper within the critical review.

On completion of the application of inclusion and exclusion criteria to papers yielded from the literature search, plus the additional paper described, 11 papers were used to answer the literature review question, "What does existing research say about the direct, personal experiences of young people who find reading difficult?"

2.3 Method of critical appraisal

The 11 papers were screened for quality using an adapted version of Walsh and Downe's (2006) framework for appraising qualitative research (original framework appears at Appendix B).

This was selected in preference to the widely used Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) appraisal checklist for qualitative research (2018) due to Walsh and Downe's inclusion of a reflexivity criterion (2006): researcher reflexivity was considered to be an important dimension to evaluate given the qualitative, psychosocial nature of the phenomena being researched. Where studies included the collection and analysis of quantitative data, elements of Long's (2005) evaluation tool for mixed methods study designs were added to the adapted Walsh and Downe framework (originals at Appendix B and C). Summary tables detailing the critique of each paper are at Appendix E.

The research papers identified for review appear generally to be of good quality, and thus to provide a reliable representation of current knowledge around young people's psychosocial experiences in relation to reading difficulty. Authors were most frequently found wanting with regard to the ways in which ethical issues were addressed. Where this was observed, it was due to the omission of detailed information regarding ethical approval and procedure rather than evidence of dubious ethical practice. Although not in keeping with best practice guidelines for research reporting (Robson, 2011), this may represent authors' editorial decisions in the face of space limitations to allow readers to assume that due process has been followed.

2.4 Literature overview and context

Research literature exploring young people's social, emotional and psychological experiences of reading is scarce, particularly that which seeks to gather direct, individual accounts. An extensive search of the literature yielded only a small proportion of papers which address this phenomenon directly. Of those papers, many have the aim of generalising young people's experiences to a wider population, or of identifying phenomena within a specific population. There is very little existing research which captures the rich experiences of individual young people who find reading difficult.

This is in marked contrast to the wealth of research yielded which focuses on the cognitive aspects of reading difficulties. This disparity is reflected in the large number of papers excluded for review at the earliest stages of evaluation against inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Appendix A). Of the 377 papers yielded from the search of four relevant databases, 11[4] papers were considered to be of sufficient relevance and quality to review (see Appendix D, E).

Six of the 11 papers were studies conducted in the UK (Burden & Burdett, 2007; Cameron, 2016; Collinson & Penketh, 2010; Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Terras, Thompson, & Minnis, 2009). Of the remaining five papers, two were studies conducted in Sweden (Ingesson, 2007; Nielsen, 2011), one in Barbados (Blackman, 2011), one in Greece (Tsovili, 2004), and one in North America (Learned, 2016). All papers had been published within the past 16 years, with the majority published within the past decade. Date limits for the literature searches were set to include all relevant studies published since 1985. Despite this, none of the empirical studies shortlisted for review were published before 2000 (see Appendix D, E). In America, 1989-1999 was declared "the decade of the brain" by then-President, George Bush, directing research attention to many aspects of neuropsychology and neurocognitive function (Library of Congress & National Institute of Mental Health, 1990), and the wealth of activity dedicated to cognitive aspects of reading and reading difficulty may in part reflect this. Humphrey and Mullins (2002) noted that, in common with research into other learning difficulties, research into dyslexia had, to date, focused on causation and treatment. They drew attention to the mismatch between the wealth of anecdotal evidence offered by teachers and practitioners and sparse systematic research evidence in relation to the negative impact on children's self-esteem and self-concept of persistent learning difficulties, including dyslexia. Despite their call for more research, and on a larger scale, the literature suggests that insufficient attention continues to be paid to the affective dimensions of reading development

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[4] Includes additional paper which came to the researcher's attention through being referenced across shortlisted review papers – see Section 2.2 above

and proficiency. Indeed, a common feature of even the most recent papers reviewed is their authors' acknowledgement of the need for a greater understanding of children's and young people's affective experiences of reading (Cameron, 2016; Learned, 2016).

This gap is not specific to any one discipline, and it appears that researchers from several related fields had begun to ask similar questions at a similar time about young people's feelings and experiences in relation to their reading difficulties. Researchers here have launched their enquiry from the fields of educational, clinical and child psychology (Burden & Burdett, 2007; Cameron, 2016; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Ingesson, 2007; Terras et al., 2009), sociology/behavioural science (Nielsen, 2011) and teacher training on inclusion and Special Educational Needs and Disability (SEND) (Blackman, 2011; Collinson & Penketh, 2010; Glazzard, 2010) and literacy development (Learned, 2016).

It should be noted that during the decade within which much of the research was conducted, the nature and existence of dyslexia itself was under scrutiny, most notably through the government-commissioned Rose Report (Rose, 2009) and the extensive work of Elliott and colleagues (Elliott, 2015; Elliott & Grigorenko, 2014; Gibbs & Elliott, 2015). This is discussed in more detail within Chapter 1 - Introduction. It can be assumed that those working within the fields of education and psychology, if not more widely afield, would have had some awareness of the tenet of this debate, although Cameron (2016) is one of very few to make explicit reference to this.

The remainder of this chapter will now discuss the findings of 11[4] papers in relation to the literature review question, before demonstrating the relevance of, and need for, the current study.

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[4] Includes additional paper which came to the researcher's attention through being referenced across shortlisted review papers – see Section 2.2 above

2.5 What does existing research say about the direct, personal experiences of young people who find reading difficult?

First-person accounts were sought from a range of young people and adults about their experiences in relation to identified aspects of their reading difficulties. Although individuals' experiences were understood to be unique, several common areas were identified: self-esteem and self-concept; depth and quality of understanding of reading difficulties among young people and those who teach and support them; and the nature, quality and availability of appropriate help. These themes will now be examined in turn in relation to the 11 review papers. There is necessarily a degree of overlap between them, and they would be most fruitfully considered together as a broad view of participants' experience. Although the literature is small, running through the reviewed papers is a recognition that the psychosocial experiences of adolescents with reading difficulties are not universally positive. This is made more powerful through the knowledge that the experiences described are based on rich, first-person narrative accounts.

2.5.1 Self-esteem and self-concept

Five studies explicitly investigated the impact of persistent reading difficulties on children's and young people's self-esteem and self-concept, although the majority of those reviewed made some reference to this important affective domain. Humphrey and Mullins (2002) investigated the quality and variety of self-esteem and self-concept between 63 dyslexic young people aged 8-15 years, attending mainstream primary and secondary schools, and specialist units for Specific Learning difficulties (SpLD). Gathering quantitative self-concept data via a self-report Self-Description Questionnaire (SDQ) (Marsh, 1990) and qualitative data via individual semi-structured interviews allowed for a rich picture of young people's experiences, and many of the findings confirmed those of previous studies with regard to negative social and academic experiences. Many

of those interviewed reported that school and learning were isolating and excluding experiences. Around a third described themselves as 'lazy', 'thick' or 'stupid', and most participants' negative self-referential statements were related in some way to their dyslexia (Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). Humphrey and Mullins (2002) described this as a consistent, intrusive theme within participants' sense of self across many domains.

Glazzard (2010), referencing Humphrey and Mullins's (2002) findings, reports similar experiences of bullying, poor self-concept and low self-esteem among a group of nine dyslexic 14-15-year-olds in two mainstream secondary schools. His participants too described an ongoing process of self-comparison with peers around specific skills, particularly pre-diagnosis, such as not being able to read aloud as well in class, or generally finding work more difficult. In all cases, making such comparisons had led them to feel 'stupid', 'disappointed' or 'isolated': feeling stupid made some fearful of others seeing their work, and of thinking that there was something wrong with them; one student described feeling disappointed with himself when he realised that he was struggling and thus giving up altogether; several said that finding the work more difficult than others in their class made them feel isolated and left out. However, many of the students said that their experiences improved following a formal diagnosis, since this gave them a tangible means of understanding their difficulties and explaining them to peers. Their negative self-referential comments appeared less frequent and less condemning once a diagnosis of dyslexia was given, and students described feeling less 'stupid' and 'thick'. Glazzard (2010) records this as "a defining moment in terms of shaping their identity and self-esteem" (p. 67). Clearly academic life was still challenging after this point, but Glazzard (2010) describes his participants as confidently 'owning' their label and able to attribute their difficulties to an external factor which was separate from associations with general intelligence and academic ability.

Ingesson (2007) reports a more varied accommodation of the dyslexia 'label': of the 75 teenagers and young adults she interviewed about their experiences of growing up with dyslexia, 13

described feeling relieved at their diagnosis because, like Glazzard's students (2010), they no longer felt stupid, whereas 14 described feeling terrible about being identified with a condition they perceived as painful and embarrassing. Indeed, Ingesson reports that the majority of those interviewed had spent much of their first six years of school feeling different, inferior and stupid because of their reading difficulties (2007). Embarrassment was greatest among younger respondents, who were also less inclined to tell others about their difficulties.

Cameron (2016) records higher education students' sense of feeling like outsiders within many aspects of their learning environment. Like those interviewed by Glazzard (2010) and Humphrey and Mullins (2002), her participants reported relentless self-comparison with peers which led them to conclude that they must be the ones who were deficient.

The association of literacy ability with academic ability is recognised by many authors as a common contributor to low self-esteem, and it appears that for many young people their academic self-concept is shaped by the attitudes and attributions of those around them as much as by their own internal attributions (Burden & Burdett, 2007; Cameron, 2016; Ingesson, 2007; Tsovili, 2004). The negative emotional impact of repeated academic failure is highlighted by many authors, and their frustration echoes that of students themselves at an education system which closely associates reading ability with intelligence and uses literacy skills to assess academic ability (Cameron, 2016; Collinson & Penketh, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). Humphrey and Mullins (2002) respond to what young people have told them by setting out a clear imperative for making teaching and learning more 'dyslexia-friendly', whereas Collinson and Penketh's (2010) university and post-graduate students challenge society's disabling 'lexic' approach more generally and call for a radical shift in attitudes to hidden disabilities.

Burden and Burdett (2007) used qualitative data collected as part of a larger study to explore self-esteem among pupils attending a selective specialist independent school for boys with dyslexia. Highlighting the school's excellent academic and sporting record, they challenge Humphrey and

Mullins's (2002) assumption that problems associated with dyslexia must be a precursor to low self-esteem, learned helplessness, anxiety and depression (p. 78). Like Humphrey and Mullins's (2002) participants attending a specialist SpLD unit, the 8-15-year-olds Burden and Burdett (2007) interviewed appeared to thrive in a setting in which their teachers' expectations were high, the stigma of difference was removed and their social, emotional and academic needs were understood and well met. Participants' poignant accounts of previous difficult experiences within mainstream settings similarly highlight the positive impact on self-esteem and self-efficacy of learning within an environment which takes full account of students' learning needs. This is not to diminish the students' difficulties however, and many describe the ongoing challenge of negotiating their disability within their learning. Burden and Burdett (2007) invited students to share a metaphor for their experience of dyslexia, and many of these suggested barriers or obstacles which interfered with their learning process (p. 79). For some the barrier appeared to be surmountable, such as a wall with paths going around it, while for others they remained insurmountable, such as a door which could not be breached, or a maze with no entrance (pp. 79-80). Psychologists and others working with children and young people often use children's drawings and visual representations as a means of attempting to understand their internal world, particularly in the face of experiences and emotions likely to be challenging (Beaumont, 1991; Beaver, 2011; Moore, 1994). Burden and Burdett (2007) themselves suggest that metaphor offers a valuable means of accessing students' deeper thoughts and feelings, and thus of understanding dyslexic students' lived experience. Frustratingly however, they appear to offer only a rudimentary interpretation of the metaphors they collected, and their data feel ripe for a richer, more nuanced psychodynamic interpretation.

Terras et al. (2009) investigated the relationship between self-esteem, self-concept and social, emotional and behavioural difficulties for 133 dyslexic 8-16-year-olds, using self- and parent-report measures of self-perception, psychosocial adjustment and the perceived impact of dyslexia on aspects of daily life. This was a large, 12-month study which focused on the collection of

quantitative data, although a small number of open questions allowed participants to record more qualitative, personal experiences. Although validity and reliability for the measures used is good, it could be argued that collecting dyslexic students' input solely through written responses may place them under additional stress and potentially compromise their self-esteem still further.

Similar issues regarding the appropriateness of relying on written means of data collection were observed within other studies. Cameron (2016), for example, asked three university students with dyslexia to record their learning experiences in a reflective diary over a three-week period, which she then transcribed and used to inform in-depth interviews with each student. While diary entries are a valuable and well-tested means of accessing personal opinion and experience, their use with those who find reading and writing stressful rather than pleasurable is ethically questionable: requiring students to submit written accounts for the researcher to scrutinise and type up is, it could be suggested, subjecting them to an activity unlikely to enable them to reflect their experiences with the freedom and articulacy they might wish, and thus further threatening their self-esteem; facilitating the creation of voice-recorded 'audio diary' entries may have been a less stressful and exposing way for participants to capture their experiences.

Terras et al.'s (2009) participants demonstrated a significantly poorer perception of their scholastic competence in comparison with students of the same age within the general population, but no significant differences within other aspects of self-esteem, including global self-worth. Social, emotional and behavioural difficulties occurred more commonly within the dyslexic group than the general population, and low self-esteem and poor psychosocial adjustment were highly correlated. Students perceived that their dyslexia had negatively impacted many socioemotional and academic aspects of their life, including their peer/family relationships, confidence, mood, and attitude to school. However, where they and their parents understood their dyslexia and its associated difficulties well, and held positive attitudes to their disability, this correlated with higher levels of self-esteem and more positive peer/family relationships.

All studies demonstrated that understanding and building a positive identity around dyslexia were significant contributors to positive self-esteem and the development of a more balanced self-concept.

2.5.2 Teachers' and young people's understanding of reading difficulties, including dyslexia

2.5.2.1 Teachers' understanding

Participants across all 11 papers referred to teachers' and other adults' understanding of the nature and characteristics of reading difficulty as key to their educational experience.

Nielsen (2011) invited eight children, adolescents and adults with dyslexia to talk to her about what they considered to be the most helpful things that teachers could do for those who found reading and writing difficult. Framing her exploration within a phenomenological life-world methodology supported the development of a rich understanding of her participants' lived experience. Emerging from this rich picture of dyslexic life was students' desire to be seen by their teachers as 'whole' individuals rather than identified solely by their disability, and to be given appropriate time, space and physical and emotional tools with which to learn.   They wanted to be taught by those who knew them well enough both to understand their unique practical and emotional needs and to help them to develop their ability to meet those needs for themselves (Nielsen, 2011, pp. 554, 563).

Using a multiple case study design, Blackman (2011) similarly asked 16 dyslexic 14-16-year-olds in Barbados to talk about teaching and learning approaches they found most helpful. Their responses focused on strategies which promoted their autonomy, engagement and understanding, such as group work, drama and role play, demonstrations, project work, and teachers repeating key information. Blackman concludes that, although specialist knowledge may help, dyslexic students

are as likely to benefit from the same high-quality pedagogical approaches as their non-dyslexic peers.

Cameron's (2016) participants similarly call for higher education professionals to pay greater attention to their experiences in context rather than as isolated cognitive activities, including the impact of earlier educational experiences on their current learning, and their relationships with peers and with those who teach them (p. 235).

Collinson and Penketh (2010) asked six post-graduate students and university academics with reading difficulties to reflect on how these were accommodated and understood in the present and previous stages of their educational career. Participants' narratives reveal experiences of exclusion from learning environments and opportunities which privileged literacy-based approaches, and which made them feel inferior and stupid. Being sent out of class for remedial teaching and intervention, and spending time in a 'special needs hut' were humiliating and left them with a sense of being outsiders to the main enterprise of teaching and learning taking place within their own classroom, and with their own peers. Collinson and Penketh (2010) suggest that their participants were disabled not by their disability per se but by a dominant societal discourse defining academic ability through literacy ability. The tone and approach of the paper locate it within a sociological/psycho-sociological context, and the study's participants are positioned as active agents for bringing about the changes the authors highlight. Indeed, the first author was also one of the study participants. As such, the narratives and interpretations offer a wider-reaching sense of what might be possible, not just for those struggling with reading difficulties, but for a society which determines to think differently about learning disability.

Burden and Burdett (2007) and Humphrey and Mullins (2002) contrast teachers' levels of dyslexia awareness between specialist and mainstream settings, and link pupils' higher levels of self-esteem and academic self-concept with being taught by people who have a clear understanding of their strengths and difficulties. This was more commonly found within specialist settings. Burden

and Burdett's (2007) and Glazzard's (2010) participants were clear that they wanted teachers to understand the nature of their difficulties accurately and in detail, support them effectively, and maintain high academic and social expectations for them. Burden and Burdett (2007) suggest that this is standard practice within independent specialist settings, and attribute their participants' considerable success to attending a school exclusively for dyslexic boys. Glazzard's (2010) participants asked that teachers be given additional training to develop their understanding of dyslexia, which they felt would help them to teach dyslexic students more effectively. Glazzard refutes the need for students to attend a specialist provision in order to achieve academic success, using his own participants as evidence that with the right teaching methods, and an appropriately aspirational and encouraging relationship between teachers and pupils, dyslexic students can make good progress within mainstream educational settings (Glazzard, 2010). This reflects Humphrey and Mullins's (2002) call for mainstream settings to adopt relevant approaches from specialist settings rather than relocating pupils outside the mainstream. Drawing on participants' comments and both cognitive and social theories of learning, Humphrey provides practical ways to develop a multi-sensory teaching and learning environment which enables dyslexic *and* non-dyslexic pupils to learn more effectively (Humphrey, 2003; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002). In a similar vein, Ingesson (2007) challenges educators and other professionals to avoid assuming that negative experiences are inevitable for those with reading difficulties, and to be more proactive in developing their understanding and practice, using qualitative research evidence to bring about pedagogical and relational change.

2.5.2.2 Children's and young people's understanding

Many of the participants in the studies under review talked about the importance of developing their own understanding of their difficulties. Cameron (2016) records higher education students' need to be increasingly flexible in how they communicate their reading disability,

particularly with regard to deciding whether to label themselves as dyslexic. Her three participants said that they were aware of the potential contradiction between their desire to have their condition fully understood and accommodated within their educational setting and their wish to fit in and be seen as normal. Negative self-comparison with non-dyslexic students arose again here, and participants were very sensitive to the possibility that peers may perceive them as taking advantage of the system. All had developed an understanding of their dyslexia as something which made it hard for them to fit into their learning environment, and they employed powerful metaphors to describe their experience, such as being crippled or the weakest child on a school sports team (Cameron, 2016, pp.234-5). Associations between the dyslexia 'label' and self-esteem are also discussed under section 2.5.1, above.

Tsovili (2004) considered the relationship between teachers' attitudes and young people's state and trait anxiety and found that although dyslexic students demonstrated higher state anxiety when reading than their non-dyslexic peers, levels of trait anxiety were comparable between the two groups. She categorised her participants' accounts of their reading experiences under three themes: reading as a challenge or threat; persistence or giving up in the face of reading difficulties; teachers' recognition/absence of recognition of the effort made by students while reading. The degree to which these produced feelings of threat, powerlessness and frustration, or conversely empowered and motivated the student, was in part related to the degree of anxiety they felt about their reading difficulties, which in itself related to their own and their teachers' ability to make sense of and accommodate these. Although some of the correlations were weak, teachers participating in her study demonstrated less irritability and greater patience with anxious dyslexic pupils, suggesting greater understanding and awareness, and the consequent provision of a more pastoral or parental role where necessary. Tsovili (2004) also drew attention to the cultural expectation of Greek teachers and parents that young people will be 'a good child' at home and at school, and wondered whether teachers placed still greater emphasis on this for students who they observed to be

struggling academically. If so, this may lead to lower expectations and academic ambitions for young people with reading difficulties, something which Burden and Burdett (2007) and Glazzard (2010) suggest is unhelpful and unwanted by many dyslexic students.

Terras et al. (2009) also used a correlational analysis to identify associations between the degree to which students and their parents have understood and positively accommodated their dyslexia and their perceived self-esteem. They and Tsovili (2004) both drew their participants from an affluent, middle-class population, characterised by a cohort of parents likely to be highly motivated, articulate and committed to understanding their children's difficulties and securing appropriate support. Taking part in research may also be part of that 'commitment package' and the experiences recorded may thus be reflective of those whose difficulties receive a higher, more motivated level of attention. As such, they cannot be assumed to reflect the experiences of all children with reading difficulties.

2.5.3 What and who young people find helpful

Three researchers, Nielsen (2011), Blackman (2011) and Learned (2016), specifically asked participants what they found helpful within their current and previous learning experiences, although all the papers reviewed mentioned being helped or supported in some form. Participants commonly cited interactions with teaching and support staff as a source of either encouragement, or of frustration and disappointment. At 8-53 years, Nielsen's (2011) nine participants spanned the widest range of ages and educational stages, but all referred to the importance of teachers and other key adults seeing beyond their disability and recognising them as individuals with a mixture of strengths and difficulties; for them, the most positive support was multi-faceted, with appropriate tools being identified and provided, and sufficient time protected to enable students to develop their autonomy and help themselves (Nielsen, 2011, p.563). Learned's (2016) participants similarly

wanted to be seen as 'whole' people, with their non-literacy based skills given as much recognition as their reading and behavioural difficulties.

Nielsen's (2011) selection criteria were that students should be both dyslexic and highly motivated to overcome their difficulty, and the latter characteristic is clearly evident in her participants' accounts. Elsewhere researchers found that students were less motivated to support themselves, and some referred to a culture of learned helplessness commonly observed by those researching and working with children with learning difficulties (Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Tsovili, 2004). Tsovili's (2004) participants, drawn from a middle-class, articulate Greek population, experienced a range of anxiety responses in relation to reading and learning more generally, and Tsovili's (2004) aim was to explore how teacher-pupil interactions might exacerbate or alleviate dyslexic adolescents' anxiety. Those with higher levels of state anxiety in relation to reading expressed their frustration at teachers' failure to recognise their academic efforts, setting of unrealistically high expectations, and absence of physical or emotional support to help students achieve their learning goals (pp. 81-82).

Cameron (2016), and Collinson and Penketh (2010) capture higher education and post-graduate students' accounts of the unhelpful approach of teachers singling them out to read without warning or to provide an ad hoc verbal response in classes and seminar groups. They describe their underlying anxiety in relation to a tendency to scramble their sentences during the process of word retrieval and verbal expression, and how putting them on the spot can increase this anxiety and their susceptibility to making mistakes. Teachers' persistence in encouraging them to read and speak publicly is seen as singularly *un*helpful. The higher levels of state anxiety described here are reflected in Tsovili's (2004) and Terras et al.'s (2009) findings with regard to anxiety, poor self-concept and low self-esteem among dyslexic adolescents.

2.5.3.4 The significance of relationship

Blackman's (2011), Burden and Burdett's (2007) and Glazzard's (2010) studies sit comfortably within a social constructionist epistemology, and the role of social interaction within learning and development is highlighted through the value participants assigned to their interactions with peers, parents and teachers as a contributing factor to all aspects of their educational experience, including their self-esteem and well-being.

In addition to thoughtful and well-informed teachers, participants expressed their reliance on and gratitude for ongoing emotional and practical support from their parents (Burden & Burdett, 2007; Terras et al., 2009). One of Collinson and Penketh's (2010) participants paid tribute to his father's provision of a positive role model for overcoming adversity in education and ongoing support throughout his graduate education, while two others cited their parents' long-term commitment to improving their literacy and providing the necessary emotional support to enable them to survive in what they described as a hostile school environment (Collinson & Penketh, 2010, p. 16).

Learned (2016) conducted a year-long study of the socio-contextual factors contributing to North American adolescents' identification as struggling or proficient readers within their educational setting. Among her highly detailed findings were a recognition of the damaging cultural conflation of reading difficulty with behavioural difficulty, and the value of supportive teacher-student relationships. Although the study was set within the American high school system, Learned's (2016) participants echo the accounts of those within studies reviewed here, and her conclusions appear to address universal characteristics of both the teaching and learning relationship and the conceptualisation of adolescent literacy skills.

Terras et al. (2009) draw attention to the significance of individuals' interactions within their social environment to learning and self-esteem, and promote an ecological perspective, famously

conceptualised within Bronfenbrenner's ecosystemic framework (1979), as a potentially fruitful focus for future research attention (p. 318-9).

The above sections have described the experiences and narratives elicited from young people who find reading difficult. The following section now considers the methodological approaches taken, including sampling strategies and methods of data collection and analysis.

2.6 Methodological approach

The articles selected for review seek to answer questions around young people's social, emotional and psychological experiences of reading. Questions of a psychosocial nature are generally researched using qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, which provide the means of moving away from a positivist view of the world towards one which embraces a more relativist perspective. The studies reviewed here employed a range of methods of data collection and analysis within a qualitative research design. Their value and appropriateness will now briefly be considered alongside a more general review of sampling strategies.

2.6.1 Sample and sampling strategy

Those researchers who provided sampling strategy information used a formal diagnosis of dyslexia as a means of defining an appropriate sample from which to recruit participants, although both the term itself and the validity of the diagnostic criteria applied to it have been the subject of increasing debate since the early years of the current millennium, as previously discussed. In many cases, participants were drawn from a sample of young people and adults who had been diagnosed using a discrepancy model: for an individual's difficulties to be formally identified as dyslexia, they were required to demonstrate both at least average intelligence/general ability, when assessed using

standardised IQ measures, and unexpectedly low reading ability; low intelligence with low reading ability would be taken to indicate that the individual's difficulties lay within a more general cognitive deficit, and were thus not attributable to literacy difficulties per se.

The discrepancy model has now been discredited by many within the educational psychology community, most notably within the Rose Report (2009), which concludes that dyslexia or (un)specific reading difficulty occurs across, and independently from, a range of intellectual abilities. Elliott and Resing (2015) argue that this should invalidate research findings from studies using this means of participant selection. However, they and others concede that academic researchers' continuing adherence to the model within empirical research may be because it offers a means of achieving a sample with a higher degree of homogeneity and reduces the presence of other, potentially conflicting points of differentiation between participants (Elliott & Resing, 2015). Although this is an important consideration for studies using quantitative research methods, it may be less so within qualitative research, where differences in individual experience form part of the data available for analysis and interpretation (Robson, 2011). The widespread use of the discrepancy model within the research selected for review presents a dilemma when appraising their quality which is not easily resolved. For the purposes of the current study, it is simply acknowledged as a tension between researchers' attempts both to achieve homogeneity *and* to present an account of the experiences of dyslexic young people which is representative of those within the 'general dyslexic population' (if such a group can be said to exist).

Researchers employing the discrepancy model also specified that their sample should have no additional co-morbid social, emotional or behavioural difficulties, such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). The significance of diagnosis and the dyslexia 'label' have been considered in relation to young people's own descriptions of their experiences above and will not be revisited here.

Seven of the studies selected recruited participants from an adolescent sample, and thus recorded their experiences in 'real time' or near history (Blackman, 2011; Burden & Burdett, 2007; Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Learned, 2016; Terras et al., 2009; Tsovili, 2004). Three sought participants' retrospective narratives, with higher education and/or mature students and postgraduates recalling their experiences as a reading disabled learner over the course of their educational career to date (Cameron, 2016; Collinson & Penketh, 2010; Ingesson, 2007). Nielsen (2011) recruited children, young people and adults across a wide age range, in order to access a variety of current and retrospective educational experiences.

Researchers varied in whether they recruited participants from a clinical or a general sample, and there appear to have been advantages and disadvantages associated with each approach. Terras et al. (2009) acknowledge the inherent bias associated with recruiting from a clinical or specialist sample, and draw attention to a number of disparities between their sample and that of the general population, which may have had an impact on their findings. Their participants were recruited from a sample of young people who had been referred to a specialist dyslexia institute, and the likely presence of motivated, interested and highly involved parents and carers was recognised as something which may not feature in the experience of all students demonstrating reading difficulties in school. Assessment of socioeconomic status (SES), based on parental occupation, indicated that the SES profile of their sample was significantly higher than that of the general population (Terras et al., 2009). In terms of understanding the impact of self-esteem, social and emotional difficulties, and an understanding of dyslexia, the presence of articulate, motivated middle-class parents cannot be ignored as a contributing factor to young people's potentially more positive psychosocial experiences around their reading difficulties.

2.7 A psychoanalytic approach

Completing my doctoral training at an institution with a long heritage of training EPs and social care professionals in the application of psychoanalytic and systemic theory has provided the opportunity to explore the relevance of these approaches to EP practice. Bibby (2011), Eloquin (2016) and Hyman (2012) write convincingly of the value of applying psychoanalytic thinking to the activity and process of education, and I have become increasingly interested in the new perspectives EPs might gain through using their own emotional and psychological responses as a means of gaining a richer understanding of a given situation.

Although psychoanalytically-informed research has much to say about some aspects of children's learning, acknowledging the contribution of unconscious processes to a child's engagement with reading or writing does not appear to be widely researched or widely practised by education professionals (Bibby, 2011; Eloquin, 2016; Hyman, 2012). However, researchers within the psychoanalytic tradition suggest that children's unconscious psychological defences, triggered to protect them from the anxiety stimulated by negative experiences, may lead them to avoid engaging with literacy-based activities, such as reading and writing (Beaumont, 1991; Canham, 2006bb; High, 2012; Miller, 2015).

2.8 Rationale for the current study

The literature reviewed here demonstrates the richness and relevance of first-hand, narrative data to understanding individuals' experiences at a social, emotional and psychological level. It also highlights a paucity of research exploring the rich, personal experiences of young people with persistent reading difficulties. There is a notable lack of research which considers those experiences through a psychoanalytic lens, and although those studies using a phenomenological methodology offer much of the reflexivity and psychological awareness of a psychosocial approach, their focus

remains with the lived experience of the participant. I wondered whether acknowledging the researcher as an active and 'defended' part of the research process might enable the development of a richer picture still of young people's relationship to reading.

Building on the observations of those working within a psychoanalytic model of teaching and learning, I was interested to explore the hypothesis that for *some* children with identified reading difficulties, the barrier to learning may not be solely a cognitive one, but may have its roots in the child's internal, unconscious domain, and be informed by their ongoing social and emotional experiences (Beaumont, 1991; High, 2012; Miller, 2015; Salzberger-Wittenberg et al., 1999). The prospect of gaining a new perspective on a long-standing area of need is exciting and fits well with my placement LA's current work on developing a robust and comprehensive Local Offer provision around dyslexia and unspecified reading difficulties.

2.9 Summary

The review of existing literature has identified the need for further research to enhance existing knowledge about the social, emotional and psychological experiences of reading for young people who find reading difficult. A detailed, qualitative study which captures the rich experiences of young people themselves would address the apparent paucity of such research. The following chapter presents the research question developed in response to this, and the methodological approach through which it will be answered.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Chapter overview

This chapter presents the research question to be addressed within the current study and defines the methodological approach through which this will be answered. This is presented as:

- an outline of the study's aims and purpose

- a consideration of theoretical and methodological assumptions made

- a definition and delineation of the psychosocial research method

- an outline of the research design

- a description of the ways in which relevant ethical issues were addressed

3.1 Research aims

The aim of the current research study was to develop a richer, more nuanced understanding of the relationship to reading experienced by young people who find reading difficult, at both a conscious and an unconscious level. A new perspective was sought on the impact of persistent reading difficulties on learners' social, emotional and psychological well-being. This was to be achieved by gathering and reflecting on the personal, subjective experiences of young 'struggling readers'.

3.2 Research question

The research sought to answer the following question(s):

- How do young people who find reading difficult experience the activity and process of reading, socially, emotionally and psychologically?

        o   What relationship to reading do young people have who find reading difficult?

        o   What does reading 'feel like' for those who find it difficult?

3.3 Research methodology

The current study asks qualitative questions about young people's social, emotional and psychological experiences and aims to consider these at both a conscious and an unconscious level. A psychosocial methodology supports researchers to work with such questions from both a social and a psychoanalytic perspective.

Psychosocial researchers in the field of education attempt to make sense of learning and academic development in such terms, and although this is an area still in its infancy in many regards, findings to date suggest that this is an illuminating lens through which to explore and understand more fully the unique needs and experiences of students struggling to achieve academic success (Bibby, 2011; Reichardt, 2016).

This was thus considered to be a highly appropriate methodology within which to conduct the current study.

3.3.1 Methodological assumptions

A key psychosocial methodological assumption is that an individual's internal, psychological world and social world are equally and jointly influential in terms of their development and experience: an understanding of research subjects'[3] inner world is gained through knowledge of their experiences in the outer world; conversely, understanding those outer world experiences requires knowledge of the ways in which subjects' inner worlds allow them to experience their outer world

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[3] Hollway and Jefferson's (2013) use of the term research 'subject' rather than 'participant' is philosophical rather than experimental, and refers to the person and how they are theorised.

(Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Data is commonly collected via psychoanalytically-informed interview and observation, and the researcher's own responses to these interactions form part of its subsequent interpretation and analysis (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Hollway, 2008, 2015). Researchers working within this paradigm are required to consider both processes simultaneously when attempting to make sense of individuals' behaviours, attitudes and reported experiences.

3.4 A psychosocial ontology

Psychosocial research has traditionally been located within a critical realist ontology. However, as the psychosocial methodology has developed, its chief proponents have argued that the unique ontological perspective afforded justifies the establishment of a distinct psychosocial ontology, free from the constraints of more established methodological perspectives (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). The ontological position taken by the current study is psychosocial, positing knowledge as something both socially constructed and the product of individuals' conscious and unconscious internal processes. The researcher acknowledges that humans, and human experience, are the product of both internal/psychological and relational/social processes (Clarke, 2008; Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013; Nicholls, 2009).

By framing the current study within a psychosocial ontology, the researcher also acknowledges herself to be a 'defended' research participant, whose dynamic psychic and social realities influence all stages of the research process, including the interpretations made of the data (Beedell, 2009; Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Jervis, 2009).

3.5 A psychosocial epistemology

The corresponding psychosocial epistemology draws heavily on a psychoanalytic epistemological position to determine the means by which socially constructed and individually held realities can be made known (Hollway, 2008, 2015; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). The psychosocial epistemology of the current study posits the researcher's 'knowing' as something which can be achieved through paying attention *both* to what takes place within social interactions between individuals and groups *and* to conscious and unconscious processes at work within individuals, including the researcher.

3.6 Research purpose

3.6.1 An exploratory purpose

The primary purpose of the research was exploratory. Employing a psychosocial methodology demanded a capacity to remain curious and open to whatever narratives were brought. No specific hypotheses were held with regard to what might be seen, heard or experienced within interactions with participants; instead, a more over-arching hypothesis was considered, that psychosocial processes associated with young people's reading and learning experiences would be identified and could be usefully considered throughout the research process.

Psychosocial research methods, including biographical narrative interviewing and infant observation, have not yet been widely used within educational research, or with a young adolescent population. This meant that there was also an exploratory purpose to the research design itself with regard to how successfully the chosen data collection and analysis methods could be used with the young people whose experiences were sought. Elements of the design are discussed further under Research Design, below.

3.6.2 An emancipatory purpose

Providing young people with an opportunity to give voice to their subjective experiences can be perceived as empowering, and is in keeping with the call of Scherer (2016), Alderson and Morrow (2011) and others for young participants to be actively involved in the research process.

An emancipatory purpose is also in keeping with the psychoanalytic underpinnings of the narrative interview method of data collection, and it was hoped that participants would find it helpful to talk to someone within the context of a setting in which their experiences were valued and taken seriously. Although no therapeutic interpretation of the data was sought or offered within the interviews, the possibility was considered that interviews may have contributed to participants' increased confidence that things might change for the better. Lawrence's successful counselling interventions to support reading development (1973) offered evidence to support this possibility.

The degree to which this research proves to be truly emancipatory will, of course, be determined by ongoing professional response to the findings, and the degree to which these can be communicated and taken up by others, including those working with the participants themselves.

3.7 Research design

3.7.1 Participants

Participants in the current study were sought in accordance with the following selection criteria:

- 12-14-year-old male and female students (UK school years 8-9);
- attending a mainstream secondary school within the area covered by the local authority (LA) in which my training placement was based;

- identified in school with a persistent reading difficulty: this was defined as a measurable difficulty with reading which had been identified during primary school and persisted to the present day; this could include, but was not limited to, dyslexia;

- the identified reading difficulty had been targeted with specific literacy intervention(s) in school for at least 18 months. This was a cumulative total, and interventions need not have run consecutively (e.g. student may have had some intervention during primary school, and then further intervention once in secondary school). The aim was to identify students whose literacy skills had been targeted for additional support over much of their school career, without sufficient impact for this to be withdrawn.

3.7.2 Selection and recruitment

Participants were recruited as a purposive sample on my behalf by the SENDCo of a large secondary school within the area served by my LA Educational Psychology Service (EPS). I was introduced to the school by my EPS placement supervisor, who had until recently been the school's Link EP. To avoid potential conflicts of interest or confusion with regard to practitioner and researcher roles, the decision was taken not to recruit participants from the secondary school for which I am the Link TEP.

The school's SENDCo and her deputy were sent information prepared for school leadership teams and a flyer for the parents of prospective participants [Appendix G]. The SENDCo selected five potential participants according to the stated inclusion criteria (see Participants, above) and sent out the initial research materials to the parents of those students on my behalf. One parent responded to say that she did not wish her child to take part. The four remaining parents were sent full research materials by email and by post, via the SENDCo and the school's Learning Support

Administrator. I had no access to parents' or students' personal data until parents had given their informed consent to their child taking part in the study.

Following email and postal reminders, three parents gave the SENDCo their verbal consent to their child taking part, and confirmed that they would return written consent via the school office. These three parents and their children were invited to an initial meeting within a planned two-hour drop-in session in school, to enable me to gather background information about each student, including details of any significant emotional experiences and the degree to which these had been accommodated, and to secure informed written consent/assent from parent and student. Parents had been sent a Parents' Information Sheet and Consent Form and Participants' Information Sheet and Assent Form [Appendix G] as part of the original invitation process, and further copies were prepared for the drop-in session. The session was held in a private meeting room in the middle of the school day. Parents had been told that they could contact me to arrange another time to meet if this date was not convenient for them.

One parent attended the meeting and, following a 20-minute discussion about the study and relevant aspects of her son's learning experiences and development, gave her written consent to him taking part. Her son joined this meeting, and the study was discussed with him in full, using the contents of the Participants' Information Sheet and Assent Form. An opportunity was given for him to ask any questions he wished, before he was invited to decide whether he wished to take part. He provided his written assent and returned to his lesson.

The two remaining parents said that they would be unable to attend meetings in school due to work and family commitments, and returned their written consent via the school SENDCo. Although a face to face meeting was preferable, this no longer seemed practical and a decision was taken to speak to these parents by phone instead. In each case, the study was discussed within a 20-minute phone call, and additional information was gathered before ascertaining that they were happy for their child to be interviewed and observed in school.

Following these calls, I met the two students in school to discuss the study, again using the Participants' Information Sheet and Assent Form [Appendix G]. One gave their written assent at the end of our meeting, but the other appeared unsure and asked if they could have more time to think about whether they wanted to take part. After subsequent discussions with the SENDCo and their assigned school Teaching Assistant (TA), they declined to participate. Although disappointing, this highlighted the importance of attending to the views of young people regarding consent/assent, and recognising them as active participants in the research process (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Powell, Fitzgerald, Taylor, & Graham, 2012).

The original research design had stipulated three participants, and further attempts were made to recruit a third student via a second mainstream secondary school within the same LA. Research materials were sent to an identified member of the school's leadership team who agreed to contact prospective parents, but no further students were forthcoming. Given the imperative to maintain the time schedule set for research activities, including data collection, a decision was taken to conduct the study with just two students.

Two 12-year-old boys were recruited to the study. Both were currently in UK school year 8 and were studying at the same mainstream secondary school in a UK market town. Each boy had been identified as having a difficulty with reading during their first three years of primary school. Despite a series of targeted literacy interventions in primary and secondary school, both boys' difficulties had persisted, and secondary school staff reported that there had been limited impact on their reading progress. This judgment was based on standardised scores achieved within termly assessment of reading comprehension since joining secondary school. Table 2, below shows how participants met selection criteria.

All identifying features of the boys' school, home location and family were anonymised, and pseudonyms were assigned to each boy for the duration of the study. A pro-forma record, including

a reflective pen picture, was written for each student to support the consideration of the 'whole'

person. These records are provided at Appendix I.

Table 2: Participant information against selection criteria

Student	Age/UK School Year	Any diagnosed/ identified condition?	Secondary school baseline assessment - reading level, SAS*	Interventions, where known (name, duration, school year (Y))	Current reading/ spelling level, SAS*
'Isaac'	12:06 / Year 8	Dyslexia Sensory processing difficulty	July 2016: • Y6 SAT**: Reading = 100† Sept 2016: • Y7 CAT***: Verbal reasoning = 80 • Y7 Suffolk Reading Test = 75 (†better than expected SAT result so reading not tested in secondary school until March 2017)	• Group & 1:1 interventions completed in Y2-Y6 – names of interventions not provided but parent & student report positive adult attention/support in Y5/6. • Y7 & Y8 school-wide literacy catch-up programme – low attaining students disapplied from modern foreign languages to provide additional 6 hours to target literacy skills. Candidates initially identified from Y6 teachers & SAT results; Y7 assessments provide further evidence of need for programme. • Toe by Toe (Cowling & Cowling, 1993) (3-4 x 10-minute 1:1 sessions/ week, Sept 17-July 18)	Sept 2017: Single word spelling = 69 Reading comprehension (Diagnostic Reading Analysis) = 65
'Harry'	12:5 / Year 8	AD(H)D	July 2016: • Y6 SATs**: Reading = 85 Sept 2016: • Y7 CAT***: Verbal reasoning = 86 • Suffolk Reading Test = 69	• Easyread (DM Education, 2017) (completed 2014 (Y4)) • Y7 & Y8 school-wide literacy catch-up programme – low attaining students disapplied from modern foreign languages to provide additional 6 hours to target literacy skills. Candidates initially identified from Y6 teachers & SAT results; Y7 assessments provide further evidence of need for programme. • Toe by Toe (Cowling & Cowling, 1993) (3-4 x 10-minute 1:1 sessions/ week, Sept 17-July 18)	Sept 2017: Single word spelling = 69 Reading comprehension (Diagnostic Reading Analysis) = 71

(*Standardised Assessment/Standard Score – a score of 100 is expected, with scores of 95 or less suggesting an area of concern; **Statutory Assessment Tests; ***Cognitive Ability Test)

3.7.3 Data collection

3.7.3.1 The psychoanalytic in psychosocial research

Hollway and Jefferson (2013) have drawn on psychoanalytic principles and approaches to develop the data collection methods used within psychosocial research. In a manner akin to psychoanalysis, knowledge and meaning are created through the research subject's interaction with, and interpretation by, a second 'subject', the researcher. The researcher is thus actively involved in interpreting and articulating the subject's experience at all stages of the research process. Collecting data for the current study using psychoanalytically informed methods of free association and infant observation required an acknowledgement that both researcher and researched were 'psychologically defended', that is to say their responses to one another and the material generated within the research setting were understood to be influenced by a range of dynamic conscious and unconscious internal processes (Beedell, 2009; Gilmour, 2009; Hollway, 2008; Jervis, 2009).

The phenomenon of psychological defences was first conceptualised by Freud and further developed by Klein within a theory of object relations (Lanyado & Horne, 2009) as a means of explaining the unconscious communications by which individuals are believed to defend themselves against primal experiences of anxiety. Klein suggests that such defences are developed in response to our earliest childhood experiences. Faced with feelings which we fear may overwhelm or annihilate us, we use these defences to relocate them outside the realm of our own psyche and within the realm of another individual or setting. Commonly recognised unconscious processes at play within social relationships and interaction include projection, transference and splitting. All were observed and experienced within the current study. These are briefly defined as follows:

    i.   ***Projection and splitting***

Individuals' tendency to attribute unrealistically good or bad characteristics to others is seen as a means of 'splitting off' parts of themselves they considered bad and 'projecting' these

into another person or situation. Klein terms this the paranoid-schizoid position, and recognises it as a position which individuals commonly resort to in the face of threats to our belief in a 'good' object. In the school environment, a student's ridicule of others as stupid may be a projection of their own feelings of failure. Similarly, a teacher who is feeling incompetent may project these feelings into their pupils, perhaps by accusing them of not trying hard enough.

ii.   ***Introjection and containment***

In contrast to the paranoid-schizoid position, Klein's depressive position describes being able to accept or 'hold on to' both good and bad aspects simultaneously. Such a position is understood to develop over time through the consistent, ongoing experience of what Bion (1962) defined as containment, or having one's projected feelings taken in (introjected) and processed by another and given back in a more bearable form. The mother-child dyad provides the earliest model for such a process. In schools, this can be powerfully seen where a teacher or learning mentor listens to their pupil's worries about an aspect of their learning and thinks through with them how they might best approach the problem.

iii.   ***Transference and countertransference***

Transference and countertransference are often referred to within the context of a therapeutic relationship. Transference describes a phenomenon whereby an individual brings past feelings, expectations and desires into the present interaction or relationship. Countertransference describes the response or pattern of behaviour which the recipient of those past feelings is drawn into within the current situation. In schools, this might occur where a student transfers their feelings and experiences within a parental relationship to their interactions with their teacher.

3.7.3.2 The role of the researcher

Considering these processes within a research context allows the researcher to develop an understanding of participants' inner feelings and motivations in relation to a given area of interest or concern.

The 'defended' researcher can make unique knowledge known through reflective and interpretative analysis of the data generated within data collection activities, such as interviews and observations (Beedell, 2009; Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Hollway, 2008; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). It follows that the interpretations they make of the data will also be unique (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009).

3.7.3.3 The social in psychosocial research

Drawing on the object relations tradition established by Klein, Bion and others (Hollway, 2008; Lanyado & Horne, 2009), a psychosocial approach emphasises the significance of the social or societal setting within which individuals' internal phenomena occur (Hollway, 2008). Clarke and Hoggett (2009) describe psychosocial research as an exploration of "the intersections between personal biography and discourse", or the ways in which individuals "live" in social formations (p.7).

3.7.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

The aim of the current research was to explore the relationship to reading of young people who find reading difficult. This was achieved through eliciting the narratives of two young people around some of the ways in which they are required to engage with the activity and process of reading, within the framework of a semi-structured interview using Hollway and Jefferson's Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) technique (2013). Each participant was interviewed twice.

Interviews were held roughly four weeks apart, in a private meeting room within the participants' school. Each interview lasted for approximately 50 minutes.

The FANI is considered particularly appropriate for exploring emotionally charged and identity-based issues (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008) and thus appeared a highly suitable means of exploring the current participants' emotional, social and psychological experiences as 'struggling readers' for much of their educational career. Based on the psychoanalytic practice of free association, it was developed to enable researchers to elicit narratives from research subjects which were free from conscious, rational responses and logic, and which went beyond surface-level, discursive accounts (Hollway, 2009; Hollway & Jefferson, 2008, 2013). This is achieved through the use of open questions designed to encourage the recollection of specific events or situations, and thus to elicit personal narratives rather than generalised responses. The emotional significance of the interviewee's recollections is understood to lie within the particular associations they make between ideas within their narrative, and in relation to the listener or interviewer, and the researcher and research subject are conceptualised as co-producers of meaning (Clarke, 2008, pp. 120-121). The production of the subject's meaning frame is facilitated by four key principles (Clarke, 2008; Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013): the use of open-ended questions, avoidance of 'why?' questions, use of respondents' own ordering and phrasing, and holding to the aim of eliciting a story or narrative.

Interview questions and prompts were developed for the current study in line with these four principles, and are presented in Table 3 (see p.62). Interviews followed a semi-structured format, with open questions presented to each participant in a form designed to elicit specific narrative examples or accounts. The two participants were asked the same broad questions, but the direction of the conversation within each of these was guided by the participant according to the associations they made to each question or topic raised. This was to ensure that interviews captured issues and experiences meaningful and relevant to them, in line with the psychosocial principles of

the FANI method (Hollway, 2008; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Questions during the first interview focused on participants' experiences of learning to read, ongoing requirements and opportunities to read in and out of school, and their sense of identity as a (non-)reader. Second interview questions were closely informed by each participant's first interview responses, allowing the interviewer to follow up on key themes identified and areas of particular interest arising through the transcription and review process.

Interviews drew upon FANI principles and elements of free association, allowing students to develop their narrative as they wished. The researcher was interested to explore the potential significance of associations made by each student during the development of their narrative, and to consider their developed narrative as a whole. Attention was paid both within the interviews and during subsequent transcription and review to the verbal and non-verbal content of participants' narratives, the associations made within and between these narratives, and dominant themes identified from within the interview as a whole. Acknowledged as a co-producer of meaning, the researcher's own avoidances and associations made during each interview were also noted and considered as a means of developing a richer understanding of students' experiences.

Hollway and Jefferson's original FANI model (2013) was developed around two interviews with adult participants, although some studies have extended this to three or more interviews (e.g. Hollway, 2015). A small number of studies have used the FANI with an older adolescent population (e.g. Reichardt, 2016), but to date it has rarely been used with younger adolescents. Thus, although semi-structured research interviews have been more widely used with 12-17-year-olds (Burden & Burdett, 2007; Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002), it was not clear how quickly the current 12-year-old participants would engage with the FANI process, and whether sufficient rapport could be built within two interviews for them to feel able to offer their own narrative accounts. A third interview was thus planned for, and ethical approval gained, should this have been needed to ensure that sufficient interview data had been collected for the study. This was

included within the information given to participants, although participants were told during initial meetings that a third interview may not be necessary. In the event, both students engaged fully with the interview process from the outset, and it was judged that sufficient data had been collected to enable removal of the third interview. Thus, Hollway and Jefferson's two-interview model (2013) was followed, with the first being used to gather narrative responses to questions around particular aspects of reading and reader identity, and the second to explore key areas of interest emerging from the first interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013).

Narrative techniques are designed to liberate interviewees from the pressure to provide a generalised, stock response, or to offer the 'right' answer. Nonetheless, younger participants may find it challenging to generate and sustain a narrative within an interview situation, and I was mindful of the students' potential anxiety around speaking to someone with whom they were not familiar, and the possibility that their known literacy difficulties may make it harder for them to put their thoughts and ideas into words. Grid Elaboration Methodology (GEM) (Joffe & Elsey, 2014), a psychoanalytically-informed research method used as an alternative to, or alongside, the FANI, employs drawing frames to allow participants to structure and capture key elements of their subsequent narrative within free-hand drawings. Although the FANI was preferred to the GEM for the current study, tools such as the GEM drawing grid were felt to be a practical means of reassuring and supporting participants in the process of telling their stories, should they need it. A box of drawing materials, including a simple drawing grid, was thus prepared ahead of the interviews and offered to participants at the outset as a means of supporting and communicating their ideas should they wish. In the event, both participants talked freely and at length for the duration of their two interviews and did not take up the offer to use these resources.

Table 3: Questions & prompts for Interview 1, Participants 1 & 2

Area to explore	Question	Prompt for further response, clarification, etc. – as needed
Learning to read [to elicit feelings, memories, experiences associated with the process of learning to read – how/when they realised that they couldn't easily do something others appeared to find straightforward … if they did realise this]	**Can you tell me something about you learning to read, or being taught to read?**	*It can be from any time you remember … when you were little perhaps, or when you were older, like you are now*
Identity as a reader/non-reader [to elicit feelings & thoughts/perceptions about their identity – as a reader vs. other aspects of their identity?] [eliciting identification with others vs. isolation if they're the only one they know who struggles to read well … sense of self/self-concept, any compensatory behaviours/roles/identities?]	**I wonder if you could tell me about you as a reader … how you would describe yourself ... how you see yourself when you're reading in class** **Can you tell me about anyone else in your family, or one of your friends, who finds reading hard?**	*You can think about what someone else would say if you like … maybe your friends, teachers, parents … What would they say about you and your reading?* *… what would your mum say?* *… what about your friends?* *… how about your teacher?*
Ongoing experience of reading - learning need - English - to learn other subjects [eliciting feelings/experiences around engaging in process potentially fraught with difficulty, stress, anxiety, etc. – in front of peers, in small group, when alone] [eliciting feelings around being unable to do something others seem to find easy; doing in front of peers, friends, etc; understanding/lack of among teachers, other adults, peers, who else?]	**Now I'd like to hear about some times when you *have* to read, or you're *expected* to read – in school maybe, or for homework … Can you tell me something about that …** **Can you tell me about a time when you've *not* been able to read something?**	*I was wondering about (one of) those times, when you have to read something …* *… maybe a reading book, or a text book, or something else* *I was thinking about an English lesson, like the one I saw, when [Teacher's name] was reading Private Peaceful …* *… I wonder how that feels … when you're sitting in class, trying to do that (pick up on any egs. participant has given) …*

Other ways of reading - technology, social media, comic books, phone - for pleasure/choice [eliciting presence/degree/engagement with 'reading for pleasure' vs 'reading to learn' vs 'reading to stay connected' …	**Can you tell me something about the different *ways* you do reading?** **… *where* you do reading? … or *when?*** **I'm thinking also about any times when you *choose* to read something, rather than *having* to do it?**	*Prompts re. different types of reading …* *Do you read things online? On your phone? Tablet? Laptop?* *Newspapers/magazines/comics? Graphic novels?* *What about social media?* *Posting things, reading other people's things, searching for things, messaging, texting …*
Presence & nature of support [eliciting self-concept, self-efficacy, positive/supportive presence, feelings associated with being identified as needing help … positive and negative aspects …]	**And finally, can you tell me about something (or someone) that helps you (or has helped you in the past) with your reading?**	

3.7.3.5 Classroom observation

The aim of the current study was to develop a richer understanding of participants' relationship to reading, including aspects of their identity and social relationships. Psychoanalytically-informed classroom observation offered an additional perspective on what participants' reading experiences might be, through paying attention to conscious and unconscious processes at work within the learning environment in which reading and literacy activities were most commonly located.

The observation of psychosocial research subjects provides a means of gathering an additional perspective on their experiences which is not bound by language and words (Hollway, 2008, 2015) and which thus enables the researcher to experience something of subjects' affective relationship to their environment. Paying attention to my own responses to what I observed, both within the observation itself and during subsequent reflection and recording, contributed to the meaning I was able to make of participants' experiences.

Perceiving that there are "conscious aspects of identity that can be articulated verbally in an interview format, and other aspects that operate at less accessible levels", Hollway (2008, p. 140) has successfully combined psychoanalytically-informed infant observation techniques with the FANI to facilitate researchers' access to both the relational, embodied, and less conscious aspects of identity formation *and* more everyday relational practices (ibid., p.141).

Two 55-minute observations of each student were conducted approximately four weeks apart in a typical English lesson. Infant observation techniques were used to notice and reflect on the student's learning relationships, engagement with the physical and affective aspects of the lesson, and roles and identities within the class group. The class teacher's verbal assent to the observation was gained ahead of each lesson. Students were told ahead of the lesson that the observations would take place, via text communication with parents, as agreed during initial meetings. On each

occasion I sat at the back of the classroom, within clear view of but not in close proximity to the target student. No interaction took place between researcher and researched.

To enable full attention to be paid to all that was happening at an external and internal level, no written notes were made during the observation itself. Instead, each observation was written up as detailed reflective process notes as soon as possible after leaving the session. These notes were shared and reflected on within dedicated psychosocial supervision sessions, alongside interview notes and transcripts. As such, they were considered as an additional data source to inform the identification and interpretation of latent psychoanalytic themes within each participant's narratives.

Dedicated psychosocial supervision facilitated the development of a fuller understanding of each student, and of potential hypotheses with regard to the impact of both conscious and unconscious factors on their relationship to, and experience of, reading.

3.7.4 Data capture

Interviews were recorded on a hand-held digital recording device, and transcribed verbatim by the researcher, incorporating pauses, sighs, gestures and other observed non-verbal communication.

3.7.4.1 Reflective Research Diary

Reflective notes were recorded by hand or as typed script before and after each interview, and in response to thoughts arising from the data during the transcription process.

Observation notes were recorded in a reflective research diary immediately after each observation, and typed up as reflective process notes on a password-protected laptop.

Additional reflective notes about all aspects of the research process were recorded in a reflective research diary or included as background/additional information to accompany the interview transcripts.

To facilitate consideration of the 'whole' person at all stages of the research process, a pro-forma case record, incorporating a reflective pen portrait, was created for each participant (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Pen portraits were informed by initial conversations with participants' mothers, assessment and background data provided by school Learning Support staff, and my discussions with participants themselves. Pro forma case records appear at Appendix I.

3.7.5 Data analysis

Free association is commonly used within the context of psychosocial research interviews and observations (Clarke, 2008; Hollway, 2008, 2015; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Hollway and Jefferson (2013) argue that eliciting a narrative which is structured according to free association principles enables the researcher to identify concerns and motivations which are unlikely to be visible using more traditional research methods; avoidance, contradiction, and other incoherencies within the narrative, which may be considered an irritation and a threat to reliability within other research methods are here valued for the insight they provide into the subject's unconscious anxieties and their attempts to defend against them (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013, p. 34). The subsequent analysis and interpretation of such data offers a richer, more nuanced picture of the subject's emotional, social and psychological experiences (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). The current study drew on FANI principles and utilised elements of free association during the interviews, allowing each student to make associations and develop their narrative as they wished (Clarke, 2008; Hollway, 2008, 2015; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Those associations were then considered as part of the subsequent exploration and analysis of each student's developed narrative. In keeping with the acknowledgement within the FANI of the 'defended' interviewer's contribution as a co-producer

of meaning, the researcher's own avoidances and associations made during each interview were also noted and considered as part of the analysis.

It is important to note that, although the FANI is informed by psychoanalytic techniques, the interviewer-researcher is not working therapeutically with the interviewee, and interpretation of the interviewee's narrative takes place *outside* the interview, as part of the data analysis process, rather than directly with the interviewee, as it would in the therapy room. This was clearly explained to participants and their parents during our initial meeting.

Braun and Clarke (2006), Hollway and Jefferson (2013), and Jervis (2009) recommend that psychosocial researchers transcribe interviews themselves as a means of enabling immersion in the data from the earliest opportunity, and remaining engaged with the emotional experience of the research interaction (Hollway, 2008). The transcription process did indeed provide a powerful means of accessing the emotions experienced and expressed by each of the participants, and the researcher's responses to them. Engaging with the data in this way thus became the first stage of analysis.

3.7.5.1 Thematic Analysis

A thematic analysis was conducted on the interview transcripts, following Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis principles. Table 4 (see page 70) shows the phases of analysis followed within the current study, adapted from Braun and Clarke's phased approach (2006, p. 35). A series of themes were identified in relation to each participant's reading experiences. A deductive approach was taken, with codes and themes being identified according to how they captured something important about the research question and represented "some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 10). In both participants' cases this was how they spoke about their experiences of reading and the associations they made in response to

initial questions about learning to read, reader identity, and their ongoing experiences of/need for reading.

For each student, their two interviews were considered together as one data set, and each student was considered separately: the aim of the research was to develop a rich understanding of individual experience, rather than to generalise between students' experiences. Two data sets were thus presented for analysis, one per student.

Coding of interview transcripts was initially done by hand, and then using MAXQDA coding software, version 18.0.5 (MAXQDA, 2018). Once codes had been developed and assigned, work was again done by hand to identify key semantic themes and sub-themes. A coded interview transcript for one of the students, Isaac is provided at Appendix H. This reflects the semantic coding which had been completed at the point when the analysis switched from working electronically using MAXQDA software (MAXQDA, 2018) to working by hand. Further coding was done after this time, including the merging and refinement of some themes, and the transcript is offered as representative evidence of the ongoing, iterative nature of the thematic analysis process.

Following the identification of semantic themes, the analysis turned to the identification and development of latent themes and sub-themes within each data set. This included the consideration of avoidances and associations made by the researcher-interviewer as well as the interviewee, with the aim of developing a richer understanding of students' experiences as 'whole' subjects, in keeping with the psychosocial nature of the study. Latent analysis requires the researcher to employ a higher degree of interpretation when considering the significance of codes and their relevance to identified sub-themes and themes (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Coding the interview transcripts proved complex as the students' narratives were replete with meaning, and what was expressed at a semantic level could be interpreted in a number of ways at a latent level. To support this and ensure that themes identified and conclusions drawn were sufficiently honest and trustworthy, and appropriately captured something of the experience of the 'whole' research subject, the researcher drew on

process notes from observations, notes from psychosocial supervision, pro forma case notes and reflective research diary entries, in addition to interview transcripts (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013).

Latent coding necessitated making changes to some labels assigned when coding at the semantic level, in line with the development of latent sub-themes and themes. Appendices K-R provide tables which illustrate the relationship between codes, sub-themes and themes at a semantic and a latent level for each student, and show the segmented text extracts assigned to each code.

Thematic maps were generated for each student, to illustrate the relationship between themes and sub-themes, and these are presented in Chapter 4 – Findings.

Table 4: Process of thematic analysis of interview data (based on phased approach developed by Braun and Clarke (2006))

Phase	Description of process
1. Familiarisation with data	Replaying recorded interviews Transcribing recorded interviews Reading and re-reading transcripts Noting down initial thoughts and ideas in transcript margins and reflective research diary at all three stages
2. Generating initial semantic codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across each data set, collating data relevant to each semantic code
3. Searching for semantic themes	Collating codes into potential semantic themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4. Reviewing semantic themes	Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set. Generating a thematic map of the analysis
5. Defining and naming semantic themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells. Generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Generating latent codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across each data set, collating data relevant to each latent code, drawing on semantic codes and relabelling where necessary. Reading, reviewing and drawing on process notes from observations, reflective research diary entries, pro-forma case records, psychosocial research supervision, and notes and ideas from data familiarisation phase
7. Searching for latent themes	Collating codes into potential latent themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme Reading, reviewing and drawing on process notes from observations, reflective research diary entries, pro forma case records, psychosocial research supervision, and notes and ideas from data familiarisation process
8. Reviewing latent themes	Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set.
9. Defining and naming latent themes	Ongoing analysis and interpretation to refine the specifics of each theme, including drawing on process notes from observations, reflective research diary entries, pro-forma case records, psychosocial research supervision, and notes and ideas from data familiarisation process. Generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
10. Reporting findings	Final analysis opportunity. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples Final analysis of selected extracts Presenting findings for each student, verbally and diagrammatically, through thematic maps Relating analysis back to research question and literature, and forward to implications for EP practice, producing a scholarly and trustworthy report of the analysis

3.7.5.2 Reflexivity

Thematic analysis is a multi-level, iterative process. Throughout the analysis, my own reflections, developing thoughts and observations were recorded alongside specific coded extracts within handwritten notes and using the comments and memo features within MAXQDA 18.0.5 (MAXQDA, 2018). Where appropriate, these are included within the reported findings as further supporting evidence for a given code or sub-theme alongside extracts from the participants' interview transcripts. An overview of the memos generated during the electronic analysis of Isaac's transcript is provided at Appendix J.

Frequent reflexive comments and notes were hand written within printed transcripts, and using the comments and memo features of MAXQDA alongside coded extracts within electronic transcripts. These enabled the capture of developing thoughts around themes and sub-themes, particularly with regard to the identification and interpretation of latent themes, and the potential links between narrative and observational data.

3.7.5.3 Reliability, validity and the 'defended researcher'

Issues of validity and reliability are commonly raised in connection with psychosocial research. Hollway and Jefferson (2013) suggest that these cannot be addressed in the same way as they might within more traditional qualitative research methods, but should be more appropriately reframed as a demonstration of honesty, sympathy and respect at all stages of the research process.

As previously described, a psychosocial approach considers the researcher's own experiences and reflections as part of the data available for analysis and interpretation. The aim is for the researcher to use themselves as a research tool, paying attention to dynamic physical and emotional processes at work in them and in the research relationship which exists between them and the research subject. Working with psychoanalytic concepts such as mirroring, transference, projection

and projective identification, the researcher's experiences can thus be considered within the context of what they might communicate about the research subject's experiences.

To ensure that these 'below the surface' experiences were examined with appropriate rigour, they were considered within dedicated psychosocial research supervision sessions, held regularly throughout the data analysis phase of the study. Tentative hypotheses with regard to the potential insights the researcher's experiences might offer into the experiences of the research subject were considered in the light of surrounding evidence and identified themes emerging from interview and observation data.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval to conduct the research was granted by the Tavistock Research Ethics Committee (TREC) in July 2017 – see Appendix F. No further approval was required by the Local Authority within which the research was to be conducted. However, the study was discussed in full with senior members of the EPS, including the Assistant Principal Educational Psychologist (APEP) and Year 2 and 3 placement supervisors, at various stages during the research process.

Conducting research with young people requires careful consideration of a number of ethical issues, including informed consent, right to withdraw and confidentiality. These were addressed within the current study as follows:

3.8.1 Consent, assent and right to withdraw

Recruiting young participants via their school setting required consideration of the inherent power differential between students, staff members and parents, and it was important to ensure that students did not feel coerced into participating by the adults who supported and cared for them. All relevant ethical guidelines and principles around research participation were explained in face to face

meetings with each student, particularly with regard to free and informed consent/assent and the right to withdraw. In addition to gaining parents' informed written consent to their children's participation in the study (The British Psychological Society, 2014), students' informed written assent was sought at the outset of the study and again at the beginning of each research interview [Young Person's Assent Form 2 - Appendix G].

Students and their parents were informed at the outset of the study that students could withdraw from the research at any point, without needing to provide a reason for their decision.

3.8.2 Safety and well-being

Care was taken to safeguard the emotional and physical well-being of participating students at all stages of the research process, including familiarisation with their school's safeguarding protocol and securing contact information for the Designated Safeguarding Lead, Child Protection Officer and appropriate pastoral support staff members before initial interviews were held.

Students were told ahead of their first interviews that, although all data would be anonymised and identities would not be revealed within written or spoken accounts of the study, it would be necessary to report to the school Safeguarding Lead any information they shared which suggested that they or other individuals might be at risk of harm.

The psychosocial nature of the study invited young people to share experiences personal to them, and I actively sought to ensure that each student shared only as much information as they were comfortable with, within the bounds of a warm, empathic research relationship. Although it was anticipated that participants would find it helpful to discuss their experiences, it was important to be aware that they may have found it difficult to consider aspects of an activity which has always been challenging for them, or to consider unsatisfactory areas of their life experience. Time was built into interview schedules to allow me to spend additional time if needed with any student who

became upset during the interview, to ensure that before returning to class they were restored to the emotional state in which they began the session. I also familiarised myself with appropriate pastoral staff members to refer students on to, should they require further support beyond the end of the interview. One student did become upset during our first interview, and we discussed whether he wished to continue; he reiterated his desire to complete the interview, and our discussion during the remaining time was sufficient to restore him to his original state before he returned to his lessons.

3.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

The Data Protection Act 1998 was adhered to throughout. All data was anonymised at the earliest opportunity, and pseudonyms were applied to participants and locations for the duration of the research.

Audio recordings of interviews were shared only with my research supervisors, and were stored within a locked filing cabinet. Recordings will be destroyed once the research process has been completed. Anonymised interview transcripts and process notes were stored on a password-protected laptop and in a locked filing cabinet.

Although participants' identities were anonymised, the small sample size for this study meant that there was a possibility that they may recognise themselves and their words within written research reports. Participants and their parents were advised of this before giving their consent/assent.

This chapter has described the aims and purpose of the current study, and outlined the methodology used to collect data relevant to answering the research question set. The following chapter now presents an account of the analysed data.

Chapter 4 – Findings

Chapter overview

This chapter describes the findings from the current study, presenting for each participant:

- an overview of the overarching themes and key sub-themes identified through a thematic analysis of the data

- a thematic map to show the relationship between themes, sub-themes and codes identified

- a detailed description of these identified themes, sub-themes and codes. Extracts from interview transcripts are used to enhance this description and provide supporting evidence for the appropriateness of each theme

- a description of latent themes identified, through interpreting interview and observation data, and making links with potential unconscious processes at work within the interview process

4.1 Overview of themes identified through thematic analysis

A thematic analysis of participants' transcribed interview narratives identified a number of overarching themes and subthemes associated with the reading experiences of two young people who find reading difficult. The following sections present key semantic and latent themes identified for each participant in turn.

A coded interview transcript for one student, Isaac is provided at Appendix H. This reflects the coding completed at the point at which the analysis switched from working electronically to working by hand. Further coding was done after this time, including the merging and refinement of overarching themes, and the transcript is offered as representative evidence of a staged process of thematic analysis being followed rather than final decisions made. Tables have been prepared to illustrate the links between codes, sub-themes and themes identified for each student at a semantic

and a latent level, and present the segmented text extracts from interview transcripts that were assigned to each code. These are provided at Appendices K-R.

Throughout the analysis, my own reflections, developing thoughts and observations were recorded alongside coded extracts, using handwritten notes and MAXQDA's comments and memo features. Where appropriate, these are included as supporting evidence for a given code or sub-theme alongside extracts from participants' interview transcripts. An overview of MAXQDA memos generated during early coding stages is provided at Appendix J.

Although it was not the aim of the study to generalise between participants' experiences, some thematic similarities were identified. These are considered within Chapter 5 - Discussion.

4.2 Isaac

Following a thematic analysis of interview data collected for Isaac, four overarching themes were identified in relation to his past and present experiences of reading and his identity as a reader:

Theme 1 – Teachers' attitudes to dyslexia

This theme captures Isaac's awareness of his teachers' varying levels of knowledge, belief and understanding about reading difficulties, and the impact this has on his reading experiences in school.

Theme 2 – "It's hard, you know?"

This theme captures Isaac's academic self-concept, the ways in which he has accommodated his reading difficulties into his identity as a learner, and his characteristic approach to dealing with his difficulties.

Theme 3 – Fear of looking different to peers

This theme captures Isaac's anxiety around the ways in which his reading difficulties make him vulnerable to ridicule and bullying, and his attempts to mitigate against this by avoiding tasks which put him on the spot or have the potential to reveal the extent of his difficulties. Isaac's alter ego as a skilled magician is introduced, through whom he is liberated from threats of ridicule and can experience positive peer attention.

Theme 4 – Family roles around reading

This theme captures Isaac's observations around family traits and characteristics with regard to reading. Although there is a gendered aspect to this, Isaac does not overtly offer a gendered view of reading.
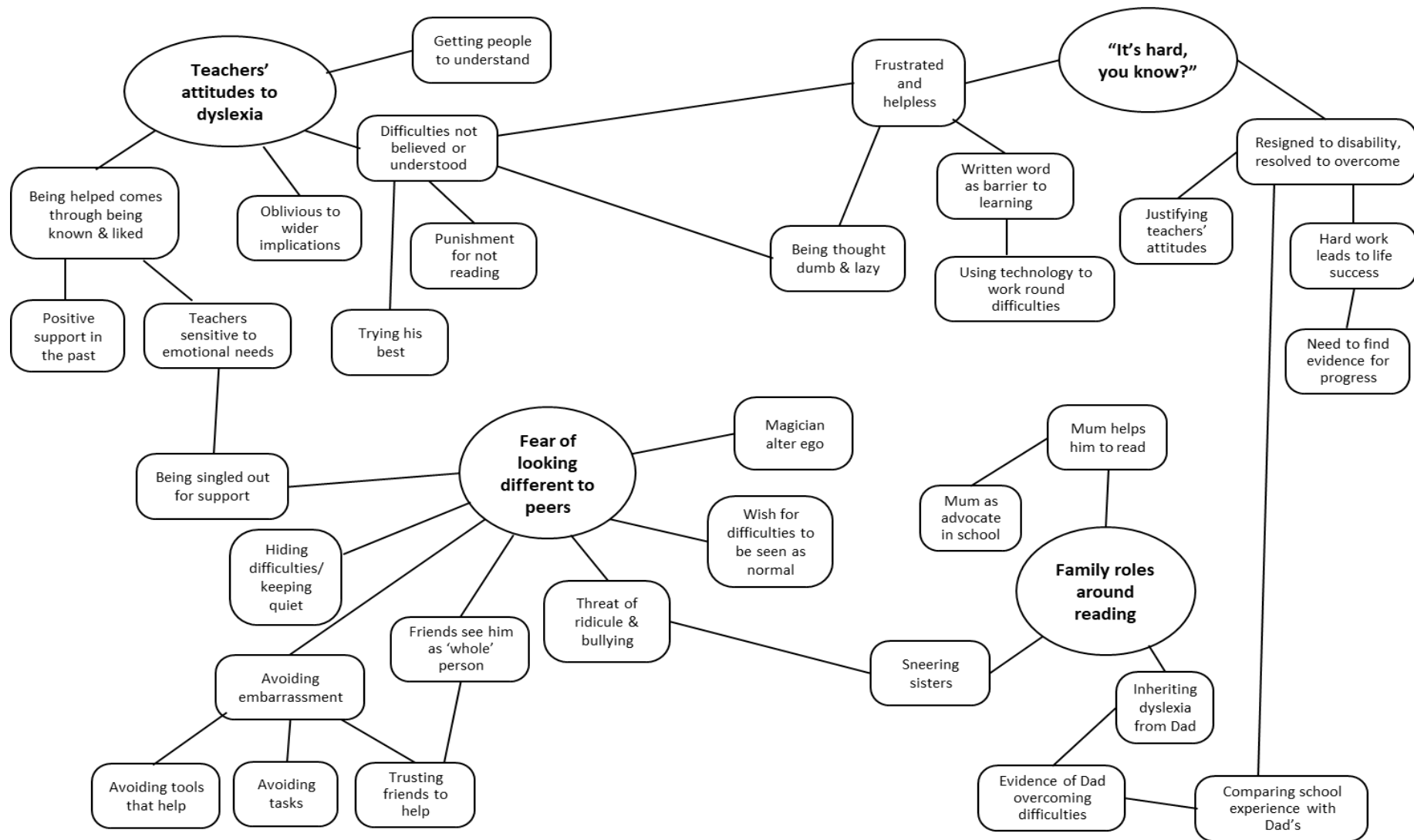
Figure 1: Thematic map for Isaac's free association narrative, showing relationships between themes, sub-themes and codes
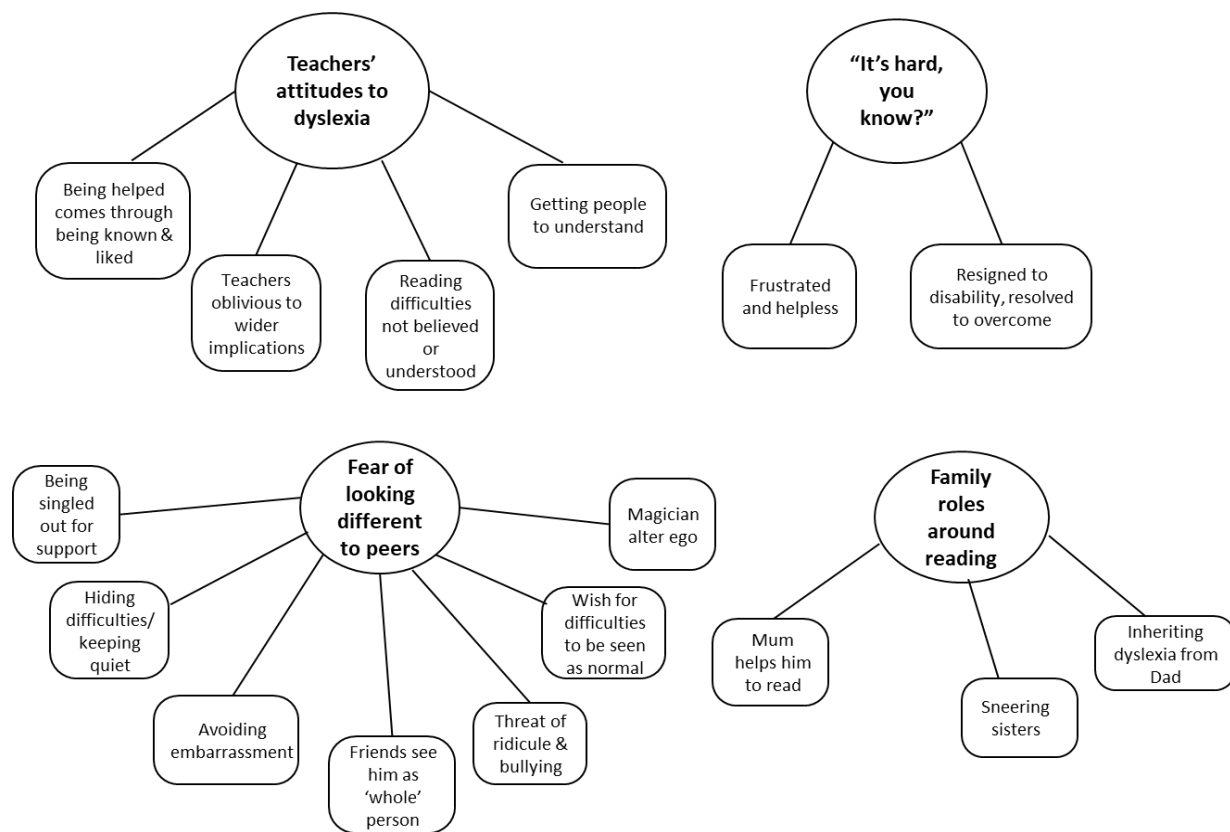
Figure 2: Thematic map of overarching themes and sub-themes identified within Isaac's Free Association Narrative Interviews (FANI)

4.2.1 Isaac's Theme 1 – Teachers' understanding of dyslexia

… people don't think it's possible that you can't read stuff, they just think, you're just making up excuses, … like, you're just dumb if you can't actually read that …

Interview 2, line 387
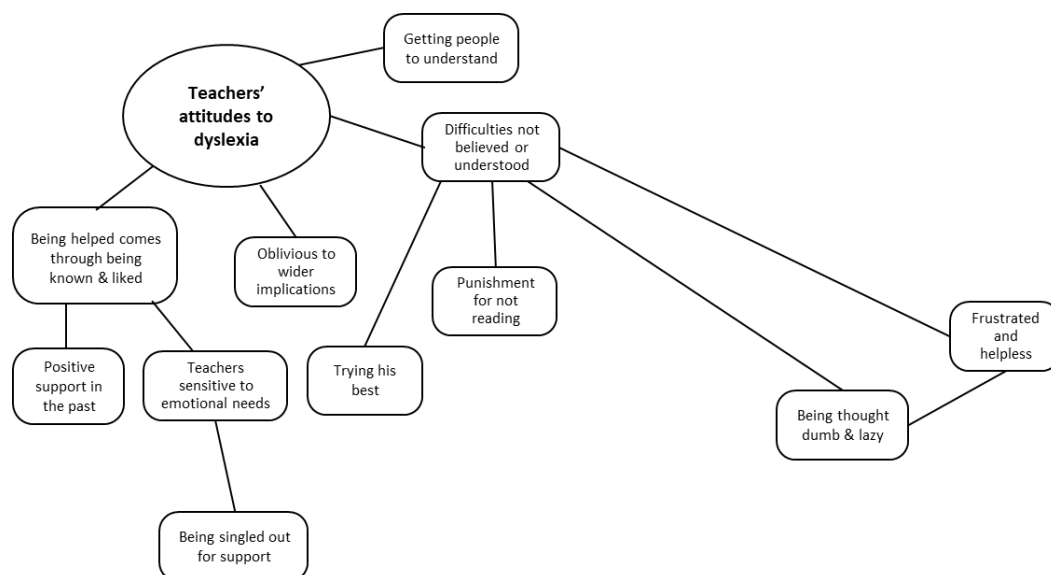
Figure 3: Thematic map of Isaac's Theme 1 – Teachers' attitudes to dyslexia, including sub-themes and codes

Isaac identified significant variation in his different teachers' levels of knowledge, belief and understanding about reading difficulties, including dyslexia, and the ways in which this affected his relationship with reading in school. He had had some very positive experiences, where teachers had taken the time to understand and meet his needs appropriately, but these appear to have been outweighed by a series of negative episodes, where not only were his difficulties not understood, he was effectively punished for them.

Four subthemes were identified in relation to this theme.

4.2.1.1 Difficulties not believed or understood subtheme

Isaac cited a number of situations in which his reading difficulties were denied or ignored by those who taught him, and the painful position this left him in with regard to, for example, completing class work and homework tasks, and experiencing learning success:

… at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic … everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' [*clears throat*] … and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something

Interview 1, line 59

… some people think … oh well, like … that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know?

Interview 1, line 119

people definitely, you say you can't read this work, they thi-, they say oh you can, you're just being lazy or, you're not trying hard enough or … I can read that word so you must be able to and stuff like that

Interview 2, line 434

In some cases this was due to teachers not having been told about his difficulties, and Isaac appeared unsure who of his teachers knew and who didn't, and the process by which information was shared. However, too frequently teachers' lack of awareness and understanding appears to have had punitive consequences:

if I have to read something in class it's always really small … and this happened before, the teachers gave me a detention or something cos I can't actually read it properly,

…

and I don't wanna say like oh I can't read this cos he'll be just like, cos *he* doesn't know that I do extra classes … cos I used to be in [catch-up programme] which used to be a thing where all my lessons were just with this one teacher

…

now it's a bit different cos the teachers don't know that you're like, that you can't read things, so … I find it a bit hard

Interview 1, lines 91-95

The threat and reality of detention for non-completion of work appear to have been a common experience, and his accounts of feeling unable to fully explain or justify himself in such situations were painful to hear:

… I was in the detention … and this teacher came up and had a chat … and there was a sheet of what I'd done and all this sort of thing … and it said something and it was complicated word and I couldn't read it … and it was like 'you need to do this' and I couldn't read it and I was like, I'm in a detention I'm just gonna get in more trouble if I can't read it … it was just like, really hard, and then he was just expecting me to do these things that I couldn't do

Interview 1, line 221

4.2.1.2 Oblivious to wider implications subtheme

A complementary subtheme to teachers' disbelief relates to school staff's lack of awareness of the full implications of having a reading difficulty. Although aware that Isaac finds reading difficult, staff may fail to accommodate this within their interaction with him, for example via school communication systems. A striking illustration described by Isaac during our first interview was him being handed a note during registration informing him that I would be meeting him in school that day:

like sometimes now people say 'oh, erm … erm … like, look at this' … and, because if they don't want to say it so … like I had a slip for you earlier, like this … this is just example [reaching into inside pocket, brings out handwritten note; unfolds note and holds in front of him] …to come, to come here and say, she, she doesn't say to everyone else, she just gives it to you, and she just says, she expects me to read it …

… and say it says some has some things that like I can read on it, then I'll just, I'll just look at it and I'll be like oh yeah yeah, and I wouldn't even actually read it cos I *couldn't* …

… so I just wouldn't know what's going on

<div align="right">*Interview 1, lines 23-27*</div>

Such notes are a standard way for school administrators to pass information on to students during the school day, but Isaac is unable to read them, and too embarrassed to ask for help. I felt embarrassed myself to realise that the implications of such a system had not occurred to me, and how non-inclusive such practices could be.

4.2.1.3 Being helped comes through being known and liked subtheme

Isaac describes his experience of being helped in the context of a relationship with supporting adults, where his qualities are known, and he feels liked and understood. The times when he has been supported most successfully appear to have come about through school staff taking the time to attune themselves to his needs, being sensitive to the social and emotional implications of his difficulties, recognising his potential, and being ambitious on his behalf. Isaac expresses this very simply as them being "nice":

… there was these two teachers, my two old primary school teachers, … one was assistant an one was a *actual* teacher … and the assistant always used to really really help me with my reading, … she, and my teacher did and … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't, they gave me like reading like um coloured strips that you put over the thing …

… and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special

<div align="right">*Interview 1, lines 59-63*</div>

Researcher: … so what was it that really helped you do you think?

Isaac: I dunno, they were *so nice* and they, they just if I was *struggling* or if I
                did something I would always go to them and they wouldn't judge
                me or anything …

Interview 1, lines 76-77

He realises such relationships take time, and seems wistfully aware that his positive

experience during the last year of primary school may never be fully replicated at secondary school:

Isaac: so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like
                the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a
                fresh start you know what I mean?

Researcher: yeah, I do, yeah

Isaac: and I had to like, s- sort everything out with here, if you know what I
                mean

…

Researcher: so trying to find those sorts of people

Isaac: yeah, yeah

Researcher: all over again … yeah, have you been able to find that? Have you
                found teachers that

Isaac: well yeah but

Researcher: feel the same way?

Isaac: they're not like the same, they don't help me the same as they used to

Researcher: mmm

Isaac: but I suppose you can't get the same people

Interview 1, lines 63-75

However, Isaac has found some adults in secondary school who appear more attuned to his

needs:

my English teacher, always um like says, er comes over and says you alright? ... and
she just yeah, she's just nice about it, you know, she understands so sometimes she'll
just give me bigger um sheets

Interview 1, line 107

… some teachers it just it depends on their personality, some people like really understand, some people just don't care less, like "oh well I've done my GCSEs, I've gone through this, I don't care if you struggle I'm just here to teach you", sort of thing, …

… and yeah some teachers are really like "yeah I really need to help you", er, they go out of their way just to help me

Interview 1, lines 229-231

4.2.1.4 Getting people to understand subtheme

During Isaac's second interview, he was asked about his experience of talking to me. He was clear that he wanted to talk so that I and others would understand better what it was like to have dyslexia:

I just really like just saying to you, what I fee- what I feel, like what happens … like what, what you like go through if you've got like dyslexia or, any other problems that you need more help with than normal students have

Interview 2, lines 331-333

I just, just try and help you understand, … so I just say what I can

Interview 2, lines 341-343

Interestingly, I had left that interview feeling flat and unhelpful, and that Isaac had neither wanted to be there nor to share very much; the intent and emotion behind his comments only became apparent on listening to the recording to transcribe the interview later, along with a realisation that he had shared some significant experiences that morning. Research diary entries written following the interview and subsequent psychosocial supervision reflect some of this:

Isaac seemed reserved, distant, weary, tired, uninterested, lacking energy and curiosity … head tilted down, slightly awkward-looking … I was shocked at how little life there seemed to be in him, I think, and felt it must be my fault – that I'd not been as helpful as I thought I was.

…

I was left with a feeling of waste and frustration as I left the interview – that I'd missed chances and opportunities, and had lacked creativity and imagination; I felt a failure for not doing it 'right' … and for being so focused on the 'right way' that I'd not listened to or looked at HIM closely enough

Extract from Research Diary - reflective notes following interview 2

I'd placed the box file of drawing things between us, but kept the lid closed and placed the Dictaphone on top – the significance of this became apparent during supervision later: although I'd offered him other ways of communicating, using them meant moving things, disrupting our process; perhaps I'd unconsciously told him that words and language were still the better way to do it. I sighed as I realised I'd probably just replicated his daily experience - glimpses of things that could help, but no clear access to them.

Extract from Research Diary - reflective notes following interview 2/supervision

Although Isaac communicated his desire to help me and others to understand his experience, I failed to fully appreciate this until later. The implications of such 'missed connections' and the nature of helping are considered within Chapter 5 – Discussion.

4.2.2 Isaac's Theme 2 – "It's hard, you know?"

I just felt like really like sad, and I think one or two times I actually cried you know, I found it really hard

Interview 1, line 89
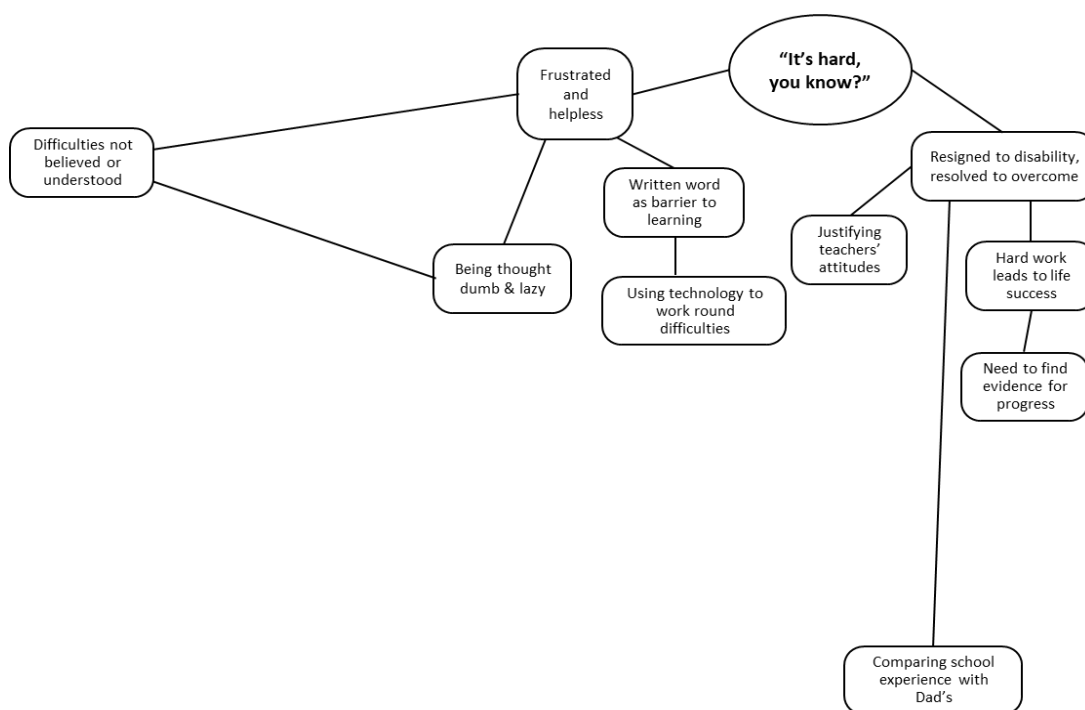
Figure 4: Thematic map of Isaac's Theme 2 – "It's hard, you know?", including sub-themes and codes

Isaac frequently used the phrase, "it's hard" when describing his feelings about his reading difficulties, particularly in relation to his academic self-concept and identity as a learner. This seemed to encapsulate a degree of ambivalence in his approach, between frustration and helplessness at others' perceptions of his academic ability, and a resigned and resolute determination to overcome the challenges his dyslexia presented.

Two subthemes were identified.

4.2.2.1 Frustrated and helpless subtheme

Isaac's frustration appeared to be both with himself for being unable to do what others do easily, and with the lack of care and understanding shown by many of those around him:

> I just think like there, there should be some *way* that I could just get a word just to stick in my head and that I would just *know* to read and things, at times it can get really like, annoying when I can't spell something I can't read something, and we've learned about it, you know I just feel sometimes stupid like we just learned about this and I can't even spell it …
>
> *Interview 1, lines 119-120*

> People just don't understand, if you've got this issue then people don't think it's possible that you can't read stuff, they just think, you're just making up excuses, … you're just dumb if you can't actually read that
>
> *Interview 2, line 387*

> I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them I can't read them …
>
> *Interview 1, line 223*

Listening to these accounts at the time, and again during transcription and analysis revealed a tearful quality to Isaac's voice, evoking in me strong feelings of empathy and a desire to reassure and look after him:

> Researcher: …so when people think if you can't read you're dumb or stupid, um, if you could tell me about a time when that's, when that has affected you, something that you've, you've experienced …
>
> Isaac: … cos … I d- I don't, [*voice low and pitiful again – has almost a sobbing, tearful quality*] I, I'm sorry, I just don't,
>
> Researcher: that's alright, that's OK
>
> Isaac: don't know how to explain
>
> *Interview 2, lines 416-419*

Isaac: … she's, like some people think … oh well, like … that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know?

Researcher: no, no, that's right, they can't … yeah, and it's not dumb [*small laugh*] actually

Interview 1, lines 119-120

At a conscious level Isaac was telling me about his painful experiences of coping with dyslexia in school. At an unconscious level, he may have been telling me much more than this. Reflecting in supervision on my unexpected weariness and frustration after our second interview, I wondered whether in the transference he was communicating his own resigned frustration that however much he tried to explain his needs and difficulties, he would be no better understood or supported:

> … perhaps Isaac was communicating to me how he feels, his painful feelings and impossible situation re. his reading difficulties and experiences … he left me with his irritation, resignation, disappointment, powerlessness, regret …

Extract from Research Diary - reflective notes following Interview 2/supervision

My small laugh when reassuring Isaac, above, may be indicative of my unconscious desire not only to reduce my discomfort at Isaac's painful experience but also the impact of his teachers' words on him, to let him know how laughably mistaken they were. There is some cross-over between subthemes here, particularly at a latent level. The presence and potential impact of unconscious psychological defences during my research interviews, including the avoidance and denial of pain and anxiety, are considered further in Chapter 5 – Discussion.

Isaac's resigned helplessness can also be felt in his apparent reluctance to blame his teachers too comprehensively for his ongoing difficulties. At several points he appears to offer a benign justification for their decisions which softens his concerns expressed elsewhere that school staff have not done enough to understand or meet his needs:

Researcher:	when I was in your lesson last week you had to read something out and yeah, yeah
Isaac:	yeah
Researcher:	yeah, so how, it might feel really tricky to … say or to think about but yeah, how, how was, how *did* that feel?
Isaac:	I felt like really embarrassed, like … I dunno, I felt just like really under pressure and
Researcher:	mmm, mmm … yeah … and does your, do y-, does your teacher *know* … that that might be something that …
Isaac:	yeah, but I think she just wants to try and help me, just like help me boost my confidence but …
	… it's hard

Interview 2, lines 394-401

A further source of Isaac's frustration is teachers' expectation that students can and will access the information they need to support their learning through printed texts. His inability to read and assimilate meaning from the tiny print these contain presents a significant barrier to his learning, but appears not be consistently addressed by those who teach him:

and you have like a text book where you have to sort all these things out and like you just, if you can't read it then you just you just can't do barely anything in the lesson

Interview 1, line 121

Although he acknowledges that tools such as blue reading filters and his prescription glasses help to alleviate this, the attention such tools attract makes him reluctant to use them consistently:

Isaac:	… history you have a lot of text, text books, and … you have to look in them and usually the things are pretty small
Researcher:	yeah, so how do you, how do you deal with that
Isaac:	you know that, you know that coloured sheet, I don't want to get that out in class cos people are just looking I think oh … like that's dumb … so you don't want to get that out and that helps me you know

Interview 1, lines 125-129

Isaac's reluctance to stand out from his peers is addressed under theme 4.2.3, below.

His experiences with digital sources of information are more positive, and highlight the limitations he perceives with printed text:

Isaac:	… I do sometimes, read, if I'm doing my homework on the computer or my phone or my ipad I will like zoom in and I will like, if I search for stuff like Wikipedia, or er like get Guy Fawkes then I'd go down there, I'd zoom in, sometimes, I copy and paste a lot of things cos that helps me yeah as well cos you don't have to type it out, you don't have to flick through the pages … to see, you know, so yeah I do that
Researcher:	right, yeah … so you're getting information, like word information … … does that feel different, to when you're trying to read it in a *book*, or
Isaac:	yeah, I find books are just like, they have more complex words in … you can get some books that are like really childly, and they have simple words but … … the ones that are more interesting are the ones that are more complicated words and all that sort of thing

Interview 1, lines 209-213

with technology, I think technology's better cos you can zoom in, you can get download apps that help you … you can do that sort of thing …

… and then textbook you can't just, magically you get a textbook and enlarge the writing [small laugh] you know

Interview 1, lines 195-199

4.2.2.2 Resigned to disability, resolved to overcome subtheme

In addition to helplessness, Isaac's resignation about his reading difficulties takes a more optimistic form when coupled with a resolve to overcome the challenges his dyslexia presents. Here he seems able to construct a narrative in which he is able to overcome the odds and build a successful life. Integral to that narrative is an assertion that life success comes through hard work and academic success, and maintaining a positive self-concept is essential to his ability to achieve this:

Isaac: some people just don't do their work cos they think that what's the point doing it

Researcher: yeah … do you know people like that?

Isaac: yeah like the, like the supposedly cool people, think they're all hard and they're like oh well I'm not gonna do any work, I'm gonna have a bad job when I'm older, no, they won't earn enough money and they'll live on the streets, like that's a good life isn't it … like I I I just wanna try as hard as I can, try and get a good job, try and get a house, have family, you know,

                  … have a *good* life

                                                        Interview 2, lines 442-446

er yeah, I yeah I really try you know …sometimes I don't get it but … that's why I do it again [clears throat]

                                                        Interview 1, lines 305-311

4.2.3 Isaac's Theme 3 – Fear of looking different to peers

> … sometimes I feel like I just wanna be the same as everyone else I, I don't wanna
> be like, different to like stand out to everyone else

<div align="right">Interview 2, line 355</div>
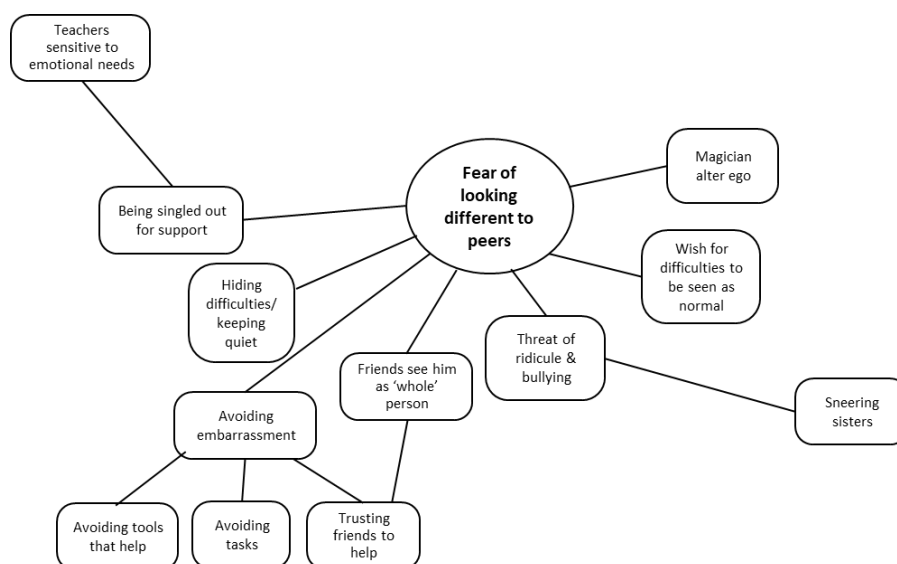
Figure 5: Thematic map of Isaac's Theme 3 – Fear of looking different to peers, including sub-themes and codes

Isaac's anxiety around the ways in which his reading difficulties make him vulnerable to embarrassment, unwanted attention, and the ridicule and bullying of peers is a dominant narrative theme. Some elements of his account suggest that this has always been his experience, although entering adolescence appears to have heightened his sensitivities still further, and he seems acutely aware of the myriad ways in which his difficulties might be drawn attention to.

Seven subthemes were identified, although there is some overlap between these.

4.2.3.1 Being singled out for support subtheme

Like many young people with persistent reading difficulties, Isaac's skills have been targeted with a series of cognitive interventions. Although he is aware that such support can be helpful, he finds the associated social stigma of leaving and rejoining his class unbearable:

> sometimes I have to get pulled out my classes cos I have to do extra reading and stuff, I feel like, why me, why do I have to do this?
>
> … why can't it be someone else?
>
> *Interview 2, lines 359-361*

> In the mornings, um, I do this thing called Toe by Toe … I have to come in *early* to do it and then go to my normal lesson and, this is another thing but like, you know when I say it's not fair n'all that, it's another thing that I thought like, where it's not fair that I have to go there, they wanna have, like on Mondays I had to go to the outdoor [centre], so usually my mum takes me and that's first lesson, first period …
>
> … so if I have to do [Toe by Toe] *before* … then they'll have to drive me up … and so now they have to drive me up and I'll get out the car and everyone be looking at me and be like oh why'd you have to be with these teachers, why you so *dumb* and all this sort of thing … so, I was like refusing to do it and then, my mum started having a go at me and I was just like so fine I'll do it and then, it was hard
>
> *Interview 2, lines 381-385*

4.2.3.2 Hiding difficulties/keeping quiet subtheme

Keeping quiet about his reading difficulties appears to be Isaac's default position. Although the main reason he gives for this is to protect him from unwanted peer attention, his difficulties are also not spoken about within his family, including with his dyslexic father:

> Isaac: … you don't really like shout about it, you just keep it to yourself… if anyone questions just try to ignore them or try and like just talk about something else … just keep it calm just keep it to yourself …
>
> … I don't wanna be rude to them but I just don't wanna ask, don't wanna answer their question
>
> *Interview 2, lines 516-522*

Isaac: so I think I get like dyslexia from [my dad] cos he's got dyslexia so …

Researcher: … do you ever talk about it with him?

Isaac: no not really … no, just try and, try and keep it quiet

Interview 1, lines 149-151

4.2.3.3 Avoiding embarrassment subtheme

Keeping his reading difficulties hidden protects Isaac from being embarrassed by and in front of his peers. This appears to preoccupy him constantly, and his accounts of negotiating routine classroom tasks such as peer marking were painful to listen to:

Isaac: sometimes if, I mean I've done this before, where if they're swapping books and I don't think I've, either it's really un-neat or, or I've spelled a lot of things wrong I'll just, I'll just say to this person sat next to me it's fine, just don't mark it, I'll do, and just don't tell the teacher, and I always mark it myself

Researcher: mmm, so you don't *do* the swapping

Isaac: well if, if I, [small sharp sigh], if the teacher makes me swap I just say just don't read it, just write stuff down …

                … so I don't even get them to read it cos it's just embarrassing

Interview 2, lines 478-480, 488

Researcher: and what about you marking *their* work?

Isaac: I mean, I don't really read it, I just put their even better if, and then I just put random stuff

                … I don't really read it … I sometimes *can't* read it or … like, I dunno …

Interview 2, lines 493-496

It appeared that he could never relax into his learning, but was constantly on guard against being put on the spot to read aloud:

If my teacher, tells me to read something I feel really pressured in class, and I need to oh I feel really pressured and I dunno what to do and I then I just like oh why do I have to read this out and then I get in trouble for not reading it but, it's cos maybe if I *did* read it I'd be really embarrassed

Interview 2, line 397

Avoiding teachers' requests to read was common but exposed him to the threat of punishment. Avoiding using tools which could help him was also preferred to risking the unhelpful attention of peers:

…if I have that coloured filter people like, why do you need to use that, and like they just like judge me to whatever that means, like they judge it a lot … it's jus' … it's not nice

Interview 2, line 424

4.2.3.4 Threat of ridicule and bullying subtheme

Underlying Isaac's anxiety was a very real threat of being ridiculed and bullied for being unable to read as well as his peers. Being teased and laughed at in class seemed to be a daily concern, and the threat of this appeared to be as distressing as it actually happening:

I-I didn't used to be able to spell said until like Year 6, and I used to say it, and everyone else did, and I used to say it in class how do you spell said and everyone just used to laugh you know?

Interview 1, lines 79-81

when you're in the lesson and you have like the sheet, like if you, if you don't wanna use it then you find it really really hard, like just to be able to s-, read and then, if you do get it out people laugh at it and they'll be like oh why you got that

Interview 1, line 131

I've seen people not be able to spell certain words and someone be sat next to them … and then they'll, er say … so usually swap books and then you mark the other person's book, and if you've writ a long [sic] thing down say you spelt s-, say a word

down like 'said', then he'll, someone'll probably shout it out in class and people start laughing plus everyone'll start like calling him names or picking on him cos he can't spell certain words

Interview 2, line 474

Although Isaac generalised to the third person in this last extract, my sense when reflecting on his account during transcription was that he was describing his own experience. Given my unexpected feelings of frustration and weariness during this interview, described elsewhere, it's possible that he was unsure of my capacity to contain such a painful personal account, and felt safer presenting it at one remove:

This was quite hard to listen to when in the room with him, but it sounds excruciating on listening back … I think he's talking about himself, about his lived experience in the classroom. He was telling me about his experience, and I blanked it out. I'd left the room with disappointment, irritation, frustration; only much later did I realise that those feelings were his

Extract from Research Diary - reflective note during Interview 2 transcription

Isaac had experienced bullying in primary school and although he'd been safe so far in his current setting he felt it was inevitable that he would be attacked at some point:

Isaac: I haven't had it on me so much, like but some people get really bad like, they say, they use like not being able to read against you … and stuff so, yeah it's pretty hard sometimes but,

Researcher: Yeah … and is that something that's happened to you?

Isaac: Yeah, not, not in secondary school yet, but in, in my old school, definitely yeah

Researcher: Yeah

Isaac: Yeah

Researcher: and you said "yet" there, so you, you're

Isaac: I think, I think

Researcher: you're worried that it might?

Isaac: I think it probably will, yeah

Interview 1, lines 29-39

Later, distinguishing between bullying and teasing, there is again an air of inevitability that standing out makes people vulnerable:

> …. well I don't think I've really got bullied, I've I've of-, I've got teased but, I mean, some people, stand out more than other people
>
> *Interview 2, line 465*

4.2.3.5 Friends see him as 'whole' person subtheme

Isaac's saving grace in school seems to be a group of friends who he can rely on to accept him for who he is and support him with things he finds difficult, without embarrassing him or drawing attention to his mistakes:

> my friends just think, they just see me as my personality, and how I am around them, they just see me as like Dynamo [TV magician] that sort of thing, they just see me as who am I, who I am, not cos I can't read something sort of thing
>
> *Interview 1, line 232*

> so they like help me a lot, like if I'm finding something hard, they would just like, if they're sat next to me or something near me, I'll just ask them and then they'll just help me, they won't make a big deal about it you know they won't laugh or something
>
> *Interview 1, line 138*

4.2.3.6 Wish for difficulties to be seen as normal subtheme

Although Isaac's difficulties are clearly a source of great frustration, his narrative suggests that these being seen as normal is a more prominent concern than wishing to be someone else. At several points he challenges teachers' and peers' assumptions about reading, saying that for "some people" finding it hard is a normal experience:

cos like people say it's easy to spell, it is to some people but not to the other people

Interview 1, line 81

… you just have the [coloured] sheet and you put it over and people think that's weird and you know … yeah, they just think it's like just not normal, but it is for some people

Interview 1, lines 131-133

In essence, he is asking to be accepted as a regular member of his learning community, free to learn in a way that works for him without fear of ridicule or reprisal. My reflections on the contrast between my response when listening to Isaac's recorded narrative and during the interview itself suggest some less obvious reasons why this may not be happening as he would wish:

Isaac's account is not as surface level as I'd thought – it's actually full of emotion. What was going on to create such a mismatch between us? Were we playing out the misalignment between the help he is offered and the help he actually needs? Might that be why I 'missed' his communications yesterday?

Extract from Research Diary - reflective note during interview transcription

Listening to Isaac's words while transcribing his interviews was surprisingly moving. I sensed that he spoke for those with reading difficulties everywhere, and was challenged to think more broadly about listening to and working with young people.

4.2.3.7 Magician alter ego subtheme

Isaac is a skilled magician, and each of our meetings ended with him showing me a card trick. Through this parallel identity he is liberated from the threat of bullying and ridicule which accompanies struggling to read, and commands his peers' respect instead of their scorn. When doing magic, he feels confident, appreciated and admired – unlike his perception of himself as a reader:

I think my magic really helps me cos like that sort of thing gets me away from like, say like, if I was getting bullied sort of thing, erm about my reading and stuff, I think

that really helps me cos it just helps me to calm like … it just distracts me from all that school stuff … it gives me something else, like it's not just me that can't read …

… a lot of people they just, they know me as like magic, like when I was walking down the corridor like yesterday er this guy was like "oh hey Dynamo" like cos sometimes I go and I just show people tricks

… I think magician, I think is just something else … it's nothing like reading

Interview 1, lines 279-283

Interestingly, he says he has no difficulty reading the Magic Circle magazine he receives each month:

Isaac: I choose to read that, cos I find that's pretty interesting and that helps me

            …

Researcher: and are you, are you *able* to read that?

Isaac: yeah, yeah, yeah, they have the right size font and it's not that small and it's not like massive you know, and no, yeah …

            … it's like, um it says stuff about magic obviously and stuff I'm not allowed to say …

            … er to you, and um the stuff about what's going to go on, and it has, um, yeah it has, it's pretty readable, and sometimes um mostly they have the co-, they have the font in a certain colour, so they have it usually in blue …

            … and I don't know why if they do that but I find that's easier to read

Interview 1, lines 247-257

4.2.4 Isaac's Theme 4 – Family roles around reading

… now my *sisters*, they're just clever, they just know everything
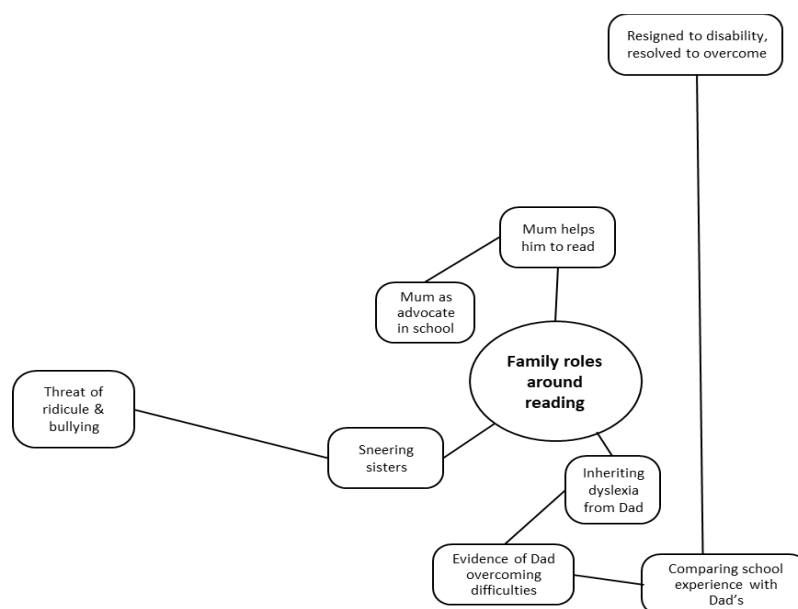
Interview 1, line 151

Figure 6: Thematic map of Isaac's Theme 4 – Family roles around reading, including sub-themes and codes

Isaac referred to particular family traits and characteristics with regard to reading. Although these do divide along gendered lines, Isaac does not overtly generalise his observations to gendered reading roles.

Three subthemes were identified.

4.2.4.1 Inheriting dyslexia from Dad subtheme

Isaac spoke little about his parents during his interviews. When asked about whether anyone else in his family found reading difficult, he initially said that no-one did, but then quickly told me about his father's dyslexia, and his assumption that this was why he himself had difficulties:

> … I think, like, my dad struggles, like a bit, but … he he didn't have help cos, his school was like, used to be pretty rough and the-, his school didn't really help him so he just, and … so somehow he's done well cos he's he owns his own business now and he's, he's doing pretty well, so … I don't know … so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's got dyslexia …
>
> *Interview 1, line 149*

Isaac's account suggests that he identifies with his father's experience beyond a shared reading difficulty, including not being properly helped in school, and somehow beating the odds and achieving success through their own efforts. Isaac seems unclear how his father "somehow" got from failing in school to owning his own business, and this may be a source of anxiety for him, adding to his sense of needing to be self-reliant and deal with his difficulties himself (see Resigned and Resolved subtheme).

4.2.4.2 Sneering sisters subtheme

Directly after speaking of his father's difficulties, Isaac associated to his sisters' superior reading skills and their attitude to him and his difficulties:

> Isaac: … my *sisters*, they're just clever, they just know everything, so
>
> Researcher: just annoying sisters
>
> Isaac: yeah
>
> Researcher: [*small laugh*] yeah, I can understand that …
>
> *Interview 1, line 151-154*

He returns to his sisters again a short while later, when comparing the help he received from different family members. This was painful to listen to. Although during the interview I felt Isaac had had enough space to express his feelings about his sisters' ridicule, I was shocked when listening to the recording during transcription by the degree to which I had effectively shut down his narrative about his sisters' ridicule, playing down the severity of their remarks on both occasions as typical sibling behaviour, and moving the conversation on to another topic:

Isaac: my sisters, my sisters always say I'm disabled and dumb so, that's pretty much it, and they're always like … yeah, just call me disabled and say "oh at least I can read", if I'm trying to read something to mum then they'll be like "oh give it here, you can't read, let me read it" so … no, I struggle on a word I can't ask them, they're like "ah, how can you not know how to spell that", if my little eight-year-old sister knows how to spell better than me, so

Researcher: mmmm … and like you said, some of that just may be just, be just being sisters

Isaac: yeah

Researcher: OK … er, let's think … [checking questions on paper]

Interview 1, lines 243-246

I reflected on this in supervision, and wondered whether at an unconscious level Isaac's description of two smarter, sneering sisters felt too close to my own childhood experience, when *I* had played the smarter sister to my own academically weaker younger brother. My repeated avoidance was perhaps my own psychological defence against a painful recognition of my part in my brother's experiences. Psychological defences are described in more detail in Chapter 3 – Methodology and Chapter 5 – Discussion, where the impact of past experience on present interactions is also considered further.

Hollway and Jefferson's (2013) FANI process allows researchers to use a second interview to revisit subjects and themes identified as significant during the first. Having noticed my avoidance during the first interview, I wanted to redress the balance when Isaac and I met again. Isaac immediately returned to his sisters' ridicule, but this time he seemed starkly resigned to dealing with it for himself:

Researcher:	when we met before you talked a *little* bit about your sisters, um, so I was wondering if you can tell me a bit *more* about them or,
Isaac:	yeah, like, they don't really *help*, cos, my *little* sister knows how to read better than me, she knows how to do stuff better than me but that's how life goes on right
Researcher:	yeah?
Isaac:	obviously my big sister as well does it and th- they don't *understand*, that I can't, I can't, like help read, and say say my *sister* had a book and I ask can I read it they'll say no give it here cos you can't read, but I *can* read, I just find it *hard*
Researcher:	mmm, yeah
Isaac:	's people don't *understand* … like … how, how like, I dunno, how … how it *is?*
	…
	like cos they, *they* don't understand cos *they* can read perfectly well … they just, can read it's just natural they're just being able to read *well* but I have to try *hard* to learn it, and, sometimes I think it's not fair but it's just the way it is you know?

Interview 2, lines 344-353

Isaac's resignation here links with his resigned and resolute subtheme. It seemed that, despite my attempts to reintroduce the topic, I was too late: Isaac appeared to have accepted that, like previous adults who have tried to help him, I was unable to contain his painful feelings and he would have to manage them himself.

4.2.4.3 Mum helps him to read subtheme

As mentioned, Isaac says little about his family, and what he does say is confined to immediate family members. At one level this may be perceived as a defence against painful feelings associated with his parents' separation and divorce. Isaac attempts to remain even-handed when describing his parents, but communicates clearly that his mother provides the most helpful support:

yeah, my mum really supports me and everything, like she she definitely supports me with my reading, I think if it was my dad, if I was living with my dad and he was doing all this sort of thing, my dad wouldn't help me as much as my mum …

… my dad's like really loving but he just sometimes he just can't help you as much because he's just like, I dunno, he's just not that, he's not as like, *nice* as my mum

Interview 1, lines 237-241

Isaac's reference to "nice" here may, as in previous subthemes, be communicating the helper qualities which make him feel supported and understood.

Isaac's mother appears to be a key figure in supporting his social, emotional and psychological well-being. In addition to helping him to read, she has become both *his* advocate in school and *his school's* advocate at home:

Researcher: yeah … yeah … so people knew about you before you came here?

Isaac: er no, um it's just that when I ca-, when I got a place here my mum jus talked to them and then they said like he needs this help can you help him and then they said yeah

Interview 2, lines 376-377

so, I was like refusing to do it and then, my mum started having a go at me and I was just like so fine I'll do it …

Interview 2, line 385

4.3 Harry

Three overarching themes were identified in relation to Harry's account of his past and present experiences of reading, and his identity as a reader:

Theme 1 - "It's school I can't do!"

This theme captures Harry's assertion that his literacy difficulties affect only his ability to engage with school work, and have no bearing on other aspects of his life. As such, it focuses on his academic self-concept, his ability to access the help he needs, and his lack of awareness of the impact of reading on subjects outside the literacy curriculum. His initial assertion that the impact of his difficulties is very limited belies an emotional account of his ongoing struggle to achieve academic success.

Theme 2 - 'Home is where the heart is'

This theme captures Harry's sense of connection to his family, including assumptions made and behaviours observed around male and female reading identity, the inheritance of particular traits and characteristics, and living up to family values around hard work, justice, and material success.

Theme 3 – Poor reading and AD(H)D

This theme captures Harry's talk and understanding about his reading difficulties in association with his Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). He and his parents seem unclear whether the diagnosis includes an element of hyperactivity, and this is denoted here in parentheses.

Figure 7 presents a thematic map showing all themes, sub-themes and key codes identified within Harry's narrative. Figure 8 presents the three overarching themes and key sub-themes only.
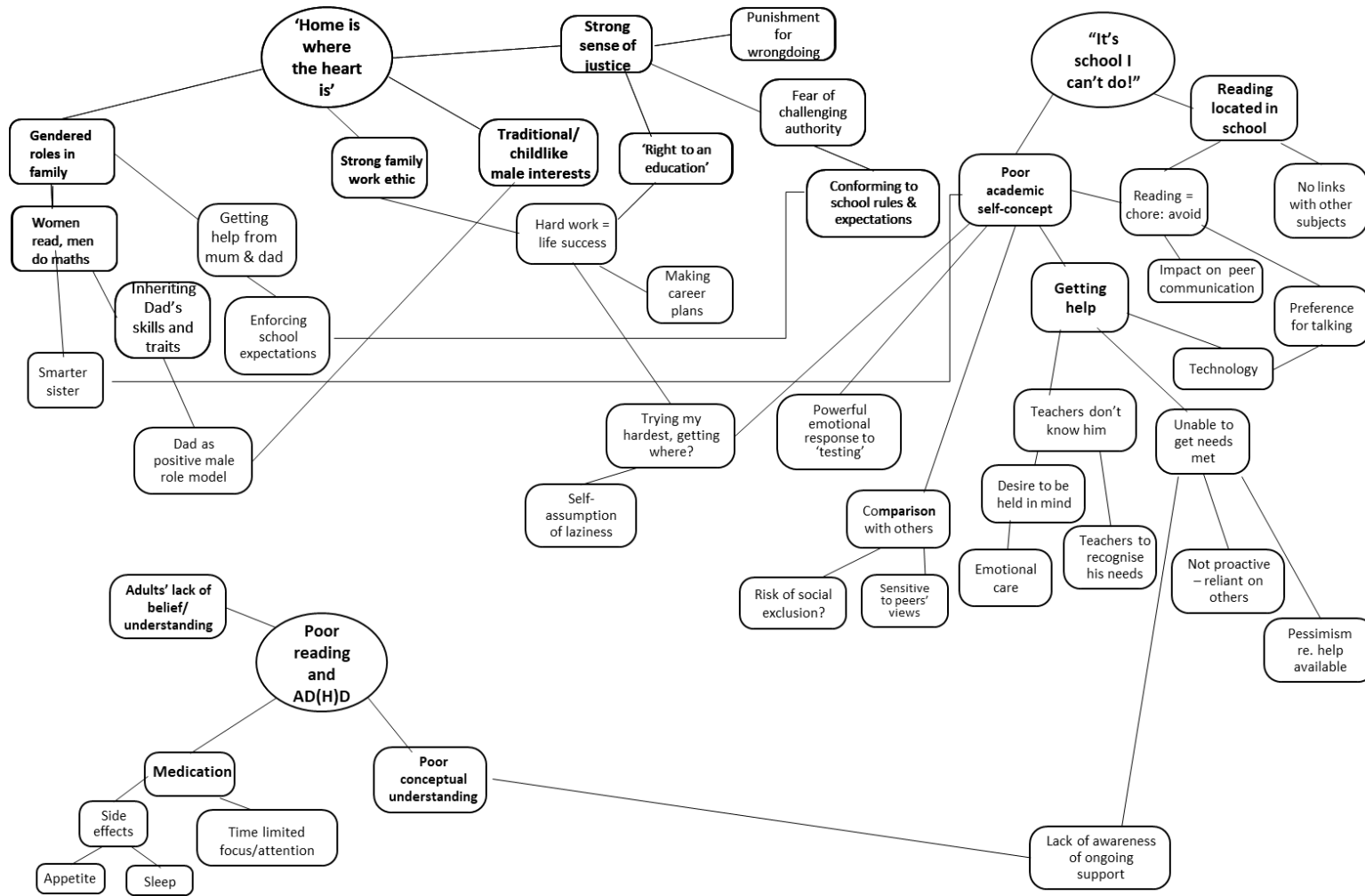
Figure 7: Thematic map for Harry's free association narratives, showing relationship between themes, sub-themes and codes

Poor reading
and AD(H)D

Medication
and its side
effects

Adults' lack of
belief/
understanding

Poor conceptual
understanding

"It's school
I can't do!"

Poor academic
self-concept

Reading located
in school

Getting help
in school

'Home is
where the
heart is'

Gendered
roles in
family

Traditional/
childlike
male interests

Strong family
work ethic

Strong sense
of justice
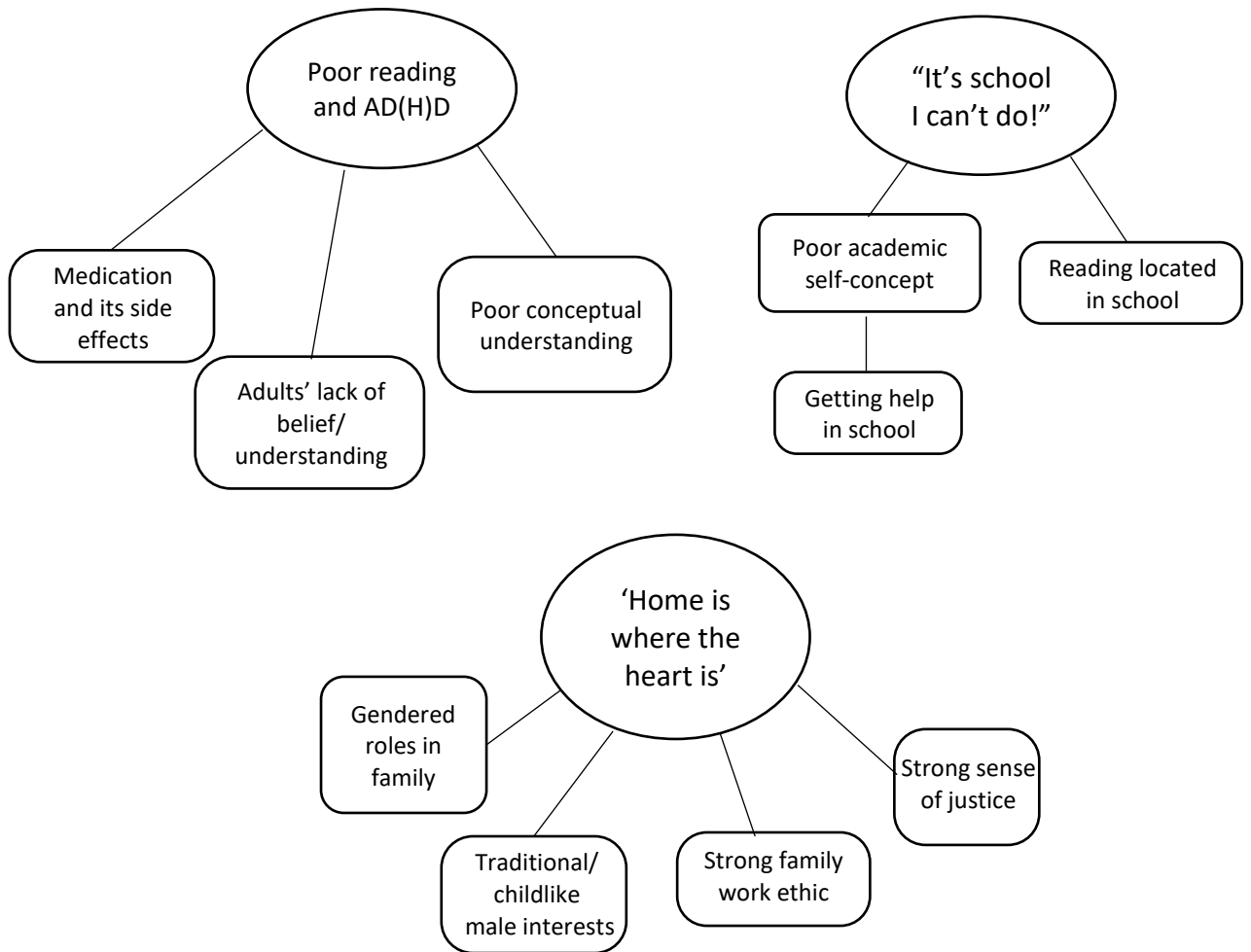
Figure 8: Thematic map of overarching themes and sub-themes identified within Harry's Free Association Narrative Interviews (FANI)

4.3.1 Harry's Theme 1 – "It's school I can't do"

"… it's *school* I'm bad with, not with like friends …
it's school I can't do …"

(Interview 1, lines 2 286-288)
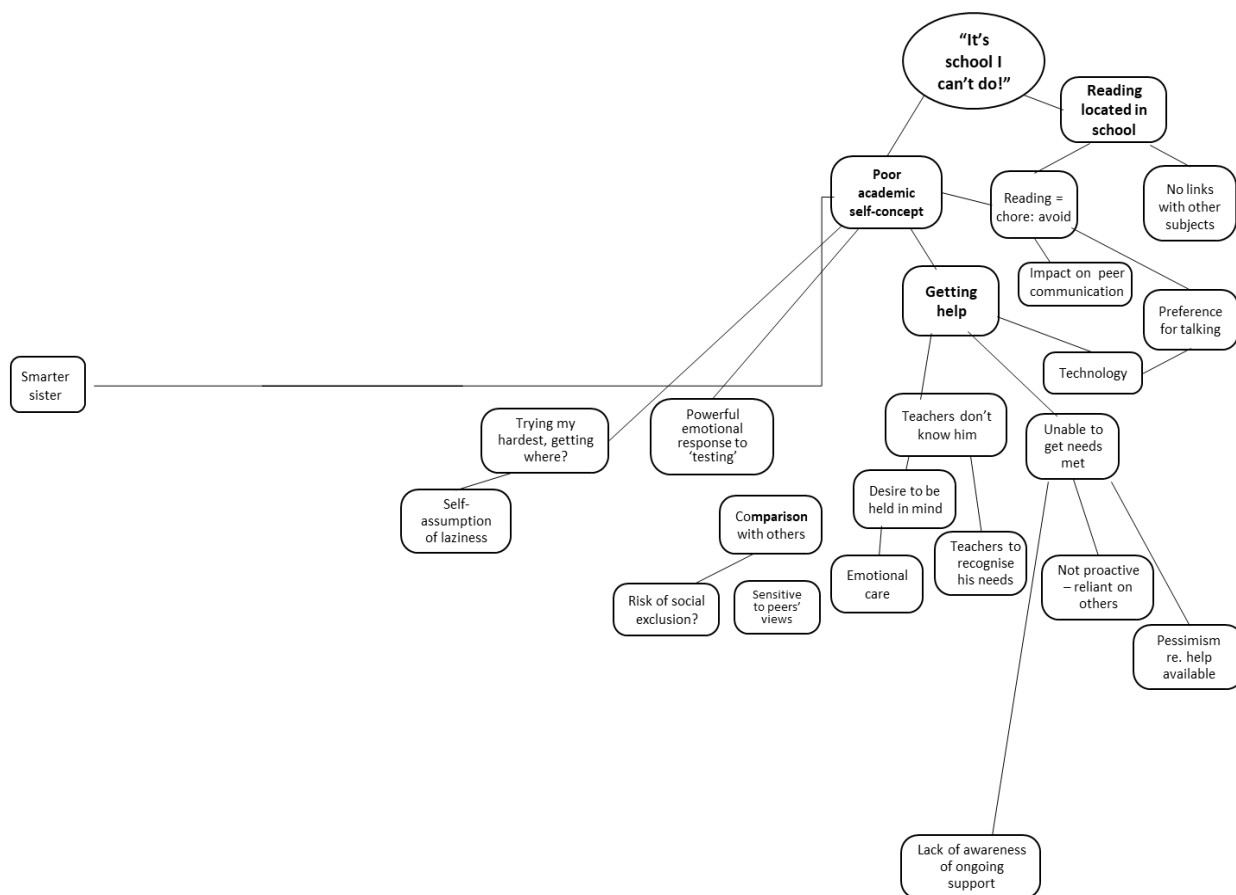
Figure 9: Thematic map of Harry's Theme 1 – "It's school I can't do!", including sub-themes and codes

This theme captures Harry's assertion that his reading difficulties affect only his ability to engage with school work, and have no bearing on other aspects of his life. It focuses on his academic self-concept, his ability to access the help he needs, and his espoused lack of awareness of the impact of reading on subjects outside the literacy curriculum. His initial assertion that the impact of his difficulties is limited is in sharp contrast to his emotional account of an ongoing struggle to succeed academically.

Two subthemes were identified.

4.3.1.1 Reading located in school sub-theme

Harry's narrative locates his reading difficulties squarely within the realm of school and academic work. His assertion that "it's school I can't do" (Interview 1, line 288) suggests a limited acknowledgement of the impact of struggling to read on other aspects of his social and emotional environment. Even within school, he rarely generalises the need to read to any lessons beyond the bounds of English teaching and specific literacy activities, although he was invited to think about this connection within the interviews. His experience is that the things he *enjoys* outside school are not affected by his struggle to read and write:

> I don't think that really affects me, in the way like … out of school, it doesn't really affect me, cos it doesn't stop me from walking, writing, biking, hanging out or whatever, um, yeah it doesn't stop me from doing that … it's not, it's *school* that it affects than anything else, …
>
> *Interview 2, line 1080*

Nonetheless, elements of his narrative around communicating with others, for example by texting on his phone, suggest that his reading skills may inhibit his ability to be fully embedded within his social network:

> Researcher: and what about when people text *you*, are you able to read what they
>
> Harry: *yeah*
>
> Researcher: text to you
>
> Harry: 'cept it's like, so someone, like I put Hi, and then they put a whole twenty million words I'm not gonna read that, no
>
> Researcher: [small laugh]
>
> Harry: no, no, no, just no
>
> Researcher: [laughs]
>
> Harry: I hate that, when you put like hi and they put a whole paragraph you're like [sighs and blows air out through lips], it's like they're the whole, like hi with a like twenty million different words
>
> *Interview 1, lines 453-460*

Although our exchange was at one level light-hearted, I was struck when listening again by the possibility that my laughter also served as an unconscious defence against thinking too deeply about Harry's very real struggle to engage fully in others' communication.

Harry's adoption of speech-to-text features on his phone has provided a means of communicating at an acceptable level with friends while avoiding the pressure of writing in real time, and represents one of a number of ways in which Harry uses technology to support his reading and writing skills. Speech-to-text also provides a tangible representation of Harry's stated preference for talking over writing, a topic he returned to several times:

> talking is actually better … cos I can say a word I can't spell [short laugh/sigh]
>
> *Interview 2, lines 595-597*

However, although Harry's ideas can be captured and communicated in this way, at the moment he still needs to be able to read to make sense of his friends' and family's responses. He is aware of his parents' disapproval of this technology and his respect for their authority means this is likely to be a source of anxiety for him (Theme 2 – Sense of Justice).

4.3.1.2 Poor academic self-concept sub-theme

Harry frequently communicated his view that reading is an unpleasant chore, to be avoided whenever possible. He gave a number of reasons to justify his avoidance, from finding reading boring to preferring other activities and means of communicating:

> I dunno, I uh, I barely read … er … [exhales loudly] … I normally read like …
> comics, or things like, short books with few words
>
> *Interview 1, line 48*

Harry's avoidance of the task of *talking about* reading, particularly during his first interview, was striking. He appeared reluctant to talk directly of his experiences, communicating in numerous ways that reading was not something he did. There was a sense that he considered his actions not to be those of a 'proper' reader, but instead a rather childish version of one. Harry's notion of "ish-read(ing)" became a key phrase for defining many of his learning behaviours:

> Harry: …. I have two books from [the resource centre], that I read …. well ish read [small laugh]
>
> Researcher: [loud smile] tell me about that
>
> Harry: ish read
>
> Researcher: what's ish read? [small laugh]
>
> Harry: ah, well read a bit, go to different whole page, and then read a bit more
>
> *Interview 1, lines 118-122*

Harry's association was frequently to contrast himself with his sister, who despite being younger than him is considered a far more accomplished reader. The presence of a 'smarter sister' is discussed in relation to Harry's perception of gendered family roles under Theme 2, which in turn has a bearing on his academic self-concept and justification for avoiding reading here:

> mm yeah, don't like reading a lot …so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing … so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no … not fun, I don't like it so yeah
>
> *Interview 1, lines 50-56*

Harry's association to his sister's skills here and elsewhere suggested that he was painfully aware of his academic shortcomings in relation to this 'smarter sister'. I reflected on this following my first lesson observation, when I was exposed to the composition of Harry's English class for the first time:

I was struck immediately by the size difference between the girls and boys in this class – the girls, almost without exception, looked a good two years older than the boys; their faces were mature, and they towered over their male peers, superior in height, beauty and maturity ... The boys were, with the exception of two, short and … well, boy-ish! The boys in Harry's row were small, child-like, and very similar in height – a row of little boys at the back of a class of teenagers. Others appeared more mature in outlook but were still the same height.

A first group of girls performed. They were funny, witty, articulate and well-rehearsed, delivering their clever work with confidence. As the second group performed, I realised that Harry was red in the face, had his head down, and was crying.

…

Harry was silent for the whole lesson, partly by choice and partly because the teacher didn't attempt to involve him – this was odd as overall it was a lively, chatty, language-filled environment, with pupils seemingly confident and happy to share their thoughts, insights and opinions. It seemed to be a class comfortable in each other's company, confident to take risks and share their thoughts. However, as I reflected on this, I wondered whether there was something of a split between those mature and confident enough to give voice to their ideas, and those perhaps made to feel the younger, less mature members – almost like older and younger siblings, maybe? Perhaps this was why it felt unsafe or uncomfortable for Harry?

Extract from Process Notes, Harry's Lesson Observation 1

Harry appears to make little distinction between reading and writing, and his common response to questions about reading per se was to develop a narrative which focused on writing and spelling. His assertion that talking enabled him to communicate his thoughts and ideas effectively made even more sense when seen in terms of his frustration at being unable to set these down successfully in written form. He seemed highly aware that this was the means by which his abilities would be assessed, and was keen from the outset to let me know that his *ideas* were as good as anyone else's:

On entering the room, before the interview formally began, he told me he can write whole stories in his head but just can't get them down – the way he came straight in with this was interesting … a defence against being seen not to be able to do the reading part? … I'm curious about his proactive need/decision to start our conversation with this …

Extract from Research Diary - reflective notes following Harry's Interview 1

yeah, so that's why I use the microphone so I just *say* it and then it's *there* and then I don't have to *rethink* it

Interview 1, line 502

Harry's powerful emotional response to assessment was vividly played out during his first interview, when he spoke tearfully of his experience of "freak(ing) out" when being tested. His fearful assumption that he would fail was startling, and the following lengthy extract captures something of the emotional atmosphere within this phase of the interview:

Harry: um, if I don't like, if I don't do a test I, I literally cry, like now [starts to well up with tears; voice becomes a little shaky; wipes eyes with back of hand], I like, I just break down [sniffs] into pieces,

                …

                and just freak out,

                …

                so yeah

Researcher: oh, you're OK … you OK? Oh …

Harry: yeah [small laugh and exhalation]

Researcher: what are you thinking about when you break down?

Harry: just think I've done my worst and then, just break down [sighs, exhales a little], so yeah

Researcher: yeah … yeah … OK

Harry: [sniffs] so when I'm in it I just have to like [does fast, deep breaths] breathe, or I just walk away [exhales, blows out air]

Researcher: is that a, so that's a sort of, so thinking about taking a test?

Harry: no, it's not taking it, it's when I'm *in* it and then … like … you know when they say, [voice breaks and wobbles a little] just scrip a, skip the question, I just sit there staring at the question, so I just get a bit, and then, I miss, er … I'd say I just done the first page for an *hour*

Researcher: mmm

Harry: and I miss all the other ones I could have got so yeah, that's what I do a lot

                …

                I try just I can't stop, it's *so* annoying …

Researcher: yeah

Harry: [sniffs] I *try* and stop but I *can't* [voice breaks again] … so yeah [in tears]

Researcher:	try and stop … doing what
Harry:	crying …
Researcher:	ah, OK
Harry:	but I can't … it's just, thing
Researcher:	yeah …. so is this crying when you're actually in the test?
Harry:	yeah, yeah I just freak out, break down
Researcher:	OK, wow … and what happens then?
Harry:	like, some teachers just say do you wanna go outside, and I'm like no I'm fine
Researcher:	right
Harry:	just like get up
Researcher:	right
Harry:	[sighs heavily, sniffs, wipes eyes with back of hand]
Researcher:	what is it that, do you think you're
Harry:	dunno, I just … break
Researcher:	crying about?
Harry:	[sighs heavily] dunno really , I just, break down …

Interview 1, lines 186-220

This was demonstrated again during the first lesson observation, when he began to cry in class when faced with the prospect of performing to his peers.

Harry's tearful account of himself as doing "lazy work" and "ridiculous stuff" here and elsewhere was painful to listen to, and elicited a sense that I should provide some reassurance and validation to make him feel better.

Although Harry described his response in terms of a "freak out" and a "break down", his behaviours gave little evidence of such powerful feelings. He was undoubtedly upset, but his words appeared to more closely match his inner turmoil than the silent tears visible to those around him.

Alongside this very specific response, Harry communicated a more general sense of struggling academically, which he associated with not putting in sufficient or consistent hard work.

His response to questions about whether he himself or others considered him stupid appeared dismissive and played down any difficult feelings he might have with regard to peer relationships, although his final observation suggested that he may be more vulnerable to unkind comments than he was able to acknowledge:

Researcher:	… when we met before … you were saying about, the idea that's like, some people think that if you can't read that makes you stupid, um
Harry:	[shrugs and small laugh] I dunno where I got that from
Researcher:	and so I wondered about, yeah, I just wondered a little bit about that, cos that, that is something I've heard other people say as well, you know they kind of link that …
Harry:	oh yeah
Researcher:	you know, can't read therefore
Harry:	they're stupid
Researcher:	stupid… um, so I just wonder if that was
Harry:	I try not to
Researcher:	if you could tell me about a time when
Harry:	I try not to
Researcher:	that's affected you, or
Harry:	I try not to say it but when I'm like, I've done something ahhhh, I've done something *stupid* then I call myself stupid
Researcher:	yeah
Harry:	stuff like that and … even though like I'm not like … … some people [makes small noises with tongue on teeth]…. erm, yeah, like …. er …. yeah, I just say it then, don't say it much
Researcher:	yeah, so has there been a time when
Harry:	in school
Researcher:	when somebody's said that to you, or you've heard other people saying, you know, saying that or
Harry:	some people could say it like as a joke in a way … but like it wasn't meant in a harmful way as I obviously know cos then I'd take it seriously cos yeah, but I haven't *heard* anyone but then you can talk behind their backs … sadly

Interview 2, lines 889-908

Some of these feelings may be associated with Harry's family work ethic (Theme 2), through which his parents link professional and material success with hard work and academic results.

4.3.1.3 Getting help sub-theme

By linking his poor literacy skills with being lazy, Harry left himself little room to acknowledge the complex nature of his difficulties, or his need for additional support. Getting help with reading and writing appeared to be associated with a lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of his teachers. Harry's narrative contained few references to people who have helped him in school, in contrast to several references to the help provided by his parents. It appeared from interviewing and observing him that he, and therefore his needs, were not well known by those who taught him; this is reflected in my lesson observation process notes, and in Harry's interview narrative:

> I found myself trying to make sense of [Harry's] experience of this space, how distracting and disjointed it might feel, adding to his inner jumpiness rather than calming and alleviating it.
>
> I wondered about how much Harry might learn in this class? What he might be feeling about that? He had shared with me some of his frustrations about having to try and take notes while watching a movie in class – I recalled his words and frustrated yet resigned tone, and thought I wouldn't be sure whether such an issue could be shared and spoken about with this teacher.
>
> *Extract from Process Notes, Observation 1*

Researcher:	… if I asked your English teacher, what would,
Harry:	mmmm, they wouldn't really
Researcher:	how do you think they would describe you?
Harry:	they wouldn't really know, but, I don't really know … um … … … sometimes I really like, um, I'm really like *lazy* in a way, cos one time, she explained this whole thing for like, um, like fifteen minutes, and then came up to her not talking to us and said I don't understand so she called us all up and I was like does sh- don't even know all about it, so yeah …

Interview 1, lines 331-334

I felt indignant on Harry's behalf. It seemed that he was forever one step behind – always copying down the last idea or contribution from a louder, more confident peer, and never ahead of the game enough to be able to gather his thoughts and make his own contribution. I felt cross with the teacher for not noticing this, or caring enough to do anything about it.

Extract from Process Notes, Observation 2

A lack of proactivity on the part of both Harry to ask for help, and his teachers to offer it appeared to have left him lacking in confidence and unsure of what help was available to him over the longer term:

Harry: but I, so I don't even know if some teachers know I have ADHD or ADD, I don't know if they do, I don't know if they don't, but I know some teachers do, because … w-, because of my mental disorder I get an additional like twenty five um percent, or minutes, not minutes, I get twenty five percent extra for a test,

…

so yeah, um some teachers, don't even say, but then some teachers say you have, you can use your fifteen minutes extra, you can use it … if you *want* to use it

Interview 2, lines 962-970

Harder to listen to was Harry's account of the lack of thought and consideration a teacher had given to the work put in by him and his class to make models for a class demonstration. Although he was referring to a specific incident, Harry appeared to have placed great store by his teachers' appreciation when he worked hard, reflected in their ability (or otherwise) to 'hold him in mind' and provide sufficient emotional care:

Harry: so our science teacher went make these bots, we made it, for one lesson, and then she's like you can take it home or you can put it in the bin … I'm like, I spended like *three days* on that and you're telling me now to put it in the bin, I want, I want, we're all saying inside our heads what was the point …

…

Researcher: it sounds like … it's important that people recognise the effort you're
              putting in

Harry: not, it's not that it's just like … the teacher went like, like I did
              something for ethics last year and the teacher still has it in her
              classroom display, that's like alright … I hate when you try and do
              something the best and then it's for one lesson, it's like ridiculous,

Interview 2, lines 1052-1054

Even where technological help had been identified, for example through teachers trialling a

speech-to-text system with him in school, Harry remained pessimistic about being able to use it. I

wondered whether being singled out for attention like this also carried some anxiety:

Harry: … I used this thing … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would
              talk into a mike and then it would write it down for me …

              … and they saw a book, a *big* improvement … and, what she, what the teacher
              said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually
              helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests, then that's
              gonna be really annoying for everyone me talking …. [inhales deeply]
              [inaudible] I'll probably have to have a scribe …[sniffs]

Interview 1, lines 236-240

4.3.2 Harry's Theme 2 - 'Home is where the heart is'

 "all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get …

… better *life*."

Interview 2, lines 721-723
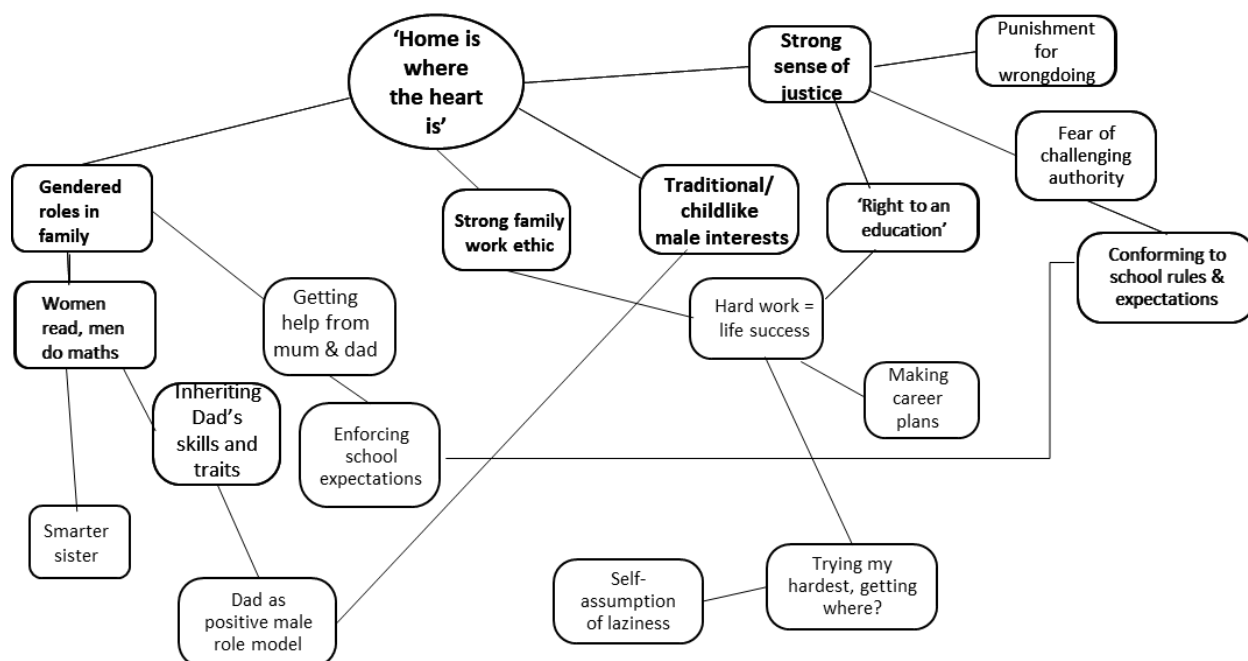
Figure 10: Thematic map of Harry's Theme 2 - 'Home is where the heart is', including sub-themes and codes

Harry's family was a dominant feature of much of his narrative, and my sense was that he belonged to a close-knit unit in which roles and expectations were clear, and respect for the authority of adults was assumed. In contrast, people outside his family were rarely mentioned, and those who did feature were referred to in generic terms, such as "a teacher", "a boy" or "friends".

Four subthemes were identified.

4.3.2.1 Gendered roles in family sub-theme

My sense during our interviews was of a boy who likes tradition and routine, and who is comfortable with male and female role models of a father engaged in hard physical labour and a mother who reads and writes, and nurtures her family: Although Harry's family displayed some of these characteristics, aspects of his narrative belied his parents' wholesale assumption of these roles, and his views may reflect an idealised view rather than current reality for his family.

Harry described his mum as being the person who has most consistently helped him with his reading and writing:

> well my mum's helped me a lot, obviously …[laughs] …
>
> … she helps me a lot, she's like the main person, she helps me, but not in school obviously but yeah but she helps me, a lot …
>
> *Interview 1, lines 526-528*

However, his narrative reveals the central role his father has also played over time in ensuring that reading skills are practised and homework is completed to a high enough standard. Whereas his mother appears to be more understanding and supportive, often directly involved in working *with* Harry, his father has tended to take the role of keeping Harry on task by challenging and testing him until satisfied that sufficient effort has been put in and expectations have been met:

> and then like, I … I used to *have* to read like in my school they would ask us, like homework would be to *read* and then the parent would have to like sign it to say yes they did read,
>
> …
>
> I had a whole diary and that so what my dad did, … cos if I just said I read it … doesn't mean I read it … I, he would have to like, I I, he would go *through* the book and ask questions, so I'd *have* to read it otherwise er it's like, you can't really just, [deep breath in] oh yeah so I dunno [sighs, sounds tired] I had to read it, so that really annoying [sighs], don't have to do that anymore [small laugh]
>
> *Interview 1, lines 82-84*

This also links with the family's respect for school rules and expectations, identified within the Sense of Justice sub-theme. This is described in more detail below.

Harry told this same account of his father making sure that his reading homework was completed in both interviews. On each occasion it was accompanied by a series of sighs, groans and pre-verbal expressions of hard work, and it seemed that in the transference Harry was giving me a sense of the mental and physical effort which such reading activities required of him. Such utterances were a feature of many of Harry's accounts of his reading and writing experiences, and listening to them during transcription and analysis left *me* feeling wearied and slightly breathless:

Harry: well it *worked*, yeah, cos I couldn't really go around it as well … so just as I was saying [inaudible] he'd get off what I was doing in the kitchen, and straight on to questions …

…

and if I didn't read it [small, hard laugh] I read it and read it again, so I did

…

he'd give me page numbers too so he could work out questions [small sigh]

…

yeah, never liked it but hardly gonna love it, ever

Researcher: so you, so did that mean that you, so you *did* read it

Harry: yeah

Researcher: to answer your dad's questions?

Harry: yeah, I *had* to read it or else like, you don't know, do you … so yeah, it's like read it again [sharp, noisy inhalation of breath]

Interview 1, lines 92-100

I was very aware of the degree to which Harry's breathing dominated his conversation – through sighs, gasps, sharp inhalations and exhalations, points at which breath became almost vocal/verbal … this gave the sense of him expending lots of effort … exerting himself … effortful communication (and effortful listening)

Extract from Research Diary - reflective note made during transcription

These tangible physical manifestations of Harry's burdensome cognitive challenge offer a valuable insight into his ongoing reading experience, set as it is against a backdrop of high expectations with regard to working hard and expecting to see results. This connects with the Strong Work Ethic sub-theme, explored in the following pages.

4.3.2.2 Women read, men do maths & smarter sister subthemes

Harry makes frequent reference to his younger sister's superior reading ability, associating to this from a range of questions, and offering spontaneous comment between conversational episodes:

> … my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why …
>
> *Interview 2, line 938*

His narrative veers between the unpalatable recognition that, although younger, his sister is superior to him in this regard, and a more bearable assumption that reading and maths are gendered skills:

Researcher:	… is there anyone else in your family that finds writing tricky?
Harry:	*no*
Researcher:	or reading tricky?
Harry:	um … my dad's like, he *can write*, yeah he's not the best … my mum's the best in the family, she's really good, she's a nurse … my sister's good, she's better than me
Researcher:	[small laugh] how old's your sister?
Harry:	er she's ten, ten, er yep, she's coming up *next* year, when I'm year nine
Researcher:	yep
Harry:	so yep, that's her first year here [small exhalation]

Interview 1, lines 271-278

The association between a 'smarter sister' and Harry's own academic self-concept have been considered under Theme 1. Within Theme 2, Harry's and his family's reading behaviours have given him a reassuring gendered model for explaining and justifying his lack of reading and writing ability, particularly when considered alongside his younger, 'smarter' sister:

> well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading …
>
> … er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma
>
> *Interview 2, lines 825-827*

4.3.2.3 Inheriting traits from Dad subtheme

Assigning maths skills to the men of the family and reading skills to the women supports Harry's identification with his father, who appears to be a positive role model for him in terms of work ethic, responsibility and ambition:

> Researcher: … how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you?
>
> Harry: I really don't care, really … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy …
>
> … she's great at English, I'm bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think …
>
> … like my dad always, my dad's like, his job is always around maths…
>
> *Interview 2, lines 842-851*

4.3.2.4 Traditional/childlike male interests subtheme

As a 12-year-old boy Harry is on the cusp of leaving what in psychoanalytic terms is defined as the developmental stage of latency or late childhood and entering adolescence. His conversation reflects these latency interests:

> … cos I like emergency services, or diggers … as I said I have a digger named after me so I was like, I really like … all that sort of stuff … like rescue, um police cars … anything really, with lights … ambulance, anything about emergency service interests me or, construction site …
>
> *Interview 1, line 104*

Harry's current ambition is to join the police force, but he is acutely aware of the need to be able to read and write to fulfil the requirements of the job. His accompanying pre-verbal sounds suggest that this may be a source of anxiety for him:

> yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older … yeah and that's why I'm trying to actually do something good … cos you need high grades …definitely in the English as well … [sighs … then errrgggh sound]
>
> *Interview 1, lines 110-116*

> I barely like English but it … it's a thing you're gonna have to do if you're gonna be a police officer sadly, cos I can't just put nothing on the [speeding] ticket and then … [coughs] yeah so, trying to do that
>
> *Interview 2, line 661*

Unsurprisingly, Harry's conceptualisation of the role of a police officer, and his interests in speed, catching criminals and seeing justice done reflects his developmental position at the point at which latency and adolescence meet. His desire to talk about guns, tasers, motorbikes, and car chases suggest that he is grappling with increasingly 'live' issues of potency and masculinity alongside an ongoing pull to follow the rules and do the right thing.

4.3.2.5 Strong family work ethic subtheme

Harry's family's work ethic and sense of responsibility are expressed explicitly and implicitly throughout his narrative, and his parents' expectations are clear:

all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and
job and car and vehicle you'll get …

… better *life* [small laugh-sigh]

<p style="text-align: right;">*Interview 2, lines 721-723*</p>

Harry seems concerned that he's not putting in the one hundred percent effort required by
his parents and his school. His tearful assumption that his lack of progress must be down to lazy
work was painful to listen to, particularly when listening again during transcription, and offered an
emotional glimpse into the powerful feelings associated with his reading difficulty:

Researcher:	so, … how do you see yourself … as a, like as a reader or as a, as somebody who's learning …
Harry:	just trying, I don't really know actually, sometimes I think I'm an *idiot* but, that's not, I don't really take that all the time, that's only when I'm doing *ridiculous stuff*, erm … [sniffs]
Researcher:	what do you think is ridiculous stuff?
Harry:	just lazy, being lazy … [voice gets wobbly] lazy work really [eyes filling up, wiping eyes on back of hand, sniffing, voice continues to get more wobbly] … cos all school ask is a hundred percent [gasps] and that's all they want [sighs/gasps loudly]
Researcher:	and do you feel you give that?
Harry:	yeah ninety, ninety eight, ninety one, probably ninety one, but not a hundred

<p style="text-align: right;">*Interview 1, lines 294-302*</p>

If Harry is giving 91% effort, he is still working very hard. However, his admissions of
leaving homework to the last minute, and finding work outside school a chore belie his account and
suggest that he struggles to fully commit to his parents' requirements regarding working hard, or to
meet the expectations and ambitions of those around him.

However, keenly aware of the need to do well academically if he is to fulfil his dream of joining the police force, Harry is caught between needing to believe his parents' views that success comes through hard work, and acknowledging that, for him, simply working harder may not be enough:

> Harry: mmm, I think I'm going up slowly, I'm not moving far but I'm going somewhere so yeah …
>
> … keep trying … yeah [voice breaks a little], I'm going somewhere at least [voice getting very trembly] … I just really try my hardest
>
> *Interview 1, lines 178-182*

4.3.2.6 Strong sense of justice subtheme

Working hard parallels a further sub-theme within Harry's narrative, around a sense of justice and doing the right thing. This extends from expressions of the need for rules to be kept and wrongdoing punished to a more nuanced expression around accessing the education and services to which he and his peers are entitled:

> … I remember year three year four … there's like different reading groups and I was with someone else who was, it was year four and year three were together, … I was the year four in the class, ….and I was with a boy from year three and he *never* used to do it, it was like, we had the most easiest work out of *everybody* in the classroom … why wouldn't he do it it's so easy [sigh/gasp/whisper] ah, I don't get it, and he used to *literally lie* to the *headteacher's face*, she'd come up to him at lunch, did you do your work, yeah I did, *no* you *didn't*, and I had to like *watch* him do it ….
>
> like he was a baby [inaudible] what he was doing, so that was annoying …. cos I was trying to learn [sighs/yawns]
>
> *Interview 1, lines 158-160*
>
> … it helps me so I do it … and it's like, like free education so you might as well do it
>
> *Interview 1, lines 147-148*

The concept of 'free education' is one Harry returns to a number of times, suggesting that this represents something significant for him with regard to his ability to access and benefit from the

educational experience he is offered. He associates to this from an ongoing sense of frustration and annoyance at his peers' lack of engagement with the means of improving their skills, in literacy and elsewhere. As above, this is frequently expressed as feeling annoyed on his teachers' behalf, who he appears to assume without question are dedicated to improving their pupils' lot.

Harry displays a childlike desire for justice to be done, and punishment swiftly meted out for wrongdoing, which seems closely connected with his concern to tell me he's trying his best, following the rules, and doing what's asked of him. Engaging in what he terms "ridiculous stuff" (Interview 1, line 294) therefore justifies his reproachful comments about not working as hard as he could or should.

> Harry: … yeah I have done lazy work
>
> Researcher: what's lazy work? ….
>
> Harry: doing nothing … like, um, just writing few words … yeah, that's really lazy [big sigh/gasp]
>
> *Interview 2, lines 914-918*

Harry's narrative around hard work being the sole means of achieving success appears deeply entrenched. Although admirable in some ways, in others it has left him vulnerable to assuming that he must be the one doing something wrong rather than questioning the way in which he is taught and supported in school. His respect for authority and strong sense of needing to conform to school and family rules mean that he is currently unlikely to challenge the appropriateness of the support his teachers provide. Indeed, to do so would mean challenging his parents' authority as well, which is a greater cause of concern for Harry:

> you can't really not … go against them can you … the teacher, it's not, not someone you can debate about [small laugh] sadly …
>
> … and um my parents hate talking back so yeah, I wouldn't do it
>
> *Interview 2, lines 687-693*

4.3.3 Harry's Theme 3 – Poor reading and AD(H)D

"I get distracted … even though I take my medication"

Interview 1, line 400
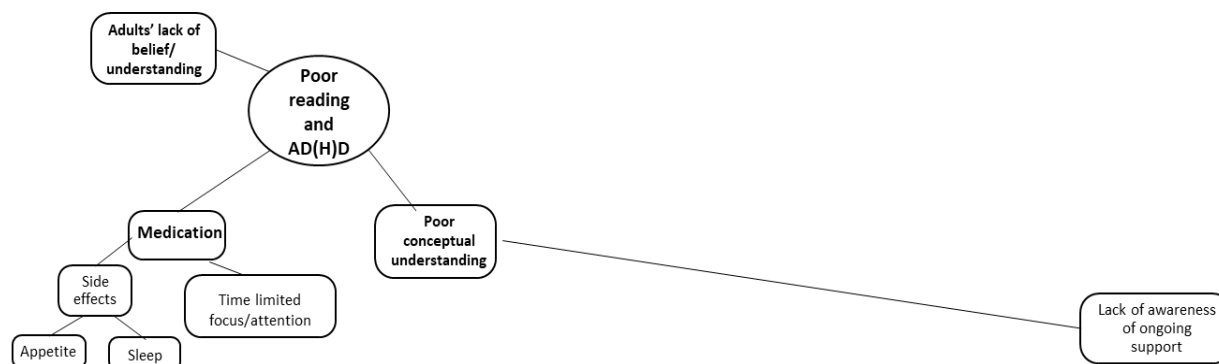
Figure 11: Thematic map of Harry's Theme 3 – Poor reading and AD(H)D, including sub-themes and codes

Harry's awareness of his AD(H)D diagnosis runs throughout his narrative, and his responses to questions about reading and learning were frequently associated to his experiences on and off medication. There seemed to be a clear link for him between having AD(H)D and being unable to read or write.

4.3.3.1 Medication sub-theme

Harry takes slow-release medication to cover the hours he spends in school, with the opportunity to 'top up' with a fast-acting dose during the evening if he has a homework project requiring focused attention. The side effects of the medication dominated Harry's conversation, particularly the fluctuations in his appetite:

> like, the big thing I can notice is um … my *appetite* really, like, I don't eat at all, but when I 'm *off* it I can eat like the whole house out [small laugh] … I'm like, just eat and eat and eat

Interview 1, lines 166-168

At a latent level, Harry's fluctuating physical appetite may communicate an unconscious or metaphorical appetite for other things, such as learning and success. This is explored within Chapter 5 - Discussion.

4.3.3.2 Adults lack of belief/understanding sub-theme

Harry appears dependent on others to notice and meet his needs. Adults' ability to do this rests upon the beliefs and understanding they hold about literacy difficulties and AD(H)D, and Harry is aware that even those who know him well can struggle to understand:

> my dad says you can't write but you can, like … so "he knows everything about this but he can't write, it's really weird!" and I went like "yeah I know" [small laugh]
>
> *Interview 1, line 292*

4.3.3.3 Poor conceptual understanding sub-theme

Harry's narrative is peppered with evidence of a wider weakness in conceptual understanding, for example when describing volume, capacity, length and time. This is in turn likely to affect his ability to infer meaning from his reading, and to apply previous learning:

> no, well sometimes I take, I have the twenty milligrams and that's what I take every school day, um but I have these five millimetres, they're like proper pills and um, I take two of them so ten millilitres …
>
> *Interview 1, line 172*

Participants' data has been presented in the form of the themes identified through thematic analysis. The next chapter now summarises and discusses the overall findings in response to the research questions.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

Chapter overview

This chapter:

- summarises findings from the current study

- identifies and discusses overarching themes and characteristics within those findings, in the context of research literature reviewed within Chapter 2, wider literature, and relevant aspects of psychological theory

- reflects on the implications of the findings for EP practice, and the researcher's own LA context

- considers the strengths and limitations of the current study, and implications for future research

- offers a working plan for dissemination of findings to participants, stakeholders and the wider psychological and educational communities

5.1 Summary of Findings

This piece of research used the narratives of two 12-year-old secondary school students identified with persistent reading difficulties, generated within a Free-Association Narrative Interview (FANI) (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013), to answer the following research questions:

- How do young people who find reading difficult experience the activity and process of reading, socially, emotionally and psychologically?

    o What relationship to reading do young people have who find reading difficult?

    o What does reading 'feel like' for those who find it difficult?

These questions sought to explore social, emotional and psychological aspects of the two boys' reading experiences, with the aim of understanding something of their relationship to reading, in the sense of trying to gain insight into how it *'feels'* to find reading difficult. A thematic analysis of

each student's interview transcripts identified four themes for Participant 1, Isaac and three themes for Participant 2, Harry. In keeping with the psychosocial methodology employed, reflective research diary entries, psychoanalytically-informed research supervision, and process notes generated from classroom observations facilitated the exploration of latent themes and provided additional means of holding in mind the 'whole' person. Although the research was not intended to generalise between participants' experiences, similarities were observed between a number of identified themes. These are highlighted and discussed within the following pages.

5.2 What does reading 'feel like' for Isaac and Harry?

The following sections present a brief interpretive summary of each student's experiences of the act and process of reading, These summaries serve to provide the reader with a sense of what reading 'feels like' for Isaac and Harry specifically. Later sections will then consider the quality and nature of the students' relationship to reading, and the potential implications of EPs' awareness of this for their professional practice.

5.2.1 Isaac – an interpretive summary

Like many adolescents, Isaac demonstrates an overwhelming desire not to appear different from his peers. Although he has attempted to engage with the tools and learning support he has been offered, the attention these attract makes him vulnerable to the threat of ridicule and bullying. Sibling relationships offer little respite from such teasing, and negative interactions with his two sisters appear to mirror those he fears or experiences in school. His perception that he needs school staff both to understand his difficulties and support him emotionally has been developed through a history of relationships with teachers who have either done this well or, conversely, have failed to meet his needs. This lack of consistency appears to have contributed to Isaac's resigned acceptance

that, even when thoughtful and well-intentioned, teaching and support staff are ultimately unable to help.

In contrast to his identity as a disabled reader, Isaac has developed an alter ego as a skilled magician. This appears to have been instigated some years ago in response to a number of challenging life events, including his difficult experiences in school. In his role as a confident and accomplished performer, he is happy to stand out from his peers, and enjoys the positive attention his skills attract. Considered in psychoanalytic terms, maintaining two separate identities enables Isaac to split off the painful, negative experiences he associates with his reading difficulties from the newer, more positive experiences he is enjoying through learning in an alternative, less word-based context (Beaumont, 1991; High, 2012). Although his magic is very much grounded in skills and reality, I wondered whether at an unconscious level Isaac might entertain the fantasy of having magic powers which could make his reading difficulties disappear.

5.2.2 Harry – an interpretive summary

Harry's perception of his relationships with teachers and other supporting adults appeared different to Isaac's. Although appropriate support was not always forthcoming, Harry's overwhelming emotions seemed to be gratitude for the attention he received and resigned regret that he was unable to meet his teachers' expectations. More significant to his learning and development appeared to be his relationships with his parents and younger sister, which have enabled him to define a number of academic skills by gender: put simply, girls are good at reading and boys are good at maths. By categorising his family's abilities in this way, Harry is able to attribute his difficulties to a characteristic beyond his control, and thus defend himself against acknowledging them as personal and intrinsic to him (High, 2012; Lanyado & Horne, 2009). Harry's description of his parents' support with reading and writing demonstrates their active, ongoing commitment to his academic success. However, when coupled with a powerful work ethic, their approach leaves little

room for Harry to attribute his academic failure to reasons beyond his own laziness or stupidity, and his self-concept is poor as a result. From reflecting on Harry's narrative, it appears unlikely that simply working harder will be enough to secure him the academic success he needs to be able to join the police force; working *differently*, on the other hand, with the support of informed and attuned teachers who understand how to plan and differentiate their teaching appropriately, just might.

Although on the cusp of adolescence, Harry displays many of the characteristics typical of a boy who is, in psychoanalytic terms, at the latency stage of development (Canham, 2006a; High, 2012). Not least of these are his desire to categorise and define, his identification with his father as a masculine role model, and an uneasy fascination with his own developing potency (Canham, 2006a; Waddell, 2002; Youell, 2006).

Harry's Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) cannot be overlooked, and he is acutely aware of the physical and psychological impact of both the condition itself and the medication which controls it. His frequent associations between medication, appetite and learning facilitated a more far-reaching consideration of the significance of appetites of all kinds within the teaching and learning process, and this is presented more fully within later sections of this chapter.

Overarching themes and characteristics identified from these findings will now be considered in the context of the reviewed and wider literature. Drawing on psychological theory, and with particular reference to systemic and psychoanalytic frameworks, attempts will be made to attach meaning to Harry's and Isaac's reading experiences. This is done in the context of acknowledging both researcher and researched as psychologically defended.

5.3 What relationship to reading do Isaac and Harry have?

The findings from the current study suggest that Isaac's and Harry's relationship to reading can be conceptualised as uneasy and unwanted, and, particularly in Harry's case, carrying a gendered assumption with regard to boys' lack of engagement, which here takes the form of the 'smarter sister'. The uneasy, unwanted nature of the relationship is considered below, before the chapter turns to a broader discussion of the implications of the current research findings for the students' ongoing experience of reading, and for EP practice in relation to working with children and young people who find reading difficult.

5.3.1 An uneasy and unwanted relationship

As Isaac's and Harry's narratives show, the process of learning to read (or, indeed, failing to learn) can be fraught with anxiety. Living in continual fear of being embarrassed, ridiculed and unable to access the written resources through which the majority of their teaching and learning is delivered, the boys were often living on their nerves and had developed their own strategies for avoiding or deflecting the relentless pressure to read and write, particularly within the public sphere of their classroom. At a number of points within the interviews and during later analysis and reflection, I sensed that, given the choice, neither boy would have chosen to put themselves through the daily struggle to read and write in school. In this regard, their relationship to reading might be described as akin to a 'forced marriage', whereby they were locked into a relationship with reading which they neither wanted nor enjoyed, and which made little allowance for their own particular skills and preferences.

5.3.2 Evasion and avoidance

High (2012) notes that evasive and avoidant behaviours are commonly employed among adolescents with reading difficulties, where experiences of failure have been consistent and long-established (Collinson & Penketh, 2010; High, 2012; Waddell, 2002). Harry and Isaac are no exception, and their common defence against the discomfort of being unable to read fluently has been to avoid it as often as possible. For Harry, this was expressed as a denial of interest in reading ("I can do it but I just don't like it" – Interview 1) and his narrative was peppered with references to an activity he engaged in only under duress, for example when forced to complete reading assignments with his father (Interviews 1 & 2). Isaac's avoidance was more subtle and was achieved through simply keeping quiet about his difficulty; he picked up what he could, and lived with remaining ignorant of what he couldn't. His inability to read the content of written notes passed to him by teachers and administrators provided a painful case in point (Interview 1).

High (2012) describes a teenage boy known to her who had developed a way of covering up his difficulties by substituting simpler words, and both Isaac and Harry employed similar masking strategies. Isaac said that if he didn't know how to spell a particular word, he swapped it for a simpler one rather than ask for help; he was particularly sensitive to the consequences of asking in front of peers, and his painful account of being ridiculed for being unable to spell 'said' is described in the previous chapter. Harry described skimming over the books he read in a process he called "ish-reading", his attention alighting on the words he knew and departing swiftly for the next page when confronted with those he didn't. Cameron's (2016) university students described the consequences of similar, if more complex strategies with regard to reading for seminars and lectures: skimming the text left them with insufficient awareness of the subject, but reading in full meant they were left behind by their peers; although their only 'safe' option for avoiding humiliation was to avoid seminar discussion and lecturers' questions, this led to the development of an academic

identity within their institution which did not reflect their ability or enthusiasm for their subject (Cameron, 2016).

The significance of the peer group has been discussed in the previous chapter, and is of particular significance when considering adolescents' learning experiences. Both boys were aware that their avoidance made them vulnerable to appearing 'stupid' or lacking in knowledge about their subject, and Cameron's (2016) university students expressed similar concerns. Faced with the prospect of 'getting it wrong' in front of their peers, they frequently chose to remain silent in discussion and debate, or to avoid answering lecturers' questions for fear of having misunderstood what they had read.

5.3.3 Self-esteem and self-concept

Isaac describes an ever-present fear of having his reading and spelling mistakes ridiculed by peers and, even worse, of being bullied for failing to master the skills which others appear to have learned with ease. Harry avoids reading as much as possible, and his emotions frequently get the better of him when faced with print-based assessments of the knowledge he has acquired. The impact of the boys' difficulties on their self-esteem is evident, and they display many of the characteristics of poor self-esteem and academic self-concept widely identified among dyslexic young people within the literature (Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey, 2002; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Ingesson, 2007). Harry's tearful assertion that his failure must be due to his "lazy work" is consistent with Humphrey and Mullins's (2002) evidence for dyslexic students' increased tendency to attribute their academic failure to internal factors.

Like students interviewed by Burden and Burdett (2007), Collinson and Penketh (2010), and Glazzard (2010), Isaac's dyslexic 'label' appeared to give him a means of validating his difficulties. However, despite his evident desire for these to be normalised ("some people just can't, you

know?"), his perception is that his peers continue to attribute his reading difficulties to him being 'dumb' or 'stupid'. Isaac's sensitivity to these peer-group attributions currently outweighs any more positive self-attributions, and he remains socially and emotionally vulnerable as a result. This is very much in keeping with the narratives provided by younger teenagers within Ingesson's (2007) study, who reported feeling painfully embarrassed by their dyslexia diagnosis. As young adolescents, Isaac and Harry fall squarely within the "first six years of schooling" highlighted by Ingesson (2007, p. 574) as the most socially and emotionally challenging phase of education for students with reading difficulties. In the absence of a radical shift in the way their disabilities are understood and supported in school, one must hope that Isaac and Harry will, like Ingesson's respondents, discover ways to accommodate and overcome their reading difficulties as they leave behind a compulsory curriculum and focus their attention on subjects in which they experience a more consistent level of academic success.

5.3.4 Puberty and adolescence

Puberty and early adolescence are understood to place particularly challenging demands upon young learners, and it is important to understand Isaac's and Harry's difficulties within this developmental context (Vigilante & Dane, 1991; Waddell, 2002; Youell, 2006). Waddell (2002) stresses the importance of understanding the emotional and psychological changes taking place alongside the more obvious physiological changes of puberty, and suggests that, in its narrowest sense, adolescence represents a child's complex adjustment to all of these changes (p.140). A significant part of this process involves the child finding and developing a new sense of, and relationship to, themselves (what Waddell describes as "oneself-in-the-world" (2002, p. 140)), through a wide and varied range of behaviours, defences and adaptations. This includes, of course, their sense of themselves in relation to other people, and adolescence is commonly recognised as the point at which young people adjust their relationships with parents and other adults, in a

demonstration of their developing need to identify themselves as independent figures in preparation for adult life (Harris, 2007; High, 2012). Vigilante and Dane (1991) suggest that such processes can be particularly difficult for adolescents with learning difficulties to negotiate, and thus require even greater sensitivity on the part of teachers, parents and other supporting adults.

High (2012) identifies the ability to read and write as crucially important skills for independent living and describes the negative impact on adolescents' self-esteem and developing sense of identity of struggling to master these. Put simply, teenagers who cannot read or spell feel humiliated that their difficulties make them appear childish. Thus, Isaac's frustration at being seen to be different to his peers may demonstrate a sense that his inability to read not only makes him 'dumb' and 'stupid' but also *immature*: surrounded by peers who are increasingly entering a world of 'grown-up' books with smaller text and more complicated words, he is painfully aware that his skills are better suited to those which are "more childly" in their vocabulary and content (Interview 1). Isaac is clear that online content presents less difficulty in this regard, which he attributes to website authors' tendency to use less complex words and phrases. Although the lexic population might bridle at what could be perceived as a 'dumbing down' of information and ideas, such material clearly provides a more inclusive and accessible learning environment for Isaac and others like him. As such, its contribution to educational inclusion cannot be denied.

Harry's preoccupations and behaviours suggest that he has not yet fully entered adolescence, but to be contemplating puberty from the relative stability of the developmental stage of latency (High, 2012; Waddell, 2002). His relationship to his more adolescent peers has been described within the previous chapter but is useful to revisit here in the context of differences between his own and Isaac's experiences of reading. Whereas Isaac's fear of appearing childish in front of his peers is a significant threat to his self-esteem, Harry's narrative contains few such concerns. Although both are concerned by judgments that they are lazy and stupid, Harry's anxieties appear to be more closely linked to *adults'* perceptions of him than those of his own peer group.   His

relationships with his family are strong, and he is very sensitive to his teachers' opinions of his work and ability to 'hold him in mind' (Bibby, 2011; Hyman, 2012; Music, 2017). Whereas Isaac's anxieties suggest a fear of being considered 'stuck' in childhood while others have moved on, Harry's may be more closely associated with moving on from childhood and entering a more adult world (Vigilante & Dane, 1991)). The greater level of independence required of this world demands reading and writing skills beyond those which Harry currently possesses, and his difficulties may thus provide a measure of comfort for him in this respect: he can legitimately remain closely tied to his parents, comfortably dependent upon the comfort, certainty and security they provide.

5.3.5 Relating to the reading environment

Salzberger-Wittenberg et al. (1999) High (2012) and others consider the importance of the learning environment itself to students' ability to engage with the teaching and learning opportunities presented to them. Further evidence for the psychosocial processes which may be contributing to Isaac's and Harry's experiences was found within each boy's English classroom. My response to these settings and the activities therein arose several times as an area for reflection within supervision, and became an important additional means of understanding the boys' experiences of, and relationship to, reading.

The marked difference in size and maturity between boys and girls in Harry's class has been described in Chapter 4, and their interactions were just one way in which what felt like a teen drama was played out as they studied Shakespeare's 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. Mediated by a teacher who appeared to have cast herself as the older sister to a class of teenage siblings, the lessons were lively and fast-moving, and charged with adolescent 'banter' and sexuality. Although such an approach appeared to engage those who were more mature, or who wished to be, I sensed that for some, including Harry, the experience might be alienating and unsettling. As a latency boy yet to come to terms with the realities of adolescence, Harry may feel reading in such a context to be even

more of a threat, not only to his self-esteem but also to his innocence (Beaumont, 1991; Canham, 2006b; Miller, 2015).

Isaac's English class, in contrast, exuded the welcoming air of a traditional wood-panelled library. Reading and literary texts were presented as valuable and interesting in their own right by a chic, briskly warm teacher who I thought was likely to be a similar age to the students' mothers. For the first 15 minutes of the lesson, an invitation to "Get out your reading books and read silently" was displayed on the whiteboard, positioned above a photograph of several piles of books topped by a pair of wire-rimmed glasses. The ticking classroom clock added to the rather bookish atmosphere: this was clearly not the stuff of teen dramas but of serious literary engagement. I reflected in my observation process notes that this was an interesting choice of image for an adolescent population, and was concerned at how alienating it might be, not only for Isaac but for many of the students in his class.

Enriquez (2014) suggests that schools not only teach their students to read, but also communicate to them in a myriad ways that school will decide how they should engage and interact with written text, and thus whether they can be identified as a 'good' or a 'struggling' reader (p.105). Similarly, Learned's (2016) exploration of the 'struggling reader' identity found that assumptions made by school staff on the basis of numerous unrelated factors led to students being incorrectly identified as struggling, in some cases before teacher and student had met. A particular problem identified by Learned was the erroneous conflation of reading difficulty with behavioural difficulty, leading to students being placed in classes inappropriate to their needs and abilities. Collinson and Penketh's participants (2010) identify a similar process of exclusion for students who cannot and therefore do not engage with the 'lexic' discourse of their academic setting. Atkinson (2009) challenges EPs and other education professionals to work more closely with adolescent boys in particular, to identify the factors within their social, emotional and academic environment which might better motivate and conversely inhibit their engagement with reading.

Observing Isaac working with his peers in class, I was aware of his increasingly forceful manipulation of his water bottle, and reflected on this in my process notes:

> Isaac continually manhandled his water bottle, manipulating it in increasingly complex and obvious movements. What started as a small roll, a little sip, a slide from one side of the table to the other gradually became a complex flipping and rolling manoeuvre, interspersed with pressing the side of the bottle to his lips, his forehead, his eyes … he manipulated it deftly between the fingers of one hand and I thought about his magic skills, and how they depended on such deftness
>
> *Extract from process notes, Observation 2*

The timing of this at a point when he was likely to be feeling at his most vulnerable to exposure and ridicule led me to interpret his behaviour as a need to establish some sense of potency in the midst of an activity and an environment which were both alienating and disempowering.

> Was playing with the bottle perhaps also indicative of him sensing an attack on his identity? Needing to communicate and be in touch with his sense of himself, his masculinity, his strength and power – keeping hold of some power in a situation that left him at risk of being powerless, exposed, vulnerable to attack or exposure at any moment …
>
> *Extract from process notes, Observation 2*

The 'smarter sister' was identified as a theme within both Harry's and Isaac's narratives, and has been discussed in the previous chapter. Acutely aware that I felt more comfortable within the bookish atmosphere of Isaac's lesson, it was necessary to acknowledge myself as the 'smarter sister' again here. Bibby (2011), Britzman (2012), Eloquin (2016) and Salzberger-Wittenberg et al. (1999) identify the vulnerabilities that teachers and others working with young people can experience. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, they suggest that these are often a demonstration of adults' unconscious return to aspects of their own experiences as teenagers.

5.3.6 Appetite

Harry made several references to his appetite during our interviews, describing the way this was affected by the medication he took to control his ADD during school hours: on medication he had no appetite, whereas without it he "could eat an elephant full of sweets" (Interview 2). Although he was referring to his physical appetite, this seemed to provide a powerful metaphor for Harry's other appetites, particularly his appetite for reading and learning, and I explored this more fully within my reflective diary and supervision. Harry's habit of "ish-reading", described above and in the previous chapter, might be understood in terms of him 'snacking' on text, taking a bite here and a bite there, rather than sitting down to consume a full meal. During the school day, at the points when he most needed the nourishment of a satisfying and balanced 'learning meal', his preference was to pick and snack at what information he could. Burden and Burdett (2007) suggested that the use of metaphor could offer dyslexic students and those who support them a means of understanding their experience more fully, and thus of offering more appropriate support. Considering Harry's difficulties in this way has offered an enlightening perspective on the complexities of his relationship to reading and learning more generally, and will be considered within feedback discussions with school staff, parents and Harry himself.

5.4 Teaching, learning and helping relationships

In seeking to answer the research questions, I also drew on available knowledge and understanding with regard to other, broader relationships understood to influence the reading and learning experiences of children and young people, and have broadly divided these into the learning relationship and the helping relationship.

Locating the current study within a psychosocial ontology and epistemology determined that the research phenomenon would be explored in relation to participants' social environment and

their internal, psychic environment. The following quotations appeared to summarise the two key elements which are brought together within this approach:

> Learning to read is not a skill that is learnt in isolation […] Understanding the context and the various players who all have particular roles in supporting reading are the cornerstones of knowing how we can improve reading outcomes for all students. […] the varied interactions and range of relationships children have with their family, school and the wider community can have a positive or negative effect on children in their cognitive development and emotional growth.
>
> (Fletcher, 2017)

> The young child who comes to school, the adult at college, has been patterned not by one sequence of inter-play between inner and outer events, but by myriads of them which will have gradually created a very individual and unique pattern of relationships in his mind. It is this internal picture of the world and the relationships between himself and others (as well as between others) which is transferred into the new situation. This internal picture leads to assumptions about the external world, which […] influences the present in three important ways: (a) the way we perceive, (b) the way we interpret, (c) the way we behave.
>
> (Salzberger-Wittenberg et al., 1999)

As such, relationships were understood to be central to Isaac's and Harry's experiences, whether these were with themselves, other individuals, groups, organisations, or indeed with reading itself.

5.4.1 Teachers' defences against anxiety

As active and defended parties within the teaching and learning relationship, teachers employ their own psychological defences against feeling inadequate, uncertain and de-skilled. These may be particularly powerfully experienced within the realm of teaching students with learning difficulties and special educational needs, where progress and attainment may not proceed with the same

certainty or pace deemed appropriate by those currently making decisions about the education of children and young people within the UK (Bibby, 2011; Billington, 2006; Britzman, 2012).

Interestingly, both Isaac and Harry had been placed in seats in the back left corner of their English classroom. This was unlikely to be the most helpful position for either of them, and I was curious to think about what might have contributed to their teachers' placement decisions. At a conscious level, this could be explained as an issue of personality management: the more disruptive students needing to be positioned at the front, for example. Harry justified his teachers' decision as a demonstration of her trust in him to work independently, although seemed aware that it showed little awareness of his ADD and the need to limit the number of environmental distractions he had to cope with. At an unconscious level, I wondered whether placing Harry so far back communicated his teacher's own desire not to engage with his needs, at a social, emotional and cognitive level. This teacher's potential role as older sister to her teenage siblings has been discussed in previous sections, and it may be that she considers Harry too childish to engage with. When arranging my second observation, she commented that she "hope(s) he won't cry this time", and I wondered whether this teacher had had her own experience of the 'smarter sister' identified within both Harry's and Isaac's narratives (Bibby, 2011; Britzman, 2012; Vigilante & Dane, 1991).

5.4.2 Seeking and receiving help

Corkett, Hein and Parrila (2008) observe that dyslexic students' motivation and ability to seek out the help they need is crucial to their academic success. The degree to which they are able to do this depends heavily upon their self-concept and self-belief, and on the quality of relationship they have been able to establish with peers and adults around them. Learned (2016), Blackman (2011) and Nielsen (2011) all identify help or support as relational activities. Vigilante and Dane (1991) suggest that adolescents with learning difficulties, including dyslexia may find the formation

of such relationships harder to establish than many of their peers, and stress the importance of adults proactively identifying their needs.

This is borne out in Harry's and Isaac's narratives, where helping activities are located within social relationships. Isaac's narrative indicates that he has experienced helping relationships which have been either enormously beneficial or markedly *un*helpful. Although this polarisation suggests that there is some unconscious splitting within Isaac's account, his experiences led me to consider the nature and quality of help that young people are offered within the context of reading difficulties.

As discussed in previous chapters, the prevalence of clinical and educational models of reading difficulty has directed research attention towards the development of evidence-based cognitive means of addressing young people's difficulties (Campbell, 2013; Humphrey, 2002; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002; Riddick, 2001). Schools thus place great store by their provision of a structured programme of interventions and strategies which have been shown to be effective in helping children and young people overcome their reading difficulties (Brooks, 2016; Rose, 2009). Support thus commonly comes in the form of additional or alternative 'catch up' sessions, where the young person is withdrawn from their regular classes to work on their reading skills in a smaller group or with a dedicated TA or LSM. Practical support may also be offered in the form of reading filters, large-print resources, or digital readers/speech to text software. As Isaac's and Harry's own experiences reveal, in addition to those reported within the reviewed literature, very little attention is given to students' social, emotional and psychological experience of finding reading difficult. Such considerations are frequently absent from teachers' execution of planned cognitive interventions and support, for example the failure to appreciate Isaac's embarrassment at arriving at a study centre in a teacher's car after doing his daily reading intervention, or drawing attention to physical tools to help him. Indeed, the support which Isaac cites as having been most helpful has been that where his

teacher's help has been administered discretely and kindly, without arousing the attention of his classmates: adults have known his needs and have accommodated them within their teaching.

Enriquez (2014) observes that schools commonly expect students to conform to the culture they have set for the school, in terms of the ways they learn, how they access and interact with reading material, and so on. I would suggest that schools' provision of help for those with reading difficulties may often be presented in a similar way: appointed 'helpers' are likely to have a very clear idea of what they consider to be helpful and how this will best be delivered; pupils must then fall in and accept this help as it is offered, whether it be a reading intervention, a phonics programme, or a precision teaching group; if the help is found not to work, the reason for its failure is commonly placed with the pupil and not with the helper, which can eventually place some pupils beyond further assistance. School staff have delivered the help but may not have delivered a helpful attitude, or developed a helpful relationship, both of which Isaac would testify were instrumental to his willingness to stay with the task and try again. Tsovili's (2004) study looks specifically at the impact of teachers' attitudes on students' self-esteem and academic self-concept. A more helpful approach may thus be to consider the following maxim, "Help is only helpful if it helps the person in need of help."[5]

From a psychoanalytic perspective, it was useful to consider my own experiences of working in schools alongside those I was hearing about from Isaac and Harry. As Bibby (2011) and Salzberger-Wittenberg et al. (1999) have shown, imparting knowledge and supporting the development of children and young people are fundamental aspects of the task of teaching. Those working within education are 'helping professionals' and expect that their input will ultimately be helpful to those they work with. Indeed, part of their job satisfaction may be derived through 'feeling helpful'. When faced with situations in which the help they offer either doesn't work or is

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[5] This is adapted from a colleague's views on motivation and intervention. To preserve the anonymity of those participating in my study, no further attribution is provided.

perceived as unhelpful by its recipients, teachers may experience unbearable unconscious feelings of insecurity or worthlessness, leading to the employment of a range of psychological defences. This may include projecting those feelings on to their pupils, such that they are ones left feeling 'useless', 'stupid' or otherwise resigned to being beyond help (Bibby, 2011; Eloquin, 2016).

My interviews with Isaac shed some light on this process and helped me to understand the experiences of literacy support he described. For our second interview, he had forgotten to come to the meeting room as arranged and I had to ask someone to collect him for me. The interview felt more stilted than the first time we'd met, and I realised I was trying hard to engender a sense that I had helped Isaac as much as he had helped me through taking part in the study. My immediate impression on leaving the interview was one of frustration and inadequacy, and this is described within the previous chapter. Isaac's resigned feelings that his teachers were doing their best but were ultimately unable to help may well have been the projections of his teachers themselves, and perhaps of my own sense of being unable to improve his situation.

5.5 Reflecting on the 'defended researcher'

Throughout this study, I have sought to acknowledge myself as an active, defended part of the research process, including within the generation and interpretation of data. As such, my own observations and reflections have informed the conclusions I have drawn from Isaac's and Harry's experiences. Although some may consider this an inhibiting factor with regard to the development of clear, applicable findings, my own experience of conducting the study suggests that the opposite may be true: whilst it is impossible to replicate the details and circumstances of any single event, general principles of recognition and identification can be applied, generalised and learned from. For example, my experience of identification with Isaac's and Harry's 'smarter sisters' was uniquely mine but may be used to alert others teaching and supporting young people to the presence of unconscious psychological defences within the adult-student relationship.

The following illustration may help to explain this further:

5.5.1 Labouring hard

Some way into the project, demands were high and I was immersed in writing up the study, completing my analysis of the data, and managing a busy training placement schedule. I was physically and emotionally weary, and shared with my supervisor my sense of feeling overwhelmed and paralysed by the size and nature of the task still in front of me: Like the uneasy and unsought relationship to reading experienced by Harry and Isaac, my own relationship to the academic task before me felt painful, resistant and lacking in evidence of progress. I was working so hard, I felt, and yet there seemed to be so little to show for my efforts. The process was painful and fatiguing, and I expressed my concerns that the finished thesis might not reflect the effort which had gone into executing it. I likened it to the process of labour and childbirth, a well-worn metaphor in many ways, but one which felt particularly apt in terms of the combination of effort, pain, messiness and inevitability it represented.

At one level my experience was not unique, and I was intensely aware that at this stage of the research process my fellow trainees were feeling equally daunted by the task of writing a doctoral thesis. However, my supervisor and I considered the possibility that some of what I was feeling might also be the experience of my research subjects, and together we attempted to explore this further. Reflecting on this, I realised that in the days preceding this supervision, I had been immersed in analysing Harry's interview transcripts and had identified a number of potential themes within his narrative account of his reading and writing experiences (described in Chapter 4 – Findings). Running throughout Harry's narrative was a theme around working hard and trying your best. He appeared to have adopted his family's strong work ethic in tandem with an imperative for keeping the rules and ensuring that justice was done. Together these appeared to present him with something of a conundrum: although he had assumed that his father's assertion that working hard in school would lead to greater life success, his experience to date was that trying hard and putting in all the effort he could muster were not sufficient to bring him the success he needed, and his dream

of becoming a police officer was at risk. His narrative was peppered with sighs, groans and gasps, unconsciously yet vividly communicating the sheer effort which reading and writing demanded of him. Listening to such a vivid, visceral account had left me feeling weary and breathless myself, a surprisingly physical response. Recalling this within supervision, I concluded that at some level Harry and I were mirroring each other in our experiences of engaging with our own academic struggles. My own sense of overwhelming physical weariness when considering my academic endeavour enabled me to understand something of the feelings that Harry experiences when faced with daily reading and writing challenges. It would be feasible to assume that others working closely with Harry may encounter similar responses, and the value of noticing and exploring such experiences with key members of school staff has clear implications for EP practice.

5.6 Implications for EP practice

The rich narratives offered by Harry and Isaac have demonstrated the insight and understanding to be gained by allowing young people to tell their own stories about their reading experiences. There are a number of practical and theoretical implications for practice at a national, local and personal level arising from the knowledge generated within the current study. These findings suggest that EPs can play an important role as mediators within, and advisors to those supporting, the uneasy and often unwanted relationship to reading experienced by children and young people who find reading difficult.

5.6.1 The need for an authentic perspective

The most recent changes to legislation and professional practice guidelines around SEND (Children & Families Act, 2014; DfE/DoH, 2015) have reinforced an already growing call for children and young people to become more meaningfully engaged as active participants in research,

assessment and consultation (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Billington, 2006; Shaw, Brady, & Davey, 2011). Alderson and Morrow (2011) and Greig, Taylor and Mackay (2013) stress the need for an authentic contribution from children and young people to the development of policies, strategies and insights which affect them. Recording the direct experiences of children and young people in relation to an area of learning as significant and fundamental as reading offers a timely means of deepening EPs' and other professionals' understanding, and thus the support they can provide to children and young people over the course of their educational career.

The open question format of the FANI allowed Isaac and Harry to frame their responses and develop their narrative as they wished, and facilitated the identification of themes and associations which were of importance and relevance to them. Gathering young people's own views and insights is an integral part of the assessment process, and EPs may find it helpful to incorporate Hollway and Jefferson's (2013) four FANI principles into their conversations with children and young people when exploring aspects of their learning and development. Since completing the current study, I have begun to ask young people more open questions when gaining their perspective on their difficulties and successes, such as 'tell(ing) me about a time when' they experienced a particular event, emotion or phenomenon, and have been able to elicit far richer, more nuanced accounts than might be possible when using a more closed form of questioning.

5.6.2 Supporting schools to fulfil their SEMH remit

The academic demands placed upon many secondary schools offer little opportunity to consider the particular strengths and needs of their students as adolescent learners. At the same time, schools are to be increasingly required to consider students' SEMH needs, and a wider understanding of the factors contributing to emotional and psychological well-being in relation to learning is likely to be welcomed by school staff. EPs are ideally placed to offer practical and

theoretical support to build the understanding of staff in schools, and under new legislation currently being developed are likely to have an even more prominent role in this area.

5.6.3 Creating a 'holding environment'

Hyman (2012) and Eloquin (2016) highlight the value of creating an environment within educational settings in which students' and staff members' emotional needs are supported as rigorously as students' academic progress, and suggests that EPs have an important role to play in helping schools to develop such environments for their students and staff members. Interviews with Harry and Isaac suggested that opportunities for their anxieties to be heard and held are rare, and demonstrated that young people can use such opportunities well. The provision of psychoanalytically-informed work discussion, observation, consultation, training and supervision can be adapted to meet the needs of both young people and adults, and may provide a powerful and containing space within which it is possible to acknowledge and speak to the inherent discomfort of individuals being required to establish a relationship with an activity which they continue to find emotionally and academically difficult.

5.6.4 Moving on from reassurance

Reflecting on my responses to Harry's and Isaac's experiences suggested that the impulse to reassure, protect and 'make better' may be strong among the adults supporting young people with reading difficulties. Although such responses are understandable, and at one level very comforting, they may serve to reduce young people's academic self-concept and nurture a sense of learned helplessness commonly observed among young people with learning difficulties (Glazzard, 2010; Tsovili, 2004). The findings of the current study around helping and supporting have led me to consider how I might support teachers and TAs to develop a richer understanding of the dynamics

at play within their classrooms, and thus reframe their helping responses in relation to what will be most helpful for the student.

5.6.5 Getting to know the 'smarter sister'

The notion of an unconscious 'smarter sister' has been described within this and the previous chapter. Although particular to the narratives and relationships considered within the current study, my sense is that she and similar defensive figures may be present within teaching and learning relationships more generally. Being mindful of her presence within the relationships which develop between young people and those who support them in school will extend my understanding of the factors contributing to young people's reading difficulties in a way that may not be possible through more systemic or solution-focused approaches. Using this understanding to address potential social and emotional barriers to learning will enable me to voice issues which may have a more far-reaching impact on students' learning than working at the level of cognition alone.

My own 'smarter sister' defence must also be acknowledged within the professional relationships I form, and will form part of a wider awareness of myself as an applied psychologist in role.

5.6.6 Use of tools and technology

On a more practical level, Harry and Isaac both cited the value of technology as a means of mediating their relationship to reading, through supporting and reducing the impact of their reading difficulties on many aspects of their academic and social life. Speech-to-text software and mobile phone apps were commonly used to reduce the cognitive load of writing and spelling, and Isaac highlighted the greater accessibility of online resources over printed text books. Both highlighted their parents' resistance to supporting the use of such tools, citing their concern that they

engendered an unhelpful dependency and removed vital opportunities to practice traditional reading

and spelling skills. Recent debate within EPNET[6], an online forum for EPs has shown that this is a

commonly held position among parents and school staff, and puts at risk young people's legal right

to access resources which support their ability to engage fully with teaching and learning activities

(Equality Act, 2010). Harry's and Isaac's experiences have enhanced my understanding of this

important area and will inform the advice I give to schools in future with regard to supporting

students' learning appropriately with tools and technology.

5.7 Dissemination of findings

Feedback has not yet been offered to Harry, Isaac and their parents, and is planned for

Summer 2018. This will take the form of an informal discussion with each student and their parent

of themes identified from the thematic analysis and will include an opportunity to consider how new

insights might support Harry and Isaac more effectively in school.

Sharing findings appropriately with key staff members will ensure that new knowledge can

be applied to improving the school's provision of support for Harry, Isaac and others like them.

This may be even more impactful if Harry and Isaac felt able to be part of this process, and will be

explored with them.

Findings will also be shared with EPs within my placement EPS as part of the service's CPD

offering during Summer 2018, and with other service colleagues within a monthly team meeting in

Autumn 2018, with the aim of developing and enhancing practice around support for persistent

reading difficulties.

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[6] EPNET is a free online discussion forum for EPs and TEPs to share resources, information and advice around the
practice and profession of educational psychology. The debate referred to took place during April and May 2018.

5.8 Strengths and limitations of the current study

Using a psychosocial approach for the current study enabled me to consider the many factors contributing to the relationship to reading experienced by two 'struggling' adolescent readers. Although some studies within the literature have generated a rich and nuanced picture of the reading experiences of those who find reading difficult, few have done this from a psychoanalytic perspective. Considering this additional dimension within the current study provides a further level of understanding with regard to the many social, emotional and psychological factors contributing to the reading experiences of young people who find reading difficult. This is particularly important when considering ways to support such learners more effectively, and suggests that psychosocial methods might be used very profitably with a younger research population.

The FANI (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008) provided a successful means of collecting rich qualitative data from each participant, and its use here demonstrated that such narrative techniques can be used effectively with a younger population. Each boy engaged fully with the interview process, and their detailed narratives suggest that being given time and space to talk about the things that mattered to them bore rich fruit in terms of capturing something of their experience. It is of course not possible to establish exactly how reflective they were or felt able to be, but my sense was that their responses were considered and based on their reflected accounts of experiences spanning a number of years. Simply talking through some of these things with an attuned, attentive listener was, I trust, a helpful exercise for them.

One tension which arose within the study was related to my own need to hold the boundary between conducting a therapeutically-informed research interview and engaging in therapeutic discussion. I was not working therapeutically with the students, and it was thus not appropriate to offer support which entered this realm. However, there were points during each boy's narrative where the temptation to delve deeper, to push further, and to offer practical support was strong.

My attempts to reassure and comfort, recorded within the findings, may have represented my desire to put on my 'EP hat' and offer *something* which might help.

Qualitative research samples are necessarily small, but another participant may have given an opportunity to generalise between experiences, which was not feasible with two participants. (My unsuccessful attempts made to recruit a third participant are recorded within Chapter 3 – Methodology.) Nonetheless, similarities between aspects of Isaac's and Harry's experiences did emerge, and these provided valuable opportunities for learning and reflection.

Recruiting a third, female participant would also have provided the opportunity to consider the part gender may play in young adolescents' relationship to reading. The wider literature contains a number of studies identifying adolescent boys' reading engagement as of particular concern (e.g. Atkinson, 2009), and within my own study gender appeared to be a salient issue: Harry suggested that reading was a gendered role, and the superior reading ability of the 'smarter sister' was something both boys referred to several times within their narrative.

5.9 Directions for future research

The sample size for the current study was very small. Conducting similar studies with more students of the same age would help to build a wider picture of adolescents' reading experiences. Working with female students as well as males would, as discussed above, enable me to explore reading relationships from a female perspective, and develop an understanding of the ways in which gender may contribute to the psychosocial experience of reading for those who find it difficult.

The dynamic relationship between students and the adults who support them has been considered from the perspective of the students within the current study. Using myself as a research tool, I have sought to understand the potential impact of key adults' own attitudes on young adolescents' relationship to reading. I am aware that I have offered one perspective and that, in

keeping with the psychosocial methodology, other interpretations may be possible. A valuable next step on from the current study may be to work with the teachers of those students, to explore *their* relationship to reading, and to understand how this might contribute to the learning experience of young adolescents who find reading difficult.

Further exploration of the reading and writing experiences of an adolescent population from a psychoanalytic perspective would appear to offer students, parents and teachers a rich seam of insights through which to understand the significant developmental changes taking place at this time.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The aim of this psychosocial study was to develop a richer, more nuanced understanding of the relationship to reading experienced by young people who find reading difficult. This was achieved by exploring young people's associated social, emotional and psychological experiences through first-hand narrative accounts elicited within a free-association narrative interview (FANI).

Research into reading difficulties has to date been weighted towards understanding and mediating the cognitive mechanisms involved, and surprisingly little attention has been paid to the social and emotional impact of failing to master what is recognised as a fundamental life skill. In addition, little research has sought to capture young people's own direct accounts of their experiences. What research there has been indicates that 'struggling' adolescent readers may be particularly vulnerable to ridicule and humiliation, low self-esteem and poor academic self-concept, seeing themselves as 'dumb', 'stupid' or 'lazy' (Glazzard, 2010; Humphrey & Mullins, 2002), and findings from the current study are consistent with this picture.

The current findings were also consistent with existing knowledge in observing that supportive relationships with attuned, well-informed adults appeared essential to students' ability to engage with the considerable challenge of both learning to read and reading to learn. Adults' failure to consider adolescents' emotional and social sensitivities when planning and delivering reading interventions represented a significant barrier to their ability to engage and thus to learn.

Employing a psychosocial methodology positioned the researcher as an active, 'defended' part of the research process, and enabled the consideration of both conscious and unconscious aspects of the teaching and learning relationship, including the nature and provision of learning support. This led to the development of new insights with regard to the ways in which unconscious psychological defences can influence the offer and take-up of adult support in schools: teachers' and TAs' own unconscious attitudes and anxieties around reading, teaching and learning, for example, may contribute to the employment of psychological defences which render the help they provide as

*un*helpful to students themselves. The theme of the 'smarter sister', identified within both participants' narratives, is offered as a means of understanding the ways in which adults' and peers' unconscious defences around reading and literacy may influence young people's self-esteem, self-efficacy and academic self-concept.

These findings have a number of implications for EP practice, and reiterate the importance of considering young people's social and emotional needs as rigorously as their academic engagement. This fits well within the current Green Paper consultation with regard to the SEMH needs of children and young people in schools, since EPs are likely to fulfil an important role in supporting schools' provision and understanding during the development and eventual implementation of the bill. The current study showed that academic engagement appears to be significantly mediated by social and emotional well-being, and that this well-being is developed through both social and psychological processes. Thus, for example, although cognitive reading interventions may have great value in addressing deficits in the cognitive mechanisms associated with reading difficulties, the effectiveness of these interventions may depend on the quality of the specific social relationship within which they are delivered. EPs are well-placed to support school staff to develop sensitive, attuned relationships with their pupils through training, work discussion, and clinical or professional supervision, and thus to mediate the potentially uneasy, unwanted relationship to reading experienced by those pupils who find reading difficult. My own EPS is developing its offering in this area, and the findings from the current study will inform its further enhancement.

Participants' readiness to engage with the narrative interview process, and the rich accounts they offered are evidence that therapeutically-informed approaches can be an appropriate way of gathering young people's views and experiences. EPs have a statutory duty to ensure that such views are gathered and recorded within the process of psychological assessment. Using the FANI in

this context may facilitate a richer, more meaningful account, and allow the young person to talk about the concerns of most relevance to them.

I began this study by stating my curiosity about what young people with persistent reading difficulties, given the opportunity, might say about their social and emotional experiences. Two young people have demonstrated that they have a great deal to say, provided that EPs are able to listen.

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Appendices

A   Literature search process - key search terms, limiters applied, number of papers excluded at three stages of reading (title, abstract, full paper)

B   Walsh and Downe's (2006) original critical appraisal tool for qualitative research

C   Long's (2005) original evaluative tool for mixed methods study designs

D   Papers read in full to determine exclusion/inclusion in literature review

E   Critique of papers selected for literature review

F   Tavistock Research Ethics Committee (TREC) Approval Letter

G   Research materials: Parents' Initial Flyer, Parents' Information Sheet, Parents' Letter, Parents' Consent Form, Young Person's Information Letter, Young Person's Assent Forms 1 & 2, School Leadership Information Sheet, School Leadership Letter

H   Coded interview transcript for Isaac from MAXQDA coding phase

I   Pro-forma Records for Isaac and Harry

J   Table showing overview of memos generated during early coding stages for Isaac's transcript, using MAXQDA memo function

K   Table of semantic themes, subthemes and codes identified for Isaac

L   Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Isaac's semantic codes

M   Table of latent themes, sub-themes and codes identified for Isaac

N   Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Isaac's latent codes

O   Table of semantic themes, subthemes and codes identified for Harry

P   Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Harry's semantic codes

Q   Table of latent themes, sub-themes and codes identified for Harry

R   Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Harry's latent codes

Appendix A

Literature search process - key search terms, limiters applied, number of papers excluded at three stages of reading (title, abstract, full paper)

Database	Search terms, by category	Available limiters employed	No. of papers yielded	No. of papers excluded			No. shortlisted for review
				By title	By abstract	By paper	
PsycINFO	feel* OR emotion* OR response* OR experience* OR relation* OR understand* OR account* OR opinion* OR identit* OR voice* OR view* OR "make sense of" OR explan* OR explanat* OR describe* OR thought* OR express* OR say* OR perceive* OR perception* OR perspective* OR report* AND "young person" OR "young people" OR adolescen* OR teen* OR student* OR pupil* OR learner* OR reader* AND "reading difficulty" OR "reading difficulties" OR "reading disability" OR dyslexi* OR "educational psychology" OR "educational psychologist" OR "school psychology" OR "school psychologist" OR teacher*	• Year of publication 1985-2018 • Peer-reviewed academic journal article • Human participants, aged 13-17 • Written in English • Excludes dissertations	105	92	2	4	7
Education Source	feel* OR emotion* OR response* OR experience* OR relation* OR understand* OR account* OR opinion* OR identit* OR voice* OR view* OR "make sense of" OR explan* OR explanat* OR describe* OR thought* OR express* OR say* OR perceive* OR perception* OR perspective* OR report* AND "young person" OR "young people" OR adolescen* OR teen* OR student* OR pupil* OR learner* OR reader* AND "reading difficulty" OR "reading difficulties" OR "reading disability" OR dyslexi* AND "educational psychology" OR "educational psychologist" OR "school psychology" OR "school psychologist"	• Year of publication 1985-2018 • Peer-reviewed academic journal article • Written in English	207	195 (inc 2 duplicates from PsycINFO search)	3	2	1
SocINDEX	feel* OR emotion* OR response* OR experience* OR relation* OR understand* OR account* OR opinion* OR identit* OR voice* OR view* OR "make sense of" OR explan* OR explanat* OR describe* OR thought* OR express* OR say* OR perceive* OR perception* OR perspective* OR report* AND "young person" OR "young people" OR adolescen* OR teen* OR student* OR pupil* OR learner* OR reader* AND "reading difficulty" OR "reading difficulties" OR "reading disability" OR dyslexi*	• Year of publication 1985-2018 • Peer-reviewed article • Paper written in English	58	48	3	5	2
PEP Archive	"reading difficulty" OR "reading difficulties" OR "reading disability" OR dyslexi*	• Publication years 1918-2018 • Peer-reviewed	7	2	0	5	0

Appendix B

Walsh and Downe's (2006) original critical appraisal tool for qualitative research

Stages	Essential criteria	Specific prompts
Scope and purpose	Clear statement of, and rationale for, research question/aims/purposes	• Clarity of focus demonstrated • Explicit purpose given, such as descriptive/explanatory intent, theory building, hypothesis testing • Link between research and existing knowledge demonstrated
	Study thoroughly contextualised by existing literature	• Evidence of systematic approach to literature review, location of literature to contextualise the findings, or both
Design	Method/design apparent, and consistent with research intent	• Rationale given for use of qualitative design • Discussion of epistemological/ontological grounding • Rationale explored for specific qualitative method (e.g. ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology) • Discussion of why particular method chosen is most appropriate/sensitive/relevant for research question/aims • Setting appropriate
	Data collection strategy apparent and appropriate	• Were data collection methods appropriate for type of data required and for specific qualitative method? • Were they likely to capture the complexity/diversity of experience and illuminate context in sufficient detail? • Was triangulation of data sources used if appropriate?
Sampling strategy	Sample and sampling method appropriate	• Selection criteria detailed, and description of how sampling was undertaken • Justification for sampling strategy given • Thickness of description likely to be achieved from sampling • Any disparity between planned and actual sample explained
Analysis	Analytic approach appropriate	• Approach made explicit (e.g. Thematic distillation, constant comparative method, grounded theory) • Was it appropriate for the qualitative method chosen? • Was data managed by software package or by hand and why? • Discussion of how coding systems/conceptual frameworks evolved • How was context of data retained during analysis • Evidence that the subjective meanings of participants were portrayed • Evidence of more than one researcher involved in stages if appropriate to epistemological/theoretical stance • Did research participants have any involvement in analysis (e.g. member checking) • Evidence provided that data reached saturation or discussion/rationale if it did not • Evidence that deviant data was sought, or discussion/ rationale if it was not
Interpretation	Context described and taken account of in interpretation	• Description of social/physical and interpersonal contexts of data collection • Evidence that researcher spent time 'dwelling with the data', interrogating it for competing/alternative explanations of phenomena
	Clear audit trail given	• Sufficient discussion of research processes such that others can follow 'decision trail'

… contd.

Stages	Essential criteria	Specific prompts
	Data used to support interpretation	• Extensive use of field notes entries/verbatim interview quotes in discussion of findings • Clear exposition of how interpretation led to conclusions
Reflexivity	Researcher reflexivity demonstrated	• Discussion of relationship between researcher and participants during fieldwork • Demonstration of researcher's influence on stages of research process • Evidence of self-awareness/insight • Documentation of effects of the research on researcher • Evidence of how problems/complications met were dealt with
Ethical dimensions	Demonstration of sensitivity to ethical concerns	• Ethical committee approval granted • Clear commitment to integrity, honesty, transparency, equality and mutual respect in relationships with participants • Evidence of fair dealing with all research participants • Recording of dilemmas met and how resolved in relation to ethical issues • Documentation of how autonomy, consent, confidentiality, anonymity were managed
Relevance and transferability	Relevance and transferability evident	• Sufficient evidence for typicality specificity to be assessed • Analysis interwoven with existing theories and other relevant explanatory literature drawn from similar settings and studies • Discussion of how explanatory propositions/emergent theory may fit other contexts • Limitations/weaknesses of study clearly outlined • Clearly resonates with other knowledge and experience • Results/conclusions obviously supported by evidence • Interpretation plausible and 'makes sense' • Provides new insights and increases understanding • Significance for current policy and practice outlined • Assessment of value/empowerment for participants • Outlines further directions for investigation • Comment on whether aims/purposes of research were achieved

Appendix C

Long's (2005) original evaluative tool for mixed methods study designs

Review Area	Key Questions
(1) STUDY EVALUATIVE OVERVIEW	
Bibliographic Details	• Author, title, source (publisher and place of publication), year
Purpose	• What are the aims of this paper? • If the paper is part of a wider study, what are its aims?
Key Findings	• What are the key findings?
Evaluative Summary	• What are the strengths and weaknesses of the study and theory, policy and practice implications?
(2) STUDY AND CONTEXT (SETTING, SAMPLE AND OUTCOME MEASUREMENT)	
The Study	• What type of study is this? • What was the intervention? • What was the comparison intervention? • Is there sufficient detail given of the nature of the intervention and the comparison intervention? • What is the relationship of the study to the area of the topic review?
Context: (1) Setting	• Within what geographical and care setting is the study carried out? • What is the rationale for choosing this setting? • Is the setting appropriate and/or sufficiently specific for examination of the research question? • Is sufficient detail given about the setting? • Over what time period is the study conducted?
Context II: Sample	• What was the source population? • What were the inclusion criteria? • What were the exclusion criteria? • How was the sample (events, persons, times and settings) selected? (For example, theoretically informed, purposive, convenience, chosen to explore contrasts) • Is the sample (informants, settings and events) appropriate to the aims of the study? • If there was more than one group of subjects, how many groups were there, and how many people were in each group? • Is the achieved sample size sufficient for the study aims and to warrant the conclusions drawn? • What are the key characteristics of the sample (events, persons, times and settings)?
Context III: Outcome Measurement	• What outcome criteria were used in the study? • Whose perspectives are addressed (professional, service, user, carer)? • Is there sufficient breadth (e.g. contrast of two or more perspective) and depth (e.g. insight into a single perspective)?

Review Area	Key Questions
(3) ETHICS	
Ethics	• Was Ethical Committee approval obtained? • Was informed consent obtained from participants of the study? • How have ethical issues been adequately addressed?
(4) GROUP COMPARABILITY	
Comparable Groups	• If there was more than one group was analysed, were the groups comparable before the intervention? In what respects were they comparable and in what were they not? • How were important confounding variables controlled (e.g. matching, randomisation, or in the analysis stage)? • Was this control adequate to justify the author's conclusions? • Were there other important confounding variables controlled for in the study design or analyses and what were they? • Did the authors take these into account in their interpretation of the findings?
(5) QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	
Data Collection Methods	• What data collection methods were used in the study? (Provide insight into: data collected, appropriateness and availability for independent analysis) • Is the process of fieldwork adequately described? (For example, account of how the data were elicited; type and range of questions; interview guide; length and timing of observation work; note taking)
Data Analysis	• How were the data analysed? • How adequate is the description of the data analysis? (For example, to allow reproduction; steps taken to guard against selectivity) • Is adequate evidence provided to support the analysis? (For example, includes original / raw data extracts; evidence of iterative analysis; representative evidence presented; efforts to establish validity - searching for negative evidence, use of multiple sources, data triangulation); reliability / consistency (over researchers, time and settings; checking back with informants over interpretation) • Are the findings interpreted within the context of other studies and theory?
Researcher's Potential Bias	• What was the researcher's role? (For example, interviewer, participant observer) • Are the researcher's own position, assumptions and possible biases outlined? (Indicate how these could affect the study, in particular, the analysis and interpretation of the data)

Review Area	Key Questions
(6) POLICY AND PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS	
Implications	• To what setting are the study findings generalisable? (For example, is the setting typical or representative of care settings and in what respects? If the setting is atypical, will this present a stronger or weaker test of the hypothesis?) • To what population are the study's findings generalisable? • Is the conclusion justified given the conduct of the study (For example, sampling procedure; measures of outcome used and results achieved?) • What are the implications for policy? • What are the implications for service practice?
(7) OTHER COMMENTS	
Other comments	• What was the total number of references used in the study? • Are there any other noteworthy features of the study? • List other study references
Reviewer	• Name of reviewer • Review date

Appendix D

Papers read in full to determine exclusion/inclusion in literature review

Article	Reasons for exclusion (if excluded)
1. **'Feeling like I'm slow because I'm in this class': Secondary school contexts and the identification and construction of struggling readers.** **Learned, Julie E.** Reading Research Quarterly, 51(4), 367-371 2016	(Selected for review)
2. **Using pupil perspective research to inform teacher pedagogy: What Caribbean pupils with dyslexia say about teaching and learning** Blackman, Stacey. Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 11 (3), 178-185 2011	(Selected for review)
3. **The most important thing: Students with reading and writing difficulties talk about their experiences of teachers' treatment and guidance** Nielsen, Cecilia. Scandinavian Journal of **Educational** Research, 55(5), 551-565 2011	(Selected for review)
4. **The impact of dyslexia on pupils' self-esteem** Glazzard, Jonathan. Support for Learning, 25 (2), 63-69 2010	(Selected for review)
5. **'Who I work with is important':** **Dyslexic students' narratives about the benefits of grouping for instruction in Caribbean classrooms** Blackman, Stacey. Support for Learning, 25 (1), 4-10 2010	- Focus is on group learning processes rather than pupils' experiences & feelings around reading; participants not asked specifically about reading or being dyslexic - [Research also informed paper 2, which is more directly relevant to review questions for current study]
6. **Dyslexia and psycho-social functioning: An exploratory study of the role of self-esteem and understanding** Terras, Melody M., Thompson, Lucy C., & Minnis, Helen. Dyslexia: An International Journal of Research and Practice, Vol 15(4), 304-327 2009	(Selected for review)

7. **The sources and manifestations of stress amongst school-aged dyslexics, compared with sibling controls** Alexander-Passe, Neil Dyslexia: An International Journal of Research and Practice, 14(4), 291-313 2008	- Analysis of questionnaire data gathered from 68 students – mixed methods study but insufficient opportunity for students to justify questionnaire responses, provide examples, explain experiences, etc.
8. **Growing up with dyslexia: Interviews with teenagers and young adults** Ingesson, S. Gunnel School Psychology International, 28 (5), 574-591 2007	(Selected for review)
9. **Emotional Adjustment and School Functioning of Young Adolescents with Multiple Versus Single Learning Disabilities** Martínez, Rebecca S.; Semrud-Clikeman, Margaret Journal of Learning Disabilities, 37 (5), 411-420 2004	- Quantitative study - no opportunity for participants to offer personal responses, expand on or justify questionnaire responses given, etc.
10. **Self-esteem groups for secondary pupils with dyslexia** Burton, Sheila Educational Psychology in Practice, 20 (1), 55-73 2004	- Evaluation of dyslexic pupils' participation in self-esteem groups in school; pupils' observed talk with peers within the group about their reading difficulties is not reported and not main focus of study
11. **The relationship between language teachers' attitudes and the state-trait anxiety of adolescents with dyslexia** Tsovili, Theodora D. Journal of Research in Reading, 27 (1), 69-86 2004	(Selected for review)
12. **What's in a name?** Students **with** dyslexia**: their use of metaphor in making** sense **of their** disability Burden, Robert, & Burdett, Julia *British Journal of Special Education,* 34 (2), 77-82 2007	(Selected for review)
13. **Factors associated with successful learning in** pupils **with** dyslexia**: a motivational analysis** Burden, Robert, & Burdett, Julia *British Journal of Special Education*, 32 (2), 100-104 2005	- Quantitative study only - students' closed responses to pre-determined statements regarding commonly observed feelings/perceptions around dyslexia. [Presents original research from which further articles were developed (incl. paper 12, to be reviewed)]
14. **Early** reading-**related skills and performance,** reading **self-concept, and the**	- Participants much younger than target adolescent age group - Study uses standardised measures of academic self-concept and reading

[development of academic self-concept: a longitudinal study](#) Chapman, James W., Tunmer, William **E**. & Prochnow, Jane **E**. *Journal of* **Educational Psychology**, 92 (4), 703-708 2000	ability – participants' individual views not expanded on
15. **Beyond cognitive deficit: the everyday lived experience of dyslexic students at university** Cameron, H.E. Disability & Society, Vol. 31 (2), 223-239 2016	(Selected for review)
16. **The lived experience of students with an invisible disability at a Canadian university** Mullins, Laura, & Preyde, Michèle Disability & Society, 28 (2), 147-160 2013	- Study of Canadian university students - Canadian higher education system - Study similar to UK paper (paper 15), but focus is on invisible disabilities more generally rather than experience of reading difficulties per se; UK paper considered more relevant to review questions
17. **'Sit in the corner and don't eat the crayons': postgraduates with dyslexia and the dominant 'lexic' discourse.** Collinson, Craig, & Penketh, Claire Disability & Society, 25 (1), 7-19 2010	(Selected for review)
18. **Enduring disablism: students with dyslexia and their pathways into UK higher education and beyond** Madriaga, Manuel. Disability & Society, 22 (4), 399-412 2007	- Study of 21 disabled higher education students, 16 of whom have dyslexia; - participants asked to reflect back on life experiences but focus is on disablism, including poor treatment by tutors within school and college, rather than rich understanding of experience of dyslexia. - Similar to Cameron paper (paper 15), but less relevant to lit rev question
19. **What counts as a reasonable adjustment? Dyslexic students and the concept of fair assessment** Riddell, Sheila, & Weedon, Elisabet International Studies in Sociology of Education, 16 (1), 57-73 2006	- older population (university students) - focus not primarily on social, emotional, or psychological aspects of reading difficulties - already reviewing other papers with university student population, of better quality & more relevant to review qus.
20. **Reading Problems in School Children and Adults: Experiences, Self-Perceptions and Strategies** Skaalvik, Sidsel. Social Psychology of Education. 7 (2), 105-125 2004	- 3 adults, looking back at their own reading difficulties in school. - Norwegian study, so different school system to UK - Content and focus not sufficiently relevant

21. **Teenage Dyslexia: Stürm und Drang** Vigilante, Florence Wexier, & Dane, Elizabeth Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal, 8 (6), 515-523 1991	- Discussion paper
22. **Psychoanalysis As Cognitive Remediation: Dynamic and Vygotskian Perspectives in the Analysis of an Early Adolescent Dyslexic Girl** Weinstein, Lissa, & Saul, Laurence Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 60 (1), 239-262 2005	- Psychoanalytic case presentation & discussion paper
23. **The Overstimulated State of Dyslexia: Perception, Knowledge, and Learning** Arkowitz, Sydney, W. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 48 (4), 1491-1520 2000	- Psychoanalytic case presentation & discussion paper
24. **Dyslexia and Self-Control: An Ego Psychoanalytic Perspective** Migden, Stephen Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 53, 282 1998	- Psychoanalytic case presentation & discussion paper
25. **Loss of Identity, Impairment of Relationships, Reading Disability** Devereux, George Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 35, 18 1966	- Psychoanalytic case presentation & discussion paper - Adult participants
26. **Psychoanalytic Contributions to the Problems of Reading Disabilities** Blanchard, Phyllis Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 2, 163 1946	- Psychoanalytic case presentation & discussion paper
27. **Self-concept and self-esteem in developmental dyslexia** Humphrey, Neil & Mullins, Patricia M. Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 2 (2) doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-3802.2002.00163.x 2002	(Selected for review)

Appendix E

Critique of papers selected for literature review

Using pupil perspective research to inform teacher pedagogy: What Caribbean pupils with dyslexia say about teaching and learning Blackman, S. (2011). Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 11 (3), 178-185		
Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Exploratory purpose – gathering dyslexic secondary pupils' views on how teachers' practice helps/hinders their learning; emancipatory element – pupil voice seen as means of bringing about positive and effective change in teaching practice. Study situated within existing social constructivist literature, and literature is drawn on heavily throughout. Previous region-specific research all seems to be by Blackman: assumed as evidence of lack of/need for more research specific to Caribbean region?
Design & methodology		Qualitative. Multiple case study design - focus groups, observation of pupil/teacher interaction, semi-structured interviews with each pupil, scrutiny of academic records and samples of pupils' work. Stated aim = to gain understanding of pupils' socially constructed views of their classroom experiences. Included pilot study.
Theoretical position/world view		Social constructivist. Vygotsky's social learning theory drawn on. Draws attention to affective dimensions of learning – inc. importance of enjoyment
Sample & Sampling strategy		14-16 year olds identified with dyslexia, attending two large secondary schools on Barbados, one city-based single-sex, and one co-educational based near large tourist district. 16 students recruited – 11 F, 5 M (gender info deduced from names on meta-matrices). No information re. how students recruited, or why those schools selected.
Analysis		Interview transcripts coded using established, structured qualitative data analysis procedure (Miles & Huberman, data reduction approach) –clearly documented. Meta-matrices created to show key findings, by school; no comparison drawn between schools
Interpretation		Member checking done with contact summary sheets – feedback gained from students re. observations; allowed further questions to be asked/answered by students and researcher. Extensive use of extracts from interview transcripts to illustrate findings/ conclusions drawn.
Reflexivity		Pilot study conducted – analysed data was used for initial coding development. Reflective journal kept during research process. Links made between student voice and professional practice throughout. Reference made back to findings of other studies.
Ethical considerations		Approval of researcher's institutional ethics committee assumed but not stated. Researcher addresses issues re. consent/assent, confidentiality, right to withdraw. Researcher mindful of impact of lengthy qualitative research process on student well-being, and 'safeguards' built in
Relevance/ Transferability		Clear intention to use findings to develop more effective pedagogical approaches within region. Located in Barbadian school system – but acknowledges that this is v similar to UK. Of more relevance is degree to which UK/international teaching practice has already adopted these strategies? Care taken to preserve/enhance trustworthiness of findings, e.g. through reflective research journal, audit trail, coding protocol, maintenance of field notes
Key Findings/ Conclusions	• Secondary school students with dyslexia benefited from same high-quality teaching strategies as those without learning difficulties – necessity for specialist curriculum/ provision should not be assumed (although dyslexic students will still need literacy support)	

	• Secondary school students with dyslexia identified teacher strategies which promoted their autonomy, engagement, learning and understanding as most helpful, e.g: more detailed explanations, Q&A sessions, project work, demonstrations, drama & role play, storytelling. • Social constructionist approaches facilitate learning for dyslexic *and* non-dyslexic students

What's in a name? Students with dyslexia: their use of metaphor in making sense of their disability Burden, R., & Burdett, J. (2007). *British Journal of Special Education,* 34 (2), 77-82		
Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Exploratory study using data gathered as part of larger mixed methods project conducted by the researchers in 2005. Dual purpose stated: to gain dyslexic students' perspectives on their personal and educational history, and how they've come to understand their dyslexia; exploration of hypotheses that students' choice of metaphor affords meaningful insight into their self-concept, self-esteem, & self-efficacy as learners, and that this approach could be of value in student assessment/therapeutic work.
Design & methodology		Qualitative – uses narrative data collected during larger mixed-methods study. Narrative accounts elicited within semi-structured interview around past & present learning experiences, development of understanding about dyslexia, & personal metaphors to represent their dyslexia. Interview schedule provided within original mixed-methods paper. Although interview data referred to, focus of this paper is on analysis/categorisation of students' dyslexia metaphors.
Theoretical post'n/ World View		Relativist? Social constructionist.
Sample & sampling strategy		Purposive sample - 50 boys aged 11-16 years attending an independent specialist boarding school for boys with dyslexia. Selective school – pupils accepted according to discrepancy model then used for diagnosis of dyslexia. School population reported as up to 80 boys, so high proportion took part in study. No information given re. selection/recruitment process in this paper – original research article states that boys were randomly selected from all those attending the school at the time. Sample size large for qualitative study? Researchers appear to have prior interest in this high-achieving population (academic and sporting success), and contrast with existing research re. dyslexic students' low self-esteem & self-concept (typically in mainstream education).
Analysis		Domain analysis conducted on content of each metaphor; two prevalent themes identified - surmountable & insurmountable barriers. 40% reported to fall into one of these two categories. No mention of how the remaining 60% were categorised. No attempt made to interpret content of individual metaphors, or acknowledge unconscious processes – at odds with stated aim of using metaphors to access students' deepest thoughts and feelings about their learning difficulty?
Interpretation		Selective context and limitations acknowledged. Data used well to support interpretation at surface level. Absence of further interpretation at abstract and/or internal level, or which allowed for individual experience.
Reflexivity		No acknowledgement of influence of internal processes, on researchers' or participants' part- at odds with stated aim of using metaphor to access participants' inner thoughts/feelings.
Ethical considerations		Ethics committee approval assumed as part of original study but no details given. Students' assent sought in addition to parents' consent. Confidentiality addressed. Final interview transcripts shared with students & opportunity given for questions/info seeking. Students' wishes adhered to re. recording of interviews.
Relevance/ Transferability		Researchers acknowledge that positive findings of this and original study may be influenced by specialist, selective setting, and make clear that no attempt was made to generalise/quantify individual themes and metaphors. Logical suggestions for further study within mainstream setting and other specialist settings.
Key findings/ Conclusions	• Dyslexic students' universal low self-esteem, poor self-efficacy and high levels of learned helplessness in school cannot and should not be assumed – challenges existing research findings. • Exploration of dyslexic students' metaphors for their condition can offer valuable insight into their lived experience, and thus provide new and profitable means of providing support.	

Beyond cognitive deficit: the everyday lived experience of dyslexic students at university
Cameron, H.E. (2016). Disability & Society, Vol. 31 (2), 223-239

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		To gain in-depth insight into personal, current learning experiences of higher education students with dyslexia. To draw attention to social and emotional dimensions of living with dyslexia, and challenge literature's perceived dominant focus on cognitive aspects
Design & methodology		Qualitative – exploratory purpose, phenomenological design - coherent rationale for use of IPA. Participants asked to keep reflective diary of learning experiences in university for three weeks. Diary entries transcribed and used to inform interviews with each participant. Interview transcripts analysed using IPA
Theoretical position		Social constructionist/Constructionist. Social model of disability applied
Sample & Sampling strategy		Three White British university students with dyslexia (2xF, 1xM), aged 20-36 years, attending a UK university. Participants sought via email to all dyslexic students registered with specific university support service, and recruited via individual follow-up/information giving meetings with those who expressed interest in the study
Analysis		Inductive thematic analysis of transcripts of each student's reflective diaries; themes then formed basis of interview with that student. Interviews transcribed and analysed using IPA
Interpretation		Interpretation of students' experiences is integral to methodology employed. Thorough discussion of research process included
Reflexivity		Careful consideration of participants' and researcher's preferred terms of reference around dyslexia vs. learning difficulty, and reasons underlying these
Ethical considerations		Study approved by university ethics committee. Clear consideration of ethical issues at all stages of research process Participant requirements explained in detail at outset, but dyslexic students may have found completion and submission for researcher scrutiny of 3-week reflective diary v. stressful
Relevance/ Transferability		Findings personal to participants, but sufficient commonality of experience between the three to suggest this may be the experience of dyslexic higher education students more widely
Key Findings/ Conclusions	• Interaction of social and emotional demands of many learning situations with students' acknowledged cognitive deficits can make educational settings disabling for students with dyslexia. • Equitable and inclusive education for students with learning disabilities such as dyslexia is more likely to be achieved through understanding those students' lived experience than focusing exclusively on the cognitive processes which define their diagnosis	

'Sit in the corner and don't eat the crayons': postgraduates with dyslexia and the dominant 'lexic' discourse Collinson, C., & Penketh, C. (2010). Disability & Society, 25 (1), 7-19		
Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Sociocultural study. Grounded theory approach. Exploratory (and emancipatory?) purpose – to gather rich accounts of experiences of dyslexic learners who have re-entered education at university level; used as a means of understanding why some dyslexic adults are able to enter and remain within higher education while others are not
Design & methodology		Qualitative – exploratory purpose. Grounded theory approach. Narratives elicited within semi-structured interview around participants' past and present learning experiences. No interview schedule provided. Unclear whether interviews were conducted by one or both researchers, and whether individually or together. Ethnographic dimension – one researcher also a participant & thus embedded within research population; article implies his data given significant weight within analysis & interpretation.
Theoretical position/World View		Idealist? Realist? Researchers locate dyslexia within social model of disability - used to challenge perceived societal discourse re. literacy as a defining feature of academic success, and its disabling impact on individuals with dyslexia. Sociocultural stance – experience is culturally bound, knowledge is socially constructed, disability is defined by societal/systemic attitudes, quality of provision of support, etc.
Sample & sampling strategy		Six post-graduate students & academics with dyslexia at one UK university (5xM, 1xF). No information given re. sampling/ recruitment strategy but assumed to be theoretical sampling. One of the researchers also a participant in the study
Analysis		Grounded theory – coding stages/process clearly recorded
Interpretation		Interpretation integral to grounded theory approach. Care taken by researchers to share with each participant themes and interpretations developed from their narrative
Reflexivity		Lead researcher's joint role as participant acknowledged and impact of this considered. Participants' membership of advocacy network championing disability rights was acknowledged and impact of this on researcher/participant power relationship considered.
Ethical considerations		Conscious adoption and use of participants' preferred terms re. dyslexia instead of specific learning difficulty (SpLD) University ethics committee approval assumed but no details given
Relevance/ Transferability		Researchers make clear narratives are unique to individual participants and no attempt to generalise will be made – focus is on gathering rich, unique experiences from each, and on generation of theory specific to research context.
Key findings/ Conclusions	• Dyslexic individuals are disabled not by cognitive difficulty per se, but by impact on/interaction of this with society's ongoing use of literacy as a means of defining academic ability. • Individuals' academic experiences were varied and appeared to be determined early in their school careers by connections made between their perceived academic capabilities and dominant societal narratives around literacy as a determinant of academic ability		

The impact of dyslexia on pupils' self-esteem

Glazzard, J. (2010). Support for Learning, 25 (2), 63-69

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Primarily exploratory purpose – investigating what factors affect self-esteem of learners with dyslexia – tho emancipatory elements (e.g. using students' voices to make recommendations to schools). Works from assumption that self-esteem is a concern for group; study located within the 'self-esteem literature' while acknowledging that more research evidence is needed.
Design & methodology		Qualitative. Single, semi-structured 1:1 interviews with participants. Interview schedule provided.
Theoretical position		Social constructionist; critical realist
Sample & Sampling strategy		Nine secondary school students (14-15 years) with official dyslexia diagnosis, attending one of two UK mainstream secondary schools in an area of social deprivation – tho SES not referred to in article. Unclear how pupils were recruited – described as being selected *and* as 'volunteering'. No gender breakdown – students referred to by number only.
Analysis		Thematic analysis of interview transcripts assumed, but no information given re. how data was analysed.
Interpretation		Plentiful examples/extracts from data to support findings. Clear indication of where these sit within existing literature, with challenges given to assumptions made there.
Reflexivity		Use of first person helps researcher to remain present throughout; points of difference clearly highlighted between own & others' findings
Ethical considerations		Researcher reported followed ethical guidelines of British Educational Research Association (BERA). Parental consent & student assent to participate in research obtained. Permission obtained from relevant school staff, assumed re. conducting research in school.
Relevance/Transferability		Clear direction/applicability of findings for improving leaning experience of young people with dyslexia, at individual and systemic level, and addressing personal, social and political dimensions of inclusion for those with learning disabilities.
Key Findings/Conclusions	• Positive identity as dyslexic through thorough explanation of condition was key to students' positive self-esteem. • Students and professionals need to challenge dominant view in schools that poor reading ability reflects low academic ability and intelligence. • Pupils' own reflections provide valuable insight into how parents and professionals can support them more effectively	

The impact of dyslexia on pupils' self-esteem

Self-concept and self-esteem in developmental dyslexia
Humphrey, Neil & Mullins, Patricia M. (2002). Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 2 (2)
doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-3802.2002.00163.x

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Exploratory purpose – to investigate nature of self-esteem and self-concept in dyslexic primary and secondary school children in mainstream and specialist educational settings, and vs non-dyslexic school children. RQs clearly stated. Study located appropriately within literature
Design & methodology		Uses quantitative and qualitative data collected as part of first author's larger study for PhD. Non-experimental, cross-sectional mixed methods design: correlational study + more open exploration of individual experience. Self-report Likert-scaled questionnaire administered to 40 of the 65 participants (remaining 25 were outside upper age limit of the questionnaire) Individual open-ended semi-structured interview with all participants.
Theoretical position/ World View		Social constructionist/Critical realist.
Outcome measure		Self-Description Questionnaire (SDQ) (Marsh, 1990) – standardised measure of children's self-esteem and self-concept; assesses four areas of non-academic self-concept, three of academic self-concept, plus general sense of self. Scale calibrated and standardised for 8-12-yar-olds, so not completed by all participants. Normalised and standardised on a sample of >3,500 children in Australia, but Marsh reports similar norms with large British samples. Used internationally as one of the most detailed self-concept scales available. Good reliability. Questionnaire author established validity using construct validation approach as self-concept is a theoretical construct.
Sample & sampling strategy		Specific details of sampling strategy not given – assumed more fully explained within original PhD thesis? Decisions stated are clearly justified re. need for larger sample size to achieve statistical power, etc. Purposive sample – 63 dyslexic students aged 8-15 years recruited from 9 mainstream primary/secondary schools and SpLD units in Merseyside (28 mainstream (Mean age 10.86y), 35 SpLD (Mean age 11.11y)). Only dyslexic students 12 and under completed SDQ (Mean age 9.6 mainstream/9.7 SpLD unit). 20 non-dyslexic students aged 8-12 years (Mean age 9.8y) recruited from same mainstream settings as comparative group for SDQ element. *[I would have liked to see self-concept of 12-15 year olds considered, given sensitivities of adolescence, potential impact of specialist unit on older students, etc.]* No info given re. gender or SES. Selection criteria in line with then-current diagnostic/identification model – discrepancy between literacy skills and general intelligence, SEN given, no other associated/co-morbid difficulties.
Comparable groups		20 non-dyslexic primary and secondary school children attending same mainstream schools as dyslexic sample.
Timescale/times measured		No info given re. location, duration, timescale for interviews or questionnaires. Interviews assumed to have been conducted in schools/units. No detail given re. whether support provided for questionnaire completion – were dyslexic students able to access independently? If not, how was support provided?
Analysis		Rigorous quantitative analysis process followed and recorded in detail. Interview data analysed using Miles & Huberman's (1994) stages of qualitative data analysis - reflexive, iterative process of coding &, synthesising to reach general themes.
Interpretation		Qualitative data given equal weight to quantitative – interview responses considered and inferences drawn. However, sense that author's desired aim is that findings confirm/reinforce those from previous studies re. self-concept and self-esteem in dyslexic students. Clear direction and theoretical approach identified for future research/ investigation.

Reflexivity		First author's voice appears dominant – obvious connection back to his larger PhD study. Limitations of study considered, particularly re. aspects of recruitment and impact on quant data analysis; decisions taken justified
Ethical considerations		Ethics committee approval for study assumed (via larger study?) but not stated. Parental consent stated, but no info given re. how other ethical issues addressed.
Relevance/ Generalisability		Researchers acknowledge value and limitations of study, and identify clear direction for future research. Findings considered to confirm/reinforce findings from previous studies re. self-concept and self-esteem in dyslexic students. Practical advice/recommendations given in table form re. establishing a dyslexia-friendly school.
Key findings/ Conclusions		- Dyslexic children felt isolated and excluded in mainstream and specialist settings as a result of their difficulties – thought much more pronounced in mainstream. Academic issues identified as main source – see below. - Dyslexia was a constant, intrusive theme – most of students' negative self-referential statements were related in some way to their dyslexia - C.50% of dyslexic students in both settings were regularly bullied or teased about their dyslexia - Many dyslexic-mainstream students reported being persecuted by teachers – those in specialist unit had had similar experiences when still in mainstream. - Dyslexic-specialist unit students reported receiving more time, support and attention from teachers than they'd had when in previous mainstream setting C. 33% of dyslexic students felt they were 'lazy', 'stupid' or 'thick'. Most claimed that their dyslexia didn't affect their enjoyment of certain subjects, but favourite subjects tended to be those where dyslexia wasn't an issue & least favourite were those where dyslexia caused greatest difficulty – e.g. English. - Significant between-group differences for self-concept re. physical abilities/appearance, reading, general academic and non-academic self-concept. In most cases, differences were between dyslexic-mainstream and dyslexic-specialist unit students - dyslexic mainstream students displayed lowest levels of self-concept of the three groups.

Growing up with dyslexia: Interviews with teenagers and young adults

Ingesson, S. G. (2007). School Psychology International, 28 (5), 574-591

Criteria	Yes/No/Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Clearly stated – investigating how a group of Swedish teenagers and young adults describe their youth, with focus on psychosocial experience of growing up with dyslexia; fits with perceived clinical and social need, and fills acknowledged gap in literature. Descriptive purpose?
Design & methodology		Qualitative/mixed methods – correlational study. Individual interviews with all participants - initial interview questions under each area of inquiry invited closed, multi-choice responses; participants then offered their own verbal comment. Interviews recorded and tapes used to verify responses. Retrospective information in many cases – vulnerable to being selective/biased? (Researcher identifies as risk) Aim = to look for relationships/generalisations within sample rather than focus on rich individual experience.
Theoretical position/world view		Realist/Critical realist
Sample & Sampling strategy		Teenagers and young people with verified clinical diagnosis of dyslexia, currently/previously attending a Swedish dyslexia clinic. 174 potential participants identified from clinical records. 75 recruited following rigorous selection process against pre-set criteria regarding evidence of diagnosis, absence of co-morbid diagnoses (e.g ADD). Age range 14-25 years (mean age 19 years), 27 F, 48 M.
Analysis		Statistical analysis of closed/forced choice interview responses to identify correlations between aspects of participants' experience. No correlation table provided. Little information given re. quantity/depth/content of participants' open responses/comments and value placed on these. Distribution charts show percentage of participants experiencing a given phenomenon by school stage.
Interpretation		Reliability of interview data established through statistical comparison with academic and clinical assessment data. Researcher highlights that no comparison group means insufficient info re. whether non-dyslexic students have similar school feelings/experiences.
Reflexivity		No reference made to impact of researcher's presence/relationship with participants, or impact of them on her future practice
Ethical considerations		Ethical approval of clinical authority assumed but not stated – similarly re. addressing issues of consent/assent, confidentiality, &c. Researcher justifies interview method over written method for eliciting responses as avoiding placing dyslexic individuals under undue pressure & stress. General tone of consideration and care towards participants apparent throughout – reflection of researcher's clinical practice?
Relevance/ Transferability		Clear intention to use findings to develop more effective pedagogical approaches, and of remediating difficulties for individuals themselves.
Key Findings/ Conclusions		• Experience of majority of participants was of feeling different, inferior and stupid during first six years in school. Many experienced poor social relationships, teasing and bullying - some attributed this to their dyslexia, with resulting low self-esteem. • First six years of school thus felt to be worst for well-being & self-esteem, with academic experiences improving/becoming more boundaried in later years as opportunities became available for vocational training & employment • Many participants felt positive friendships compensated for their learning difficulties • Value of clear explanation of diagnosis, promotion of positive view of disability, and informed parental/professional support highlighted as essential for students' self-esteem & well-being

'Feeling like I'm slow because I'm in this class': Secondary school contexts and the identification and construction of struggling readers.
Learned, J. E. (2016). Reading Research Quarterly, 51(4), 367-371

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Sociocultural study. Exploratory purpose – to build understanding of the ways adolescents' reading skills vary across different school contexts and settings, and how these changing contexts mediate literacy. Stated aim is to use this evidence to dismantle teachers' use of unidimensional 'struggling reader' labels as part of process of improving learning opportunities for all adolescent students. Research questions clearly stated. Study located within sociocultural and socio-political context
Design & methodology		Qualitative – grounded theory design.
Theoretical position/World View		Critical realist? Sociocultural perspective taken on learning and literacy – reading assumed to be a social practice which individuals engage in for specific purposes, through specific contexts. Contexts are created and exist through social interaction, but also mediate those actions/interactions, and require consideration of actors' exercise of power and authority.
Sample & sampling strategy		Purposive/theoretical sampling – eight ninth grade students, aged 14-15 years (UK school year 10 equiv'), attending a culturally diverse US high school and identified by school staff as 'struggling readers'. Comparison sample also recruited – 13 ninth grade students at same school, identified by school staff as proficient readers. Eight teachers recruited who regularly taught English, maths or history to the participating students. No information given re. sampling strategy or gender balance within sample. Sample size appropriate to grounded theory approach.
Analysis		Grounded theory approach. Very large amount of data collected. Stages of coding clearly identified and explained – rigorous process followed.
Interpretation		Grounded theory approach means interpretation is integral to analysis and consideration of findings. Case study element allows reader to see how theory has been developed and applied.
Reflexivity		Researcher takes steps to capture her own thinking and links back to theory at points throughout research process – e.g. theoretical memos written; feedback to all participants and consultation re. interview transcripts.
Ethical considerations		Ethical approval and adherence to ethical research guidelines assumed but no information provided beyond statement that pseudonyms were applied to all participants.
Relevance/ Transferability		Researcher acknowledges that situation is complex and multi-faceted, and makes relevant suggestions for future research. Clear agenda for change on adolescent readers' behalf.
Key findings/ Conclusions		• Continued use of 'struggling reader' label risks reading progress of some adolescent readers being further hampered. • School staff conflation of low reading ability with behavioural difficulty leads to some adolescent readers being unfairly and unhelpfully labelled/judged before they've even joined a particular class/school. • Adolescent readers make good progress in literacy within a learning context which had been positively co-constructed with their teachers, and where teachers actively position their students as able to learn. • Adolescent readers' poor self-concept was not due to reading difficulty per se but rather the way reading difficulties were framed within and through differing school contexts.

'Feeling like I'm slow because I'm in this class': Secondary school contexts and the identification and construction of struggling readers.

The most important thing: Students with reading and writing difficulties talk about their experiences of teachers' treatment and guidance

Nielsen, C. (2011). Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 55(5), 551-565

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Exploratory purpose – to find out what students with dyslexia consider to be the most important things teachers can/should do to support dyslexic students; to be achieved through exploring rich data documenting lived educational experiences of nine individuals with dyslexia across a range of ages. RQ clearly stated. Study uses elements of extensive phenomenological data set gathered for researcher's doctoral research six years earlier. Study clearly located within philosophical, phenomenological tradition and key literature is drawn on – researcher identifies study as taking novel approach to dyslexia research and new knowledge created.
Design & methodology		Qualitative. Phenomenological life-world approach. Monthly semi-structured narrative interviews (framed as interconnecting "repeated conversations") held with each participant over one academic year, focusing on themes brought by researcher in line with life-world phenomenological ontology. Follow-up interviews held at six months. Participants also observed in reading/writing situations – unclear where, or how often these were done. Observations used to provide researcher with more objective perspective, and to complement interviews/conversations. Researcher included them as data for interpretation.
Theoretical position/world view		Phenomenological life-world/Hermeneutic ontology & epistemology – researcher contextualised for the study. Study located within Gothenburg life-world tradition originally established within philosophy and education disciplines at Gothenburg University, Sweden. Dissemination of findings/knowledge created fits with social model of disability and inclusion.
Sample & Sampling strategy		Specialist teachers from five schools approached to suggest pupils/students they knew who had reading and writing difficulties AND were working hard to overcome them. Researcher met prospective participants and recruited nine students into research group: aged 8-53 years (2 in primary school, 4 in secondary, 3 in adult education), 5 F, 4 M. Some had formal dyslexia diagnosis. Researcher deliberately sought variety, i. to explore different ways individuals experienced and coped with reading/writing difficulties, ii. to see if individuals had any experiences in common. Some aspects unclear – assumed to be in original 2005 thesis (available in Swedish with English commentary)
Analysis		Phenomenological analysis of all interview transcripts.
Interpretation		Ongoing process of interpretation integral to method used. Researcher shared with all participants the final life stories she'd written and invited comments re. how far they agreed with her interpretation – participants' lack of objections taken to mean findings were sufficiently valid and reliable (researcher's terms – trustworthiness usually preferred for qualitative studies?). Sensitive use of researcher's informal observations and extracts from interview transcripts to illustrate findings/conclusions drawn.
Reflexivity		Researcher reflexivity integral part of phenomenological approach – though focus always remains with participant and away from researcher's internal processes?
Ethical considerations		Approval of researcher's institutional ethics committee assumed but not stated. Researcher addresses issues re. confidentiality – pseudonyms assigned. Other ethics issues not addressed here – assumed to be in original 2005 thesis document (available in Swedish with English commentary)
Relevance/ Transferability		Individual experiences are preserved as unique, but common themes aid transferability. Fits with inclusion agenda and social model of disability.
Key Findings/ Conclusions		• Teacher must pay attention to 'whole' student, with unique strengths and weaknesses, vs. seeing them only as dyslexic • Teacher must provide dyslexic students with relevant tools for learning – taken to be mental/emotional and linguistic tools as well as physical ones. • Teacher must provide sufficient time and space for dyslexic students' reading and writing

Dyslexia and psycho-social functioning: An exploratory study of the role of self-esteem and understanding

Terras, M. M., Thompson, L. C., & Minnis, H. (2009). Dyslexia: An International Journal of Research and Practice, 15(4), 304-327

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Exploratory purpose – to investigate associations between dyslexic students' self-esteem, psycho-social functioning and understanding of dyslexia. RQs clearly stated. Study located appropriately within literature
Design & methodology		Quantitative - non-experimental, cross-sectional design: correlational study + opportunity to collect qualitative data via open-ended qus re. individual experience/understanding. Self-report questionnaires sent to students identified with dyslexia and their parents, followed up with phone call from research team one week later to answer queries and support completion if needed. Pilot study completed with five families before full study launch. Full study ran for 12 months.
Theoretical position/ World View		Social constructionist/Critical realist. Ecosystemic perspective posited as profitable direction for future investigation
Outcome measure		Students: • Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC) (Harter, 1985) – widely used, respected measure of children's and young people's self-esteem; assesses global self-worth plus self-perceptions of scholastic performance, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance & behavioural conduct. • Strengths and Difficulties questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, Meltzer & Bailey, 1998) – highly respected, widely used screening instrument for presence of emotional and behavioural problems, and cut-off point for likely psychiatric 'cases'. Five sub-scales: emotional symptoms, conduct problems, peer problems, hyperactivity, pro-social behaviour. Child/young person's self-report version for those 10 years+ so not completed by all participants. • Understanding and Perceived Impact of Dyslexia Scale (children's version) (C-UPIDS) – questionnaire developed for this study by research team, based on previous focus group data and existing literature; assesses parent and child attitudes, understanding and perceived impact of dyslexia on daily life, including impact on behaviour & emotional well-being, family/peer relations, understanding of nature of reading difficulties. 26 closed/forced choice questions, plus three open-ended questions probing perceived strengths & weaknesses, & associated reasoning, knowledge & understanding of causes of reading difficulties. Blank version provided. Parents – 1 parent asked to complete the following: • Teacher's Rating Scale of Child's Actual Behaviour (Harter, 1985) – assesses perceptions of child's self-esteem of key adults around child; same sub-scales as SPPC, but no global self-worth measure. • Parent version of SDQ – sub-scales, etc. as above • Parent version of UPIDS (P-UPIDS) - see above. Validity and reliability of standardised measures is good. SDQ & SPPC have been used with clinical samples, and those with reading/general learning difficulties. However, is use of solely written measures appropriate for a population known to have reading difficulties and hypothesised to find reading stressful and anxiety-provoking? E.g. likelihood of parents helping children to complete, with consequent risk of bias?
Sample & sampling strategy		Opportunity sampling – following pilot study, questionnaires sent out to all students/parents who had been referred to a specialist Dyslexia Unit, with their invitation to initial assessment appointment; also sent to students previously assessed and 'on the books'. Discrepancy model used to diagnose - established

		diagnostic criterion at time of study. 133 students assessed/families invited to participate. 75 consented (return of questionnaires), six excluded on assessment information as non-dyslexic; one child missing assessment information; thus 68 students with dyslexia/dyslexia-like symptoms recruited, aged 8-16 years (Mean age 11.2 years), 44 M, 24 F. SES noted as much higher than general population of area (based on parent occupation).
Comparable groups		No experimental condition so comparable group = general population on which assessment tools were standardised
Timescale/times measured		Questionnaires sent out once, for completion by students and parents at home – limited control over how/when/by whom completed, and potential for bias inherent in this. No information provided/known re. time taken to complete, ease of completion, etc. – though pilot study allowed refinement of UPIDS questions and follow-up call aimed at answering queries/problems/prompting completion. Study ran for 12 months. No follow-up so no information re. impact of intervention/support
Analysis		Rigorous quantitative analysis process followed and recorded in detail. Qualitative information sought in UPIDS, but no record of data collected or how analysed/ interpreted.
Interpretation		Focus is on statistical data, and this is thoroughly recorded – RQ is answered & relationships identified. Findings explored in detail and clearly discussed in context of existing literature. No attention paid to small amount of qualitative data sought within UPIDS so unclear how this informed interpretation. Clear direction and theoretical approach identified for future research/ investigation.
Reflexivity		Researcher reflexivity not typically part of quantitative study. However, researchers consider social and emotional factors associated with profile and stage of diagnosis of sample, reflecting on pros/cons of how they recruited.
Ethical considerations		Ethics committee approval for study assumed but not stated. Consent assumed to be return of questionnaire. No info given re. how other ethical issues addressed – e.g. data storage/protection, confidentiality, right to withdraw. Some consideration given to suitability of written word-based measures for children/young people with known reading difficulties (previous research cited using SPPC with dyslexic and general learning-disabled samples)
Relevance/ Generalisability		Researchers acknowledge value and limitations of study, and identify clear direction for future research. This was in reality a quantitative study: RQs were answered through statistical analysis, and knowledge extended. Although researchers stressed inclusion of qualitative data in UPIDS, it's unclear what responses were given, or how they were analysed/what attention was paid to them.
Key findings/ Conclusions	• Children with dyslexia have significantly poorer self-perceptions of their scholastic competence vs. general population, but no significant differences in perception for other aspects of self-esteem, including global self-worth. • Social, emotional and behavioural difficulties are significantly more common within the dyslexic sample vs general population. Pro-social behaviours for dyslexic students are comparable with general population. • Dyslexic students' poor psycho-social adjustment and low self-esteem are highly correlated. • Dyslexia was perceived by students and parents as having negatively impacted many socio-emotional and academic aspects of life, including peer/family relationships, confidence, mood, and attitude to school. • Parents' and students' understanding of and positive attitudes to dyslexia were correlated with higher levels of self-esteem and positive family/peer relationships. • Students experiencing ongoing reading difficulties are highly vulnerable to a range of socio-emotional and behavioural difficulties, and would benefit from early intervention which supports reading AND psycho-social adjustment	

The relationship between language teachers' attitudes and the state-trait anxiety of adolescents with dyslexia

Tsovili, T. D. (2004). Journal of Research in Reading, 27 (1), 69-86

Criteria	Yes/No/ Unclear	Comments
Scope & purpose		Descriptive/explanatory purpose – to investigate occurrence of, and relationships between, dyslexic students' state and trait anxiety in relation to reading, and teachers' attitudes when teaching them. RQs clearly stated – complex aims, with justification for quant and qual elements.
Design & methodology		Quantitative - non-experimental, cross-sectional mixed methods design: correlational study + more open exploration of individual experience. Self-report questionnaires administered to students & teachers in school – questions read to students; closed/forced responses elicited and analysed to determine significance of within- & between-group correlations (see Outcome measure, below). 5% of students with highest and lowest recorded state anxiety (9 in total) interviewed individually at home using open-ended questions to explore perception of reading, behaviour towards reading and appraisal of language teachers' (equivalent to UK literacy/English teachers) attitudes. No further information given – e.g. schedule, duration, impact of environmental factors (home vs. school). Greater emphasis on correlational analysis in write-up. Control groups recruited for students and teachers.
Theoretical posit'n/World View		Critical realist/Realist
Outcome measure		Students – Greek adaptation of Spielberger's State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children. Widely used measure of anxiety - designed for children, but suitable for adolescents with reading difficulties. Teachers – purpose-written Teacher's Questionnaire, translated into Greek and developed for study from Parent Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) (Schaefer & Bell, 1958). V old measure, reliability/validity of which have more recently been called into question. Cultural specificity – researcher highlights heavy parental involvement and shared characteristics/concerns between parent & teacher in Greek school system (may be specific to middle-class parents in sample too??), means teachers' employment of 'parental' attitudes may be more appropriate than appears. Appropriateness of measure aside, Researcher concerned to establish reliability & validity of a measure adapted for study AND translated into Greek.
Sample & sampling strategy		Purposive sampling – research group participants randomly selected from clinical sample of adolescents diagnosed as dyslexic at Out-Patient Centre of Athens and Dyslexia Centre, within a Greek Child Psychiatric Hospital (state-run institution which provides official dyslexia diagnoses for Greater Athens area); discrepancy model used (internationally established part of dyslexia diagnostic process at time of study). 68 students recruited, aged 13:5-16:5 years, 52 M, 16 F. Each student's language teacher also recruited: 31-61 years; 31 M, 37 F; 7-33 years' teaching experience. Clear justification for language teacher vs. teachers of other subjects given. 68 non-dyslexic students and their language teachers recruited to control group from 21 randomly-selected public secondary schools in greater Athens - matched by age, SES and gender.
Comparable groups		Student and teacher control groups recruited – closely matched to profile of research groups on all relevant dimensions (age, gender, SES, years of experience)
Timescale/times measured		Questionnaires administered once. Students' version completed immediately after reading task; teachers asked to complete at same time to increase likelihood of recent interaction with dyslexic students. Student interviews conducted in students' homes – no information given re. timescale/duration for these.
Analysis		Rigorous quantitative analysis process followed and recorded in detail. Scant details provided for qualitative analysis – findings given suggest interview data was used to confirm quantitative findings rather than enhance/enrich understanding.

Interpretation		Weighting in write-up is towards statistical data, and this is thoroughly recorded – in this sense RQ is answered & relationships/lack of are identified. In terms of providing greater *understanding* of students' experience of anxiety, may have been more satisfactorily answered by giving more weight to qual' findings – discussion provides more detail re. students' experiences but absence of thematic maps, coding process followed, etc. makes it hard to appraise trustworthiness of conclusions drawn. Researcher acknowledges need for more research to fully explore emotional aspects of dyslexia. Slight sense of two studies/two samples, potentially giving two stories since those interviewed were from extreme end of experience spectrum re. state anxiety?
Reflexivity		Researcher considers potential contributing factors leading to some findings contradicting those from existing literature. Conclusions only tentatively drawn, illustrating inconclusive/contradictory results when compared with existing literature. Impact of interviewing students in their own home rather than in school is not addressed in write-up
Ethical considerations		Participants recruited from clinical population so ethics committee approval assumed but no information given. Researcher states care taken to read measures to students to reduce anxiety and error; students given own answer sheets to protect confidentiality. No other info given re. how ethical issues addressed – e.g. consent/assent, right to withdraw
Relevance/ Generalisability		Researcher acknowledges limitations of study and makes relevant suggestions for future research. Research question answered through statistical analysis, with correlations identified which both confirmed and disproved current hypotheses.
Key findings/ Conclusions	• Adolescents with dyslexia participating in this study experience reading as threatening, stressful and difficult • Adolescents with dyslexia in this study displayed a range of levels of state and trait anxiety. Students with and without dyslexia experienced low trait anxiety with similar frequency. • Dyslexic adolescents in this study with high levels of trait anxiety were more vulnerable to experiencing high levels of state anxiety in relation to reading. Trait anxiety of dyslexic adolescents therefore considered best predictor of reading anxiety – unclear if this is also the case with non-dyslexic adolescents? • Further research is needed to fully explore emotional dimensions of dyslexia – could be added that greater emphasis needs to be given to qualitative data?	

Appendix F

Tavistock Research Ethics Committee (TREC) Approval Letter

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**

NHS Foundation Trust

Quality Assurance & Enhancement
Directorate of Education & Training
Tavistock Centre
120 Belsize Lane
London
NW3 5BA

Tel: 020 8938 2548
Fax: 020 7447 3837
www.tavi-port.org

Joanna Stonehouse

By Email

19th July 2017

Re: Research Ethics Application

Title: Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult, a psychosocial study of unconscious defences against literacy learning in early adolescence

Dear Joanna,

Thank you for submitting your updated Research Ethics documentation. I am pleased to inform you that subject to formal ratification by the Trust Research Ethics Committee your application has been approved. This means you can proceed with your research.

If you have any further questions or require any clarification do not hesitate to contact me.

I am copying this communication to your supervisor.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Best regards,

Lisa Dean
Quality Assurance Administrator
T: 020 938 2659
E: ldean@tavi-Port.nhs.uk

Appendix G

Research materials:

Parents' Initial Flyer, Parents' Information Sheet, Parents' Letter, Parents' Consent Form

Young Person's Information Letter, Young Person's Assent Forms 1 & 2

School Leadership Information Sheet, School Leadership Letter

Parents' Initial Flyer

[Placement LA logo]

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
NHS Foundation Trust

October 2017

Dear Parent or Carer

Does your child find reading difficult?

I'm studying the things that make it hard for some young people to read and write.

One thing might be their feelings about their life experiences.

To help me understand more about how feelings and reading might be connected, I'm talking to young people about their life and learning.

If your child is aged 12-14 (Years 8-9) and finds it hard to read, I'd love to talk to them!

To find out more, please email me at jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk or call [telephone no.].

With many thanks, and best wishes

Jo Stonehouse, Trainee Educational Psychologist

Joanna Stonehouse **jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk**   **[telephone no.] (Mon-Wed)**
c/o Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust, Belsize Lane, London NW3 5BA
[Placement LA EPS team address]

Parents' Information Sheet

[Placement LA logo]

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
NHS Foundation Trust

**Information for parents and carers of young people taking part in research**

Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult

Background

Even with lots of support in school, some young people still find it hard to read and write.

Psychologists think there might be lots of reasons for this – e.g. a child's relationships with family and friends, things that happened when they were very young, and how easy they find it to talk about their thoughts and ideas.

I want to find out from young people what it *feels like* to find reading difficult, and whether *some* reading difficulties might be connected to things young people have experienced earlier on in life, in ways that they might not really be aware of.
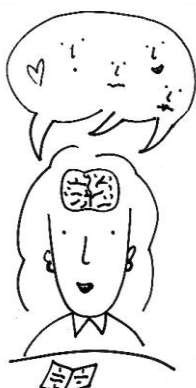
Why now?

I need to do a research project as part of my training to be a Child and Educational Psychologist. I'm doing this training at the Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust in London. My study has been formally approved by the Tavistock Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

Who can take part?

To take part in this study, young people should:
- Be aged 12-14 years (School Years 8-9)
- Have been identified by their school as having ongoing reading difficulties*
- Have had extra support in school to try and improve their reading skills (e.g. Reading Recovery, phonics, Toe-by-Toe) for at least 18 months.

*Including, but not limited to, dyslexia

What will my child have to do?

3 interviews:

- Young people will be interviewed three times, in Dec 2017, and Jan and Feb 2018.
- We will meet for about 40 minutes each time.
- I will check that your child is happy to take part every time we meet.
- Interviews will be at your child's school, in a room familiar to them.
- Interviews will be digitally audio-recorded.
- I will start the interview with a question, and plan with your child the things they would like to talk about in relation to this – a blank drawing grid and/or picture cards will be used to help organise their thoughts and come up with ideas if needed.
- Questions will focus on your child's experiences of reading, writing, and learning, and follow their interests and choices. I will provide art/craft materials and small play objects, which they can use to show me their ideas if they are finding it hard to talk to me.
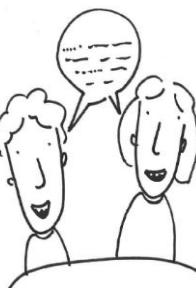
2 lesson observations:
- I will observe your child in an English/literacy session, once in Nov 2017 and again in Jan/Feb 2018, to see how they approach their learning tasks, and how they might be feeling about these.

Will the interviews be confidential?

All data collected will be anonymised, and no personal or identifying information will be shared outside the research team. There is one important exception to this: if your child shares information which suggests that they or another person may be at risk of harm, I will share relevant information with their school's designated Safeguarding Officer. The school's own safeguarding procedure will then be followed.

Because I am working with a small number of young people, it is possible that they may recognise some of their own words, but their identity will not be revealed.

Does my child have to take part?

No, taking part is voluntary. Your child is free to withdraw from the study at any stage, without providing a reason. Any information recorded up to that point will be removed from the study and destroyed.

What will happen to my child's information?

- All data collected for the study will be stored and used in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act (1998).
- Audio-recordings will be anonymised and written up as password-protected Word documents.
- Documents will be stored on a password-protected laptop used only by me, the Researcher.
- Drawings, grids, interview transcripts and observation notes will be anonymised, and stored securely in a locked filing cabinet.
- Raw data will be stored until the completion of the project and then securely destroyed.
- Anonymised data and research findings will be securely stored for 5 years, and then destroyed.
- Anonymised data will be shared with training and research supervisors only, via password-protected files.

What happens if my child gets upset?

I hope the young people who take part will enjoy being able to talk about their ideas and experiences. Using drawing grids, story cartoons and picture prompts will help them to only talk about things that they feel comfortable sharing. I will spend time at the end of each interview checking that young people leave the session in the same state as when they arrived. However, if I am concerned that a young person is very upset about something, I will talk to someone from their school's Pastoral Support team, and ask them to support them as needed. If I have significant concerns about a young person's well-being, I will follow their school's safeguarding procedure, beginning by speaking to the designated Safeguarding Officer.
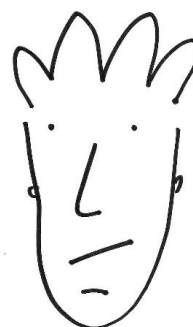
How will findings be shared?

My findings will be written up as a thesis as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. Once this has been passed, I will produce an information sheet for parents, carers and school staff, recording my key findings and suggested next steps. To receive a copy, please tick the box on the Consent Form.

I will also share my findings with colleagues and other professionals working with children and young people, to help them understand more about their experiences.

*Thank you for your help – please return consent forms by **Thursday 23 November 2017***

Parents' Letter

[Placement LA logo]

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
NHS Foundation Trust

Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult

Dear Parent/Carer

Thank you for your interest in my research study.

I enclose information about the project to share with your child, and forms to give your consent to them taking part.

Please read this information carefully, and get in touch if you have any questions.

Once you and your child are happy to take part, please **complete and sign the consent forms** (*consent form* for you, *assent form* for your child) and return them to me by **Thursday 23 November** as follows:

1. Bring them to a drop-in session at your child's school on **Thursday 23 November.**
   I'll be in school between **12.00** and **2.00** on **Thursday 23 November**, to meet you and your child together, collect your consent forms, and check I have all the information I need – please arrange with your child when you will come in; we will need around **20-30 minutes**.

2. If you can't make the drop-in session, please return your consent forms to [SENDCo name], SENDCo at your child's school **before Thursday 23 November** – please mark your envelope **'[SENDCo name], SENDCo - for attention of Jo Stonehouse, Trainee EP, [Placement service team name]'**.
   I will then arrange a time to meet you and your child to check I have the information I need.

Thank you again for your help. I look forward to meeting you and your child very soon.

With best wishes

Jo Stonehouse
Trainee Educational Psychologist

jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk   **[telephone no.]**
c/o [Placement LA team address]
Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust, Belsize Lane, London NW3 5BA

Parents' Consent Form

[Placement LA logo]

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
NHS Foundation Trust

Consent Form for parents or carers of young people participating in research

Consent to my child participating in the research study:

Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult

- I have read the information sheet relating to the above research study in which my child has been invited to participate, and have been given a copy to keep.
- The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information.
- I understand what is being proposed, and the procedures my child will be involved in have been explained to me.
- I understand that my child's involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain confidential, except where there are safeguarding concerns.
- I understand that because the number of young people taking part is small, my child may recognise some of their own words, but that their identity will not be revealed. Only the researcher and her supervisors will have access to the data.
- It has been explained to me what will happen once the study has been completed.
- I hereby freely and fully consent to my child participating in the study. I understand that my child and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to them or myself and without need to give a reason.

Your child's name (BLOCK CAPITALS) …………………………………………………………………………….

Your name (BLOCK CAPITALS) …………………………………………………………………………….

Your relationship to the child named above (please circle):
MOTHER/FATHER/CARER/OTHER (please state) ………………………………………………………........

Your phone number: ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Your email address: ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Your signature ……………………………………………………………….. **Date:** ………………………………….

Please tick if you would like to receive a summary of my research findings when available   [   ]

Researcher: Joanna Stonehouse jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk [telephone no.]

Information for young people taking part in research at school

Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult
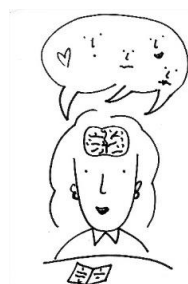
Hello!

I'm talking to young people like you about their learning. One of the adults who looks after you thought you might like to help me.

This sheet tells you some more about what I'll be doing, to help you decide if you want to take part.

What am I studying, and why?

I want to understand more about why it's hard for some young people to learn to read and write.

I wonder whether the things that young people see, hear or do when they are very young might make it tricky for them to learn, and I want to find out more.

To help me do this, I need to talk to some school students who have been finding it hard to learn to read and write.

What will you have to do?

I will come and visit you in school around once a month between November 2017 and February 2018.

* On three visits, I will meet you for a chat about your learning, reading and writing, and maybe how life is going for you – you'll be able to tell me then the things that you're happy to talk about, and things you'd rather not.

* On two visits I will come and see you working in your English lesson – your teacher is OK with this.

Where will we meet?

We will meet in a room at your school where we can talk without your friends and teachers listening to us.

We will meet for around 45 minutes each time.

I would like to record our conversations on a digital microphone so that I can remember exactly what we said when I need to think about it later – I will check that you are happy with this each time we meet.

Will the things we talk about be kept private?

I will only share the things we have talked about with the people who are supporting me with my research. I will not discuss these with the people who look after you, or with your teachers UNLESS you tell me something that makes me think you, or someone else, might be in danger of being badly hurt or upset – if this happens, I will talk to the teacher in your school whose particular job is to look after young people who might be in danger, and they will decide what to do next.

Do I have to take part?

No, you are free to choose whether you want to take part or not. Even if you say yes at first, you can decide not to take part any more at any time. You will not have to explain why you have changed your mind, and you will not get into trouble for doing this.

If you are happy to take part, please ask your parent or carer to help you fill in the Assent Form I've sent (there is a Consent Form for them to fill in too). Your parent/carer will then return these to me – the letter I wrote them explains how to do this.

Thank you for your help. I hope to meet you soon.
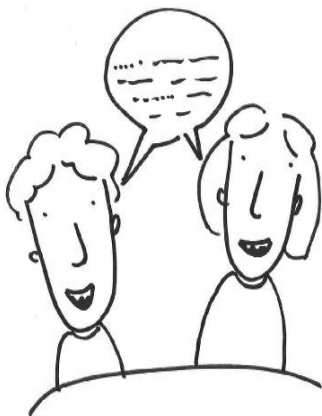
Best wishes,

Jo

Joanna Stonehouse, Trainee Educational Psychologist
jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk

Assent form for young people taking part in research

Happy to take part?

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my study.

We will meet in school three times between December 2017 and February 2018 to talk about your reading, writing and other learning experiences; if you want to, you can also tell me about other things, like your interests and ideas.

I will visit your English lesson in November 2017 and January/February 2018, to see you learning in class.

Please answer these two questions, YES or NO, and write your name, signature and date at the bottom:

1. **Are you happy to talk to me in school?**
    (We will talk about your reading, writing and other learning experiences, and anything else you want to say)
    YES [ ]   NO [ ]

2. **Are you happy that I record our talks?**
    (This helps me to remember exactly what we said when I think about our talk later)
    YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(I will ask you these questions again each time we meet in school)

Your name: ………………………………………………………………………………………………

Your signature: ………………………………………………………………………………………

Today's date: …………………………………………………………………………………

Please return this form to me by Thursday 23 November 2017

Young Person's Assent Form 2 – pre-interview

Assent form for young people taking part in research
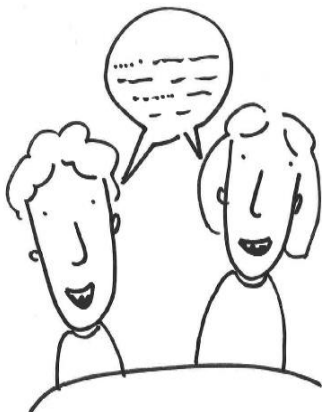
Happy to take part?

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my study.

We are meeting today to talk about your reading, writing and other learning experiences; if you want to, you can also tell me about other things, like your interests and ideas.
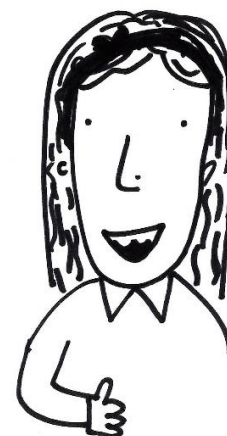
Please answer these two questions, YES or NO, and write your name, signature and date at the bottom:

1. **Are you happy to talk to me in school today?**
   (We will talk about your reading, writing and other learning experiences, and anything else you want to say)
   YES [ ]   NO [ ]

2. **Are you happy that I record our talk?**
   (This helps me to remember exactly what we said when I think about our talk later)
   YES [ ]   NO [ ]
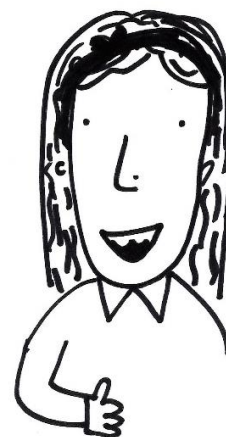
(I will ask you these questions each time we meet in school)

Your name: ……

Your signature: ………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Today's date: …………………………………………………………………………………………

School Leadership Information Sheet

[Placement LA logo]   The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
                                                           NHS Foundation Trust

Information for school leaders and teachers of young people participating in research

Understanding the feelings of young people who find reading difficult

Background

Children's reading difficulties are commonly understood and explained in terms of a deficit in processing relevant information from a variety of sources. Phonological processing (the ability to recognise the sounds represented by written letters and then blend them or split them up to make words) is recognised as one of the key skills for reading fluently and independently – synthetic phonics is very widely used to teach this skill to children from early in their school life. Although this works for many children, teachers and psychologists recognise that for *some* young people with identified reading difficulties, phonics teaching appears to have had little impact.

Psychologists agree that there are likely to be many reasons why children and young people can find it difficult to learn to read, including their emotional well-being, relationships with family and friends, and how well developed their spoken language is. I am interested to explore these so-called 'emotional barriers' further, to discover whether *some* young people's reading difficulties might be influenced by a deeper emotional response to their earlier life experiences.

Why now?

This research is being conducted to fulfil the requirements of a Professional Doctorate in Child, Educational and Community Psychology at the Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust.

Who can take part?

To take part in this study, young people should:
- Be aged 12-14 years (School Years 8-9)
- Have been identified within school as having persistent reading difficulties*
- Have been consistently exposed to interventions designed to improve reading ability (eg. Reading Recovery, phonics, Toe-by-Toe, 5 Minute Box) for at least 18 months.

*Including, but not limited to, dyslexia

What will the study involve?

3 young people's interviews:
- Young people will be interviewed three times, in November 2017, December 2017, and January 2018. On each occasion, I will first check that the young person is happy to continue to take part.
- Interviews will be digitally audio-recorded, and each will last for around an hour.
- All interviews will take place at school, in a room familiar to the young person.
- I will ask an introductory question, and discuss with the young person the things they would like to talk about in relation to this question during the interview – a blank drawing grid and/or topic cards will be used to help to order their thoughts and stimulate ideas if necessary. Questions will be focused on the young person's experiences of reading, writing, and learning more generally, but will follow the direction of their interests and choices. I will provide drawing/craft materials and small play objects, to support their communication if they appear to be finding it difficult to express their thoughts and ideas verbally.

2 observations in school:
I will observe each young person in an English/ literacy session, once in November 2017 and again in January 2018, to see how they approach the learning task, and its potential emotional, social and physical impact on them.

Will interviews be confidential?

It is important that young people feel able to share their thoughts and ideas honestly and openly. I will follow ethical and legal guidelines to ensure that information about participating young people remains confidential. All data collected will be anonymised using fictitious names, and no personal or identifying information will be shared outside the research team (because I will be working with only a small number of young people, it is possible that they may recognise some of their own quotes, but their identity will not be revealed). The exception to this will be if the young person shares information which suggests that they or someone else may be at risk of harm. In such circumstances, I will share relevant information with their school's Safeguarding Officer in the first instance, who will then follow the school's established safeguarding procedure.

Does a young person have to take part?

No, taking part is entirely voluntary. Young people are free to withdraw from the study at any stage, without providing a reason for doing so. Any information recorded up to that point will be removed from the study and destroyed.

What will happen to young people's information?

- Data collected during the study will be stored and used in compliance with the UK Data Protection Act (1998).
- Audio-recordings will be anonymised and transcribed as password-protected Word documents, and stored on a password-protected laptop used exclusively by the Researcher.
- Drawings, grids, interview transcripts and observation notes will be anonymised, and stored securely in a locked filing cabinet.
- Raw data will be stored until the completion of the project and then securely destroyed.
- Anonymised data and research findings will be securely stored for a minimum of three years, and then destroyed.
- Anonymised data will be shared with training and research supervisors only, via password-protected files.

What happens if a young person gets upset?

I hope young people taking part will enjoy the interview process, and benefit from being able to talk about their ideas and experiences. Using drawing grids, story cartoons and picture prompts will help to ensure that they only talk about things that they feel comfortable sharing. I will spend time at the end of each interview checking that young people leave the session in the same state as when they arrived. However, if I am concerned that any young person is unduly upset, I will liaise with school staff responsible for Pastoral Support, and ask that they provide support as necessary. If I have significant concerns about any young person's well-being, I will follow the school's official safeguarding procedure, in the first instance by speaking to the designated Safeguarding Officer.

How will findings be shared?

My findings will be written up as a doctoral thesis as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. Once my qualification has been awarded, I will produce an information summary sheet for parents, carers and school staff, covering key findings and suggested next steps. I will also share my findings with colleagues and other professionals working with children and young people to help them to understand more about young people's experiences.

Contact details

Researcher: Joanna Stonehouse   jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk   [telephone no.]
c/o The Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust, The Tavistock Centre, 120 Belsize Lane, London NW3 5BA

Research supervisor: Dr Rachael Green   rgreen@tavi-port.nhs.uk
c/o The Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust, The Tavistock Centre, 120 Belsize Lane, London NW3 5BA

Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee: If you have any queries regarding the conduct of this programme, please contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk or Paru Jeram, Trust Quality Assurance Officer pjeram@tavi-port.nhs.uk

School Leadership Letter

[Placement LA logo]

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**
NHS Foundation Trust

[SENDCo name]

[school address]

October 2017

Dear [SENDCo name]

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist currently on placement with [Placement LA EPS] team. As part of my training I am required to complete a research project in an area of interest and value to the children, young people and families I work with, and the school staff who support them.

Proposed study
The impact of young people's early emotional experiences on their learning is already recognised by many who work in schools and colleges, but far less is known about the specific ways in which this might happen. I wish to understand more about how children's early experiences might influence their ability to engage with reading and writing in ways that they might not be directly aware of. To do this, I would like to talk to a small number of young people who are known to find reading very challenging, despite having been exposed to a range of programmes designed to develop their skills (eg. Reading Recovery, Toe-by-Toe, ERT, phonics).

I enclose copies of the information sheets I have prepared to tell school staff and parents more about the study, along with an initial 'call for participants' flyer/introductory email I'd like to send, with your support, to parents whose children fit the participation criteria.

Who can take part?
To take part in my study, students must:

- Be aged 12-14 (Years 8-9)
- Have received at least 18 months of formal literacy intervention (eg. Toe by Toe, Reading Recovery, ERT) *and*
- Be failing to achieve age-related expectations for progress in reading and/or writing

I will liaise closely with you to identify the young people who best fit the criteria given, and who you would be happy to contact on my behalf initially.

What will the research involve?
I will be using an interview technique underpinned by therapeutic approaches, but will *not* be working therapeutically with young people. It is anticipated that taking part in the research will be beneficial and enjoyable, giving young people a space in which to think about their strengths and difficulties, and to develop some understanding of their experiences to date. However, since we will be covering subjects which the young person may find it harder to think about, it is possible that they may feel a little upset at some point or within some sessions. I will make every effort to ensure that they leave the interview in the same state as they entered it; if this has not been possible, I will seek the support of a member of your staff responsible for pastoral care.

Confidentiality and anonymity
It is important that young people feel able to share openly and honestly with me, and they will be free to share as much or as little as they wish. Their information will be anonymised as soon as possible after interviews and observations, but they cannot be assured complete confidentiality – I will explain to them that if they share

any information which suggests that they or another person may be at risk of harm, I will need to share this with their school's designated Safeguarding Officer in the first instance, after which the school's established Safeguarding Procedure will be followed.

I am writing to ask for your help in two ways:

1. For your permission to contact parents of young people attending your school who meet the above criteria for participation in the study, to ask whether they would like their children to take part. To meet data protection requirements, I would like to do this via your school's online parent communication system. Parents who respond will be asked to provide their contact details, and I will contact them directly from then on.
2. Once participants have been recruited, I would like to conduct research interviews and observations in school. I will plan the times in consultation with the children and teachers concerned, to ensure that they are not missing essential learning sessions. Observations will be in an English/literacy lesson, and again I will arrange these to be most convenient for the young person and their teacher.

I do hope you'll feel able to support this research study. Although much is known about the cognitive and physical processes of reading, very little research exists which explores the reading process from the child's perspective or which looks at the deeper emotional barriers to learning. A better understanding of these areas will inform the nature and effectiveness of future interventions and support available to schools, young people and their families.

If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me either by phone or email.

With many thanks, and best wishes

Jo Stonehouse, Trainee Educational Psychologist

Joanna Stonehouse   jstonehouse@tavi-port.nhs.uk   [telephone no.]
c/o Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust, Belsize Lane, London NW3 5BA
[Placement LA EPS]

Appendix H

Coded interview transcript for Isaac from MAXQDA coding phase

1 | Interview 1 – Student 1 – 'Isaac' - 12.05-12.50pm, 14-12-2017

2 | Background/reflective notes:

3 | Had sent mum a text message the evening before, to tell her student and I would be meeting – he'd got the message. I'd also got Learning Support Administrator to send message to him in lesson before to remind him (or give some warning if he'd not been told). He arrived on time, and was fully aware of the plan. A little reserved, head slightly down, slightly awkward-looking ... sat in far corner of room initially, but realised quite quickly that I'd set chairs up in the opposite corner for us both and moved across.

4 | Eyes, eyesight, seeing/not seeing, things too small to see, too complex to see?? – wears glasses for some lessons; eyes seem small and pale – I remembered how he'd been peering closely at his book in lesson observation, and had been struck by this – as if he was somehow missing something because it was too small, rather than being too complicated, or for some other reason ...

5 | Posture – sitting forwards towards edge of chair – not relaxed; right foot twitching; clothes slightly too big for him; slight stature. Hands and fingers entwined, fiddling, moving; not much eye contact

6 | Posture changed on two occasions – sat back in chair, crossed his legs, stroked/cupped his chin with his fingers, head back against the tall chair back ... Seemed to coincide with conversation turning to his magic skills and interest – first time was when talking about reading Magic Circle magazine; quickly sat forward again when talk turned back to other aspects of reading, in school and at home ... or possibly re. detail of reading ...

7 | Sitting back in chair, leaning back on upright almost made him seem smaller and more childlike, and he positioned himself forward again, head down, neck bent up so that he could look at me ...

8 | R: If you remember, when we met before, I ... *[intro chat – recap on research objectives ....]* ... So, I understand from [SENDCo] that you can find it a bit tricky to read ...

9 | I: Yeah

10 | R: .... sometimes, um, and um, so yeah, I just want sort of find out a little bit about what that *means*, to you, um, the sorts of feelings you have about that, um, but also to find out all, you know, about, learni ... how it *was* learning to read for you, and where you read *now*, and all those sorts of things, ... so

11 | I: Yeah

12 | R: ... so ... it'll be kind of quite a lot of different questions, if that's alright, um, and there might be some things I sort o- I say or I ask and you think 'Uh? I'm not sure I understand that', so ... please just tell me [small laugh] ...

13 | I: Yeah

14 | R: ... and I'll, and I'll say it *again*, or I'll say it differently, and equally you might say something and I think, 'Ooh, that's really interesting, can you

tell me a bit more about that?' and then we'll have a little bit of a chat, if that's alright

15   I: Yeah

16   R: Excellent .... Um, I know it's kind of really tricky to sort of just be, 'OOOhh! ... gonna start talking oh, what am I gonna say?' so I've got loads of paper here, and pens and things, so if it's easier for you to like *draw*, or if you want to just say 'oh can we just make a note of that' and we'll come back to it or, if you want to, you've, there's paper and stuff here, so um ... just, feel free to use that as well ... alright, so it doesn't, you know ... if you're not happy about talking a great big load we can do some drawing and things instead ... OK, so ... is that alright?

17   I: Yeah

18   R: Yeah? Does it make sense?

19   I: Yeah

20   R: Brilliant ... Okeydokey ... is there anything else you want to ask me before we start?

21   I: No not really

22   R: Nope? Alright, *good*. So, first of all, um so thinking about you reading, so, can you ... tell me a little bit more about um, *about* you learning to read

..Teachers unaware of wi   23   I: So, like, sometimes when you like first start reading um, well when I first started I was just like in a class and they expected me just to read like everyone else, and they gave me this book and it was pretty hard and they were saying 'well you need to read this' and then they took me into a different classroom and then they was tellin me tellin' me an' I just couldn't understand it, and like sometimes now people say 'oh, erm ... erm ... like look at this' erm, and, because if they don't want to say it so, look, like I had a slip for you earlier, like this ... this is just example [reaching into inside pocket and bringing out handwritten note on a slip of paper; unfolding the note and holding in front of him] ...to come, to come here and say, she, she doesn't say to everyone else, she just gives it to you, and she just says, she expects me to read it ...

24   R: Ah

..Hiding/keeping quiet al   25   I: ... and say it says some has some things that like I can read on it, then I'll just, I'll just look at it and I'll be like oh yeah yeah, and I wouldn't even actually read it cos I *couldn't* ...

26   R: Oh

27   I: ... so I just wouldn't know what's going on

28   R: Yeah

..It's hard not being ab   29   I: so it's pretty hard so sometimes ... like that I couldn't read that but em, yeah sometimes I just find it harder, and also ... like ... it's bit about like

bullying ... but I haven't had it on me so much, like but some people get really bad like, they say, they use like not being able to read against you ...

30 R: Ah

31 I: ... and stuff so, yeah it's pretty hard sometimes but ...

32 R: Yeah ... and is that something that's happened to you?

33 I: Yeah, not, not in secondary school yet, but in, in my old school, definitely yeah

34 R: Yeah ... ah

35 I: Yeah

36 R: and you said 'yet' there, so you, you're ...

37 I: I think, I think ...

38 R: ... you're worried that it might

39 I: ... I think it probably will, yeah

40 R: ... ah, OK, that's interesting ... and yeah, I'm, yeah I'm really interested in that sort of like, the words of like, being handed that piece of paper so people almost, like people know, know that you find it tricky ... but still give you things .. to read ...

41 I: Yep ...

42 R: .... that's interesting

43 I: Yep ... I don't think they just do it to put me on the spot, I just think they do it 'cos they're if sometimes it could be something embarrassing or something like I don't know why, then like, say it's something like embarrassing innit, um then they won't want to just read it to you, um,

44 R: that's true, yeah

45 I: so they just give it to you and just like

46 R: Yeah

47 I: expect you to read it

48 R: Yeah

49 I: kinda thing ...

50 R: Yeah

51 I: ... and then sometimes if, if you can't read it then they try and sort it out, then ... you never get to spend time with your friends 'cos you're not in the same classes 'cos you get pulled out the classes to do other *separate* classes and

52 R: Ah OK

..Bullied for not being

..Interviewer reluctance

..Teachers unaware of \

..Justifying teachers' ac

..Hating being singled ou

..It's hard not being ab

..Hiding/keeping quiet al

..Impact of difficulty not l

..Teachers sensitive to h

..Teachers sensitive to

..Desire to replicate po

53 I: And … sometimes I just, yeah it's a bit hard

54 R: yeah … yeah … so what would you do with that … piece of paper? Did you, do you just think 'ah well I'll put that away, I don't know what, I don't know what's going on, or would you …

55 I: Yeah sometimes I just, sometimes I just say yeah, and I just try and make it up as I go along, just … just, just … yeah

56 R: Gosh, that sounds really tricky

57 I: yeah

58 R: Yeah … and so can you remember a point when you were actually being *taught* to read, or did you, or when you felt like I'm *learning* this or anything like that?

59 I: uh, at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic so or this sort of thing, everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' [*clears throat*] … um, and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something and stuff … um … when, there was these two teachers, my two old primary school teachers,

60 R: mhmm

61 I: one was assistant an one was a *actual* teacher … and the assistant always used to really really help me with my reading, this was like on the last er thing, so I started in Year 6 an she really he-, helped me improve reading an all this, she, and my teacher did and … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't, they gave me like reading like um coloured strips that you put over the thing …

62 R: Oh yeah yeah

63 I: and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special and then, um yeah [*hand clap?*] so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a fresh start you know what I mean?

64 R: yeah, I do, yeah

65 I: and I had to like, s- sort everything out with here, if you know what I mean

66 R: yeah, yeah

67 I: yeah

68 R: so trying to find those sorts of people

69 I: yeah, yeah

70 R: all over again … yeah, have you been able to find that? Have you found

teachers that

71 I: well yeah but

72 R: feel the same way?

73 I: they're not like the same, they don't help me the same as they used to

74 R: mmm

..Being helped through

75 I: but I suppose you can't get the same people

76 R: yeah … so what was it that really helped you do you think?

77 I: I dunno, they were *so nice* and they, they just if I was *struggling* or if I did something I would always go to them and they they wouldn't judge me or anything and … yeah

..Teachers sensitive to h

78 R: I was really interested in you said they helped you *discretely*

79 I: yeah, they, yeah, so … say I was in uh the classroom and I was really *struggling* then I'd always just say something and the teacher would come over and just like talk about the work and then she'd say, she would say like what you find difficult and she'd just do it so no-one else knows and I'll just show her on the thing and she'll be like 'oh right' and then, and then she would start like, talking about the words and stuff, yeah sometimes um I would s-, I would just ask, um, like if I wanted to know how I spell something, I-I didn't used to be able to spell said until like Year 6, and I used to say it, and everyone else did, and I used to say it in class how do you spell said and everyone just used to laugh you know?

..Being ridiculed/laugh

80 R: mmm

..Wanting reading di

81 I: Um, cos like people say it's easy to spell, it is to some people but not to the other people

82 R: no, no, that's true

83 I: and they they so she, I would just write write the letter down, like corner of my page, and she'll j-, I'd be like um, can you help with this word and then she'll just say … um, she'll just help me with it … yeah and sometimes they just took me into a different classroom, my TA did and then she used to help me, we used to do these spelling books … and I think it really helped when I did my SATS, cos she was sat with me, she wasn't *helping* me, but if I couldn't read anything, she was only allowed to read certain things

..Being there and bein

84 R: yeah

85 I: she would just, her being there I think that really helped me

86 R: yeah, so almost like just having, having her next to you

87 I: yeah

88 R: yeah … yeah … yeah, interesting, yeah … so how … yeah how did … what sorts of feelings did you have about … that … that whole, you know,

..Being ridiculed/laugh
..It's hard not being ab

sort of well thinking about what you were saying about everybody laughing cos you couldn't spell

89 I: well, I just felt like really like sad, and I think one or two times I actually cried you know, I found it really hard

90 R: mmm ... yeah, I can imagine ... yeah ... so what did ... so have you ever felt, have you felt like you've ever ... learned to read, if you see what I mean, or has that just been something

..Being punished for n

91 I: well, I can I can read quite well *now* but ... you know if I have to read something in class it's always really small and all this and ... this happened before, the teachers gave me a detention or something cos I can't actually read it properly

92 R: mmmm

93 I: and I don't wanna say like oh I can't read this cos he'll be just like, cos *he* doesn't know that I do extra classes ... cos I used to be in [catch-up programme name] which used to be a thing where all my lessons were just with this one teacher, and now I I got out of it cos I w-, I got better and stuff

..Hiding/keeping quiet

94 R: yeah

95 I: now it's a bit different cos the teachers don't know that you're like, that you can't read things ... so ... like, I find it a bit hard ...

96 R: yeah, yeah

97 I: like stuff's like that small I get my glasses out and I still find it hard to read

98 R: mmm, mmm

99 I: and then they're just like 'oh well you didn't do your work', well I couldn't do it cos it was in really small writing

..Impact of teachers kn
..Hiding/keeping quiet

100 R: mmm, mmm

101 I: um, yeah, I find it pretty hard

102 R: yeah, so are you able to tell them ... that ... or is that just too scary or?

103 I: nah, I just, I just try and keep quiet but

104 R: mmm

105 I: yeah

106 R: yeah

..Being helped through

107 I: some teachers are, like, realise and they're like oh ... well, er, one of my teachers here, my English teacher, always um like says, er comes over and says you alright? And yeah and she just yeah, she's just nice about it, you know, she understands so sometimes she'll just give me bigger um sheets

108 R: yep

109 I: and yeah

110 R: yeah ... so does that help, having, having bigger type?

111 I: yeah, yeah

112 R: yeah, yeah

113 I: yeah, um

114 R: yeah, cos I was, cos obviously, yeah cos that was your English lesson, wasn't it when I came and just sat at the back and yeah, so is that the teacher you always

115 I: yeah

116 R: have?

..Being there and being i

117 I: oh, I don't always have her, I have another teacher but she ... yeah I, she's the nice one

118 R: yeah, and so yeah how ... I suppose yeah I was like interested in that whole thing of you know everybody, you've all got the same book in front of you and

..Impact of difficulty not l

119 I: yeah you all, she's, like some people think ... oh well, like ... that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know?

..Interviewer's need to re

120 R: no, no, that's right, they can't ... yeah, and it's not dumb [*small laugh*] actually

..Written word as barrier

121 I: and you have like a text book where you have to sort all these things out and like you just, if you can't read it then you just you just can't do barely anything in the lesson

122 R: yeah, no that's, that's a good point

123 I: so

124 R: yeah, yeah, so that's yeah, so there's not ... I suppose that's the other bit I'm interested in really is like thinking yeah, so you've got your *English* lesson, where it's *all* about the book and it's *all* about the words, and then you've got your things like history I guess? and science?

125 I: history, like yeah, history you have a lot of text, text books, and

126 R: yeah

127 I: and you have to look in them and usually the things are pretty small

..Written word as barrier

128 R: yeah, so how do you, how do you deal with that

..Hiding/keeping quiet

129 I: you know that, you know that coloured sheet, I don't want to get that out in class cos people are just looking I think oh ... like that's dumb ... so you don't want to get that out and that helps me you know

130 R: yeah, yeah .... So ... yeah, tell me a little bit more about that, about kind of, um, yeah in those lessons where you have to read, not just for reading's sake but for ... because that's how you're gonna be able to do the lesson, so ... tell me a bit more about that

..Being ridiculed/laughed

131 I: so it's also like you know when you're in the lesson and you have like the sheet, like if you, if you don't wanna use it then you find it really really hard, like just to be able to s-, read and then, if you do get it out people laugh at it and they'll be like oh why you got that and yeah ... and ... visua-, you just have the sheet and you just have the sheet and you put it over and people think that's weird and you know yeah

132 R: yeah, yeah

..Wanting reading diffi

133 I: yeah, they just think it's like just not normal, but it is for some people ...

134 R: yeah

135 I: ever

136 R: yeah

137 I: just [inaudible] so

138 R: yeah ... so have you got any friends who can find that tricky as well, find reading tricky?

139 I: no, not really

140 R: OK, and do they know that you, that you find

..Able to trust friends no

141 I: yeah

142 R: and tell me a bit about that, how's that

143 I: so like help help me a lot, like if I'm finding something hard, they would just like, if they're sat next to me or something near me, I'll just ask them and then they'll just help me, they won't make a big deal about it you know they won't laugh or something

144 R: yeah, that's good ... yeah ... and are there any other, do you know any other people who find reading tricky?

145 I: yeah I know some people but ... not everyone's in my class so, yeah

146 R: so some other people in school

147 I: yeah yeah, some other people in school

148 R: and what about other people in your family? Is there anyone else in your family who finds it tricky?

..Comparison with Da
..Evidence of Dac
..Inheriting dysle

149 I: no ... not really ... I think, like, my dad struggles, like a bit, but ... he he didn't have help cos, his school was like, used to be pretty rough and the-, his school didn't really help him so he just, and ... so somehow he's done well cos he's he owns his own business now and he's, he's doing pretty well, so ... I don't know ... so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's

..Hiding/keeping
..Sneering sisters

..Interviewer reluctance to

got dyslexia so ...

150 R: mmm ... yeah ... do you ever talk about it with him?

151 I: no not really ... no, just try and, try and keep it quiet, and now my *sisters*, they're just clever, they just know everything, so

152 R:just annoying sisters

153 I: yeah

154 R: [*small laugh*] yeah, I can understand that ... OK ... this is really helpful, so ... um ... yeah, so I supposed I'm thinking as well about, are there different ways ... are there other, what are all the different ways that you *read*, if you see what I mean, so we've talked about text books ... do you read, in other places for instance do you read on your phone, or?

155 I: yeah, so I play this game, I won't say what game it is, but I play this game and um you can talk on it and stuff so I'm like talking to my friends on it, you, you have to like type things and spell things and know, so I find that easier, and also texting

156 R: mhmm

157 I: yeah, that improves your spelling, cos I don't have that spellcheck thing on, so I just, cos mum, I was like 'oh let's just have it on' but mum said that won't *help* you that would just correct your spelling all the time so why don't you have it like that, then if you don't know how to spell something then you can like put it on or you can ask me

158 R: Mmmm ... and how's, how is that?

..Avoiding/simplifying t

159 I: yeah, s'alright, so sometimes I don't know how to spell things, and sometimes, if, I don't have my spellchecker on I don't have anyone there and then my phone then ... I just don't put the word, I just change it to something else ... and sometimes, I do quite a lot of slang, like ... say please I just do a p-l-s

160 R: mhmm

161 I: and that sort of thing

162 R: yeah, yeah ... so technology is quite helpful

163 I: yeah, it's easier, it's easier

164 R: and what about when you get texts to you from other people, can you

165 I: yep, yeah well you can get magnifiers on there and you can get, like um ... er where you can like, if you have iphone then you can get Siri to, tell it to you ... stuff, so I use that, that helps you

166 R: yeah, OK, so it's more the, the, the like the size of the l-, size of the words

167 I: yeah so you can make it uh enlarge it, you know

168 R: yeah, yeah ... alright ... and what about um ... I'm gonna sound like a

right old fogey, social media [small laugh]

169 I: oh well

170 R: do you do like Instagram or

171 I: yeah yeah I have Instagram, snapchat that sort of thing

172 R: yeah

173 I: so that … snapchat's pretty much just like take pictures, do filters, and just send pictures, and instagram's a bit different cos you can text people on it,

..Using technology to su|

174 R: Mmm

175 I: you post pictures and you can, like, tag people in and all this and websites and all that, you just, I find with websites usually the writing's pretty small so I just zoom in,

176 R: mhmm

177 I: so yeah, that's what I do … yeah

178 R: yeah

179 I: pictures aren't that hard to see, long distance and short distance and all that …

180 R: mmm, mmm

181 I: pictures are alright … sometimes there's comments on the pictures

182 R: mmmm

183 I: so, sometimes I just er you can press the button, er you look at *all* the comments, you can look at all the lists and you type *your* comment so I just, and it enlarges it so I just look at that

184 R: yeah, yeah

185 I: so yeah

186 R: so you can read the, the comments

187 I: yeah

188 R: you're not sort of thinking 'I don't know what that says'

189 I: yeah

190 R: yeah, right

191 I: yeah I, I do ask mum just like with something

192 R: yeah … that's really I'm really interested in that difference between … things on the screen or things on a screen and things in a textbook, does that

193 I: yeah

194 R: does that .... Does that feel different to you or

195 I: with technology, I think technology's better cos you can zoom in, you you can get download apps that help you,

196 R: mmmm

197 I: you can you can do that sort of thing,

198 R: yeah

199 I: and then textbook you can't just, magically you get a textbook and enlarge the writing [small laugh] you know

200 R: [small laugh] yeah

201 I: so

..'Reading's boring' as

202 R: so do you ever download books, on like a tablet or a laptop or anything?

203 I: no

204 R: no

205 I: no, I don't really read at home ... I should but ... cos it could help me but, I just find reading's pretty boring [small laugh]

206 R: [small laugh] ... so do you look at ... so, when you say reading at home ... what you, what are you thinking of?

207 I: just like, book reading

208 R: OK

..Using technology to su|

209 I: I do, I do sometimes, read, if I'm doing my homework on the computer or my phone or my ipad I will like zoom in and I will like, if I search for stuff like Wikipedia, or er like get Guy Fawkes then I'd go down there, I'd zoom in, sometimes, I copy and paste a lot of things cos that helps me yeah as well cos you don't have to type it out, you don't have to flick through the pages ... to see, you know, so yeah I do that

210 R: right, yeah ... so you're getting information, like word information ... yeah, yeah ... and how does that ... yeah does that feel different, to when you're trying to read it in a *book*, or

211 I: yeah, I find books are just like, they have more complex words in

..Written word as barrier

212 R: mmm, right ... that's interesting

213 I: you can get some books that are like really childly, and they have simple words but the new, they're like the ones that are like for, the ones that are more interesting are the ones that are more complicated words and all that sort of thing

214 R: mmm ... yeah

215 I: so yeah

216 R: yeah … OK … yeah, that's really … that's really interesting isn't it the, almost like playing off the words like the words .. you know, like the words somehow seem a bit different when they're

217 I: yeah

218 R: when they're in a typed book

219 I: yeah

220 R: ah, yeah… OK, let's see where we are, what else I wanted to ask you … yeah … so um … I guess we've talked about this a little bit already, but I've been thinking about, I wondered if you could tell me about a time when, when you've *not* been able to read something

221 I: so just, a a demonstration so … um … when I was in the detention, and we all sit down there, and this teacher came up and had a chat and he said … um, and there was a sheet of what I'd done and all this sort of thing … and it said something and it was complicated word and I couldn't read it [inaudible] and it was like 'you need to do this' and I couldn't' read it and I was like, I'm in a detention I'm just gonna get in more trouble if I can't read it, and then he, he, he didn't say it out loud cos other people like, so other people know, you know it was just like, really hard, and then he was just expecting me to do these things that I couldn't do

..Impact of teachers kn
..Being punished for n

222 R: mmm

223 I: and it turns out like he was just, he let me off but yeah, if he, he was like if you do it again, he's not, I ca-, it's not what, I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them

224 R: yeah, yeah

225 I: I've got sort of thing, and some words are just er have like silent letters in there, they're just like, some say some sound like they begin with a h like this but they actually have a q or like something like that and it feels so weird and you just can't understand what it is ….

..Written word as b
..Trying his best

226 R: mmm, mmm

227 I: so yeah, it's pretty hard

228 R: mmm … mmmm … right … so can you, um … yeah … … well, I'm yeah, I'm really interested in that, sort of, that, sort of, how teachers, how you, you know, well I suppose it's like how do you think, for example, teachers see you

229 I: some teachers, it depends what teacher they are, some teachers it just it depends on their personality, some people like really understand, some people just don't care less, like 'oh well I've done my GCSEs, I've gone through this, I don't care if you struggle I'm just here to teach you', sort of thing,

..Teachers' different attitu

230 R: mmm, mmm

231 I: and yeah some teachers are really like 'yeah I really need to help you', er, they go out of their way just to help me, other people see that need that help and so

232 R: mmmm, yeah ... and what about um yes, how, how would you think your *friends* see you?

..Friends seeing him as

233 I: my friends, my friends, I don't know like my friends just think, they just see me as my personality, and how I am around them, they just see me as like Dynamo that sort of thing, they just see me as who am I, who I am, not cos I can't read something sort of thing

234 R: yeah ... and what about you? How do *you* see you?

235 I: Dunno ... I don't know ... I actually don't know, ... I think I'm just a person ... it's just lucky isn't it? ... Yeah

236 R: mmm, OK ... and what about your, let me think, people in your family ... what about your *mum*?

..Mum helping him to rea

237 I: yeah, my mum really supports me and everything, like she she definitely supports me with my reading, I think if it was my dad, if I was living with my dad and he was doing all this sort of thing, my dad wouldn't help me as much as my mum,

239 I: and yeah,

240 R: mmm, yeah ... so what do you think your *dad* would say about you [inaudlble], how do you think *he* sees you?

..Being there and being i

241 I: 'ah, my dad's like really loving but he just sometimes he just can't help you as much because he's just like, I dunno, he's just not that, he's not as like, *nice* as my mum

242 R: mmm, right, OK ... and what about your sisters? [small laugh]

..Sneering sisters
..Interviewer reluctance

243 I: my sisters, my sisters always say I'm disabled and dumb so, that's pretty much it, and they're always like ... yeah, just call me disabled and say 'oh at least I can read', if I'm trying to read something to mum then they'll be like 'oh give it here, you can't read, let me read it' so ... no, I struggle on a word I can't ask them, they're like 'ah, how can you not know how to spell that', if my little eight-year-old sister knows how to spell better than me, so

244 R: mmmm ... and like you said, some of that just may be just, be just being sisters

245 I: yeah

246 R: OK ... er, let's think ... [checking questions on paper] ... so, yeah, I suppose, are there times when you *choose* to read something? Do you know what I mean? We've talked about all the times when you *have* to do it,

247 I: yeah, I sometimes, if like … so I read this thing before, like, um whe-when I went to the magic circle, at every month, at every three months sorry, they send out a magazine saying what's happening that month, when their workshops are on, when you can go, what you can do, I I I choose to read that, cos I find that's pretty interesting and that helps me

248 R: yeah

249 I: um yeah

250 R: and are you, are you *able* to read that?

251 I: yeah, yeah, yeah, they have the right size font and it's not that small and it's not like massive you know, and no, yeah

252 R: yeah, so tell me about the magic circle magazine

253 I: so it's like, it's like … about 30 pages long and it has … it's like, um it says stuff about magic obviously and stuff I'm not allowed to say,

..Magic magazine presen

254 R: [small laugh]

255 I: er to you, and um the stuff about what's going to go on, and it has, um, yeah it has, it's pretty readable, and sometimes um mostly they have the co-, they have the font in a certain colour, so they have it usually in blue,

256 R: mhmm

257 I: and erm, and I don't know why if they do that but I find that's easier to read, cos when I had that split screen that's blue and that that's really goo-, easier to read, cos I find blue's easier, but to some people that might be harder for them, you know, some people, I've seen people that have yellow ones, you know, so yeah

258 R: OK, that's really interesting … so do you, yeah, so, so *does* the blue filter help you at all, or you know your coloured overlays and things, do they help?

..Not wanting to look (

259 I: yeah, they help

260 R: yeah

261 I: you can get glasses that are like them, but I I don't want like to have them cos they, they just look, terrible [slight laugh]

262 R: [small laugh] yeah … so have you got ordinary glasses, do you wear glasses sometimes?

263 I: yeah

264 R: yeah

265 I: I got some in my bag yeah

266 R: yeah … so when do you wear those?

..Wearing glasses to help

267 I: I wear them when I'm reading,

268 R: yeah

269 I: I wear them, I don't have to wear them, I should wear them when I'm on my phone, and on the x-box and on my tablet and all that sort of thing, but I don't really wear them, but I only wear them when I'm when I'm reading, I wear them a lot in English ... stuff like that

270 R: yeah ... yeah ... right

271 I: I don't wear them when I'm looking at the board and stuff, cos that's pretty far away so that's alright ...

272 R: yeah, yeah, OK ... and so wha-, and so, just thinking, about you as a, yeah, about you as a reader, what do you ... if someone says you as a reader, what does that mean

273 I: me as a reader?

274 R: yeah,

..Resigned to disability, r

275 I: um, I think it's just something that I can't take away from me, I'd have to get on with it, I have to try, I have to really like try hard to get things done ... I think that challenges me sometimes but I can, I know I can do it so

276 R: so a real sense that, yeah, you've got, that you can do it but you've got to work harder than other people

277 I: yeah

278 R: yeah ... yeah ... and how about your magic? Tell me a bit about your magic

279 I: I think my magic really helps me cos that that like that sort of thing gets me away from like, say I was like people that, er I don't know what to say like, if I was getting bullied sort of thing, erm about my reading and stuff, I think that really helps me cos it just helps me to calm like and if like, it just distracts me from all that school stuff and all that, it really helps me cos ... yeah ... and that that's just like, and it gives me something else, like it's not just me that can't read ... um, and I've got tall hair, you know that's that's and I, and it just gives me that extra thing and that's ... yeah, a lot of people they just they know me as like magic, like when I was walking down the corridor like yesterday er this guy was like 'oh hey Dynamo' like cos sometimes I go and I just show people tricks like

280 R: mmm, mmm

..Alter ego as magician

281 I: that's pretty cool, and I think that really just helps me

282 R: yeah, so I was thinking about that as well ... you as a reader ... and you as a magician ... are you, so can you, so tell me about you as a magician

283 I: I think magician, I think is just something else ... it's like not, it's nothing like reading, you do have to read for some of the things, but it's, so it just helps me have something else there ... so ... yeah, it's ... it's something

that not not, not a, not a lot of people do

284 R: mmmm

285 I: you know, I think that's pretty talented and

286 R: mmm ... yeah ... so yeah, so how do you, so how does that feel ... Isaac as the musician ... musician? The magician ...

287 I: I think it's pretty ... I'm pretty proud of it, sometimes

288 R: yeah,

289 I: yeah

290 R: yeah OK, um, and what if, if you could ... let me think, so if you could sort of say ... to somebody 'here's a way to help me' ... what would ... tell me something about that, what would you say

..Frustration and helples:

291 I: I think if someone was gonna help me I think like ... I dunno I ... I just think, I just think like there, there should be some *way* that I could just get a word just to stick in my head and that I would just *know* to read and things, at times it can get really like, annoying when I can't spell something I can't read something, and we've learned about it, you know I just feel sometimes stupid like we just learned about this and I can't even spell it, sort of thing ...

292 R: mmm, mmm, yeah, yeah ... some of, yeah some, like, the, yeah, sort of the, what are the feelings about, around that, that feeling of

293 I: yeah

294 R: OK ... um, is there anything you wanted to

295 I: no

296 R: talk to *me* about? Or tell me? It's really really interesting, really helpful ...

297 I: yeah

298 R: yeah, OK, so there's a sort of the sense of I'm guessing that yeah you sort of feel it's not something you can do anything about, um

299 I: yeah you can't, you just have to, get on with it, and you just have to find ways round it

300 R: mmm

301 I: things you can do to help you and so, some people like don't have like legs and stuff, they still get up every day they still do what they can they still try and go to the shop, they still go to so there's a local Spar like ... a couple, like, like not far from their house, they could get on their crutches and they could go up there they could just work on the counter, you know ... it's just about working a way around the problem and sorting things out

..Resigned to disability, r

302 R: yeah ... yeah ...

303 I: yeah

304 R: and are you manag-, ... are you are you doing that, do you feel?

..Trying his best

305 I: er yeah, I yeah I really try you know,

306 R: yeah

307 I: sometimes I don't get it but

308 R: yeah

309 I: that's why I do it again

310 R: yeah

311 I: [clears throat]

..Interviewer's need to

312 R: yeah, brill, you seem like a real trier, really determined

313 I: mmm, I try yeah

314 R: yeah ... yeah ... so are you gonna be doing some magic over Christmas?

315 I: yeah ... shall I show you a trick now?

316 R: I was gonna say, will you? Will you show me one?

317 I: yeah .... what did I do last time?

318

[Tape continues as I does two card tricks for me – listen again if I need more detail/contrast with reading info, etc ...]

Appendix I

Pro-forma Records for Isaac and Harry

Assigned pseudonym	Isaac
Interview/obs location, duration, etc.	Initial meeting – 23.11.17, 40 mins; school meeting room Int 1 – 14.12.17, 55 mins; school meeting room Int 2 – 25.01.18, 55 mins; school meeting room Obs 1 – 30.11.17, 55 mins; school English lesson Obs 2 – 18.01.18, 55 mins; school English lesson
Age	12:06
Gender	M
Race	White British
Family	Parents separated; has two sisters, 14 and 9; lives with mum and siblings, and spends regular time with dad
Developmental history	Sensory processing, possible dyspraxia, possible dyslexia, SLCN needs?
Academic history	Low achievement across all subjects. Literacy particularly weak. Placed in school's in-house learning programme for those assessed to be significantly below age-related expectations – allows for extra teaching/learning input in core subjects by removing foreign language learning from curriculum
Reading history – baseline assessment, current reading level/age equivalence, experience of reading, reading demands - 'need to read'/read for pleasure	(see separate table)
Literacy interventions - current	Toe by Toe
Literacy interventions - previous	(various in primary school – current school unable to provide details

Pen Portrait – Isaac*

Isaac is a 12-year-old boy, studying at a mainstream secondary school in a UK market town. He joined the school in Year 7, moving up with his peers from the local primary 'feeder' school he had attended since he was four years old.

Family background:

Isaac is the middle child of three, and has sisters of 14 and nine years old. His relationship with his older sister is described as difficult, but with the younger one as good.

Isaac's parents separated five years ago, and Isaac lives with his mum and sisters, although he spends regular time each week with his dad. Isaac reported to have struggled at the time, but now considered to be more settled.

Isaac, his mum and his sisters had moved to a smaller house, five months before we met.

Early development and childhood:

Isaac's mum has been concerned about her son since he was very young, when she noticed that he was slow to meet developmental milestones - she described him as slow to begin talking, and still reluctant to walk at 18 months old. Her concerns may have been exacerbated by the fact that her first child, Isaac's older sister, had been developmentally advanced, for example beginning to walk at nine months.

When Isaac was much younger, a paediatrician identified the presence of sensory processing difficulties and hypermobility, and raised the possibility that he may have dyspraxia. He was assessed for this when he was in year 2 (aged 6 years) but considered too young to diagnose.

Communication skills:

Isaac was reported to find it hard to communicate, displaying poor eye contact and a tendency to keep his head down and mumble from a young age. Although this has improved, he still tends to talk very quietly or mumble. His mum describes him as meek, and says she worries that his inability to communicate his needs, particularly in new or strange situations, make him vulnerable.

Emotional well-being and self-esteem:

Isaac's mum says that he can't take a compliment and is very reluctant to accept praise, becoming "stroppy and moody" if she tells him he's done something well, or draws attention to an achievement.

Academic progress:

Isaac has struggled academically, and his mum says he's very reluctant to try. He made no academic progress between starting school and completing Year 4. She tried to raise her concerns about Isaac's difficulties during his early primary school years but says that she felt 'fobbed off' by school staff, as if she was making a fuss about nothing. She feels Isaac was let down by this school and was only 'saved' by his teacher and TA in Years 5 and 6. These two female staff members appear to have provided a level and quality of support which enabled Isaac to flourish and make progress, and to be a little better prepared for transferring to secondary school. Isaac himself described the actions of these staff members warmly and at length during our first interview. Nonetheless, Isaac's academic levels remain very low in comparison with his peers.

Isaac is part of the school's programme for students with skills significantly weaker in core subjects. Students are disaggregated from modern foreign languages, in order to provide time for additional teaching in literacy and maths.

Literacy skills:

Isaac is understood to be dyslexic, but this has not been formally identified. Isaac told me during our first interview that his dad has dyslexia, and that he thinks this is where he gets it from. Isaac's mum describes herself as having a very poor memory.

Isaac's Learning Support staff report that he is one of their weakest students for reading and writing. He breaks words down phonically to read them and demonstrates little automaticity. His literacy skills are currently supported by the widely-used Toe by Toe reading intervention which he completes daily with a member of the Learning Support team.

Isaac's mum says that he shows no willingness to read, or to try. She tries to get him reading by stealth at home, for example by asking him to read instructions or packets for her, but says that he just "gets stroppy" and refuses, meeting her attempts to engage him "like a brick wall".

Additional information and interests:

Isaac is an accomplished magician and a member of the Magic Circle. He originally taught himself to do magic tricks by watching YouTube videos when he was at his dad's, and after two years he began to show his mum what he'd learned. She thinks discovering magic also 'saved' him, describing how his confidence, self-esteem, and communication skills have increased to levels not previously contemplated. He currently spends a Saturday a month at the Magic Circle, developing his skills with fellow members. His drama teacher has recently offered to work on his stage presentation skills with him. Isaac carries a professional pack of cards with him in school each day, and takes every opportunity he can to perform tricks for members of the school community. I was of course delighted when Isaac showed me a magic trick at the end of each of our meetings.

First impressions:

Isaac came across as a quiet, gentle and likeable teenage boy, with an emerging capacity for showmanship. Although shy and quietly spoken, he appeared articulate, ready to engage, and able to order his thoughts about his reading experiences.

Assigned pseudonym	'Harry'
Location of interview/obs	Initial meeting – 14.12.17, 40 mins; school meeting room Int 1 – 18.12.17, 55 mins; school meeting room Int 2 – 25.01.18, 55 mins; school meeting room Obs 1 – 18.01.18, 55 mins; school English lesson Obs 2 – 01.02.18, 55 mins; school English lesson
Age	12:05
Gender	M
Race	White British
Family	Lives with mum, dad and 10-year-old sister
Developmental history	ADD diagnosed in primary school, Year 1.
Academic history	Low achievement across all subjects. Literacy particularly weak. Placed in school's in-house learning programme for those assessed to be significantly below age-related expectations – allows for extra teaching/learning input in core subjects by removing foreign language learning from curriculum
Reading history – baseline assessment, current reading level/age equivalence, experience of reading, reading demands - 'need to read'/read for pleasure	(see separate table)
Literacy interventions - current	Toe by Toe, daily
Literacy interventions - previous	EasyRead + others in primary school; no further rinf. given

Pen portrait – Harry*

Harry is a 12-year-old boy, studying at a mainstream secondary school in a UK market town. He joined the school in Year 7, moving up with his peers from the local primary 'feeder' school he had attended since he was four years old.

Family background:

Harry lives at home with his mum, dad and 10-year-old sister. He described his sister as really annoying, and appeared very preoccupied by her superior reading and writing ability, and by her imminent transition to his school at the start of the next academic year.

Harry spends regular time with his maternal and paternal grandparents. He loves to help his grandfather with his model railway, and to get close to the lorries, diggers and so on that they use for work. He has had a digger named after him.

Early development and childhood:

Harry was given a diagnosis of ADD when he was five, after a long period when his parents and school staff were very unsure how to manage his behaviours in school and at home. Harry's mum described movingly how difficult she had found it to cope with him being in a state of continual distraction, lacking any sense of focus, and unable to follow even simple instructions.

Harry was given medication to control the symptoms of his ADD from Year 4 until the end of Year 5. He was again medicated in Year 7 to improve his focus and attention in school: a slow-release/long-acting drug covers him for the hours of the school day, and he has the option of taking an additional fast-acting drug to cover his homework hours if he has been set something particularly challenging or which requires extended focus. This means that his mum rarely sees him medicated, and she thus has a very different experience of her son than that of many of his peers and school staff. Harry attends 6-monthly check-ups at the ADHD clinic to monitor his weight & blood pressure. He describes the biggest side effect of his

medication as the impact on his appetite – when on medication he has no appetite and struggles to eat; when off it, he could eat, in his words, "an elephant filled with sweets".

Communication skills:

There were points when Harry talked incessantly and at length, with seemingly little regard for my views or feelings. I wondered whether his peers had a similar experience, and what the impact of this might be on his ability to develop and maintain friendships.

Emotional well-being and self-esteem:

Harry's mum describes him as very negative in character, with low risk-taking capacity and a reluctance to 'put himself out there'. She says he gives up easily and gets upset about his difficulties, although not overly so, she feels. He cried on two occasions when we met, which I understood as him being either directly facing, or reliving a time when he had been facing, a requirement to do something he found uncomfortable or challenging.

Academic progress:

Harry struggles academically and is part of the school's programme for students whose skills are significantly weaker in key areas. Students are disaggregated from modern foreign languages, in order to provide time for additional teaching in literacy and maths.

Literacy skills:

Harry has not been formally identified with dyslexia, and his parents have not pushed for this although they believe it may be present. They feel the symptoms are very similar to those associated with ADHD, and prefer to focus on one thing, believing that Harry's reading difficulties will be supported through awareness of his ADHD. Harry's mum was also aware that there was currently little additional dyslexia support available outside school, and thus more to be gained from engaging with school support than pursuing a request for professional help.

Harry is left-handed and finds it hard to write.

His literacy skills are currently supported by the widely-used Toe by Toe reading intervention which he completes daily with a member of the Learning Support team.

Additional information and interests:

Harry wants to be a policeman when he's older, and is aware of the need to achieve sufficient school qualifications to enable him to pursue this.

He plays rugby for his local rugby club, and trains with them twice a week. He also loves emergency vehicles, diggers, trucks, lorries, and motorbikes, and has had a digger named after him at his grandparents' instigation.

First impressions:

Harry was a likeable young man and was impeccably polite throughout our time together, asking me how I was when entering the room, and thanking me and saying goodbye before leaving. He talked a lot, and moved rapidly from subject to subject with seemingly little consideration for me as a listener. When reflecting on this within psychosocial supervision, I associated being with him to being in a room with a friendly insect whose behaviour, although benign and unthreatening, had the potential to irritate.

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* Pen portraits are based on verbal accounts given by each boy's mother in response to questions asked about their son's developmental and academic history, life experiences, and family relationships. Where appropriate supplementary information provided by Harry and Isaac themselves, and by members of the school's Learning Support team, has been included. Each portrait ends with a brief reflective summary/impression of Harry or Isaac, developed from initial meetings with them.

Appendix J

Table showing overview of memos generated during early coding stages for Isaac's transcript, using MAXQDA memo function

	Code	Title	Last changed	Memo text
1				
2	Known and understood by teachers?	Feeling known by teacher	19/04/2018 21:59:00	Captures feelings of wanting to feel understood and supported in school
3	Ways of helping/Things that help	Ways of helping	04/03/2018 10:13:00	Not all help is helpful - includes help that's offered, help that's not helpful and help that is helpful to the student
4	Impact of 'defended researcher'	Impact of 'defended researcher'	19/04/2018 17:00:00	Notable points of unconscious activity on part of interviewer within student's narrative - defence, avoidance, desire to contain anxiety ...
5	Teachers unaware of wider impact of reading difficulty	Teachers don't recognise implications of reading difficulty	19/04/2018 09:52:00	Might include denial, wrong assumption re. reading development, attribution to laziness on child's part
6	Hiding/keeping quiet about difficulty	Covering up/hiding difficulty	19/04/2018 09:54:00	Colluding with teachers' assumptions in some ways - Isaac himself denying his difficulties (face saving? embarrassment? avoiding being singled out?)
7	It's hard not being able to read	Finding not being able to read hard	19/04/2018 09:57:00	Isaac talks about things being hard many times during his interviews - eliciting sympathy ... and inviting me to consider how brave, strong, dedicated he's being?
8	Justifying teachers' actions as benign/helpful	Justifying teachers' actions as benign/helpful	19/04/2018 10:06:00	To me this situation suggests teachers' lack of care and consideration of his difficulties, but Isaac interprets as protecting his privacy and dignity
9	Being helped through being understood	Being helped through being understood	19/04/2018 10:19:00	Things put in place, but done through relationship with teachers who he feels understood him as a person and spotted his strengths as well as difficulties
10	Desire to replicate positive relationships with teachers	Teachers are more helpful when they like you	19/04/2018 10:24:00	Helpful help comes through being liked and understood by those supporting you
11	Trying his best	Trying my best	19/04/2018 12:50:00	Resigned to having difficulties, resolute in trying to overcome them. Coughing/clearing throat heavily here suggests this feels painful for him - he's suggesting he's confident but may be feeling very unsure about this; such comments are often linked to him saying how hard it is/has been - is he trying to elicit sympathy, understanding and admiration for trying so hard to overcome such difficulties?
12	Desire to be the same as	Desire to be the same as everyone	24/04/2018 17:31:09	

Appendix K

Tables of semantic themes, subthemes and codes identified for Isaac

Theme	Subthemes	Codes
Teachers' attitudes to dyslexia	Getting people to understand Difficulties not believed or understood Teachers oblivious to wider implications Being helped comes through being known and liked	Trying his best Being thought dumb and lazy Frustrated and helpless Positive support in the past Punishment for not reading Teachers sensitive to emotional needs
"It's hard, you know?"	Resigned to disability, resolved to overcome Frustrated and helpless	Hard work leads to life success Comparing school experience with Dad's Need to find evidence for progress Justifying teachers' attitudes Written word as barrier to learning Hard not being able to read Using technology to work round difficulties Negative view of self > Feeling dumb & stupid; being thought dumb & lazy Trying his best
Fear of looking different to peers	Being singled out for support Hiding difficulties/keeping quiet Avoiding embarrassment Friends see him as 'whole' person Threat of ridicule and bullying Wish for difficulties to be seen as normal Magician alter ego	Avoiding tools that help Avoiding tasks Avoiding interventions/support Trusting friends to help Sneering/smarter sisters
Family roles around reading	Mum helps him to read Sneering sisters Inheriting dyslexia from Dad	Mum as advocate in school Evidence of Dad overcoming difficulties Comparing school experience with Dad's Sneering sisters

Appendix L

Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Isaac's semantic codes

Semantic code	Text extract to which code assigned (R = Researcher, I = Isaac)
Trying his best	I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them R: yeah, yeah I: I've got sort of thing, and some words are just er have like silent letters in there, they're just like, some say some sound like they begin with a h like this but they actually have a q or like something like that and it feels so weird and you just can't understand what it is …. R: mmm, mmm I: so yeah, it's pretty hard *[Interview 1, lines 233-237]* I: er yeah, I yeah I really try you know, R: yeah I: sometimes I don't get it but R: yeah I: that's why I do it again R: yeah I: [clears throat] R: yeah, brill, you seem like a real trier, really determined I: mmm, I try yeah *[Interview 1, lines 305-313]*
Punishment for not reading	R: Yeah … and so can you remember a point when you were actually being *taught* to read, or did you, or when you felt like I'm *learning* this or anything like that? I: uh, at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic so or this sort of thing, everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' *[clears throat]* … um, and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something and stuff … *[Interview 1, lines 58-59]* I: well, I can I can read quite well *now* but … you know if I have to read something in class it's always really small and all this and … this happened before, the teachers gave me a detention or something cos I can't actually read it properly R: mmmm I: and I don't wanna say like oh I can't read this cos he'll be just like, cos *he* doesn't know that I do extra classes … cos I used to be in [catch-up programme name] which used to be a thing where all my lessons were just with this one teacher, and now I I got out of it cos I w-, I got better and stuff R: yeah I: now it's a bit different cos the teachers don't know that you're like, that you can't read things … so … like, I find it a bit hard …

R: yeah, yeah

I: like stuff's like that small I get my glasses out and I still find it hard to read

R: mmm, mmm

I: and then they're just like 'oh well you didn't do your work', well I couldn't do it cos it was in really small writing

R: mmm, mmm

I: um, yeah, I find it pretty hard

R: yeah, so are you able to tell them … that … or is that just too scary or?

I: nah, I just, I just try and keep quiet but

R: mmm

I: yeah

[Interview 1, line 91-105]

R: … I guess we've talked about this a little bit already, but I've been thinking about, I wondered if you could tell me about a time when, when you've *not* been able to read something

I: so just, a a demonstration so … um … when I was in the detention, and we all sit down there, and this teacher came up and had a chat and he said … um, and there was a sheet of what I'd done and all this sort of thing … and it said something and it was complicated word and I couldn't read it [inaudible] and it was like 'you need to do this' and I couldn't' read it and I was like, I'm in a detention I'm just gonna get in more trouble if I can't read it, and then he, he, he didn't say it out loud cos other people like, so other people know, you know it was just like, really hard, and then he was just expecting me to do these things that I couldn't do

R: mmm

I: and it turns out like he was just, he let me off but yeah, if he, he was like if you do it again, I he's not, I ca-, it's not what, I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them

[Interview 1, lines 220-223]

I: so say I move to a new school … then I er had er my dyslexia and all that sort of thing, and then I had some er help in tutor where people do it, er that I need help with, they would just put me in a normal class, say I couldn't read this out or I can't do something they'd just be like what are you doing, why are you like slacking, why aren't you doing the work to the standard

R: mmm

I: and they don't understand, you know?

[Interview 2, lines 371-373]

I: … if my teacher, tells me to read something I feel really pressured in class, and I need to oh I feel really pressured and I dunno what to do and I then I just like oh why do I have to read this out and then I get in trouble for not reading it but, it's cos maybe if I *did* read it I'd be really embarrassed,

R: yeah

I: you know [sighs]

[Interview 2, lines 391-393]

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Being thought dumb and lazy (by teachers/adults)	I: yeah you all, she's, like some people think … oh well, like … that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know? *[Interview 1, line 119]* R: … and you said something there about, about being dumb, um … and yeah, tell me a little bit more about that I: well, people, people just don't understand, if you've got this issue then people don't think it's possible that you can't read stuff, they just think, you're just making up excuses, that's just like, you're just dumb if you can't actually read that, R: mmm I: stuff like that R: mmm … and has there b-, is there a, can you tell me about a particular, time when you've, when that's happened I: well it's not really happened but …. … I don't, it *has* happened but … don't really know [small sigh; voice becomes very weary-sounding, flat, drop in energy] people just say it all the time like [*voice almost appears to crack with emotion at this point*], [Interview 2, lines 386-391] R: OK, yeah … and … [big breath in and out] so, yeah I'm really interested in, in this idea that, yeah that, you were saying about um, people not, *believing* you, so sort of where people, yeah where people sort of, where people don't understand …. you, that you can loo-, what it means not to be able to read and they don't yeah they don't believe you, can you tell me a little bit more about a time when I: like R: that's happened I: some people, like, I I I don't know if it's a *time* but, people definitely, you say you can't read this work, they thi-, they say oh you can, you're just being lazy or, you're not trying hard enough or … I can read that word so you must be able to and stuff like that *[Interview 2, lines 431-434]*
Frustrated and helpless	R: yeah … yeah … yeah, interesting, yeah … so how … yeah how did … what sorts of feelings did you have about … that … that whole, you know, sort of well thinking about what you were saying about everybody laughing cos you couldn't spell I: well, I just felt like really like sad, and I think one or two times I actually cried you know, I found it really hard *[Interview 1, lines 88-89]* I: and you have like a text book where you have to sort all these things out and like you just, if you can't read it then you just you just can't do barely anything in the lesson *[Interview 1, line 121]* R: yeah OK, um, and what if, if you could … let me think, so if you could sort of say … to somebody 'here's a way to help me' … what would … tell me something about that, what would you say I: I think if someone was gonna help me I think like … I dunno I … I just think, I just think like there, there should be some *way* that I could just get a word just to stick in my head and that I would just *know* to read and things, at times it can get really like, annoying when I can't spell something I can't read something, and we've learned about it, you know I just feel sometimes stupid like we just learned about this and I can't even spell it, sort of thing …

	[Interview 1, 290-291] I: so just, a a demonstration so … um … when I was in the detention, and we all sit down there, and this teacher came up and had a chat and he said … um, and there was a sheet of what I'd done and all this sort of thing … and it said something and it was complicated word and I couldn't read it [inaudible] and it was like 'you need to do this' and I couldn't' read it and I was like, I'm in a detention I'm just gonna get in more trouble if I can't read it, and then he, he, he didn't say it out loud cos other people like, so other people know, you know it was just like, really hard, and then he was just expecting me to do these things that I couldn't do R: mmm I: and it turns out like he was just, he let me off but yeah, if he, he was like if you do it again, I he's not, I ca-, it's not what, I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them R: yeah, yeah I: I've got sort of thing, and some words are just er have like silent letters in there, they're just like, some say some sound like they begin with a h like this but they actually have a q or like something like that and it feels so weird and you just can't understand what it is …. R: mmm, mmm I: so yeah, it's pretty hard *[Interview 1, lines 221-227]*
Positive support in the past	R: Yeah … and so can you remember a point when you were actually being *taught* to read, or did you, or when you felt like I'm *learning* this or anything like that? I: uh, at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic so or this sort of thing, everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' *[clears throat]* … um, and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something and stuff … um … when, there was these two teachers, my two old primary school teachers, R:mhmm I: one was assistant an one was a *actual* teacher … and the assistant always used to really really help me with my reading, this was like on the last er thing, so I started in Year 6 an she really he-, helped me improve reading an all this, she, and my teacher did and … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't, they gave me like reading like um coloured strips that you put over the thing … R: Oh yeah yeah I: and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special and then, um yeah *[hand clap?]* so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a fresh start you know what I mean? R: yeah, I do, yeah I: and I had to like, s- sort everything out with here, if you know what I mean R: yeah, yeah I: yeah R: so trying to find those sorts of people I: yeah, yeah R: all over again … yeah, have you been able to find that? Have you found teachers that I: well yeah but R: feel the same way?

	I: they're not like the same, they don't help me the same as they used to
	R: mmm
	I: but I suppose you can't get the same people
	R: yeah … so what was it that really helped you do you think?
	I: I dunno, they were *so nice* and they, they just if I was *struggling* or if I did something I would always go to them and they they wouldn't judge me or anything and … yeah
	R: I was really interested in you said they helped you *discretely*
	I: yeah, they, yeah, so … say I was in uh the classroom and I was really *struggling* then I'd always just say something and the teacher would come over and just like talk about the work and then she'd say, she would say like what you find difficult and she'd just do it so no-one else knows and I'll just show her on the thing and she'll be like 'oh right' and then, and then she would start like, talking about the words and stuff, yeah sometimes um I would s-, I would just ask, um, like if I wanted to know how I spell something, I-I didn't used to be able to spell said until like Year 6, and I used to say it, and everyone else did, and I used to say it in class how do you spell said and everyone just used to laugh you know?
	R: mmm
	I: Um, cos like people say it's easy to spell, it is to some people but not to the other people
	R: no, no, that's true
	I: and they they so she, I would just write write the letter down, like corner of my page, and she'll j-, I'd be like um, can you help with this word and then she'll just say … um, she'll just help me with it … yeah and sometimes they just took me into a different classroom, my TA did and then she used to help me, we used to do these spelling books … and I think it really helped when I did my SATS, cos she was sat with me, she wasn't *helping* me, but if I couldn't read anything, she was only allowed to read certain things
	R: yeah
	I: she would just, her being there I think that really helped me
	R: yeah, so almost like just having, having her next to you
	I: yeah
	[Interview 1, lines 58-87]
Teachers sensitive to emotional needs	I: … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't,
	[Interview 1, line 61]
	R: … so what was it that really helped you do you think?
	I: I dunno, they were *so nice* and they, they just if I was *struggling* or if I did something I would always go to them and they they wouldn't judge me or anything and … yeah
	R: I was really interested in you said they helped you *discretely*
	I: yeah, they, yeah, so … say I was in uh the classroom and I was really *struggling* then I'd always just say something and the teacher would come over and just like talk about the work and then she'd say, she would say like what you find difficult and she'd just do it so no-one else knows
	[Interview 1, lines 76-79]

… yeah and sometimes they just took me into a different classroom, my TA did and then she used to help me, we used to do these spelling books … and I think it really helped when I did my SATS, cos she was sat with me, she wasn't *helping* me, but if I couldn't read anything, she was only allowed to read certain things

R: yeah

I: she would just, her being there I think that really helped me

R: yeah, so almost like just having, having her next to you

I: yeah

[Interview 1, lines 83-87]

I: some teachers are, like, realise and they're like oh … well, er, one of my teachers here, my English teacher, always um like says, er comes over and says you alright? And yeah and she just yeah, she's just nice about it, you know, she understands so sometimes she'll just give me bigger um sheets

R: yep

I: and yeah

R: yeah … so does that help, having, having bigger type?

I: yeah, yeah

R: yeah, yeah

I: yeah, um

R: yeah, cos I was, cos obviously, yeah cos that was your English lesson, wasn't it when I came and just sat at the back and yeah, so is that the teacher you always

I: yeah

R: have?

I: oh, I don't always have her, I have another teacher but she … yeah I, she's the nice one

[Interview 1, lines 107-117]

R: mmm … mmmm … right … so can you, um … yeah … … well, I'm yeah, I'm really interested in that, sort of, that, sort of, how teachers, how you, you know, well I suppose it's like how do you think, for example, teachers see you

I: some teachers, it depends what teacher they are, some teachers it just it depends on their personality, some people like really understand, some people just don't care less, like 'oh well I've done my GCSEs, I've gone through this, I don't care if you struggle I'm just here to teach you', sort of thing,

R: mmm, mmm

I: and yeah some teachers are really like 'yeah I really need to help you', er, they go out of their way just to help me, other people see that need that help and so

[Interview 1, lines 228-231]

Resigned to difficulty/ difference Hard work leads to life success	R: yeah, yeah, OK … and so wha-, and so, just thinking, about you as a, yeah, about you as a reader, what do you … if someone says you as a reader, what does that mean I: me as a reader? R: yeah, I: um, I think it's just something that I can't take away from me, I'd have to get on with it, I have to try, I have to really like try hard to get things done … I think that challenges me sometimes but I can, I know I can do it so R: so a real sense that, yeah, you've got, that you can do it but you've got to work harder than other people I: yeah *[Interview 1, lines 272-277]* R: yeah, OK, so there's a sort of the sense of I'm guessing that yeah you sort of feel it's not something you can do anything about, um I: yeah you can't, you just have to, get on with it, and you just have to find ways round it R: mmm I: things you can do to help you and so, some people like don't have like legs and stuff, they still get up every day they still do what they can they still try and go to the shop, they still go to so there's a local Spar like … a couple, like, like not far from their house, they could get on their crutches and they could go up there they could just work on the counter, you know … it's just about working a way around the problem and sorting things out R: yeah … yeah … I: yeah R: and are you manag-, … are you are you doing that, do you feel? I: er yeah, I yeah I really try you know, R: yeah I: sometimes I don't get it but R: yeah I: that's why I do it again R: yeah I: [clears throat] R: yeah, brill, you seem like a real trier, really determined I: mmm, I try yeah *[Interview 1, lines 298-313]* I: … sometimes I think it's not fair but it's just the way it is you know? R: mm, mm … yeah, and so how, yeah I suppose it's that's that makes me think how *is* that for you, being, you know, what's it like being *you* in your family? I: Well, I mean, I don't feel that *different* … sometimes I feel like I just wanna be the same as everyone else I, I don't wanna be like, different to like stand out to everyone else R: mmm

	I: but, it's just something you have to deal with *[Interview 2, lines 353-357]* I: … yeah, some people just don't do their work cos they think that what's the point doing it … R: yeah … do you know people like that? I: yeah like the, like the supposedly cool people, think they're all hard and they're like oh well I'm not gonna do any work, I'm gonna have a bad job when I'm older, no, they won't earn enough money and they'll live on the streets, like that's a good life isn't it … like I I I just wanna try as hard as I can, try and get a good job, try and get a house, have family, you know, R: yeah I: have a *good* life R: yeah, yeah … have you thought about things you might do, for that job? I: mm like I'd really like to be like a engineer or, a electrician, or a magician R: mmm, mmm ... [small laugh] I wondered if the magician might be part of that picture of your future … mmm … yeah … and how might, so we've been thinking about read- sort of reading and having to read now, now you're in school, um, we were talking a little bit about that before … how do you think reading … how do you think that might feature in, your future as well? I: I think I'm not gonna be able to read, I'm *never* gonna be able to read, just to, to the same level as some other people can, but, certainly if I keep going I'll be able to read better, and I get better, until I can read well and then …. I mean I might be able to … dunno … R: mmm …. OK … OK … so, um, do you think, um, so yeah some of the things that are helping you in school now, and the, the extra things you're doing … do you, do you see them as part of that helping, or you know part of that sort of … you were saying about you know bit by bit by bit, you know maybe being able to read a bit more I: um yeah, I'll, I think I will be able to get there with reading, I certainly got better since I was in year 6 but .. [small sigh] … just, have to practice *[Interview 2, lines 442-452*
Need to find evidence for progress	I: I think I'm not gonna be able to read, I'm *never* gonna be able to read, just to, to the same level as some other people can, but, certainly if I keep going I'll be able to read better, and I get better, until I can read well and then …. I mean I might be able to … dunno … R: mmm …. OK … OK … so, um, do you think, um, so yeah some of the things that are helping you in school now, and the, the extra things you're doing … do you, do you see them as part of that helping, or you know part of that sort of … you were saying about you know bit by bit by bit, you know maybe being able to read a bit more I: um yeah, I'll, I think I will be able to get there with reading, I certainly got better since I was in year 6 but .. [small sigh] … just, have to practice R: yeah … yeah … so if you look back at you as you were in year 6 … I: …I don't really know, everyone says I got better so R: mmm I: just … I don't know if I have, I *think* I have but R: yeah, yeah … are there some ways that you might, yeah how, how do you, how would you know, … are there some ways that you have now that that help you to know that I: well, if you can read words that you couldn't used to read … so R: yeah, and is there, can you think of a time when that's happened?

	I: yeah I used to no- be able to spell some words and now I can .. yeah
	R: Yeah, OK … so can, you think you can spell better now, yeah … and can you *read* those words better now as well?
	I: yeah
	R: I'm thinking about that process of you know, thinking it and writing it to spell it, and then, does it work the other way round as well … can you read more than you could in school?
	I: yeah, definitely
Justifying teachers' attitudes	I: Yep … I don't think they just do it to put me on the spot, I just think they do it 'cos they're if sometimes it could be something embarrassing or something like I don't know why, then like, say it's something like embarrassing innit, um then they won't want to just read it to you, um,
	R: that's true, yeah
	I: so they just give it to you and just like
	R: Yeah
	I: expect you to read it
	[Interview 1, lines 43-47]
	I was really interested in that actually, that sort of that whole thing about being, being different … and if you, yeah, maybe you could tell me about a time when you … felt really different
	I: Right … when, when sometimes I have to get pulled out my classes cos I have to do extra reading and stuff, I feel like, why me, why do I have to do this?
	R: mmm
	I: why can't it be someone else …
	R: … and is there a … a … well I suppose, sort of um, a, [slows down rate of speech] particular time, when that's, happened?
	I: yeah, well it's happened, quite a lot, at this school and like at the old school, but they they just think they're helping me but, I mean they are *helping* me but …
	[Interview 2, lines 358-363]
	R: … yeah, I did wonder about that cos I know when I was in your lesson last week you had to read something out and yeah, yeah
	I: yeah
	R: yeah, so how, it might feel really tricky to … say or to think about but yeah, how, how was, how *did* that feel?
	I: I felt like really embarrassed, like … I dunno, I felt just like really under pressure and
	R: mmm, mmm … yeah … and does your, do y-, does your teacher *know* … that that might be something that …
	I: yeah, but I think she just wants to try and help me, just like help me boost my confidence but,
	R: yeah, yeah
	I: it's hard
	[Interview 2, lines 394-401]
Comparing experience with dad's	R: and what about other people in your family? Is there anyone else in your family who finds [reading] tricky?
	I: no … not really … I think, like, my dad struggles, like a bit, but … he he didn't have help cos, his school was like, used to be pretty rough and the-, his school didn't really help him so he just, and … so somehow he's done well cos he's he owns his own business now and he's, he's doing pretty well, so … I don't know … so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's got dyslexia so …

Written word as barrier to learning	I: and you have like a text book where you have to sort all these things out and like you just, if you can't read it then you just you just can't do barely anything in the lesson *[Interview 1, line 121]* R: right, yeah … so you're getting information, like word information … yeah, yeah … and how does that … yeah does that feel different, to when you're trying to read it in a *book*, or I: yeah, I find books are just like, they have more complex words in R: mmm, right … that's interesting I: you can get some books that are like really childly, and they have simple words but the new, they're like the ones that are like for, the ones that are more interesting are the ones that are more complicated words and all that sort of thing *[Interview 1, lines 210-213]* I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them R: yeah, yeah I: I've got sort of thing, and some words are just er have like silent letters in there, they're just like, some say some sound like they begin with a h like this but they actually have a q or like something like that and it feels so weird and you just can't understand what it is …. *[Interview 1, lines 223-225]*
Using technology to work round difficulties	R: … are there other, what are all the different ways that you *read*, if you see what I mean, so we've talked about text books … do you read, in other places for instance do you read on your phone, or? I: yeah, so I play this game, I won't say what game it is, but I play this game and um you can talk on it and stuff so I'm like talking to my friends on it, you, you have to like type things and spell things and know, so I find that easier, and also texting R: mhmm I: yeah, that improves your spelling, cos I don't have that spellcheck thing on, so I just, cos mum, I was like 'oh let's just have it on' but mum said that won't *help* you that would just correct your spelling all the time so why don't you have it like that, then if you don't know how to spell something then you can like put it on or you can ask me R: Mmmm … and how's, how is that? I: yeah, s'alright, so sometimes I don't know how to spell things, and sometimes, if, I don't have my spellchecker on I don't have anyone there and then my phone then … I just don't put the word, I just change it to something else … and sometimes, I do quite a lot of slang, like … say please I just do a p-l-s R: mhmm I: and that sort of thing R: yeah, yeah … so technology is quite helpful I: yeah, it's easier, it's easier R: and what about when you get texts to you from other people, can you I: yep, yeah well you can get magnifiers on there and you can get, like um … er where you can like, if you have iphone then you can get Siri to, tell it to you … stuff, so I use that, that helps you R: yeah, OK, so it's more the, the, the like the size of the l-, size of the words

I: yeah so you can make it uh enlarge it, you know

R: yeah, yeah … alright … and what about um … I'm gonna sound like a right old fogey, social media [small laugh]

I: oh well

R: do you do like Instagram or

I: yeah yeah I have Instagram, snapchat that sort of thing

R: yeah

I: so that … snapchat's pretty much just like take pictures, do filters, and just send pictures, and instagram's a bit different cos you can text people on it,

R: Mmm

I: you post pictures and you can, like, tag people in and all this and websites and all that, you just, I find with websites usually the writing's pretty small so I just zoom in,

R: mhmm

I: so yeah, that's what I do … yeah

R: yeah

I: pictures aren't that hard to see, long distance and short distance and all that …

R: mmm, mmm

I: pictures are alright … sometimes there's comments on the pictures

R: mmmm

I: so, sometimes I just er you can press the button, er you look at *all* the comments, you can look at all the lists and you type *your* comment so I just, and it enlarges it so I just look at that

R: yeah, yeah

I: so yeah

R: so you can read the, the comments

I: yeah

R: you're not sort of thinking 'I don't know what that says'

I: yeah

R: yeah, right

I: yeah I, I do ask mum just like with something

R: yeah ... that's really I'm really interested in that difference between … things on the screen or things on a screen and things in a textbook, does that

I: yeah

R: does that …. Does that feel different to you or

I: with technology, I think technology's better cos you can zoom in, you you can get download apps that help you,

R: mmmm

I: you can you can do that sort of thing,

R: yeah

I: and then textbook you can't just, magically you get a textbook and enlarge the writing [small laugh] you know

	[Interview 1, lines 154-199] I: I do, I do sometimes, read, if I'm doing my homework on the computer or my phone or my ipad I will like zoom in and I will like, if I search for stuff like Wikipedia, or er like get Guy Fawkes then I'd go down there, I'd zoom in, sometimes, I copy and paste a lot of things cos that helps me yeah as well cos you don't have to type it out, you don't have to flick through the pages … to see, you know, so yeah I do that *[Interview 1, line 209]*
Negative view of self > Being thought dumb & lazy > Feeling dumb & stupid/ > Feeling frustrated/helpless	I: … and say it says some has some things that like I can read on it, then I'll just, I'll just look at it and I'll be like oh yeah yeah, and I wouldn't even actually read it cos I *couldn't* … R: Oh I: … so I just wouldn't know what's going on R: Yeah I: so it's pretty hard so sometimes … like that I couldn't read that but em, yeah sometimes I just find it harder, *[Interview 1, lines 25-29]* I: … and then sometimes if, if you can't read it then they try and sort it out, then … you never get to spend time with your friends 'cos you're not in the same classes 'cos you get pulled out the classes to do other *separate* classes and R: Ah OK I: And … sometimes I just, yeah it's a bit hard *[Interview 1, lines 51-53]* R: … so how … yeah how did … what sorts of feelings did you have about … that … that whole, you know, sort of well thinking about what you were saying about everybody laughing cos you couldn't spell I: well, I just felt like really like sad, and I think one or two times I actually cried you know, I found it really hard R: mmm … yeah, I can imagine … yeah … so what did … so have you ever felt, have you felt like you've ever … learned to read, if you see what I mean, or has that just been something I: well, I can I can read quite well *now* but … you know if I have to read something in class it's always really small and all this *[Interview 1, lines 88-91]* I: yeah you all, she's, like some people think … oh well, like … that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know? *[Interview 1, line 119]* I: you know that, you know that coloured sheet, I don't want to get that out in class cos people are just looking I think oh … like that's dumb … so you don't want to get that out and that helps me you know *[Interview 1, line 129]*

R: … and you said something there about, about being dumb, um … and yeah, tell me a little bit more about that

I: well, people, people just don't understand, if you've got this issue then people don't think it's possible that you can't read stuff, they just think, you're just making up excuses, that's just like, you're just dumb if you can't actually read that,

R: mmm

I: stuff like that

R: mmm … and has there b-, is there a, can you tell me about a particular, time when you've, when that's happened

I: well it's not really happened but …. … I don't, it *has* happened but … don't really know [small sigh; voice becomes very weary-sounding, flat, drop in energy] people just say it all the time like [*voice almost appears to crack with emotion at this point*],

[Interview 2, lines 386-391]

R: mmm, so it's yeah, so it sounds like there's something that [small sigh], yeah even if people haven't actually, well, I don't know, perhaps, yeah tell me … if there, yeah, has, has there been a time when someone has said, that's really dumb, that you can't, read?

I: yeah in my old school people used to say oh why can't y- how can't you spell that, you're so dumb and like [*sighs as speaks*] yeah help you cos just cos you can read it perfectly so don't mean I can

[Interview 2, lines 404-405]

R: … so I'm wondering, what does, what does a, what's a dumb person, like? Do you think, what do you think [inaudible]

I: [tone a little stronger, almost a little stroppy] I don't really know to be honest, cos I don't use the word so, I don't really think about it

R: OK … [deep breath in] but there's, there's there something in you that thinks that other people are thinking about, thinking that about you …

I: yeah

R: OK, OK …and are there any people that … *don't* think you're dumb?

I: my friends, my mum … people that I know me close

R: mmm

I: stuff like that

R: yeah ... and, so tell me about something they say or do that … makes you not feel dumb, [small laugh] I suppose

I: I dunno, really, I …

R: [left longer pause] [quiet, low tone] … OK … and … um, [back to brighter, higher tone again] yeah I suppose, about any other, just thinking about this dumb stupid thing, um, maybe tell me about a time when, that thinking, so when people think if you can't read you're dumb or stupid, um, if you could tell me about a time when that's, when that has affected you, something that you've, you've experienced um

I: … cos … I d- I don't, [*voice low and pitiful again – has almost a sobbing, tearful quality*] I, I'm sorry, I just don't,

R: that's alright, that's OK

I: don't know how to explain

[Interview 2, lines 406-419]

	R: OK, yeah … and … [big breath in and out] so, yeah I'm really interested in, in this idea that, yeah that, you were saying about um, people not, *believing* you, so sort of where people, yeah where people sort of, where people don't understand …. you, that you can loo-, what it means not to be able to read and they don't yeah they don't believe you, can you tell me a little bit more about a time when I: like R: that's happened I: some people, like, I I I don't know if it's a *time* but, people definitely, you say you can't read this work, they thi-, they say oh you can, you're just being lazy or, you're not trying hard enough or … I can read that word so you must be able to and stuff like that *[Interview 2, lines 431-434]* R: … so um yeah, tell me about being lazy, tell me what a lazy person might look like I: … to me I think a lazy person is one of them people that doesn't exerci- like don't do any exercise, don't do any sport, running, just sit on their sofa just watching TV, just getting fat, just eating loads of chocolate and all that sort of thing … not, I mean, not someone that, who tries not to read, who like can't, can't read and write R; mmm, so you're thinking of all the physical side of that … OK, so what, I'm just wondering what you think people might mean when they say … when they think, cos they're presumably when they're thinking of lazy are they thinking about, um … well I don't know, what do you think they might be thinking about? I: like you're just being lazy, you're not doing your work, you can't be bothered to do your work, you just … … *[Interview 2, lines 437-440]*
Avoiding embarrassment/ looking different > Avoiding tools that help	I: you know that, you know that coloured sheet, I don't want to get that out in class cos people are just looking I think oh … like that's dumb … so you don't want to get that out and that helps me you know R: yeah, yeah …. So … yeah, tell me a little bit more about that, about kind of, um, yeah in those lessons where you have to read, not just for reading's sake but for … because that's how you're gonna be able to do the lesson, so … tell me a bit more about that I: so it's also like you know when you're in the lesson and you have like the sheet, like if you, if you don't wanna use it then you find it really really hard, like just to be able to s-, read and then, if you do get it out people laugh at it and they'll be like oh why you got that and yeah … and … visua-, you just have the sheet and you just have the sheet and you put it over and people think that's weird and you know yeah *[Interview 1, lines 129-131]* R: OK, that's really interesting … so do you, yeah, so, so *does* the blue filter help you at all, or you know your coloured overlays and things, do they help? I: yeah, they help R: yeah I: you can get glasses that are like them, but I I don't want like to have them cos they, they just look, terrible [slight laugh] R: [small laugh] yeah … so have you got ordinary glasses, do you wear glasses sometimes? I: yeah R: yeah I: I got some in my bag yeah *[Interview 1, lines 258-265]*

	R: that's OK, that's fine … alright … and we were thinking about, so last time we met, again, um, about, whether, um, whether it's weird to um, or whether it might look make you look weird if you like, so if you were using your coloured filter
	I: um
	R: or to put glasses on, thing like that
	I: so … it's like … people … if I have that coloured filter people like, why do you need to use that, and like they just like judge me to whatever that means, like they judge it a lot and they're like, oh well why'd you need that and all sorts so, it's … it's n- … it's jus' … it's not nice,
	R: yeah, yeah … OK
	I: and then when I went to Specsavers they said c-, put it in your glasses but that would mean I have a tinted glasses and that would look, that'd look weird as well and then … like … I mean it's *helping* me yeah but I wish like no-one would judge me so that they could actually, could actually help me and then I could get on with my work but it doesn't work like that
	R: … yeah, yeah … so, yeah so so maybe there are some things there that, people think would help you but actually what it would ac- it would make you stand out and look different
	I: mm
	[Interview 2, lines 421-427]
Avoiding embarrassment/ looking different > Avoiding tasks	I: So, like, sometimes when you like first start reading um, well when I first started I was just like in a class and they expected me just to read like everyone else, and they gave me this book and it was pretty hard and they were saying 'well you need to read this' and then they took me into a different classroom and then they was tellin me tellin' me an' I just couldn't understand it, and like sometimes now people say 'oh, erm … erm … like look at this' erm, and, because if they don't want to say it so, look, like I had a slip for you earlier, like this … this is just example [reaching into inside pocket and bringing out handwritten note on a slip of paper; unfolding the note and holding in front of him] …to come, to come here and say, she, she doesn't say to everyone else, she just gives it to you, and she just says, she expects me to read it …
	R: Ah
	I: … and say it says some has some things that like I can read on it, then I'll just, I'll just look at it and I'll be like oh yeah yeah, and I wouldn't even actually read it cos I *couldn't* …
	R: Oh
	I: … so I just wouldn't know what's going on
	[Interview 1, lines 23-27]
	R: yeah … yeah … so what would you do with that … piece of paper? Did you, do you just think 'ah well I'll put that away, I don't know what, I don't know what's going on, or would you …
	I: Yeah sometimes I just, sometimes I just say yeah, and I just try and make it up as I go along, just … just, just … yeah
	R: Gosh, that sounds really tricky
	I: yeah
	[Interview 1, lines 54-57]
	I: … I don't have that spellcheck thing on, so I just, cos mum, I was like 'oh let's just have it on' but mum said that won't *help* you that would just correct your spelling all the time so why don't you have it like that, then if you don't know how to spell something then you can like put it on or you can ask me

R: Mmmm … and how's, how is that?

I: yeah, s'alright, so sometimes I don't know how to spell things, and sometimes, if, I, don't have my spellchecker on I don't have anyone there and then my phone then … I just don't put the word, I just change it to something else … and sometimes, I do quite a lot of slang, like … say please I just do a p-l-s

R: mhmm

I: and that sort of thing

[Interview 1, lines 157-161]

R: mmm … and so … yeah tell me about some of the help, or tell me about a particular, a bit of help that you've had

I I think, in the mornings, um, I do this thing called Toe by Toe

R: mhmm

I: and er, it's like a where I have to spell words out, read words and i's like I have to come in *early* to do it and then go to my normal lesson and, this is another thing but like, you know when I say it's not fair n'all that, it's another thing that I thought like, where it's not fair that I have to go there, they wanna have, like on Mondays I had to go to the outdoor, cos we have a outdoor centre so, usually my mum takes me to the outdoor centre and that's first lesson, first period,

R: yeah

I: so if I have to do that *before* … then they'll have to drive me up and then just feel bad, and so now they have to drive me up and I'll get out the car and everyone be looking at me and be like oh why'd you have to be with these teachers, why you so *dumb* and all this sort of thing … so, I was like refusing to do it and then, my mum started having a go at me and I was just like so fine I'll do it and then, it was hard

[Interview 2, lines 380-385]

I: … and then also, if my teacher, tells me to read something I feel really pressured in class, and I need to oh I feel really pressured and I dunno what to do and I then I just like oh why do I have to read this out and then I get in trouble for not reading it but, it's cos maybe if I *did* read it I'd be really embarrassed,

[Interview 2, line 391]

I: sometimes if, I mean I've done this before, where if they're swapping books and I don't think I've, either it's really un-neat or, or I've spelled a lot of things wrong I'll just, I'll just say to this person sat next to me it's fine, just don't mark it, I'll do, and just don't tell the teacher, and I always mark it myself

R: mmm, so you don't *do* the swapping

I: well if, if I, [small sharp sigh], if the teacher makes me swap I just say just don't read it, just write stuff down

R: yeah

I: I'll mark

R: yeah … so yeah, tell me, so that's, that's really interesting, so yeah tell me a little bit more

I: so

R: about that

I: say took my book to mark I say, nah just don't read it, just put, cos usually you put WWW which um what went well and then you just write down positives about it, so I just put well done, improve your spellings a bit, and well done, I just tell them to put well done, and then I just tell them to put on EBA [sic], even better if then tell them to put on that, like, I put um put like, put like well it's a very good story but you need to add in some punctuation or something like that

R: mmm, mmm

	I: so I don't even get them to read it cos it's just embarrassing R: mmm, yeah, yeah … so is that something you do, or is that I: so if I'm sat next to my friend I'll just give it to them, I'll let them read it and all that cos I know they'll, be alright R: yeah, yeah … yeah, so you've got your sort of, does it feel like being almost, being careful who you, you tell, or I: yeah R: yeah, and what about you marking *their* work? I: I mean, I don't really read it, I just put their even better if, and then I just put random stuff R: yeah I: I don't really read it … I sometimes *can't* read it or … like, I dunno … *[Interview 2, lines 472-496]*
Trusting friends to help	R: yeah … so have you got any friends who can find that tricky as well, find reading tricky? I: no, not really R: OK, and do they know that you, that you find I: yeah R: and tell me a bit about that, how's that I: so like help help me a lot, like if I'm finding something hard, they would just like, if they're sat next to me or something near me, I'll just ask them and then they'll just help me, they won't make a big deal about it you know they won't laugh or something *[Interview 1, lines 138-143]* I: and yeah some teachers are really like 'yeah I really need to help you', er, they go out of their way just to help me, other people see that need that help and so R: mmmm, yeah … and what about um yes, how, how would you think your *friends* see you? I: my friends, my friends, I don't know like my friends just think, they just see me as my personality, and how I am around them, they just see me as like Dynamo that sort of thing, they just see me as who am I, who I am, not cos I can't read something sort of thing *[Interview 1, lines 231-233]* I: so if I'm sat next to my friend I'll just give it to them, I'll let them read it and all that cos I know they'll, be alright R: yeah, yeah … yeah, so you've got your sort of, does it feel like being almost, being careful who you, you tell, or I: yeah *[Interview 2, lines 490-492]*
(Fear/threat of) Being ridiculed/bullied/embarrassed > Sneering/smarter sisters	I: … it's bit about like bullying … but I haven't had it on me so much, like but some people get really bad like, they say, they use like not being able to read against you … R: Ah I: … and stuff so, yeah it's pretty hard sometimes but … R: Yeah … and is that something that's happened to you? I: Yeah, not, not in secondary school yet, but in, in my old school, definitely yeah

R: Yeah … ah

I: Yeah

R: and you said 'yet' there, so you, you're …

I: I think, I think …

R: … you're worried that it might

I: … I think it probably will, yeah

[Interview 1, lines 29-39]

I: … I-I didn't used to be able to spell said until like Year 6, and I used to say it, and everyone else did, and I used to say it in class how do you spell said and everyone just used to laugh you know?

R: mmm

I: Um, cos like people say it's easy to spell, it is to some people but not to the other people

[Interview 1, lines 79-81]

R: yeah … yeah … yeah, interesting, yeah … so how … yeah how did … what sorts of feelings did you have about … that … that whole, you know, sort of well thinking about what you were saying about everybody laughing cos you couldn't spell

I: well, I just felt like really like sad, and I think one or two times I actually cried you know, I found it really hard

[Interview 1, lines 88-90]

I: so it's also like you know when you're in the lesson and you have like the sheet, like if you, if you don't wanna use it then you find it really really hard, like just to be able to s-, read and then, if you do get it out people laugh at it and they'll be like oh why you got that and yeah … and … visua-, you just have the sheet and you just have the sheet and you put it over and people think that's weird and you know yeah

R: yeah, yeah

I: yeah, they just think it's like just not normal, but it is for some people …

[Interview 1, lines 131-133]

I: my sisters, my sisters always say I'm disabled and dumb so, that's pretty much it, and they're always like … yeah, just call me disabled and say 'oh at least I can read', if I'm trying to read something to mum then they'll be like 'oh give it here, you can't read, let me read it' so … no, I struggle on a word I can't ask them, they're like 'ah, how can you not know how to spell that', if my little eight-year-old sister knows how to spell better than me, so …

[Interview 1, line 243]

R: … when we met before you talked a *little* bit about your sisters, um, so I was wondering if you can tell me a bit *more* about them or,

I: yeah, like, they don't really *help*, cos, my *little* sister knows how to read better than me, she knows how to do stuff better than me but that's how life goes on right

R: yeah

I: obviously my big sister as well does it and th- they don't *understand*, that I can't, I can't, like help read, and say say my *sister* had a book and I ask can I read it they'll say no give it here cos you can't read, but I *can* read, I just find it *hard*

	[Interview 2, lines 344-347]
	I: so if I have to do that *before* … then they'll have to drive me up and then just feel bad, and so now they have to drive me up and I'll get out the car and everyone be looking at me and be like oh why'd you have to be with these teachers, why you so *dumb* and all this sort of thing … so, I was like refusing to do it and then, my mum started having a go at me and I was just like so fine I'll do it and then, it was hard
	[Interview 2, line385]
	R: … if there, yeah, has, has there been a time when someone has said, that's really dumb, that you can't, read?
	I: yeah in my old school people used to say oh why can't y- how can't you spell that, you're so dumb and like [*sighs as speaks*] yeah help you cos just cos you can read it perfectly so don't mean I can
	[Interview 2, lines 404-405]
	I: so … it's like … people … if I have that coloured filter people like, why do you need to use that, and like they just like judge me to whatever that means, like they judge it a lot and they're like, oh well why'd you need that and all sorts so, it's … it's n- … it's jus' … it's not nice,
	[Interview 2, line 424]
	R: … we were talking about, um bullying, so I wondered if you tell me something about bullying in your school
	I: well I don't think I've really got bullied, I've I've of-, I've got teased but, I mean, some people, stand out more than other people
	R: mhmm
	I: and, say there was an old guy that … he wasn't that, he was quite poor and he lived in a one bedroom flat and he lived in a really rough area, and he came to this school and he had no friends and he struggled then probably a lot of people will pick on him just cos … dunno, that's how they feel
	R: mmm, yeah … I'm wondering what, what they were picking on him, for
	I: I mean cos first … he's got no friends probably, he's got problems, he might not look good, he might smell, I dunno, likeR: … yeah … and are there other things that people get picked on for?
	I: like, things they do maybe … I mean but, definitely, he would probably definitely get picked on if you're different to everyone else, you can't spell certain things
	R: mmm, right … and can you think of a time when, that's happened, either to you, or you've seen that happen to somebody else?
	I: … … I've seen people not be able to spell certain words and someone be sat next to them … and then they'll, er say … so usually swap books and then you mark the other person's book, and if you've writ a long [sic] thing down say you spelt s-, say a word down like 'said', then he'll, someone'll probably shout it out in class and people start laughing plus everyone'll start like calling him names or picking on him cos he can't spell certain words
	[Interview 2, lines 465-474]
Hiding difficulties/keeping quiet	I: … and say it says some has some things that like I can read on it, then I'll just, I'll just look at it and I'll be like oh yeah yeah, and I wouldn't even actually read it cos I *couldn't* …
	R: Oh
	I: … so I just wouldn't know what's going on
	[Interview 1, lines 25-27]

R: yeah … yeah … so what would you do with that … piece of paper? Did you, do you just think 'ah well I'll put that away, I don't know what, I don't know what's going on', or would you …

I: Yeah sometimes I just, sometimes I just say yeah, and I just try and make it up as I go along, just … just, just … yeah

R: Gosh, that sounds really tricky

I: yeah

[Interview 1, lines 54-57]

I: well, I can I can read quite well *now* but … you know if I have to read something in class it's always really small and all this and … this happened before, the teachers gave me a detention or something cos I can't actually read it properly

R: mmmm

I: and I don't wanna say like oh I can't read this cos he'll be just like, cos *he* doesn't know that I do extra classes … cos I used to be in [catch-up programme name] which used to be a thing where all my lessons were just with this one teacher, and now I I got out of it cos I w-, I got better and stuff

R: yeah

I: now it's a bit different cos the teachers don't know that you're like, that you can't read things … so … like, I find it a bit hard …

R: yeah, yeah

I: like stuff's like that small I get my glasses out and I still find it hard to read

R: mmm, mmm

I: and then they're just like 'oh well you didn't do your work', well I couldn't do it cos it was in really small writing

R: mmm, mmm

I: um, yeah, I find it pretty hard

R: yeah, so are you able to tell them … that … or is that just too scary or?

I: nah, I just, I just try and keep quiet but

R: mmm

I: yeah

R: yeah

I: some teachers are, like, realise and they're like oh … well, er, one of my teachers here, my English teacher, always um like says, er comes over and says you alright? And yeah and she just yeah, she's just nice about it, you know, she understands so sometimes she'll just give me bigger um sheets

[Interview 1, lines 91-107]

I: … so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's got dyslexia so …

R: mmm … yeah … do you ever talk about it with him?

I: no not really … no, just try and, try and keep it quiet,

[Interview 1, lines 149-151]

	R: … I guess that's linked with kind of thinking about who you tell and who you don't, but whether you, whether you need to keep *quiet* about finding reading difficult
	I: yeah, you don't, you don't really like shout about it, you just keep it to yourself … if anyone questions just try to ignore them or try and like just talk about something else,
	R: yeah
	I: just keep it calm just keep it to yourself
	R: yeah … so can you tell me about a time when that's happened
	I: like people usually say to me oh, ca- um, have you got any like problems with reading, I was like, if it's a teacher I tell them but if it's someone I'd be like, I'd be like … I'd just start talking to someone else, be like oh you alright?
	R: yeah
	I: talk about something else yeah, it's like, I don't wanna be rude to them but I just don't wanna ask, don't wanna answer their question
	[Interview 2, lines 515-522]
Being singled out/feeling or looking different > Magician alter ego	I: … sometimes I feel like I just wanna be the same as everyone else I, I don't wanna be like, different to like stand out to everyone else
	R: mmm
	I: but, it's just something you have to deal with
	R: [quietly] yeah, yeah, [back to normal tone, more firmly] yeah, I was really interested in that actually, that sort of that whole thing about being, being different … and if you, yeah, maybe you could tell me about a time when you … felt really different
	I: Right … when, when sometimes I have to get pulled out my classes cos I have to do extra reading and stuff, I feel like, why me, why do I have to do this?
	R: mmm
	I: why can't it be someone else …
	[Interview 2, lines 353-361]
	R: mmm … and so … yeah tell me about some of the help, or tell me about a particular, a bit of help that you've had
	I I think, in the mornings, um, I do this thing called Toe by Toe
	R: mhmm
	I: and er, it's like a where I have to spell words out, read words and i's like I have to come in *early* to do it and then go to my normal lesson and, this is another thing but like, you know when I say it's not fair n'all that, it's another thing that I thought like, where it's not fair that I have to go there, they wanna have, like on Mondays I had to go to the outdoor, cos we have a outdoor centre so, usually my mum takes me to the outdoor centre and that's first lesson, first period,
	R: yeah
	I: so if I have to do that *before* … then they'll have to drive me up and then just feel bad, and so now they have to drive me up and I'll get out the car and everyone be looking at me and be like oh why'd you have to be with these teachers, why you so *dumb* and all this sort of thing … so, I was like refusing to do it and then, my mum started having a go at me and I was just like so fine I'll do it and then, it was hard
	[Interview 2, lines 380-385]

I: and then when I went to Specsavers they said c-, put it in your glasses but that would mean I have a tinted glasses and that would look, that'd look weird as well and then … like … I mean it's *helping* me yeah but I wish like no-one would judge me so that they could actually, could actually help me and then I could get on with my work but it doesn't work like that

R: … yeah, yeah … so, yeah so so maybe there are some things there that, people think would help you but actually what it would ac- it would make you stand out and look different

I: mm

[Interview 2, lines 426-428]

I: one was assistant an one was a *actual* teacher … and the assistant always used to really really help me with my reading, this was like on the last er thing, so I started in Year 6 an she really he-, helped me improve reading an all this, she, and my teacher did and … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't, they gave me like reading like um coloured strips that you put over the thing …

R: Oh yeah yeah

I: and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special and then, um yeah [*hand clap?*] so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a fresh start you know what I mean?

[Interview 1, lines 61-63]

R: … so, yeah, I suppose, are there times when you *choose* to read something? Do you know what I mean? We've talked about all the times when you *have* to do it,

I: yeah, I sometimes, if like … so I read this thing before, like, um whe- when I went to the magic circle, at every month, at every three months sorry, they send out a magazine saying what's happening that month, when their workshops are on, when you can go, what you can do, I I I choose to read that, cos I find that's pretty interesting and that helps me

R: yeah

I: um yeah

R: and are you, are you *able* to read that?

I: yeah, yeah, yeah, they have the right size font and it's not that small and it's not like massive you know, and no, yeah

R: yeah, so tell me about the magic circle magazine

I: so it's like, it's like … about 30 pages long and it has … it's like, um it says stuff about magic obviously and stuff I'm not allowed to say,

R: [small laugh]

I: er to you, and um the stuff about what's going to go on, and it has, um, yeah it has, it's pretty readable, and sometimes um mostly they have the co-, they have the font in a certain colour, so they have it usually in blue,

R: mhmm

I: and erm, and I don't know why if they do that but I find that's easier to read, cos when I had that split screen that's blue and that that's really goo-, easier to read, cos I find blue's easier, but to some people that might be harder for them, you know, some people, I've seen people that have yellow ones, you know, so yeah

[Interview 1, lines 246-257]

	R: … and how about your magic? Tell me a bit about your magic
	I: I think my magic really helps me cos that that like that sort of thing gets me away from like, say I was like people that, er I don't know what to say like, if I was getting bullied sort of thing, erm about my reading and stuff, I think that really helps me cos it just helps me to calm like and if like, it just distracts me from all that school stuff and all that, it really helps me cos … yeah … and that that's just like, and it gives me something else, like it's not just me that can't read … um, and I've got tall hair, you know that's that's and I, and it just gives me that extra thing and that's … yeah, a lot of people they just they know me as like magic, like when I was walking down the corridor like yesterday er this guy was like 'oh hey Dynamo' like cos sometimes I go and I just show people tricks like
	R: mmm, mmm
	I: that's pretty cool, and I think that really just helps me
	R: yeah, so I was thinking about that as well … you as a reader … and you as a magician … are you, so can you, so tell me about you as a magician
	I: I think magician, I think is just something else … it's like not, it's nothing like reading, you do have to read for some of the things, but it's, so it just helps me have something else there … so … yeah, it's … it's something that not not, not a, not a lot of people do
	R: mmmm
	I: you know, I think that's pretty talented and
	R: mmm … yeah … so yeah, so how do you, so how does that feel … Isaac as the musician … musician? The magician …
	I: I think it's pretty … I'm pretty proud of it, sometimes
	R: yeah,
	I: yeah
	R: yeah OK, um, and what if, if you could … let me think, so if you could sort of say … to somebody 'here's a way to help me' … what would … tell me something about that, what would you say
	I: I think if someone was gonna help me I think like … I dunno I … I just think, I just think like there, there should be some *way* that I could just get a word just to stick in my head and that I would just *know* to read and things, at times it can get really like, annoying when I can't spell something I can't read something, and we've learned about it, you know I just feel sometimes stupid like we just learned about this and I can't even spell it, sort of thing …
	[Interview 1, lines 278-291]
Comparing school experience with dad's/Evidence of dad overcoming difficulties	R: and what about other people in your family? Is there anyone else in your family who finds [reading] tricky?
	I: no … not really … I think, like, my dad struggles, like a bit, but … he he didn't have help cos, his school was like, used to be pretty rough and the-, his school didn't really help him so he just, and … so somehow he's done well cos he's he owns his own business now and he's, he's doing pretty well, so … I don't know … so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's got dyslexia so …
	[Interview 1, lines 148-149]
Mum as advocate in school	R: mmm, OK … and what about your, let me think, people in your family … what about your *mum*?
	I: yeah, my mum really supports me and everything, like she she definitely supports me with my reading, I think if it was my dad, if I was living with my dad and he was doing all this sort of thing, my dad wouldn't help me as much as my mum,
	R: mmm, mmm
	I: and yeah,
	R: mmm, yeah … so what do you think your *dad* would say about you [inaudlble], how do you think *he* sees you?
	I: 'ah, my dad's like really loving but he just sometimes he just can't help you as much because he's just like, I dunno, he's just not that, he's not as like, *nice* as my mum

	[Interview 1, lines 236-241]
	R: … so people knew about you before you came here?
	I: er no, um it's just that when I ca-, when I got a place here my mum jus talked to them and then they said like he needs this help can you help him and then they said yeah
	[Interview 2, lines 376-377]
Sneering/smarter sisters > Sisters' ridicule - cleverer/ can read better than him	I: … so I think I get like dyslexia from him cos he's got dyslexia so …
	R: mmm … yeah … do you ever talk about it with him?
	I: no not really … no, just try and, try and keep it quiet, and now my *sisters*, they're just clever, they just know everything,
	[Interview 1, lines 149-151]
	I: my sisters, my sisters always say I'm disabled and dumb so, that's pretty much it, and they're always like … yeah, just call me disabled and say 'oh at least I can read', if I'm trying to read something to mum then they'll be like 'oh give it here, you can't read, let me read it' so … no, I struggle on a word I can't ask them, they're like 'ah, how can you not know how to spell that', if my little eight-year-old sister knows how to spell better than me, so …
	[Interview 1, line 243]
	R: … when we met before you talked a *little* bit about your sisters, um, so I was wondering if you can tell me a bit *more* about them or,
	I: yeah, like, they don't really *help*, cos, my *little* sister knows how to read better than me, she knows how to do stuff better than me but that's how life goes on right
	R: yeah
	I: obviously my big sister as well does it and th- they don't *understand*, that I can't, I can't, like help read, and say say my *sister* had a book and I ask can I read it they'll say no give it here cos you can't read, but I *can* read, I just find it *hard*
	R: mmm, yeah
	I: 's people don't *understand* … like … how, how like, I dunno, how … how it *is*?
	R: mmm, mmm, yeah, yeah … and how is that when, for your, sisters cos you say it's your *little* sister, so when she says that to you?
	I: well my, my big sister says that as well
	R: yeah
	I: like cos they, *they* don't understand cos *they* can read perfectly well … they just, can read it's just natural they're just being able to read *well* but I have to try *hard* to learn it, and, sometimes I think it's not fair but it's just the way it is you know?
	[Interview 2, lines 344-353]

Appendix M

Tables of latent themes, subthemes and codes identified for Isaac

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes
Impact of the unconscious 'smarter sister' Potential presence/occurrence of 'smarter sisters' in staff team/other professionals working with Isaac	Researcher's defence against recognition of self as smarter sister Adults' unconscious withholding of appropriate help	Researcher's unconscious avoidance/playing down seriousness and impact of sisters' taunts/teasing Researcher controlling non-verbal resources Isaac's perception that some teachers belittle/scorn his difficulties
What makes help helpful? The nature, quality & purpose of helping - feeling helpful vs feeling helped. Unconscious processes at work that can enhance, inhibit or lead to withdrawal of help The importance of feeling helped Ineffective/inappropriate help	Adults' need to feel helpful Adults' withdrawal/inhibition of appropriate help with reading/literacy Student's resignation re. lack of appropriate help	Varying quality/provision of help Adults "doing their best" but not helping as needed Researcher's need to feel helpful to student Researcher inadvertently mirroring 'singling out' for attention Researcher controlling non-verbal resources

Appendix N

Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Isaac's latent codes

Latent code	Extract to which code applied
Researcher's unconscious avoidance/playing down seriousness and impact of sisters' taunts/teasing	I: …and now my *sisters*, they're just clever, they just know everything, so R:just annoying sisters I: yeah R: [*small laugh*] yeah, I can understand that … OK … *[Interview 1, lines 151-154]* R: … and what about your sisters? [small laugh] I: my sisters, my sisters always say I'm disabled and dumb so, that's pretty much it, and they're always like … yeah, just call me disabled and say 'oh at least I can read', if I'm trying to read something to mum then they'll be like 'oh give it here, you can't read, let me read it' so … no, I struggle on a word I can't ask them, they're like 'ah, how can you not know how to spell that', if my little eight-year-old sister knows how to spell better than me, so R: mmmm … and like you said, some of that just may be just, be just being sisters I: yeah R: OK … er, let's think … [checking questions on paper] *[Interview 1, lines 242-246]*
Isaac's perception that some teachers belittle/scorn his difficulties	R: Yeah … and so can you remember a point when you were actually being *taught* to read, or did you, or when you felt like I'm *learning* this or anything like that? I: uh, at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic so or this sort of thing, everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' [*clears throat*] … um, and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something and stuff … *[Interview 1, lines 58-59]* I: yeah you all, she's, like some people think … oh well, like … that's just dumb not being able to read that word and they just take it like that, they say 'you *must* be able to read it' and some people just can't, you know? *[Interview 1, line 119]* I: so just, a a demonstration so … um … when I was in the detention, and we all sit down there, and this teacher came up and had a chat and he said … um, and there was a sheet of what I'd done and all this sort of thing … and it said something and it was complicated word and I couldn't read it [inaudible] and it was like 'you need to do this' and I couldn't' read it and I was like, I'm in a detention I'm just gonna get in more trouble if I can't read it, and then he, he, he didn't say it out loud cos other people like, so other people know, you know it was just like, really hard, and then he was just expecting me to do these things that I couldn't do R: mmm

	I: and it turns out like he was just, he let me off but yeah, if he, he was like if you do it again, I he's not, I ca-, it's not what, I don't know how to explain it but it's like, I can't help it, I try my best to read these things but if I can't read them can't read them *[Interview 1, lines 221-223]* R: … well, I'm yeah, I'm really interested in that, sort of, that, sort of, how teachers, how you, you know, well I suppose it's like how do you think, for example, teachers see you I: some teachers, it depends what teacher they are, some teachers it just it depends on their personality, some people like really understand, some people just don't care less, like 'oh well I've done my GCSEs, I've gone through this, I don't care if you struggle I'm just here to teach you', sort of thing, *[Interview 1, lines 228-229]* R: mmm … and are there any *other* ways you feel different? I: [*tone becomes very resigned, flat, almost as if seeking sympathy/pity – a bit like his "it's pretty hard" repeats in first interview*] well like sometimes I forget things really easily … and then, and then the teachers are like, oh, how can you forget that and all this and then I just say like I don't know and then I get in trouble for it, they're normal people, well some other people can, remember stuff better, maybe *[Interview 2, lines 364-365]* R: OK, yeah … and … [big breath in and out] so, yeah I'm really interested in, in this idea that, yeah that, you were saying about um, people not, *believing* you, so sort of where people, yeah where people sort of, where people don't understand …. you, that you can loo-, what it means not to be able to read and they don't yeah they don't believe you, can you tell me a little bit more about a time when I: like R: that's happened I: some people, like, I I I don't know if it's a *time* but, people definitely, you say you can't read this work, they thi-, they say oh you can, you're just being lazy or, you're not trying hard enough or … I can read that word so you must be able to and stuff like that *[Interview 2, lines 431-434]*
Varying quality/provision of help	R: Yeah … and so can you remember a point when you were actually being *taught* to read, or did you, or when you felt like I'm *learning* this or anything like that? I: uh, at my old school like no-one would do anything about it, like no-one believed I was dyslexic so or this sort of thing, everyone was just like 'oh yeah, no you're not, you're fine, just' [*clears throat*] … um, and like sometimes, before this, they would t- t-, te- tell me off, I wouldn't be able to read something and stuff … um … when, there was these two teachers, my two old primary school teachers, R:mhmm I: one was assistant an one was a *actual* teacher … and the assistant always used to really really help me with my reading, this was like on the last er thing, so I started in Year 6 an she really he-, helped me improve reading an all this, she, and my teacher did and … they did it pretty discretely and they believed how all these other things but these other teachers didn't, they gave me like reading like um coloured strips that you put over the thing … R: Oh yeah yeah I: and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special and then, um yeah [*hand clap?*] so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a fresh start you know what I mean? R: yeah, I do, yeah

I: and I had to like, s- sort everything out with here, if you know what I mean

R: yeah, yeah

I: yeah

R: so trying to find those sorts of people

I: yeah, yeah

R: all over again … yeah, have you been able to find that? Have you found teachers that

I: well yeah but

R: feel the same way?

I: they're not like the same, they don't help me the same as they used to

R: mmm

I: but I suppose you can't get the same people

R: yeah … so what was it that really helped you do you think?

I: I dunno, they were *so nice* and they, they just if I was *struggling* or if I did something I would always go to them and they they wouldn't judge me or anything and … yeah

R: I was really interested in you said they helped you *discretely*

I: yeah, they, yeah, so … say I was in uh the classroom and I was really *struggling* then I'd always just say something and the teacher would come over and just like talk about the work and then she'd say, she would say like what you find difficult and she'd just do it so no-one else knows and I'll just show her on the thing and she'll be like 'oh right' and then, and then she would start like, talking about the words and stuff, yeah sometimes um I would s-, I would just ask, um, like if I wanted to know how I spell something, I-I didn't used to be able to spell said until like Year 6, and I used to say it, and everyone else did, and I used to say it in class how do you spell said and everyone just used to laugh you know?

R: mmm

I: Um, cos like people say it's easy to spell, it is to some people but not to the other people

R: no, no, that's true

I: and they they so she, I would just write write the letter down, like corner of my page, and she'll j-, I'd be like um, can you help with this word and then she'll just say … um, she'll just help me with it … yeah and sometimes they just took me into a different classroom, my TA did and then she used to help me, we used to do these spelling books … and I think it really helped when I did my SATS, cos she was sat with me, she wasn't *helping* me, but if I couldn't read anything, she was only allowed to read certain things

R: yeah

I: she would just, her being there I think that really helped me

R: yeah, so almost like just having, having her next to you

I: yeah

[Interview 1, lines 58-87]

I: well, I can I can read quite well *now* but … you know if I have to read something in class it's always really small and all this and … this happened before, the teachers gave me a detention or something cos I can't actually read it properly

R: mmmm

I: and I don't wanna say like oh I can't read this cos he'll be just like, cos *he* doesn't know that I do extra classes … cos I used to be in [catch-up programme name] which used to be a thing where all my lessons were just with this one teacher, and now I I got out of it cos I w-, I got better and stuff

R: yeah

I: now it's a bit different cos the teachers don't know that you're like, that you can't read things … so … like, I find it a bit hard …

R: yeah, yeah

I: like stuff's like that small I get my glasses out and I still find it hard to read

R: mmm, mmm

I: and then they're just like 'oh well you didn't do your work', well I couldn't do it cos it was in really small writing

R: mmm, mmm

I: um, yeah, I find it pretty hard

R: yeah, so are you able to tell them … that … or is that just too scary or?

I: nah, I just, I just try and keep quiet but

R: mmm

I: yeah

R: yeah

I: some teachers are, like, realise and they're like oh … well, er, one of my teachers here, my English teacher, always um like says, er comes over and says you alright? And yeah and she just yeah, she's just nice about it, you know, she understands so sometimes she'll just give me bigger um sheets

R: yep

I: and yeah

R: yeah … so does that help, having, having bigger type?

I: yeah, yeah

R: yeah, yeah

I: yeah, um

R: yeah, cos I was, cos obviously, yeah cos that was your English lesson, wasn't it when I came and just sat at the back and yeah, so is that the teacher you always

I: yeah

R: have?

I: oh, I don't always have her, I have another teacher but she … yeah I, she's the nice one

[Interview 1, lines 91-117]

R: … well, I'm yeah, I'm really interested in that, sort of, that, sort of, how teachers, how you, you know, well I suppose it's like how do you think, for example, teachers see you

I: some teachers, it depends what teacher they are, some teachers it just it depends on their personality, some people like really understand, some people just don't care less, like 'oh well I've done my GCSEs, I've gone through this, I don't care if you struggle I'm just here to teach you', sort of thing,

R: mmm, mmm

I: and yeah some teachers are really like 'yeah I really need to help you', er, they go out of their way just to help me, other people see that need that help and so

 [Interview 1, lines 228-231]

	I: yeah, my mum really supports me and everything, like she she definitely supports me with my reading, I think if it was my dad, if I was living with my dad and he was doing all this sort of thing, my dad wouldn't help me as much as my mum, R: mmm, mmm I: and yeah, R: mmm, yeah … so what do you think your *dad* would say about you [inaudlble], how do you think *he* sees you? I: 'ah, my dad's like really loving but he just sometimes he just can't help you as much because he's just like, I dunno, he's just not that, he's not as like, *nice* as my mum *[Interview 1, lines 237-241]*
Adults "doing their best" but not helping as needed	I: So, like, sometimes when you like first start reading um, well when I first started I was just like in a class and they expected me just to read like everyone else, and they gave me this book and it was pretty hard and they were saying 'well you need to read this' and then they took me into a different classroom and then they was tellin me tellin' me an' I just couldn't understand it, and like sometimes now people say 'oh, erm … erm … like look at this' erm, and, because if they don't want to say it so, look, like I had a slip for you earlier, like this … this is just example [reaching into inside pocket and bringing out handwritten note on a slip of paper; unfolding the note and holding in front of him] …to come, to come here and say, she, she doesn't say to everyone else, she just gives it to you, and she just says, she expects me to read it … *[Interview 1, line 23]* R: … and yeah, I'm, yeah I'm really interested in that sort of like, the words of like, being handed that piece of paper so people almost, like people know, know that you find it tricky … but still give you things .. to read … I: Yep … R: …. that's interesting I: Yep … I don't think they just do it to put me on the spot, I just think they do it 'cos they're if sometimes it could be something embarrassing or something like I don't know why, then like, say it's something like embarrassing innit, um then they won't want to just read it to you, um, R: that's true, yeah I: so they just give it to you and just like R: Yeah I: expect you to read it R: Yeah I: kinda thing … R: Yeah I: … and then sometimes if, if you can't read it then they try and sort it out, then … you never get to spend time with your friends 'cos you're not in the same classes 'cos you get pulled out the classes to do other *separate* classes and R: Ah OK I: And … sometimes I just, yeah it's a bit hard R: yeah … yeah … so what would you do with that … piece of paper? Did you, do you just think 'ah well I'll put that away, I don't know what, I don't know what's going on, or would you … I: Yeah sometimes I just, sometimes I just say yeah, and I just try and make it up as I go along, just … just, just … yeah R: Gosh, that sounds really tricky I: yeah

[Interview 1, lines 40-57]

I: and they, they gave me special pens and stuff 'cos they really wanted me to help and they really liked me … and obviously cos of my magic they liked me a bit more, they thought I was a bit special and then, um yeah [*hand clap?*] so they really helped me but the problem was … that that was like the last year … so I had to come here and then I had to … have a fresh start you know what I mean?

R: yeah, I do, yeah

I: and I had to like, s- sort everything out with here, if you know what I mean

R: yeah, yeah

I: yeah

R: so trying to find those sorts of people

I: yeah, yeah

R: all over again … yeah, have you been able to find that? Have you found teachers that

I: well yeah but

R: feel the same way?

I: they're not like the same, they don't help me the same as they used to

R: mmm

I: but I suppose you can't get the same people

[Interview 1, 63-75]

I: Right … when, when sometimes I have to get pulled out my classes cos I have to do extra reading and stuff, I feel like, why me, why do I have to do this?

R: mmm

I: why can't it be someone else …

R: … and is there a … a … well I suppose, sort of um, a, [slows down rate of speech] particular time, when that's, happened?

I: yeah, well it's happened, quite a lot, at this school and like at the old school, but they they just think they're helping me but, I mean they are *helping* me but … it's just like …

[Interview, lines 359-363]

I: … and then also, if my teacher, tells me to read something I feel really pressured in class, and I need to oh I feel really pressured and I dunno what to do and I then I just like oh why do I have to read this out and then I get in trouble for not reading it but, it's cos maybe if I *did* read it I'd be really embarrassed,

R: yeah

I: you know [sighs]

R: yeah, I did wonder about that cos I know when I was in your lesson last week you had to read something out and yeah, yeah

I: yeah

R: yeah, so how, it might feel really tricky to … say or to think about but yeah, how, how was, how *did* that feel?

I: I felt like really embarrassed, like … I dunno, I felt just like really under pressure and

R: mmm, mmm … yeah … and does your, do y-, does your teacher *know* … that that might be something that …

	I: yeah, but I think she just wants to try and help me, just like help me boost my confidence but,
	R: yeah, yeah
	I: it's hard
	[Interview 2, lines 391-401]
	I: and then when I went to Specsavers they said c-, put it in your glasses but that would mean I have a tinted glasses and that would look, that'd look weird as well and then … like … I mean it's *helping* me yeah but I wish like no-one would judge me so that they could actually, could actually help me and then I could get on with my work but it doesn't work like that
	R: … yeah, yeah … so, yeah so so maybe there are some things there that, people think would help you but actually what it would ac- it would make you stand out and look different
	I: mm
	R: yeah, OK, which I guess then, it's like there's a little sort of path maybe, you know that you're sort of … things to help make you feel a bit weird, and make you stand out and look different … I don't know does that … does that ring any bells, does that sound …
	I: yeah, it does …
	[Interview 2, lines 426-430]
Researcher's need to feel helpful to student	R: … OK, so shall we get started, is that alright, so I've got some questions to ask you, um, but really it's just about your thoughts and and, you know as I said before just what whatever you want to, to tell me about those different things um, so, first of all thank you, um, I wanna really make sure I say that cos um, yeah, it's just been really, really good to meet you and get to see you um, so I saw you a little bit in one of your lessons last week um, and just to, so just really helping me to understand um what it's been like for you so far and and have a think about um, how I might be able to sort of explain some of those things to other people, to sort of, to help more young people as well, [big breath in] *so*, um, I guess first of all, what, how's it, how's it been for you, what's it been like, talking to me and thinking about some of these things?
	I: like, I dunno really, it's bit hard [inaudible – mumble] … … not sure, I just really like just saying to you, what I fee- what I feel, like what happens
	R: yeah
	I: like what, what you like go through if you've got like dyslexia or, any other problems that you need more help with than normal, students have
	R: yeah, yeah, so so that *has* been helpful did you say?
	I: yeah
	R: you've you've found that alright to be able to do that
	I: yeah yeah
	R: oh that's *good*, thank you, cos that's what I *wanted* it to be, you know I didn't want it to feel like something, really
	I: mm
	R: difficult, yeah, I wanted it to be something that you found helpful, so that's good that's good, … and were there any things that particularly, after we'd, spoken last time, so that was before Christmas wasn't it so a few weeks ago, um wa- was there anything that that you thought about particularly after that, that you sort of thought ah I'm really glad we talked about that or, oh that felt a bit weird thinking about that or, or … or anything else [small laugh]
	I: nah, I just, there's nothing weird about it I just, just try and help you understand,
	R: yeah
	I: so I just say what I can
	R: alright, that's great, thank you … and hopefully I'll be able to help you, as well, through that, that's good, um …

	[Interview 2, lines 330-344]
	I: I don't really read it … I sometimes *can't* read it or … like, I dunno …
	R: … OK
	I: [*sighs heavily – is leaning over on radiator again*]
	R: and yeah, so the other thing we were thinking about was kind of being bullied and getting into trouble
	I: [yawns and sighs, rubbing eyes, leaning on radiator]
	R: oh, you alright?
	I: yeah, I'm just, bored
	R: bored? [slight laugh – interesting tone here] oh I'm sorry [laughs again – slightly mocking edge to the laugh this time]
	I: s'alright [looks at clock]
	R: [laughs again] maybe five ten more minutes, is that alright?
	[Interview 2, lines 499-505]
Researcher inadvertently mirroring 'singling out' for attention	[reflection on extracts re. Isaac feeling singled out alongside diary notes re. Interview 2, where I describe my realisation that I'd also singled Isaac out by having to get a member of staff to fetch him from class to meet me]
Researcher controlling non-verbal resources	R: OK, and we'll just put that there and we'll just ignore that *[positions Dictaphone on top of box of art materials]* um, and, as before, if you wanted to, then … *[shuffling and rustling sounds – getting pen out of pencil case? organising notepad?]*, although you seem to be able to talk, *[zipping – closing pencil case?]* um really happily, without um anything else but if you wanted to use any paper or drawing or anything that's there as well … … she says, and I'll just stick that, if that's alright, then we'll just put that there, we'll just
	I: yeah alright
	R: pretend it's not there [repositioning Dictaphone] … if that's alright [laughs],
	[Interview 2, lines 320-322]

Appendix O

Tables of semantic themes, subthemes and codes identified for Harry

Theme	Subthemes	Codes
"It's school I can't do!"	Poor academic self-concept Reading located in school Getting help	No links with other subjects Reading = chore: avoid Powerful emotional response to testing Trying my hardest, getting where? Self-assumption of laziness Comparison with others Smarter sister Sensitive to peers' views Risk of social exclusion Impact on peer communication Preference for talking Technology Teachers don't know him Desire to be held in mind Emotional care Teachers recognise his needs Unable to get needs met Not proactive – reliant on others Pessimism re. help available
'Home is where the heart is'	Gendered roles in family Strong family work ethic Traditional/childlike male interests Strong sense of justice	Women read, men do maths Smarter sister Inheriting Dad's skills and traits Dad as positive male role model Getting help from mum and dad Enforcing school expectations Punishment for wrongdoing Fear of challenging authority Conforming to school rules & expectations Hard work = life success Making career plans Trying my hardest, getting where?
Poor reading and AD(H)D	Medication Adults' lack of belief/understanding Poor conceptual understanding	Side effects Appetite Sleep Time limited focus/attention Lack of awareness of ongoing support

Appendix P

Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Harry's semantic codes

Semantic code	Extract to which code assigned (H = Harry, R = Researcher)
No links with other subjects	R: so you've got er, so there's like *English*, like we were saying, so that's the time when you, you know, when you *have* to read H: yeah R: so are there *other* times when you *have* to read … H: have to read R: are there other lessons where H: aaieeeooo O-O-O-K R: if you don't read you'll come unstuck H: hmmm, read … let me see, well tests yeah, obviously everywhere, erm, er, that's tricky … no, English is the only place I s-… read technically that's in the morning but I don't really read but I do that … 's not really reading it's sounding out, like pronounciation, so yeah do that, *[Interview 1, lines 369-376]* R: so do you have to read in other subjects? H: read, like … *tests*, as I said, yes … R: so yeah tests H: read the question erm … maths problems, um word questions *yes*, R: yeah H: but not like [voice becomes quite staccato and clearer] as much as reading a book in English *[Interview 1, lines 387-392]*
Reading = chore: avoid	R: OK, so, first of all, um, can you tell me something about you, learning to read H: [long pause] I'm not … I'm not really exactly sure on that R: OK, so maybe um just something, a time you can remember … when you were reading, or somebody was teaching you or, it can be any time from when you when you were really little or it might be something really recent H: I dunno, I uh, I barely read … er … [exhales loudly] … I normally read like … comics, or things like, short books with few words, R: mm H: mm yeah, don't like reading a lot, R: mhmm H: so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing R: ah oh yeah

H: so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no

R: OK

H: not fun, I don't like it so yeah … er, yeah I *really* don't read at all,

[Interview 1, lines 45-60]

H: so yeah …. I don't really know [small laugh] anything else … can't remember the last time I read really … I like *read* but then I don't like read I I read like a bit of a page, bit of a chapter and like …

[Interview 1, line 80]

H: … I used to *have* to read like in my school they would ask us, like homework would be to *read* and then the parent would have to like sign it to say yes they did read,

R: mmm

H: I had a whole diary and that so what my dad did, just for, cos if I just said I read it … doesn't mean I read it … I, he would have to like, I I, he would go *through* the book and ask questions, so I'd *have* to read it otherwise er it's like, you can't really just, [deep breath in] oh yeah so I dunno [sighs, sounds tired] I had to read it, so that really annoying [sighs], don't have to do that anymore [small laugh]

J: yeah, OK … cos you don't *get* that sort of homework anymore, or

H: no

R: ah OK, yeah …

H: yeah

R: so how *was* that, when you were

H: it *worked*

R: when you *had* to *read*

H: well it *worked*, yeah, cos I couldn't really go around it as well … so just as I was saying [inaudible] she'd get off what I was doing in the kitchen, and straight on to questions … and yeah

R: yeah

H: and yeah, and if I didn't read it [small, hard laugh] I read it and read it again, so I did

R: yeah

H: he'd give me page numbers too so he could work out questions [small sigh]

R: yeah

H: yeah, never liked it but hardly gonna love it, ever

R: so you, so did that mean that you, so you *did* read it

H: yeah

R: to answer your dad's questions?

H: yeah, I *had* to read it or else like, you don't know, do you … so yeah, it's like read it again [sharp, noisy inhalation of breath]

R: ah, OK, and how was *that*? How did that *feel*?

H: mmm, just felt, it was boring … I just had to try and remember a lot of stuff … cos a lot of the stuff he could like, ask me …

[Interview 1, lines 82-104]

	R: so do you get to choose what you read in *English* now, or?
	H: oh yeah, we go to the resource centre change our books …. I have two books from there, that I read …. well ish read [small laugh]
	R: [loud smile] tell me about that
	H: ish read
	R: what's ish read? [small laugh]
	H: ah, well read a bit, go to different whole page, and then read a bit more
	R: ah, OK
	[Interview 1, lines 117-123]
	H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why, but yeah … and then … yeah, like … no I'm not sure … lazy? … … sometimes I just get like books and just flick through them, don't read them at all, but
	R: yeah, no I mean, I'm, no and *I'm* not, *I'm* not saying it's lazy, I'm just interested to sort of
	H: yeah, I know
	R: think about some of these things
	H: I don't really know
	R: that we talked about, yeah
	H: it's really like people are depending, I don't like, if you don't read you don't read
	R: yeah
	H: and um if you like reading you read
	[Interview 2, lines 938-946]
Powerful emotional response to testing	H: um, if I don't like, if I don't do a test I, I literally cry, like now [starts to well up with tears; voice becomes a little shaky; wipes eyes with back of hand], I like, I just break down [sniffs] into pieces,
	R: mmm
	H: and just freak out,
	R: mmm
	H: so yeah
	R: oh, you're OK … you OK? Oh …
	H: yeah [small laugh and exhalation]
	R: What are you thinking about when you break down?
	H: just think I've done my worst and then, just break down [sighs, exhales a little], so yeah
	R: yeah … yeah … OK
	H: [sniffs] so when I'm in it I just have to like [does fast, deep breaths] breathe, or I just walk away [exhales, blows out air]
	R: is that a, so that's a sort of, so thinking about taking a test?
	H: no, it's not taking it, it's when I'm *in* it and then … like … you know when they say, [voice breaks and wobbles a little] just scrip a, skip the question, I just sit there staring at the question, so I just get a bit, and then, I miss, er … I'd say I just done the first page for an *hour*

R: mmm

H: and I miss all the other ones I could have got so yeah, that's what I do a lot

R: ah… right

H: … I try just I can't stop, it's *so* annoying …

R: Yeah

H: [sniffs] I *try* and stop but I *can't* [voice breaks again] … so yeah [in tears]

R: try and stop … doing what

H: crying …

R: ah, OK

H: but I can't … it's just, thing

R: yeah …. so is this crying when you're actually in the test?

H: yeah, yeah I just freak out, break down

R: OK, wow … and what happens then?

H: like, some teachers just say do you wanna go outside, and I'm like no I'm fine

R: right

H: just like get up

R: right

H: [sighs heavily, sniffs, wipes eyes with back of hand]

R: what is it that, do you think you're

H: dunno, I just … break

R: crying about?

H: [sighs heavily] dunno really , I just, break down …

R: right

H: so yeah but, [small exhalation] I'm alright now, I'm not too bad

R: yeah

H: [sniffs] maths is alright, I don't mind maths tests, um … [sniffs] the worst test I hate is … essays, all the writing, so, not really in my keen, so but I can't really say that cos like, if I gonna be a cop I gotta know how to write erm, speeding tickets blah blah blah,

R: right

H: what they're saying … so you can get them in court

R: yeah

H: so yeah

[Interview 1, lines 186-228]

R: … cos it sounds like it's a *really powerful feeling* for you,

H: oh

R: when you, so you look at the test,

H: and then just freak

R: and yeah, so is that that you can't

H: I can't do the question

R: read, yeah so you can't *read* the question or

H: it's not, it's not that I can't like read it, I know if I put my hand up they'll come and read it for me,

R: yeah

H: if it's a certain *test*, it's just I break down, and I can't stop it really [sighs deeply, sniffs] …

R: yeah, right, wow … and have you spoke to anybody about that? Has anybody in school helped you or spoken to you about … ?

H: they all say don't get upset like it's just a test [blows out air, sighs, voice wobbles]

R: mmm

H: I know that, it's just [blows out air] my brain does [inaudible]

[Interview 1, lines 251-264]

H: cos all school ask is a hundred percent [gasps] and that's all they want [sighs/gasps loudly]

R: and do you feel you give that?

H: yeah ninety, ninety eight, ninety one, probably ninety one, but not a hundred

R: yeah

H: [sighs, sniffs, wipes eyes; fiddling with tissue a lot, so that little pieces are falling on the floor]

R: you alright?

H: yeah I'm fine

R: yeah?

H: I just freak out, I dunno why

[Interview 1, lines 300-308]

H: … and um, I had a science test, and I was like I did the test and like I just panicked, like just thought I did bad, and then somehow I got the highest mark out of everyone even though it was twenty seven, it's forty five, I got like the highest mark out of, someone got twenty six, just behind me, and in my other test I got twenty three … so I dunno why I was panicking, but yeah I was

R: mmm

H: and I sadly got higher than I expected

R: yeah, and how did that what, how did that panic feel?

H: just … I thought I did bad, [whispers] really?

R: mmm

H: ... yeah, thought I did bad [sniffs],

[Interview 2, lines 970-976]

R: yeah … so when you, you were saying about in your tests when you think you've done

	H: bad R: badly, what is it that makes you think you've done H: I just do R:[small laugh] H: I just do, I think I've done rubbish, *[Interview 1, lines 1001-1006]*
Trying my hardest, getting where?	H: yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older R: ahhhh, OK H: yeah and that's why I'm trying to actually do something good … cos you need high grades R: yeah H: definitely in the English as well *[Interview 1, lines 110-114]* H: and yep, I can't really remember *all* of it, um, did spelling test … you know when like, people like, like, I dunno, if you know when people do it and then they like practice it … I d-, that doesn't, I dunno, that doesn't work with me, I have to just do it do it do it and then it gets in my head, what you're doing, so I just have to do spelling test after spelling test until I get them all right … I used to *always* get them all right, just cos I would, R: oh H: cos I practiced …. *[Interview 1, lines 154-156]* H: mmm, I think I'm going up slowly, I'm not moving far but I'm going somewhere so yeah … R: mmm H: keep trying R: yeah, so you've got a sense of H: yeah [voice breaks a little], I'm going somewhere at least [voice getting very trembly] … I just really try my hardest *[Interview 1, lines 178-182]* H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get, R: mm H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh] *[Interview 2, lines 721-723]*
Self-assumption of laziness	H: just trying, I don't really know actually, sometimes I think I'm an *idiot* but, that's not, I don't really take that all the time, that's only when I'm doing *ridiculous stuff*, erm … [sniffs] R: what do you think is ridiculous stuff? H: just lazy, being lazy … [voice gets wobbly] lazy work really [eyes filling up again, wiping eyes on back of hand, sniffing, voice continues to get more wobbly] R: what's lazy work look like? H: just erm … just trying, not not not trying at all [sniffs, still very teary] …

R: right

H: cos all school ask is a hundred percent [gasps] and that's all they want [sighs/gasps loudly]

R: and do you feel you give that?

H: yeah ninety, ninety eight, ninety one, probably ninety one, but not a hundred

R: yeah

H: [sighs, sniffs, wipes eyes; fiddling with tissue a lot, so that little pieces are falling on the floor]

[Interview 1, lines 294-304]

R: … so what would you think if, so if I asked your, say if I asked your *mum*, I said 'tell me about Harry, what do you think he's …'

H: I don't really know

R: 'what he's all about' what would she say?

H: I really don't know, I don't know … mostly lazy cos of like 'do your homework', that's basically all she says, 'do your homework, do your homework' that's like don't help, ….

[Interview 1, lines 321-324]

R: say your English teacher, if I asked your English teacher, what would,

H: mmmm, they wouldn't really

R: how do you think they would describe you?

H: they wouldn't really know, but, I don't really know … um … … … sometimes I really like, um, I'm really like *lazy* in a way, cos one time, she explained this whole thing for like, um, like fifteen minutes, and then came up to her not talking to us and said I don't understand so she called us all up and I was like does sh- don't even know all about it, so yeah … not his fault …

[Interview 1, lines 331-334]

R: mm-aah, OK, so when, um, yeah when we met before we were talking a little bit about um … you were saying about, the idea that's like, some people think that if you can't read that makes you stupid, um

H: [shrugs and small laugh] I dunno where I got that from

R: and so I wondered about, yeah, I just wondered a little bit about that, cos that, that is something I've heard other people say aswell, you know they kind of link that sort of um,

H: oh yeah

R: you know, can't read therefore

H: they're stupid

R: stupid… um, so I just wonder if that was

H: I try not to

R: if you could tell me about a time when

H: I try not to

R: that's affected you, or

H: I try not to say it but when I'm like, I've done something ahhhh, I've done something *stupid* then I call myself stupid

R: yeah

	H: stuff like that and … even though like I'm not like … … some people [makes small noises with tongue on teeth]…. erm, yeah, like …. er …. yeah, I just say it then, don't say it much
	R: yeah, so has there been a time when
	H: in school
	R: when somebody's said that to you, or you've heard other people saying, you know, saying that or
	H: some people could say it like as a joke in a way … but like it wasn't meant in a harmful way as I obviously know cos then I'd take it seriously cos yeah, but I haven't *heard* anyone but then you can talk behind their backs
	R: that's true [small laugh]
	H: sadly
	R: OK, so then there's also an idea that if you [slows down] can't read very well that you are lazy,
	H; w-
	R: that's another thought that I've kind of, I've heard … and I just wondered whether, there's been a time when you've, either you've thought about that for yourself you know
	H: well
	R: or whether again you've
	H: if I've done lazy work, yeah, then yeah I have done lazy work
	R: what's lazy work? ….
	H: doing nothing
	R: for you? … OK
	H: um yeah, like, um, just writing few words … yeah, that's really lazy [big sigh/gasp] …
	[Interview 2, lines 889-918]
Comparison with others	H: it's like, the person in front of me, like, I'm not trying to get him told off in any way but like
	R: no, that's OK, not at all
	H: he's like, he's like can you help me, can you help me, I'm like, should I listen, but I did listen [whispered] whoa, [back to normal volume] and then he's like I did listen and I'm like well you *didn't* because [back to whisper] you don't know what you're doing do you, [back to normal volume] and then he's like trying to like to like, no I know, and he thinks I'm gonna give him the answers not happening
	R: mmm
	H: yeah
	R: mmm, so this is the guy *next* to you or the one in *front* of you?
	H; in front of me
	R: ah OK, OK
	H: but it's normally, I don't know if he's normally sits there but yeah, he sits somewhere there, he sits there or there, I'm pretty sure he sits where he was but then he just, it's like, you *wanna* give him the answer but then you don't
	R: yeah
	H: … and madam just *explained* it like … she explained what you gotta *do*, she explained the whole answer, she explained *everything* and he didn't listen so yeah, and I was, I, went to get my book cos it's Thursday and she allows us to get like put our books back, and er, I did, I count- cos there's like a huge queue to get like, to take it out, um so yeah, and then I come back half way through the lesson, and then I *somehow* get more work than he's done with the *whole* of the lesson so yeah,
	[Interview 2, lines 697-707]

	H: … and um, I had a science test, and I was like I did the test and like I just panicked, like just thought I did bad, and then somehow I got the highest mark out of everyone even though it was twenty seven, it's forty five, I got like the highest mark out of, someone got twenty six, just behind me, and in my other test I got twenty three … so I dunno why I was panicking, but yeah I was *[Interview 2, line 970]* H: and then I realised that someone, like, he was, he was ill on the day, he did it on the day and then they did it just before, and I dunno what he was doing but you know when you have like liquid L, solid S, R: mmm H: we had to that, and then the other one was Q something, QW or something like that, can't remember, but LS [said as letter names] and G [said as phoneme] and there's another one but, as I knew all of them, and he suddenly he did the, started with L and then like I think he was just doing it completely random, I don't know why, cos that's like the easiest four marks of the whole entire test, just four marks to do it and then, yeah, so … he yeah, everybody got above ten though R: that's OK H: yeah R; right H: I had another test, but then you have more tests … I hate essays, essays are the worst … don't mind tests R: tell me about essays H: essays is writing so no, erm … I hate writing … essays, just long paragraphs of R: yeah H: writing, like say like someone in my form who's like the same age, they can do like five in an hour, I can do like one maybe in an hour with the extra fifteen minute maybe half a paragraph, like I've never, I don't think I've never ever finished an essay before, well like I never *had* essays, I always had *tests* R: mmm … so, so that's not something you have to do that often, or H: well … like, we have essays in history, we have like *five* in history now R: mmm H: done two, still got three, so yeah *[Interview 2, lines 1008-1022]* H: I have something like that, the ADD and something else but like the ADD is much bigger than what like, I'm not too bad, like some people like without their tablets they just run around and stuff, *I'm not that bad* [small laugh/sigh out] *[Interview 2, line 1092]*
Smarter sister	H: mm yeah, don't like reading a lot, R: mhmm H: so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing R: ah oh yeah H: so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no R: OK H: not fun, I don't like it so yeah *[Interview 2, lines 50-56]*

R: and so is there anyone else in your family that finds writing tricky?

H: *no*

R: Or reading tricky?

H: um … my dad's like, he *can write*, yeah he's not the best … my mum's the best in the family, she's really good, she's a nurse … my sister's good, she's better than me

R: [small laugh] how old's your sister?

H: er she's ten, ten, er yep, she's coming up *next* year, when I'm year nine

R: yep

H: so yep, that's her first year here [small exhalation]

[Interview 1, lines 271-278]

[This time, as soon as we sat down he began telling me about his sister coming to the school in September, and how much better she was than him at reading and writing, and everything else. The transcript thus starts half way through Harry's conversation about his sister, from the point when I turned the Dictaphone on.]

R: yeah?

H: she's much better at reading, writing … spelling, other stuff …

[Interview 2, lines 558-560]

R: yeah, no so I was just thinking, when we were first talking you were talking about your sister

H: oh

R: and that was something I wanted yeah, wanted to

H: ok

R: ask you a little bit more about cos you said something about her um,

H: she is

R: um being, cos you said she's really clever

H: she is

R: and she reads a lot, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit more about that

H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading,

R: mm

H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma um … [sigh/yawn] … she's al*right* but then we don't get along most of the time like, I annoy her

[Interview 2, lines 816-827]

R: so does she, yeah, tell me about her being, so she, how is it that she's better at, how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you

H: I really don't care, really

R: mm, mm

H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy

R: yeah, so there's a bit of

	H: yeah R: things even out a little bit H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think *[Interview 2, lines 842-849]* H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why, but yeah … *[Interview 2, line 938]*
Sensitive to peers' views	H: [takes tissue] … oh … [light laugh] … and erm, I used this thing where what it would do is … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would talk into a mike and then it would write it down … R: mmmmm … H: for me, R: mhmm H: and they saw a book, a *big* improvement … and, what she, what the teacher said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests, then that's gonna be really annoying for everyone me talking …. [inhales deeply] [inaudible] I'll probably have to have a scribe …[sniffs] *[Interview 1, lines 236-240]* R: and what about your friends? Do you have friends who find it tricky or H: no, jus' get along … you see I can, it's *school* I'm bad with, not with like friends R: yeah H: I have friends, it's school I can't do [deep breathing , sighs, sniff] R: yeah … that's a really interesting way of putting it H: yeah R: school I can't do, yeah *[Interview 1, lines 285-291]* R: and what about, let's think, one of your *friends* … if I asked one of your friends about you, how do you think they'd describe you? H: I don't know … their opinion, R: [small laugh] H: that's how I think of it R: yeah H: their opinion, that's what they think an' that's what they do R: what do you think they do? H: um … I do worry sometimes, sometimes I just freak out when I'm, sometimes when they around me … but it's not all the time, ish, once every … ish, so that's alright that's fine *[Interview 1, lines 335-341]*

R: …. Yeah, and so, yeah I was thinking, yeah so I, it looked like you weren't quite happy

H: yeah, yeah

R: about doing the performing

H: no

R: and then the other stuff, working in pairs and

H: like

R: coming up with things … is that, how is that for you?

H: Not like, I just have to go with people that are leftover sort of thing …

[Interview 2, lines 652-659]

H: … trying, but I *hate* performing,

R: mmm

H: just, don't know why ….

R: mmm

H: well I'll perform in a play cos that's like *everyone* but like, just like two people four people in a room

R: yeah, yeah, and that is, cos that's what she was asking you to do wasn't she,

H: yeah

R: to do stuff in front of the whole class, so yeah

[Interview 2, lines 665-672]

R: yeah, yeah, but you, yeah, how is it working in that bottom left corner,

H: alright

R: is that helping you?

H: it's like, the person in front of me, like, I'm not trying to get him told off in any way but like

R: no, that's OK, not at all

H: he's like, he's like can you help me, can you help me, I'm like, should I listen, but I did listen [whispered] whoa, [back to normal volume] and then he's like I did listen and I'm like well you *didn't* because [back to whisper] you don't know what you're doing do you, [back to normal volume] and then he's like trying to like to like, no I know, and he thinks I'm gonna give him the answers not happening

R: mmm

H: yeah

R: mmm, so this is the guy *next* to you or the one in *front* of you?

H; in front of me

R: ah OK, OK

H: but it's normally, I don't know if he's normally sits there but yeah, he sits somewhere there, he sits there or there, I'm pretty sure he sits where he was but then he just, it's like, you *wanna* give him the answer but then you don't

[Interview 2, lines 694-705]

	R: mm-aah, OK, so when, um, yeah when we met before we were talking a little bit about um … you were saying about, the idea that's like, some people think that if you can't read that makes you stupid, um
	H: [shrugs and small laugh] I dunno where I got that from
	R: and so I wondered about, yeah, I just wondered a little bit about that, cos that, that is something I've heard other people say aswell, you know they kind of link that sort of um,
	H: oh yeah
	R: you know, can't read therefore
	H: they're stupid
	R: stupid… um, so I just wonder if that was
	H: I try not to
	R: if you could tell me about a time when
	H: I try not to
	R: that's affected you, or
	H: I try not to say it but when I'm like, I've done something ahhhh, I've done something *stupid* then I call myself stupid
	R: yeah
	H: stuff like that and … even though like I'm not like … … some people [makes small noises with tongue on teeth]…. erm, yeah, like …. er …. yeah, I just say it then, don't say it much
	R: yeah, so has there been a time when
	H: in school
	R: when somebody's said that to you, or you've heard other people saying, you know, saying that or
	H: some people could say it like as a joke in a way … but like it wasn't meant in a harmful way as I obviously know cos then I'd take it seriously cos yeah, but I haven't *heard* anyone but then you can talk behind their backs
	R: that's true [small laugh]
	H: sadly
	[Interview 2, lines 889-908]
Risk of social exclusion	R: and then the other stuff, working in pairs and
	H: like
	R: coming up with things … is that, how is that for you?
	H: Not like, I just have to go with people that are leftover sort of thing …
	[Interview 2, lines 656-659]
	R: yeah, so has there been a time when
	H: in school
	R: when somebody's said that to you, or you've heard other people saying, you know, saying that or
	H: some people could say it like as a joke in a way … but like it wasn't meant in a harmful way as I obviously know cos then I'd take it seriously cos yeah, but I haven't *heard* anyone but then you can talk behind their backs
	R: that's true [small laugh]
	H: sadly

	[Interview 2, lines 903-908]
Impact on peer communication	H: … so anyway I like got a whole paragraph, and like on the phones now you know you can press the speaker button and just talk into it I use that *every* day
	R: mhmm
	H: or like if it's like, thank you for my present,
	R: mmm
	H: that's, alright, present I don't even know how to spell so that wouldn't be OK, thank you for something something … like thank you for money, that would be in my cards, thank you, that would be alright, I can do that, that's easy, it's when you're thinking about erm different, I can't really even spell that, erm, like, it's like, I can *try* but then I can't really do it,
	[Interview 1, lines 444-448
	R: and what about when people text *you*, are you able to read what they
	H: *yeah*
	R: text to you
	H: cept it's like, so someone, like I put Hi, and then they put a whole twenty million words I'm not gonna read that, no
	R: [small laugh]
	H: no, no, no, just no
	R: [laughs]
	H: I hate that, when you put like hi and they put a whole paragraph you're like [sighs and blows air out through lips], it's like they're the whole, like hi with a like twenty million different words
	R: [laughs]
	H: it's just [blows out air]
	R: so people could be texting you and
	H: I do *understand*
	R: right
	H: it's, *some* words I don't understand, um, can't think of one now, cos like ones I've never heard
	[Interview 1, lines 453-466]
Preference for talking	H: I love chatting though … I just chat, I could chat *all* day
	R: [laughs]
	H: every day all day [gasps/sighs, sniffs]
	[Interview 1, lines 124-126]
	H: I just talk to myself in my head, I just flip the page every five minutes,
	R: OK
	H: cos they know I'm a slower reader so that's why I do it slowly so I'm not like … so then it will just look like I'm not doing anything so I just think to myself in the head and then [inaudible] … normally at the end of school [small laugh] yes, can't wait to get home from school [inaudible]
	[Interview 1, lines 350-352

… so anyway I like got a whole paragraph, and like on the phones now you know you can press the speaker button and just talk into it I use that *every* day

R: mhmm

H: or like if it's like, thank you for my present,

R: mmm

H: that's, alright, present I don't even know how to spell so that wouldn't be OK, thank you for something something … like thank you for money, that would be in my cards, thank you, that would be alright, I can do that, that's easy, it's when you're thinking about erm different, I can't really even spell that, erm, like, it's like, I can *try* but then I can't really do it, my parents are like you never, I always use it [small laugh] I always use it, all you can hear is me going like into the speaker on my phone

R: so you speak it and it types it for you

H: basically, I can show you if you want [reaches into pocket]

R: yeah, maybe in a minute or two, is that alright, when we've finished this, that would be lovely, thank you

H: all it is is you literally just go onto text messages and hold this thing and then it goes up, and you just talk

[Interview 1, lines 444-452]

R: yeah, so graphic novels, texting, do you read websites, do you kind of pull stuff off a website, that sort of thing?

H: yes … … yeah, I do … umm … [long pause] normally what, like say, I had to do a paragraph, my mum would get her laptop out, I'd say what I wanted to write, she'd write it down, print it then I, I would have to write it in my pen so yeah I do that a lot

R: yeah, yeah, and how's that?

H: that, that helps me a lot

R: yeah

H: cos I've already done it, it's like I can just get it out the way

R: yeah

H: um, that's like a *lot* about reading and writing a lot

R: yeah, and so you mean like getting it out, out of your brain

H: yeah, and putting it down … so I could make you a whole 200 word book,

R: mmm

H: couldn't write it down, couldn't write it, or put it on paper, it's just then, it just sort of disappears, and then I'm like what did I say Madam, and she's like *I don't know*

R: yeah … and then you can send, so obviously your mum's done the typing and given you the printed sheet

H: so that's why

R: so can you then read

H: yeah, so that's why I use the microphone so I just *say* it and then it's *there* and

R: mmm

H: then I don't have to *rethink* it

R: mmm

H: get it down … so what I might try and do is just write it as I say it

R: mmm

H: so think of something …

	R: yeah
	H: yeah
	[Interview 1, lines 485-508]
	H: talking's easier for me, um like I hate art so neh
	R: ah well there you go [laughs]
	H: talking is actually better
	R: talking is great [laughs] talking is great
	H: cos I can say a word I can't spell [short laugh/sigh]
	[Interview 2, lines 593-597]
Technology	H: er, yeah I *really* don't read at all,
	R: you don't
	H: just watch
	R: [laughs]
	H: things on phone
	R: Ah OK, so you look at stuff on your phone?
	H: yeah
	R: ah, so is that, is that reading, that sort of stuff?
	H: mmm no, like watching people I love watching
	R: ahhh OK
	H: I normally do [inaudible] on my phone
	R: is that people, people you like watching, what like on youtube or?
	H: yeah youtube an all that
	[Interview 1, lines 60-71]
	H: so like it's like, it's so then I get banned from it [speech becomes barely audible] an' that's annoying, and I normally like, [deep breath in] so like I stay up onto my phone until like one in the morning ish and I know I'm sposed to get off it at … half eight and then I'm allowed to watch my TV or read a book between half eight and nine and then I have to go to sleep but no, ten o'clock, no, out with my phone but … [deep breath in] just get bored, I can't get to sleep [half yawns; rubs face and mouth], so yeah …
	[Interview 1, line 78]
	H: er, trying to think … [small gasp out] I did Easyread, it was something I did at my primary school
	R: mmmm
	H: so we did that every once in a while
	R: yeah, what's that? I don't know Easyread
	H: [small laugh] oh, it's this …. game, but not game,
	R: mhmm

H: it's like a sort of like a, um, website basically, I can't remember it all cos this is like year five, year six you know …

R: yeah, a little while ago

H: a little while ago er … yeah, we'd go sit in the quiet area, go on the computer, and it's like ask me like questions about English and stuff, I needed to learn and … they helped me out

R: yeah, so it's learning to read on the computer?

H: well not really on the computer but, it was *helping* me

[Interview 1, lines 130-140]

R: and do you always have to write by hand or do you write on a

H: erm, er

R: laptop sometimes?

H: erm, I can't rem- year, year *seven*, my English teacher, so I was in Jump in year seven and we had a certain, teacher erm and erm, er [voice wobbles a little again]

R: do you want a tissue my love? [laughs gently]

H: no, s'al

R: no? you sure? go on [offers H tissues; notebook slips off lap onto floor] … ooop,

H: [takes tissue] … oh … [light laugh] … and erm, I used this thing where what it would do is … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would talk into a mike and then it would write it down …

R: mmmmm …

H: for me,

R: mhmm

H: and they saw a book, a *big* improvement …

[Interview 1, lines 229-240]

H: … and like on the phones now you know you can press the speaker button and just talk into it I use that *every* day

R: mhmm

H: or like if it's like, thank you for my present,

R: mmm

H: that's, alright, present I don't even know how to spell so that wouldn't be OK, thank you for something something … like thank you for money, that would be in my cards, thank you, that would be alright, I can do that, that's easy, it's when you're thinking about erm different, I can't really even spell that, erm, like, it's like, I can *try* but then I can't really do it, my parents are like you never, I always use it [small laugh] I always use it, all you can hear is me going like into the speaker on my phone

R: so you speak it and it types it for you

H: basically, I can show you if you want [reaches into pocket]

[Interview 1, lines 444-450]

H: yes … … yeah, I do … umm … [long pause] normally what, like say, I had to do a paragraph, my mum would get her laptop out, I'd say what I wanted to write, she'd write it down, print it then I, I would have to write it in my pen so yeah I do that a lot

[Interview 1, line 486]

	H: yeah, so that's why I use the microphone so I just *say* it and then it's *there* and
	R: mmm
	H: then I don't have to *rethink* it
	[Interview 1, lines 500-502]
Teachers don't know him	R: … and so what about, let's think, one of your teachers … your
	H: [short sigh]
	R: say your English teacher, if I asked your English teacher, what would,
	H: mmmm, they wouldn't really
	R: how do you think they would describe you?
	H: they wouldn't really know, but, I don't really know …
	[Interview 1, lines 329-334]
	R: and do your teachers know about that, do they know you take medication? Do they know that they're the things that you find tricky?
	H: well … in a way they know cos some teachers they know, because erm [learning support group], they would have knew cos they're learning support so they would just like knew, any disability they know, erm, er some teachers *do* know cos sometimes I forget and come in and say I might be a bit off concentration because I [switches to French accent and takes deep breath] forgot to take my medication, [back to normal accent] and they're like OK, some of the teachers know, they don't really know but they do know …
	[Interview 1, lines 439-440]
	R: yeah … and do you, so do you always sit in that seat in that classroom,
	H: well
	R: do you always have a seating plan or
	H: well, so normally, I think, I'm not exactly sure but like, every year, it depends really, say like a teacher likes it, it's good, it works she'll keep it *like* that but if she wants to change it she can and and I was, so it was, it was just, me and XXXX X um at the front if you were sitting at the back it would be the front right
	R: mhmm
	H: and um, then xx moved cos, something with his eyes and he needed to move closer to the board, and then, er, *just* before she changed me down to the bottom left bottom erm, er there was xx, me, and then it was …. xx or xx or xx then xx, either one, and we're basically down there now
	R: mmm, mmm
	H: like, I don't know, she said we like trust us … cos like the gir- I dunno if the girls were like messing around or something,
	R: mmm
	H: I'm not exactly sure
	R: mmm
	H: but yeah so she moved us and then, yeah
	R: yeah, and is that alright there or, how, yeah how is that for you there?
	H: [shrugs] mmmwww, you have to move, you can't really not
	R: yeah
	H: go against them can you
	[Interview 2, lines 674-689]

	H: but I, so I don't even know if some teachers know I have ADHD or ADD, I don't know if they do, I don't know if they don't, but I know some teachers do, because … w-, because of my mental disorder I get an additional like twenty five um percent, or minutes, not minutes, I get twenty five percent extra for a test,
	R: mm, mm
	H: essays, um, GCSEs test, um I can have a um person that reads it for me,
	R: mhm
	H: so yeah I can have all of that,
	R: mmm
	H: yeah, so yeah, um some teachers, don't even say, but then some teachers say you have, you can use your fifteen minutes extra, you can use it
	R: mmm
	H: if you *want* to use it …
	[Interview 2, lines 962-970
Desire to be held in mind	H: it's a waste of time, [whispers] it's a waste of time … we're supposed to have a break and they're giving us homework, I understand if you didn't do your work, then that's OK, but if you're giving us extra work for no *reason* like, so our science teacher went make these bots, we made it, for one lesson, and then she's like you can take it home or you can put it in the bin … I'm like, I spent like *three days* on that and you're telling me now to put it in the bin, I want, I want, we're all saying inside our heads what was the point but no-one said it to her cos we all knew what was gonna happen, and then, she, well then xxxxx, the one in front of me in English, said it, he said what was the point then, and obviously you know what happened, he got asked to stay behind but yeah, sadly that's, that's how it goes in a way so yeah …. that's how it went but … I, I was completely with xxxx, what was the point, we did, apparently it was only a half an hour homework, you had to do diagrams, you had to make your animal with a certain location she gave you, so like, and then people would guess what your animal was … and I had like spikes on mine, it was like in a swamp so when a crocodile bite down it would hurt the jaw or something, and everybody thought it was a grass, cos it had like grass and so everyone was like why didn't I thought of that, so yeah
	R: yeah …. It sounds like, that, it's important that people recognise the effort you're putting in
	H: not, it's not that it's just like … the teacher went like, like I did something for ethics last year and the teacher still has it in her classroom display, that's like alright … I hate when you try and do something the best and then it's for one lesson, it's like ridiculous,
	R: mmmmm
	H: cos you might as well have not done that, cos then like, cos then … so I had to take it home, so I had to break the legs off it cos it wouldn't fit in my bag, then I took it home and there was really *nothing* to do with it … couldn't [inaudible] with it, sort of thing
	R: yeah
	H: so that's what she said to do
	R: yeah, it sounds like yeah you worked really hard on it
	[Interview 2, lines 1052-1059]
Unable to get needs met	H: but I don't really know what we're gonna do in English, because, the people don't know about the thing cos we can't do the, well we, *we* could do poem, but then I'd just sit there watching the movie, cos that won't really work
	R: yeah
	H: cos I get distracted … even though I take my medication .. it's not good for enough a movie there in front of my face
	R: ah, is that right?
	H: yeah
	R: interesting
	H: cos it will, say … if there's quiet I can write all that I want really, as long as I can get it down I can write it,
	R: yeah

	H: but if there's a *movie* in front of me, that's not gonna help at all,
	R: ah
	H: any noise will not help me …
	R: yeah
	H: or like, medication does help like, say we were in um, in our class and it was *noisy* but then not like having a movie on and everybody's *quiet* that's, that's things like one thing right there, no
	R: so you might sometimes
	H: so without medication it's crazy,
	R: yeah
	H: look around everything
	R: yeah
	H: I just I don't concentrate enough so that's why I take it basically
	R: yeah, so, so if you, so some of your lessons might be, there's a movie on and you're expected to be making some notes at the same time
	H: um like *quick* movies … when I hear something I can't just whoa that's it,
	R: yeah
	H: write it down, I miss a lot of things …
	R: yeah, yeah
	H: like we did tha-, we did that, we were watching this movie and it was Friday, last period, and we were watching the movie and she's like you still have to write some stuff, I wasn't surprised, it's history, always have to do something, they never let you off for the movie for taking note, so we had to write some questions down, they were in order of events …. It was an alright, but then it was so quick, and I was concentrating on the movie than on what I was sposed to be doing [small laugh]
	R: ah
	H: really
	R: so that sounds like that's quite a tricky thing, this kind of like
	H: yeah
	R: do you focus there, do you focus there, ooh there's something … you know
	H: mhmm, yeah
	R: yeah, so what *helps* you?
	H: what *helps* me?
	R: yeah
	H: just [exhales deeply and sharply] try my hardest to not look at it [voice wobbles and tone becomes as it was when he became emotional earlier in conversation]
	R: right
	H: I mean, I can't really do anything else
	[Interview 1, lines 398-434]
Teachers recognise his needs	R: and do you always have to write by hand or do you write on a
	H: erm, er
	R: laptop sometimes?

	H: erm, I can't rem- year, year *seven*, my English teacher, so I was in Jump in year seven and we had a certain, teacher erm and erm, er [voice wobbles a little again]
	R: do you want a tissue my love? [laughs gently]
	H: no, s'al
	R: no? you sure? go on [offers H tissues; notebook slips off lap onto floor] … oooop,
	H: [takes tissue] … oh … [light laugh] … and erm, I used this thing where what it would do is … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would talk into a mike and then it would write it down …
	R: mmmmm …
	H: for me,
	R: mhmm
	H: and they saw a book, a *big* improvement … and, what she, what the teacher said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests,
	[Interview 1, lines 229-240]
Emotional care	H: [sniffs] I *try* and stop but I *can't* [voice breaks again] … so yeah [in tears]
	R: try and stop … doing what
	H: crying …
	R: ah, OK
	H: but I can't … it's just, thing
	R: yeah …. so is this crying when you're actually in the test?
	H: yeah, yeah I just freak out, break down
	R: OK, wow … and what happens then?
	H: like, some teachers just say do you wanna go outside, and I'm like no I'm fine
	R: right
	H: just like get up
	R: right
	H: [sighs heavily, sniffs, wipes eyes with back of hand]
	[Interview 1, lines 204-216]
	R: when you, so you look at the test,
	H: and then just freak
	R: and yeah, so is that that you can't
	H: I can't do the question
	R: read, yeah so you can't *read* the question or
	H: it's not, it's not that I can't like read it, I know if I put my hand up they'll come and read it for me,
	R: yeah
	H: if it's a certain *test*, it's just I break down, and I can't stop it really [sighs deeply, sniffs] …
	R: yeah, right, wow … and have you spoke to anybody about that? Has anybody in school helped you or spoken to you about … ?

	H: they all say don't get upset like it's just a test [blows out air, sighs, voice wobbles] R: mmm H: I know that, it's just [blows out air] my brain does [inaudible] R: well and sometimes just somebody saying to you H: [sniffs deeply] R: 'Don't do that! Don't get that upset!' that's kind of you think 'well, I *am* upset, sorry!' [small laugh] H: yeah *[Interview 1, lines 253-268]* R: yeah …. It sounds like, that, it's important that people recognise the effort you're putting in H: not, it's not that it's just like … the teacher went like, like I did something for ethics last year and the teacher still has it in her classroom display, that's like alright … I hate when you try and do something the best and then it's for one lesson, it's like ridiculous, R: mmmmm H: cos you might as well have not done that, cos then like, cos then … so I had to take it home, so I had to break the legs off it cos it wouldn't fit in my bag, then I took it home and there was really *nothing* to do with it … couldn't [inaudible] with it, sort of thing R: yeah H: so that's what she said to do *[Interview 2, lines 1053-1058]*
Not proactive – reliant on others	H: … and erm, I used this thing where what it would do is … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would talk into a mike and then it would write it down … R: mmmmm … H: for me, R: mhmm H: and they saw a book, a *big* improvement … and, what she, what the teacher said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests, then that's gonna be really annoying for everyone me talking …. [inhales deeply] [inaudible] I'll probably have to have a scribe …[sniffs] R: mmmm, I know you won't, I think if, if H: yeah, they'd go to a different room J: yeah, if that happened you'd go to a different room, exactly, H: a different room J: yeah, exactly, I don't think that would be a problem H: yeah cos um … oh I don't know what it is, um … in the halls, cos they do it in the halls and the gym … um … we don't go there, we go to a prop-, a room with a *few* people … and yeah, we do it there R: mhmm H: so then, I don't know exactly why cos like you can … scos um, o when you, yeah … so yeah, we do that … well I, so some people do that, and yeah *[Interview 1, lines 236-248]* R: when you, so you look at the test, H: and then just freak

	R: and yeah, so is that that you can't
	H: I can't do the question
	R: read, yeah so you can't *read* the question or
	H: it's not, it's not that I can't like read it, I know if I put my hand up they'll come and read it for me,
	R: yeah
	H: if it's a certain *test*, it's just I break down, and I can't stop it really [sighs deeply, sniffs] …
	[Interview 1, lines 253-260]
	H: but I, so I don't even know if some teachers know I have ADHD or ADD, I don't know if they do, I don't know if they don't, but I know some teachers do, because … w-, because of my mental disorder I get an additional like twenty five um percent, or minutes, not minutes, I get twenty five percent extra for a test,
	R: mm, mm
	H: essays, um, GCSEs test, um I can have a um person that reads it for me,
	R: mhm
	H: so yeah I can have all of that,
	R: mmm
	H: yeah, so yeah, um some teachers, don't even say, but then some teachers say you have, you can use your fifteen minutes extra, you can use it
	R: mmm
	H: if you *want* to use it …
	[Interview 2, lines 962-970]
Pessimism re. help available	H: … and, what she, what the teacher said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests, then that's gonna be really annoying for everyone me talking …. [inhales deeply] [inaudible] I'll probably have to have a scribe …[sniffs]
	[Interview 1, line 240]
	R: yeah, so, so if you, so some of your lessons might be, there's a movie on and you're expected to be making some notes at the same time
	H: um like *quick* movies … when I hear something I can't just whoa that's it,
	R: yeah
	H: write it down, I miss a lot of things …
	R: yeah, yeah
	H: like we did tha-, we did that, we were watching this movie and it was Friday, last period, and we were watching the movie and she's like you still have to write some stuff, I wasn't surprised, it's history, always have to do something, they never let you off for the movie for taking note, so we had to write some questions down, they were in order of events …. It was an alright, but then it was so quick, and I was concentrating on the movie than on what I was sposed to be doing [small laugh]
	R: ah
	H: really
	R: so that sounds like that's quite a tricky thing, this kind of like
	H: yeah
	R: do you focus there, do you focus there, ooh there's something … you know
	H: mhmm, yeah

	R: yeah, so what *helps* you? H: what *helps* me? R: yeah H: just [exhales deeply and sharply] try my hardest to not look at it [voice wobbles and tone becomes as it was when he became emotional earlier in conversation] R: right H: I mean, I can't really do anything else *[Interview 1, lines 417-434]*
Women read, men do maths	H: so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing R: ah oh yeah H: so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no R: OK H: not fun, I don't like it so yeah R: mmm, alright H: *mum* reads, dad *doesn't* really read, he reads the newspaper though, that's how he's like he said he got into reading, *[Interview 1, lines 52-58]* R: and so is there anyone else in your family that finds writing tricky? H: *no* R: Or reading tricky? H: um … my dad's like, he *can write*, yeah he's not the best … my mum's the best in the family, she's really good, she's a nurse … my sister's good, she's better than me *[Interview 1, lines 271-274]* R: yeah, no so I was just thinking, when we were first talking you were talking about your sister H: oh R: and that was something I wanted yeah, wanted to H: ok R: ask you a little bit more about cos you said something about her um, H: she is R: um being, cos you said she's really clever H: she is R: and she reads a lot, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit more about that H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading, R: mm H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma um … [sigh/yawn] … *[Interview 2, lines 816-827]*

	R: so does she, yeah, tell me about her being, so she, how is it that she's better at, how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you H: I really don't care, really R: mm, mm H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy R: yeah, so there's a bit of H: yeah R: things even out a little bit H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think R: yeah H: like my dad always, my dad's like, his job is always around maths, *[Interview 2, lines 842-851]* H: it's really like people are depending, I don't like, if you don't read you don't read R: yeah H: and um if you like reading you read R: yeah H: er like my mum likes reading, she's got one of them book like things, R: yeah H: my dad bought her it, and she reads like every night *[Interview 2, lines 944-950]*
Smarter sister	H: mm yeah, don't like reading a lot, R: mhmm H: so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing R: ah oh yeah H: so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no R: OK H: not fun, I don't like it so yeah *[Interview 2, lines 50-56]* H: … my sister's good, she's better than me R: [small laugh] how old's your sister? H: er she's ten, ten, er yep, she's coming up *next* year, when I'm year nine R: yep H: so yep, that's her first year here [small exhalation] *[Interview 1, lines 274-278]*

[This time, as soon as we sat down he began telling me about his sister coming to the school in September, and how much better she was than him at reading and writing, and everything else. The transcript thus starts half way through Harry's conversation about his sister, from the point when I turned the Dictaphone on.]

R: yeah?

H: she's much better at reading, writing … spelling, other stuff …

[Interview 2, lines 558-560]

R: yeah, no so I was just thinking, when we were first talking you were talking about your sister

H: oh

R: and that was something I wanted yeah, wanted to

H: ok

R: ask you a little bit more about cos you said something about her um,

H: she is

R: um being, cos you said she's really clever

H: she is

R: and she reads a lot, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit more about that

H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading,

R: mm

H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma um … [sigh/yawn] … she's al*right* but then we don't get along most of the time like, I annoy her

[Interview 2, lines 816-827]

R: so does she, yeah, tell me about her being, so she, how is it that she's better at, how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you

H: I really don't care, really

R: mm, mm

H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy

R: yeah, so there's a bit of

H: yeah

R: things even out a little bit

H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think

[Interview 2, lines 842-849]

H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why, but yeah …

[Interview 2, line 938]

Inheriting Dad's skills and traits	H: *mum* reads, dad *doesn't* really read, he reads the newspaper though, that's how he's like he said he got into reading, R: mmm yeah H: er, yeah I *really* don't read at all, *[Interview 1, lines 58-60]* R: and so is there anyone else in your family that finds writing tricky? H: *no* R: Or reading tricky? H: um … my dad's like, he *can write*, yeah he's not the best … my mum's the best in the family, she's really good, she's a nurse … my sister's good, she's better than me *[Interview 1, lines 271-274]* H: like … it's like, my dad says you can't write but you can, like … so my dad got a phone like cos he's had this old phone, can't really do it [small laugh] and there aren't games, no, you can't really store anything, no music like no … and there's like this golf game we used to play on it … but yeah that's really it, so like he's got this new phone and I'm [small laugh] teaching him how to use it so 'he knows everything about this but he can't write, it's really weird!' and I went like 'yeah I know' [small laugh] to- tell my mum, 'it's like you know all this, and you just keep that in your head' and I think it's just cos it's fun so you remember it like in a way, but then you can't really do that cos it wouldn't make any sense but then the bad thing you can't really forget things that's bad [big sigh and gasp] … so yeah, that's another thing [gasp] *[Interview 1, line 292]* R: mmm, yeah, so you've got a, you're thinking about the police force, aren't you H: yeah I am, I not exactly sure right now cos *I* wanna be on a motorbike but my mum's *terrified*, I not exactly sure I don't know R: mm *H: why* like I haven't heard of anybody actually have a crash in our, family with motorbikes, like I'm I dunno *why*, I haven't got it from my dad, my dad doesn't own a motorbike, I, *some* people own motorbikes in our *family* but not many R: mm H: so they don't know where I got it from but I just like motorbikes, apparently *[Interview 2, lines 726-731]* H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading, R: mm H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma um … [sigh/yawn] … she's al*right* but then we don't get along most of the time like, I annoy her R: mm H; think I got that from my dad, tormenting, he always torments me, but then, when he torments her she shouts but he don't get told off and then as soon as I do it apparently *I* get told off *[Interview 2, lines 825-829]* H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy

	R: yeah, so there's a bit of
	H: yeah
	R: things even out a little bit
	H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think
	R: yeah
	H: like my dad always, my dad's like, his job is always around maths,
	[Interview 2, lines 845-851]
Dad as positive male role model	H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get,
	R: mm
	H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh]
	[Interview 2, lines 721-723]
	H: like my dad always, my dad's like, his job is always around maths, like he does, he has this like, he has, when he goes to work he has his own storage room, when they do a stock, a stock check to see what they *don't* have, what they have, he has to go through all their things and then count them up and then make sure he's not like, missing anything cos like the order says this, like two and there's not, two and there's nothing or there's like six and there's only eight or there's more than there's supposed to be, he has to check all of that, supplies, if his boss is not in he's normally in charge so he's got a lot of w-, he's got to do his own work and the boss's work … so yeah, and … he used to have a tiny office, now he has a bigger office
	R: what's he do? what's his job?
	H: Tele- well he, I don't really know what to call it, but he his workplace is xxxxxx, so they do, they do, they've done like er menus for the hotels, um restaurants, things like big big big briefcases, I don't know what they're exactly for,
	R: yeah
	H: and they have workers who do like slips and stuff, do like panels and then they get paid, they have like a van to deliver the stuff obviously
	R: yeah, OK
	H: and yeah, and sometimes you do overwork [coughs] and one time, um … I, I think it was something to do with sewerage got blocked or something, so my dad decided to like see what was going on so I had to like put loads of water in this like *big* sink and then like drain it, and then he put like a *rake* sort of thing so when it came, when it got unblocked and it came through,
	R; yeah, yeah
	H: it would get caught in the net sort of thing … and, after like an hour nothing happened, I was still, it must have got built behind what it was, I'm not gonna say what it was, it was funny,
	R: [laughs quietly]
	H: and then we had to get it out
	R: mmm
	H: yeah, and there were, it was cold water, there was no hot water, so my hands were turning like blueish
	R: mmmm
	H: I had to stop, and then the next, half an hour we tried again, did two and then it was like, he's pulled the man thing off and then you hear this [makes sudden whooshing sound], and you just see all the, like lots of water coming through
	R: right

	H: and it's unblocked and then, we were like but what's blocking it, cos nothing came through for like ten minutes and then it came through, and then we got it out, and then he got paid, fixes machines as well, he does like if there's a machine broken he tries and fix it, and they have like, they have lots of [inaudible] stuff, yeah so R: so busy, H: busy R: busy job H yeah, busy job *[Interview 2, lines 851-871]*
Getting help from mum and dad	R: … so what would you think if, so if I asked your, say if I asked your *mum*, I said 'tell me about Harry, what do you think he's …' H: I don't really know R: 'what he's all about' what would she say? H: I really don't know, I don't know … mostly lazy cos of like 'do your homework', that's basically all she says, 'do your homework, do your homework' that's like don't help, …. so I don't really know, a few, weeks ago I had this homework, what I had to do was, um … put all the countries in, or I didn't have to do all of them cos I was er d- or something … and what my mum didn't understand she thought I had to colour it in … so she er [laughs] put all the names for the things in so all I had to do was [laughs] … yeah, so she basically did *that* …. and there was another one where she, well she didn't mean to but then she did it for me basically, R: [laughs] H: so it was like, I re-, cos cos she did the homework but it was like that's what I had to do so she's like OK rub it out then and start again and do it yourself R: [laughs] aww … so who *does* help you? H: my mum, a lot … she normally helps me, cos she's like, she works when she's home she's still working, normally when she's home she's er … my dad helps me, yeah my dad does help me a few times, with the um, world war one homework he helped me, he did, I did that with him … so yeah … can't remember, dad did literally all of it *[Interview 1, lines 321-328]* H: it's, *some* words I don't understand, um, can't think of one now, cos like ones I've never heard R: so what do you do? H: what do I do? R: if there's words you don't understand H: mum, dad, well I normally go to my mum cos she's like, like say I don't know how to spell a word and I'm doing my homework, I ask my dad, he's like what do you think it is, if I ask my mum she just tells me so I *always* go for my mum R: [chuckles] H: and it's like, say I wanted to sleep with one of my friends, never ask my dad, I would always ask my mum, and she would always say have you asked dad yet, cos they, say I went to my dad he'd said no and then I asked my mum, they wouldn't like that at all, so I always ask mum, and then, and then my dad normally calls me saying yes, so yeah *[Interview 1, lines 466-472]* R: yeah, so graphic novels, texting, do you read websites, do you kind of pull stuff off a website, that sort of thing? H: yes … … yeah, I do … umm … [long pause] normally what, like say, I had to do a paragraph, my mum would get her laptop out, I'd say what I wanted to write, she'd write it down, print it then I, I would have to write it in my pen so yeah I do that a lot R: yeah, yeah, and how's that? H: that, that helps me a lot

[Interview 1, lines 485-488]

R: OK, so just one last little thing then now, so I'm just thinking about someone or something that helps you *now*, or that's helped you in the *past*, and how that, yeah, how that feels, what's sort of, yeah, what helpful feels like, I suppose, does that make sense?

H: erm … that's tricky, that's like really tricky, well my mum's helped me a lot, obviously

R: sounds like it

H: [laughs] she helps me a lot, she's like the main person, she helps me, but not in school obviously but yeah but she helps me, a lot, I was really ill, one more thing, erm, er, so, we came for like a meeting about Jump and they like talked through with me and my parents

R: yeah

H: it was like in one of the holidays

R: mmm

H: we like met up and then we met up here, we came in the school and then, so they had all biscuits and stuff for us and then, like when I was talking to the parents I said I hope it's like this *every* day and they were like weeelll, it was really funny cos they had a whole tray and it had got like coffee on it and then yeah

[Interview 1, lines 525-531]

H: ummmm, they didn't, like some homework, I tell my mum but then I don't think she's registered what I said, and one day I said I've got to do um, put all the countries like, put at least twenty countries there was, in er Africa, or As-, no not Asia, Africa wit the fifty countries, and … my mum thought I had to like, colour it in … and, no I had to put the names in, and what she'd, what she did is put all the names in for me, and then I went well you've done my homework for me, but then like her writing, if you saw her writing it's not my writing and anyway a teacher that's seen me for ages, you'd know the difference between my mum's writing and my writing,

R: [small laugh]

H: even if you don't know my mum you know it's like, when did you do that … so I just, she did it in pencil so I rubbed it out and did all fifty, cos *she* did all fifty, then there was another homework, not exactly like that but she did the, she did the homework for me, so yeah, that was nice

R: [small laugh]

H: but then it wasn't really her fault, I did explain what it was

R: yeah, yeah

H: [small gasps/sigh]

R: yeah … and so do you think um … well, yeah, interested in if that's ever happened, that sort of idea

H: in a way she's did it by purpose like, she obviously hasn't

R: no no no … yeah

H: she would never do that, like,

R: yeah

H: like never … she always moans about homework

R: yeah

H: she always moans about homework

R: in what way?

H: so do it the last second thing, like do your homework, no, I'll do it in a second, I'll do it tomorrow, never do

R: [laughs]

	H: and she always says that, I will I will I wil, and I never do anything … [tutting noise with tongue on teeth] *[Interview 2, lines 1060-1078]*
Enforcing school expectations	H: and then like, I … I used to *have* to read like in my school they would ask us, like homework would be to *read* and then the parent would have to like sign it to say yes they did read, R: mmm H: I had a whole diary and that so what my dad did, just for, cos if I just said I read it … doesn't mean I read it … I, he would have to like, I I, he would go *through* the book and ask questions, so I'd *have* to read it otherwise er it's like, you can't really just, [deep breath in] oh yeah so I dunno [sighs, sounds tired] I had to read it, so that really annoying [sighs], don't have to do that anymore [small laugh] J: yeah, OK … cos you don't *get* that sort of homework anymore, or H: no R: ah OK, yeah … H: yeah R: so how *was* that, when you were H: it *worked* R: when you *had* to *read* H: well it *worked*, yeah, cos I couldn't really go around it as well … so just as I was saying [inaudible] she'd get off what I was doing in the kitchen, and straight on to questions … and yeah R: yeah H: and yeah, and if I didn't read it [small, hard laugh] I read it and read it again, so I did R: yeah H: he'd give me page numbers too so he could work out questions [small sigh] R: yeah H: yeah, never liked it but hardly gonna love it, ever R: so you, so did that mean that you, so you *did* read it H: yeah R: to answer your dad's questions? H: yeah, I *had* to read it or else like, you don't know, do you … so yeah, it's like read it again [sharp, noisy inhalation of breath] *[Interview 1, lines 82-102]*
Punishment for wrongdoing	H: …. mmm, oh, I remember year three year four … there's like different reading groups and I was with someone else who was, it was year four and year three were together, so it was a year three and a year four classroom and I was the year four in the class, and that we had year threes as well and I was with a boy from year three and he *never* used to do it, it was like, we had the most easiest work out of *everybody* in the classroom … like we read like a page per day, it was like alright and then we'd do word searches and, he's like, oh I done it, he *never* did it … why wouldn't he do it it's so easy [sigh/gasp/whisper] ah, I don't get it, and he used to *literally lie* to the *headteacher's face*, she'd come up to him at lunch, did you do your work, yeah I did, *no* you *didn't*, and I had to like *watch* him do it …. that really was annoying, R: yeah H: cos I had to *watch* him like he was a baby [inaudible] what he was doing, so that was annoying …. cos I was trying to learn [sighs/yawns] *[Interview 1, lines 158-160]*

H: [sniffs] maths is alright, I don't mind maths tests, um … [sniffs] the worst test I hate is … essays, all the writing, so, not really in my keen, so but I can't really say that cos like, if I gonna be a cop I gotta know how to write erm, speeding tickets blah blah blah,

R: right

H: what they're saying … so you can get them in court

[Interview 1, lines 224-226]

H: so the first few I got ten ten ten ten there was basically keep it ten, I one time I think someone got caught cheating, so what we did before we did it we like we did like practice and she wrote it down [drops voice, slows down a little] on her hand and [picks up speed and volume again] then madam was sort of looking at her and when I turned my head she was really looking at her so I thought what's she doing then I turned to the girl and she's like [mimics girl copying from her hand]

R: [laughs and mock gasps]

H: it was really funny

R: no! [laughs quietly]

H: I know, it was really funny but like, it's like funny at the same time and then the teacher realised what she was doing, she got zero, that's the one

[Interview 1 lines 540-544]

H: but like, in *this* country … I think just about last year they put up like every officer has a tazer now but that's basically it, we don't have any guns, it's hard to get a gun in the UK but really you can get a shotgun and a rifle pretty simple cos you're *allowed* them, but you're not allowed to shoot someone in your house cos you get arrested for murder, I think that's the only rule I would go against, in the UK that's the only rule like … I think people should allow have shotguns, if someone comes in their house threatening their family they should be allowed to kill them and *not* go to prison cos they're like actually trying to save their lives and all you can do is hide in the closet and call 911 *999,* and wait till they get there hope they don't find you so yeah, that's the only rule I would go against really

[Interview 2, line 781]

H: and um, yeah there's one, you know like motorbikes always shout at people for being on their phones, there's, I dunno, it were on Youtube, that's all I know, but this one copper was knocking on this window and kept slipping him off cos he thought it was just a bike telling him to put the phone down, so overlooked his siren

R: ah, mmm

H: and then he started shouting at him cos he didn't realise it was a cop until like he punched him in the face and he ta- got tazed [sigh/gasp]

R: oooh, goodness

H: [laughs]

R: oooerrgghhh [small laugh]

H: [small laugh] it was, it was completely on, it's like, like you know go-pros, probably they all have them, he, well the cop had one on his helmet and it was all videoed,

R: oh, gosh

H: so it wasn't too injured because he had the helmet on,

R; yeah

H: but then, still, it's illegal to punch *any* cop in *any* city

[Interview 2, lines 797-807]

H: … unless I'm getting ready for a reflection when I'm sitting there and just like, what shall I do,

	R: [laughs more quietly]
	H: and then they make you do *work*
	R: [laughs more quietly still]
	H: but I don't think I've I've never been there *yet* … had a reflect- had a detention
	R: this is reflection?
	H: yeah well first reason I don't wanna have a reflection is cos your parents find out, and it's not wor-, I wouldn't be scared to have it at school, I don't really, cos school can't really do much, it's when I go home, then it's like … oh god, it's like five months without your phone, laptop, TV, er no playing out, as I don't have my phone I can't play it without my phone, so yeah, so no nothing
	R: so punishment worse at home worse than in school then
	H: yeah, tha's it …. That's the only reason I don't try to do anything er to get me in the reflection …. A detention, mmm, they don't really find out except the teachers tells them, mmm but yeah
	[Interview 2, lines 1140-1148]
Fear of challenging authority	H: and then like, I … I used to *have* to read like in my school they would ask us, like homework would be to *read* and then the parent would have to like sign it to say yes they did read,
	R: mmm
	H: I had a whole diary and that so what my dad did, just for, cos if I just said I read it … doesn't mean I read it … I, he would have to like, I I, he would go *through* the book and ask questions, so I'd *have* to read it otherwise er it's like, you can't really just, [deep breath in] oh yeah so I dunno [sighs, sounds tired] I had to read it, so that really annoying [sighs],
	[Interview 1, lines 82-84]
	H: … there's like different reading groups and I was with someone else who was, it was year four and year three were together, so it was a year three and a year four classroom and I was the year four in the class, and that we had year threes as well and I was with a boy from year three and he *never* used to do it, it was like, we had the most easiest work out of *everybody* in the classroom … like we read like a page per day, it was like alright and then we'd do word searches and, he's like, oh I done it, he *never* did it … why wouldn't he do it it's so easy [sigh/gasp/whisper] ah, I don't get it, and he used to *literally lie* to the *headteacher's face*, she'd come up to him at lunch, did you do your work, yeah I did, *no you didn't*, and I had to like *watch* him do it …. that really was annoying,
	[Interview 1, line 158]
	H: but yeah so she moved us and then, yeah
	R: yeah, and is that alright there or, how, yeah how is that for you there?
	H: [shrugs] mmmwww, you have to move, you can't really not
	R: yeah
	H: go against them can you
	R: [small laugh]
	H: the teacher, it's not, not someone you can debate about [small laugh] sadly
	R: [small laugh] mmm
	H: and um my parents hate talking back so yeah, I wouldn't do it
	[Interview 2, lines 685-693]

	R: mmm, yeah, so you've got a, you're thinking about the police force, aren't you H: yeah I am, I not exactly sure right now cos *I* wanna be on a motorbike but my mum's *terrified*, I not exactly sure I don't know *[Interview 2, lines 726-727]* H: … so our science teacher went make these bots, we made it, for one lesson, and then she's like you can take it home or you can put it in the bin … I'm like, I spent like *three days* on that and you're telling me now to put it in the bin, I want, I want, we're all saying inside our heads what was the point but no-one said it to her cos we all knew what was gonna happen, and then, she, well then xxxxx, the one in front of me in English, said it, he said what was the point then, and obviously you know what happened, he got asked to stay behind but yeah, sadly that's, that's how it goes in a way so yeah …. that's how it went but … I, I was completely with xxxx, what was the point, … *[Interview 2, line 1052]* H: yeah well first reason I don't wanna have a reflection is cos your parents find out, and it's not wor-, I wouldn't be scared to have it at school, I don't really, cos school can't really do much, it's when I go home, then it's like … oh god, it's like five months without your phone, laptop, TV, er no playing out, as I don't have my phone I can't play it without my phone, so yeah, so no nothing R: so punishment worse at home worse than in school then H: yeah, tha's it …. That's the only reason I don't try to do anything er to get me in the reflection …. *[Interview 2, lines 1146-1148*
Conforming to school rules & expectations	H: it's like, the person in front of me, like, I'm not trying to get him told off in any way but like R: no, that's OK, not at all H: he's like, he's like can you help me, can you help me, I'm like, should I listen, but I did listen [whispered] whoa, [back to normal volume] and then he's like I did listen and I'm like well you *didn't* because [back to whisper] you don't know what you're doing do you, [back to normal volume] and then he's like trying to like to like, no I know, and he thinks I'm gonna give him the answers not happening R: mmm H: yeah R: mmm, so this is the guy *next* to you or the one in *front* of you? H; in front of me R: ah OK, OK H: but it's normally, I don't know if he's normally sits there but yeah, he sits somewhere there, he sits there or there, I'm pretty sure he sits where he was but then he just, it's like, you *wanna* give him the answer but then you don't R: yeah H: … and madam just *explained* it like … she explained what you gotta *do*, she explained the whole answer, she explained *everything* and he didn't listen so yeah, and I was, I, went to get my book cos it's Thursday and she allows us to get like put our books back, and er, I did, I count- cos there's like a huge queue to get like, to take it out, um so yeah, and then I come back half way through the lesson, and then I *somehow* get more work than he's done with the *whole* of the lesson so yeah, R: mmm H: it doesn't make really much sense R: mmm, mmm H: yeah R: yeah, and how does that feel get-, with him asking you for help?

H: I just feel like disappointed cos like the teacher's done all this work, for nothing basically, she's just standing there for nothing, she's … and the thing is though like, like, this is like free education right now so like you have to *pay* to get back *into* school or something like, to get you know GCSEs or something

[Interview 2, lines 697-713]

H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading,

[Interview 2, line 938]

H: barely get any homework, so that's good, like year seven you get lots of homework,

R: yeah

H: some weeks, some weeks you're like Monday yes, Tuesday yes, Wednesday yes, Thursday yes, Friday homework on every period dammit

R: [laughs]

H: so now I got

R: I wonder why that might be then that you get less homework now

H: I don't know why exactly

R: mm

H: but then, I really don't know why, you just do … so like the first few weeks in year seven it's like you get [inaudible] that's just nice, that's nice,

R: [small laugh]

H: that was really nice, I liked that

R: yeah

H: so yeah, I liked that, that was nice homework

R: yeah

H: still [inaudible]

R: yeah

H: yeah, but sadly that's not how school works

R: [laughs]

H: and then

R: tell me about how school *does* work

H: well you get homework sadly

R: [laughs]

H: this is a thought for like this is a question I've always asked,

R: alright

H: why do we have school if we do homework at home, I understand if you like didn't finish your work up at school, but then why do we get extra work if we're supposed to come to school and learn, I might as well just stay home

R: so what do you think

H: well it's

R: what do you think's the answer to that question?

H: it's a waste of time, [whispers] it's a waste of time … we're supposed to have a break and they're giving us homework, I understand if you didn't do your work, then that's OK, but if you're giving us extra work for no *reason* like, so our science teacher went make these bots, we made it, for one lesson, and then she's like you can take it home or you can put it in the bin … I'm like, I spended like *three days* on that and you're telling me now to put it in the bin, I want, I want, we're all saying inside our heads what was the point but no-one said it to her cos we all knew what was gonna happen, and then, she, well then xxxxx, the one in front of me in English, said it, he said what was the point then, and obviously you know what happened, he got asked to stay behind but yeah, sadly that's, that's how it goes in a way so yeah …. that's how it went but … I, I was completely with xxxx, what was the point, we did, apparently it was only a half an hour homework, you had to do diagrams, you had to make your animal with a certain location she gave you, so like, and then people would guess what your animal was …

[Interview 2, lines 1024-1052]

H: … I hate when you try and do something the best and then it's for one lesson, it's like ridiculous,

R: mmmmm

H: cos you might as well have not done that, cos then like, cos then … so I had to take it home, so I had to break the legs off it cos it wouldn't fit in my bag, then I took it home and there was really *nothing* to do with it … couldn't [inaudible] with it, sort of thing

R: yeah

H: so that's what she said to do

[Interview 2, lines 1054-1058]

H: ummmm, they didn't, like some homework, I tell my mum but then I don't think she's registered what I said, and one day I said I've got to do um, put all the countries like, put at least twenty countries there was, in er Africa, or As-, no not Asia, Africa wit the fifty countries, and … my mum thought I had to like, colour it in … and, no I had to put the names in, and what she'd, what she did is put all the names in for me, and then I went well you've done my homework for me, but then like her writing, if you saw her writing it's not my writing and anyway a teacher that's seen me for ages, you'd know the difference between my mum's writing and my writing,

R: [small laugh]

H: even if you don't know my mum you know it's like, when did you do that … so I just, she did it in pencil so I rubbed it out and did all fifty, cos *she* did all fifty, then there was another homework, not exactly like that but she did the, she did the homework for me, so yeah, that was nice

R: [small laugh]

H: but then it wasn't really her fault, I did explain what it was

R: yeah, yeah

H: [small gasps/sigh]

R: yeah … and so do you think um … well, yeah, interested in if that's ever happened, that sort of idea

H: in a way she's did it by purpose like, she obviously hasn't

R: no no no … yeah

H: she would never do that, like,

R: yeah

H: like never …

[Interview 2, lines 1060-1072]

Hard work = life success	H: yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older R: ahhhh, OK H: yeah and that's why I'm trying to actually do something good … cos you need high grades R: yeah H: definitely in the English as well *[Interview 1, lines 110-114]* H: and yep, I can't really remember *all* of it, um, did spelling test … you know when like, people like, like, I dunno, if you know when people do it and then they like practice it … I d-, that doesn't, I dunno, that doesn't work with me, I have to just do it do it do it and then it gets in my head, what you're doing, so I just have to do spelling test after spelling test until I get them all right … I used to *always* get them all right, just cos I would, R: oh H: cos I practiced …. *[Interview 1, lines 154-156]* H: … I barely like English but it R: mm, mm H: it's a thing you're gonna have to do if you're gonna be a police officer sadly, cos I can't just put nothing on the ticket and then R: [laughs] H: [coughs] yeah so, trying to do that but … trying, *[Interview 2, lines 661-665]* H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get, R: mm H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh] *[Interview 2, lines 721-723]*
Making career plans	H: … cos a lot of the stuff he could like, ask me … and I always to choose a book stuff I thought I'd like … really [inaudible] cos I like emergency services, or diggers … as I said I have a digger named *after* me so I was like, I really like … all that sort of stuff so I mmmm, so it's normally like *rescue*, um police cars … anything really, with lights … ambulance, anything about emergency service interests me or, construction site, any … yeah R: mmm H: so yeah R: so is that still the case now, H: yeah R: or is that, yeah H: yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older *[Interview 1, lines 104-110]* H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get,

R: mm

H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh]

R: [small laugh]

H: and then

R: mmm, yeah, so you've got a, you're thinking about the police force, aren't you

H: yeah I am, I not exactly sure right now cos *I* wanna be on a motorbike but my mum's *terrified*, I not exactly sure I don't know

R: mm

H: why like I haven't heard of anybody actually have a crash in our, family with motorbikes, like I'm I dunno *why*, I haven't got it from my dad, my dad doesn't own a motorbike, I, *some* people own motorbikes in our *family* but not many

R: mm

H: so they don't know where I got it from but I just like motorbikes, apparently

R: that's alright

H: but I don't know what I wanna be really yet, I'm thinking about *arms* but then I'll be in London normally cos that's where it all normally

R: oh is that right?

H: yeah, it's between a dog, canine but, yeah

R: mm

H: I not fastest runner but, you never know

R: mm

H: yeah to keep up with the dogs

R: yeah

H: and so yeah, um, don't know what else I would be, thinking about being er, a *marine* officer

R: mmm, mmm

H: [voice goes very quiet, sniffs] might do yeah

R: mmm, and do you know anything about what you have to do to

H: or

R: get there or for anything else?

H: I don't' *really* know, but like … first you would have to be a good swimmer, first of all

R: yeah [small laugh]

H: um, I haven't really seen any like people where they're like stopped by a police boat, jumped off aboard, tha's probably the *worst* idea

R: [laughs] yeah

H: what, yeah, yeah … definitely [inaudible] but you never know, like, I … I, someone who's now like in my family now he was a US army military

R: ooh

H: um, he's now over here, I don't know if he *lives* here or he still lives over there with his family but yeah … and um, he was around lots of guns and stuff … I've always wanted to shoot a gun, dunno why, just do

[Interview 2, lines 721-753]

	H: yeah, I watch loads of people on YouTube, it's crazy now … you get money for doing videos
	R: mm, mm
	H: ridiculous, they shouldn't get *paid* to do it surely
	R: right, so they get paid to do videos that go on YouTube?
	H: yeah, on YouTube, so all the ads that go on YouTube I think, the ads pay YouTube … and like, cos like, say I was watching someone really famous, like [to himself] who's really famous on YouTube, [back to me], anyone really [laughs], anyone on YouTube's ten million, like, er dunno, I'm really not on there, er, wait a minute I have a example, he's, well they're doing is they're putting adverts on him cos they think if people like him and even they see his adverts or they're like sponsoring him he must like, they must be *good* cos he's like obviously with them and stuff,
	R: yeah, yeah
	H: so yeah they probably paid billions of dollars pounds to, have, just have adverts on YouTube and then YouTube pay, craziest amounts of money and stuff, yeah,
	R: mmm
	H: so then like some people, when they were younger they didn't get paid but now they do, it's really weird
	R: yeah
	H: I'm not exactly want to be on YouTube but I watch this person the whole everywhere … he's a police officer in America, I know *that* much, and he like blogs
	R; Oh, OK
	H: so yeah, I watch *him* a lot,
	[Interview 2, lines 767-779]
Trying my hardest, getting where?	H: yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older
	R: ahhhh, OK
	H: yeah and that's why I'm trying to actually do something good … cos you need high grades
	R: yeah
	H: definitely in the English as well
	[Interview 1, lines 110-114]
	H: and yep, I can't really remember *all* of it, um, did spelling test … you know when like, people like, like, I dunno, if you know when people do it and then they like practice it … I d-, that doesn't, I dunno, that doesn't work with me, I have to just do it do it do it and then it gets in my head, what you're doing, so I just have to do spelling test after spelling test until I get them all right … I used to *always* get them all right, just cos I would,
	R: oh
	H: cos I practiced ….
	[Interview 1, lines 154-156]
	H: mmm, I think I'm going up slowly, I'm not moving far but I'm going somewhere so yeah …
	R: mmm
	H: keep trying
	R: yeah, so you've got a sense of
	H: yeah [voice breaks a little], I'm going somewhere at least [voice getting very trembly] … I just really try my hardest
	[Interview 1, lines 178-182]

	H: like … it's like, my dad says you can't write but you can, like … so my dad got a phone like cos he's had this old phone, can't really do it [small laugh] and there aren't games, no, you can't really store anything, no music like no … and there's like this golf game we used to play on it … but yeah that's really it, so like he's got this new phone and I'm [small laugh] teaching him how to use it so 'he knows everything about this but he can't write, it's really weird!' and I went like 'yeah I know' [small laugh] to- tell my mum, 'it's like you know all this, and you just keep that in your head' and I think it's just cos it's fun so you remember it like in a way, but then you can't really do that cos it wouldn't make any sense but then the bad thing you can't really forget things that's bad [big sigh and gasp] … so yeah, that's another thing [gasp] R: so what do you … almost like, what do you, how do you see yourself … as a, like as a reader or as a, as somebody who's learning … H: just trying, I don't really know actually, sometimes I think I'm an *idiot* but, that's not, I don't really take that all the time, that's only when I'm doing *ridiculous stuff*, erm … [sniffs] R: what do you think is ridiculous stuff? H: just lazy, being lazy … [voice gets wobbly] lazy work really [eyes filling up again, wiping eyes on back of hand, sniffing, voice continues to get more wobbly] R: what's lazy work look like? H: just erm … just trying, not not not trying at all [sniffs, still very teary] … R: right H: cos all school ask is a hundred percent [gasps] and that's all they want [sighs/gasps loudly] R: and do you feel you give that? H: yeah ninety, ninety eight, ninety one, probably ninety one, but not a hundred *[Interview 1, lines 292-302]* H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get, R: mm H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh] *[Interview 2, lines 721-723]*
Side effects	H: … and I normally like, [deep breath in] so like I stay up onto my phone until like one in the morning ish and I know I'm sposed to get off it at … half eight and then I'm allowed to watch my TV or read a book between half eight and nine and then I have to go to sleep but no, ten o'clock, no, out with my phone but … [deep breath in] just get bored, I can't get to sleep [half yawns; rubs face and mouth], so yeah … *[Interview 1, line 78]* H: …. cos I was trying to learn [sighs/yawns] [voice gets louder and stronger] I think I had my medication in year three year four started, I think that's when it started, OK, we need it now … um, as I said, year six, I think they took me off it, cos they said something, R: right H: so they took me off it …. um, then year seven I've started back on it and year eight I'm on it still, yeah R: yeah … H: so yeah R: and how does that feel, the medication? H: it feels different, it's a big difference, R: yeah H: between me and not … like, the big thing I can notice is um … my *appetite* really, like, I don't eat at all, but when I 'm *off* it I can eat like the whole house out [small laugh] … I'm like, just eat and eat and eat, and yeah

R: right

H: erm

R: cos you don't take it at weekends, do you, is that right?

H: no, well sometimes I take, I have the twenty miligrams and that's what I take every school day, um but I have these five millimetres, they're like proper pills and um, I take two of them so ten mililitres, I take two of them if big homework projects and stuff like that, any small homeworks are fine but like big projects like a proper *think*, erm, one project I did, er, I can't remember, I think it was, five, five paragraphs on each thing cos we had to do this world war homework, got planes in, yeah, so that was really .... fun, so used to do that, erm

[Interview 1, lines 160-172]

H: I mean, I can't really do anything else

R: yeah

H: I can't, I can only take one … dunno why I can't take two but

R: yeah

H: that's what, that's what I've been taking for the last few years so that's what I do

R: and do your teachers know about that, do they know you take medication? Do they know that they're the things that you find tricky?

H: well … in a way they know cos some teachers they know, because erm Jump, they would have knew cos they're learning support so they would just like knew, any disability they know, erm, er some teachers *do* know cos sometimes I forget and come in and say I might be a bit off concentration because I [switches to French accent and takes deep breath] forgot to take my medication, [back to normal accent] and they're like OK, some of the teachers know, they don't really know but they do know …

[Interview 1, lines 434-440]

H: I have something like that, the ADD and something else but like the ADD is much bigger than what like, I'm not too bad, like some people like without their tablets they just run around and stuff, *I'm not that bad* [small laugh/sigh out] but like my one thing my medication definitely does is take my appetite away like *that*

R: mmm

H: it takes that away um

R: mmm, yeah, I remember you saying that before

H: yeah, like if I'm off them at home I could eat, a whole elephant full of sweets and, whatever, sandwiches, yeah so that's, that's one thing, like I just eat eat eat at school, like, I'm just fine thank you, like at *this* school, they really don't know if you eat, cos they don't really know, do they? At my old school they would say packed lunch or school dinners [coughs], if you had packed lunch then you can sort of get away with it

R: yeah

H: but, I would, I would always have school dinners cos I couldn't be bothered to bring something *extra* with me as I said but …. So yeah, I had to um, like cos what they do is they tick you off when you come through so they call each class in two [???} sign you in like, if you don't come they find you and they make you eat food … it's just annoying … if I don't wanna eat I don't wanna eat

R: mm, mm

H: but then like, I'll waste food, like …. yeah so like today I haven't had *anything* for lunch but I'm still don't, actually I did, I went to see what pizza they had, but then, there was no sandwiches left so yeah …

Interview 2, lines 1092-1100]

Appetite	R: and how does that feel, the medication?
	H: it feels different, it's a big difference,
	R: yeah
	H: between me and not … like, the big thing I can notice is um … my *appetite* really, like, I don't eat at all, but when I 'm *off* it I can eat like the whole house out [small laugh] … I'm like, just eat and eat and eat, and yeah
	[Interview 1, lines 165-168]
	H: … we came for like a meeting about [learning intervention] and they like talked through with me and my parents
	R: yeah
	H: it was like in one of the holidays
	R: mmm
	H: we like met up and then we met up here, we came in the school and then, so they had all biscuits and stuff for us and then, like when I was talking to the parents I said I hope it's like this *every* day and they were like weeelll, it was really funny cos they had a whole tray and it had got like coffee on it and then yeah
	R: and was it? is it like that every day?
	H: no
	R: [laughs]
	H: really not [small laugh] really not, it was not, but we did do this thing where they have chocolate Friday or Wednesday, Wednesday I think it was, where we do a spelling test, or yeah we do a spelling test
	R: in [learning intervention]?
	H: in [learning intervention], yeah, in F10, and um … we would erm, so say you got, so say I got six and the next time I got eight out of ten, then I get chocolate, even though I didn't get ten, I get chocolate because you've basically gone over your target then,
	R; yeah, yeah
	H: so the first few I got ten ten ten ten there was basically keep it ten,
	[Interview 1, lines 528-540]
	H: … but like my one thing my medication definitely does is take my appetite away like *that*
	R: mmm
	H: it takes that away um
	R: mmm, yeah, I remember you saying that before
	H: yeah, like if I'm off them at home I could eat, a whole elephant full of sweets and, whatever, sandwiches, yeah so that's, that's one thing, like I just eat eat eat at school, like, I'm just fine thank you, like at *this* school, they really don't know if you eat, cos they don't really know, do they? At my old school they would say packed lunch or school dinners [coughs], if you had packed lunch then you can sort of get away with it
	R: yeah
	H: but, I would, I would always have school dinners cos I couldn't be bothered to bring something *extra* with me as I said but …. So yeah, I had to um, like cos what they do is they tick you off when you come through so they call each class in two [???} sign you in like, if you don't come they find you and they make you eat food … it's just annoying … if I don't wanna eat I don't wanna eat

	R: mm, mm
	H: but then like, I'll waste food, like …. yeah so like today I haven't had *anything* for lunch but I'm still don't, actually I did, I went to see what pizza they had, but then, there was no sandwiches left so yeah …
	R: mm, mm
	H: and I'm on a diet so that didn't help, pizza yeah
	R: tell me about that
	H: [subdued tone] diet, it's like *difficult* … difficult difficult … like my mum's, on a diet, she was the first one to *go* on a diet, and we're all on a diet now
	[Interview 2, lines 1094-1102]
Sleep	H: … and I normally like, [deep breath in] so like I stay up onto my phone until like one in the morning ish and I know I'm sposed to get off it at … half eight and then I'm allowed to watch my TV or read a book between half eight and nine and then I have to go to sleep but no, ten o'clock, no, out with my phone but … [deep breath in] just get bored, I can't get to sleep [half yawns; rubs face and mouth], so yeah …
	[Interview 1, line 78]
Time-limited focus/attention	R: cos you don't take it at weekends, do you, is that right?
	H: no, well sometimes I take, I have the twenty miligrams and that's what I take every school day, um but I have these five millimetres, they're like proper pills and um, I take two of them so ten mililitres, I take two of them if big homework projects and stuff like that, any small homeworks are fine but like big projects like a proper *think,* erm, one project I did, er, I can't remember, I think it was, five, five paragraphs on each thing cos we had to do this world war homework, got planes in, yeah, so that was really …. fun, so used to do that, erm
	[Interview 1, lines 170-171]
	H: …. PE, oh PE's my favourite probably
	R: mmm
	H: except swimming, don't like swimming, cos you have to get your blazer off, [voice becomes more babyish and quiet] then you have to dry yourself, get your blazer back on and then they rush you, and then you're late for your next lesson and you're like it's not my fault you made me swim is it
	[Interview 1, lines, 382-384]
	R: um, OK, so I'm thinking, those are the times when you *have* to read
	H: but I don't really know what we're gonna do in English, because, the people don't know about the thing cos we can't do the, well we, *we* could do poem, but then I'd just sit there watching the movie, cos that won't really work
	R: yeah
	H: cos I get distracted … even though I take my medication .. it's not good for enough a movie there in front of my face
	R: ah, is that right?
	H: yeah
	R: interesting
	H: cos it will, say … if there's quiet I can write all that I want really, as long as I can get it down I can write it,
	R: yeah
	H: but if there's a *movie* in front of me, that's not gonna help at all,

R: ah

H: any noise will not help me …

R: yeah

H: or like, medication does help like, say we were in um, in our class and it was *noisy* but then not like having a movie on and everybody's *quiet* that's, that's things like one thing right there, no

R: so you might sometimes

H: so without medication it's crazy,

R: yeah

H: look around everything

R: yeah

H: I just I don't concentrate enough so that's why I take it basically

R: yeah, so, so if you, so some of your lessons might be, there's a movie on and you're expected to be making some notes at the same time

H: um like *quick* movies … when I hear something I can't just whoa that's it,

R: yeah

H: write it down, I miss a lot of things …

R: yeah, yeah

H: like we did tha-, we did that, we were watching this movie and it was Friday, last period, and we were watching the movie and she's like you still have to write some stuff, I wasn't surprised, it's history, always have to do something, they never let you off for the movie for taking note, so we had to write some questions down, they were in order of events …. It was an alright, but then it was so quick, and I was concentrating on the movie than on what I was sposed to be doing [small laugh]

R: ah

H: really

R: so that sounds like that's quite a tricky thing, this kind of like

H: yeah

R: do you focus there, do you focus there, ooh there's something … you know

H: mhmm, yeah

R: yeah, so what *helps* you?

H: what *helps* me?

R: yeah

H: just [exhales deeply and sharply] try my hardest to not look at it [voice wobbles and tone becomes as it was when he became emotional earlier in conversation]

R: right

H: I mean, I can't really do anything else

R: yeah

H: I can't, I can only take one … dunno why I can't take two but

R: yeah

H: that's what, that's what I've been taking for the last few years so that's what I do

	R: and do your teachers know about that, do they know you take medication? Do they know that they're the things that you find tricky?
	H: well … in a way they know cos some teachers they know, because erm Jump, they would have knew cos they're learning support so they would just like knew, any disability they know, erm, er some teachers *do* know cos sometimes I forget and come in and say I might be a bit off concentration because I [switches to French accent and takes deep breath] forgot to take my medication, [back to normal accent] and they're like OK, some of the teachers know, they don't really know but they do know … erm
	[Interview 1, lines 397-440]
	H: I had another test, but then you have more tests … I hate essays, essays are the worst … don't mind tests
	R: tell me about essays
	H: essays is writing so no, erm … I hate writing … essays, just long paragraphs of
	R: yeah
	H: writing, like say like someone in my form who's like the same age, they can do like five in an hour, I can do like one maybe in an hour with the extra fifteen minute maybe half a paragraph, like I've never, I don't think I've never ever finished an essay before, well like I never *had* essays, I always had *tests*
	R: mmm … so, so that's not something you have to do that often, or
	H: well … like, we have essays in history, we have like *five* in history now
	R: mmm
	H: done two, still got three,
	[Interview 2, lines 1014-1022]
	H: woah, like if I don't have my medication … you know it's ADD attention deficit disorder, you gonna be like, so I think like year three, or I don't … when I was young they knew I had something but it was till year three or four that's when I go the medication, I didn't know how to take it, cos it's not one you can put in the glass and then, cos as soon as it touches the liquid it starts melting and then it just explodes into my chest … but like, so yeah, I had to push it down my throat and then drink water
	R: yeah … so it's, so, so, so,
	H: it's finding a way
	R: so that's people understanding your ADD as well as your reading, they're kind of together
	H: they're together, yeah
	R: yeah
	H well, I have a bit of hay de, hay … hay de HD I think, I can't remember, hydroactive something
	R: mmm, yeah the H is the hyperactive bit isn't it
	H: yeah, well no … the hay, har, H A DDD,
	R: mm
	H: I have something like that, the ADD and something else but like the ADD is much bigger than what like, I'm not too bad, like some people like without their tablets they just run around and stuff, *I'm not that bad* [small laugh/sigh out]
	[Interview 2, lines 1082-1092]
Lack of awareness of	H: … and erm, I used this thing where what it would do is … it was a 'puter and then it had this thing in it so I would talk into a mike and then it would write it down …
	R: mmmmm …
	H: for me,

ongoing support	R: mhmm H: and they saw a book, a *big* improvement … and, what she, what the teacher said was we could do it now and she can have like proof that it's actually helping me, then she can maybe get me into using it in GCSE tests, then that's gonna be really annoying for everyone me talking …. [inhales deeply] [inaudible] I'll probably have to have a scribe …[sniffs] R: mmmm, I know you won't, I think if, if H: yeah, they'd go to a different room J: yeah, if that happened you'd go to a different room, exactly, H: a different room J: yeah, exactly, I don't think that would be a problem H: yeah cos um … oh I don't know what it is, um … in the halls, cos they do it in the halls and the gym … um … we don't go there, we go to a prop-, a room with a *few* people … and yeah, we do it there R: mhmm H: so then, I don't know exactly why cos like you can … scos um, o when you, yeah … so yeah, we do that … well I, so some people do that, and yeah *[Interview 1, lines 236-248]* H: … and the thing is though like, like, this is like free education right now so like you have to *pay* to get back *into* school or something like, to get you know GCSEs or something R: oh right H: I think, I'm not sure R: mmm H: cos right now it's all free, or bit of free cos my mum and dad pay tax but that's it, *[Interview 2, lines 713-717]* H: … w-, because of my mental disorder I get an additional like twenty five um percent, or minutes, not minutes, I get twenty five percent extra for a test, R: mm, mm H: essays, um, GCSEs test, um I can have a um person that reads it for me, R: mhm H: so yeah I can have all of that, R: mmm H: yeah, so yeah, um some teachers, don't even say, but then some teachers say you have, you can use your fifteen minutes extra, you can use it R: mmm H: if you *want* to use it … *[Interview 2, lines 962-970]*

Appendix Q

Tables of latent themes, subthemes and codes identified for Harry

Theme	Subthemes	Codes
Appetite Physical appetite/hunger as a metaphor for other, broader appetites –learning, success, physical fulfilment, 'life' …	Appetite always dulled in school > dulled appetite for learning 'ish' reading – 'snacking' on words/books	Associates to hunger/appetite when talking about reading Loss of appetite/hunger as side effect of ADD medication 'ish' reading – 'snacking' on words/books
Impact of the unconscious 'smarter sister' Potential presence/occurrence of 'smarter sisters' in staff team/other professionals working with Harry	Researcher's defence against recognition of self as smarter sister Adults' unconscious withholding of appropriate help	'Smarter sister' Researcher's unconscious avoidance/playing down seriousness and impact of sister's superior reading skills Researcher controlling non-verbal resources Teachers' control of extra time allowed (e.g. tests)
Adolescence/developing potency		Latency stage interests Dad as masculine role model

Appendix R

Segmented text extracts assigned to each of Harry's latent codes

Latent code	Extract to which code assigned
	(H = Harry, R = Researcher)
Associates to hunger/appetite when talking about reading	H: so yeah …. I don't really know [small laugh] anything else … can't remember the last time I read really … I like *read* but then I don't like read I I read like a bit of a page, bit of a chapter and like … *[Interview 1, line 80]*
Loss of appetite/hunger as side effect of ADD medication "Ish reading" – 'snacking' on words/books	R: so do you get to choose what you read in *English* now, or? H: oh yeah, we go to the resource centre change our books …. I have two books from there, that I read …. well ish read [small laugh] R: [loud smile] tell me about that H: ish read R: what's ish read? [small laugh] H: ah, well read a bit, go to different whole page, and then read a bit more *[Interview 1, lines 117-122]* H: …. cos I was trying to learn [sighs/yawns] [voice gets louder and stronger] … I think I had my medication in year three year four started, I think that's when it started, OK, we need it now … um, as I said, year six, I think they took me off it, cos they said something, R: right H: so they took me off it …. um, then year seven I've started back on it and year eight I'm on it still, yeah R: yeah … H: so yeah R: and how does that feel, the medication? H: it feels different, it's a big difference, R: yeah H: between me and not … like, the big thing I can notice is um … my *appetite* really, like, I don't eat at all, but when I 'm *off* it I can eat like the whole house out [small laugh] … I'm like, just eat and eat and eat, and yeah R: right H: erm R: cos you don't take it at weekends, do you, is that right? H: no, well sometimes I take, I have the twenty miligrams and that's what I take every school day, um but I have these five millimetres, they're like proper pills and um, I take two of them so ten mililitres, I take two of them if big homework projects and stuff like that, any small homeworks are fine but like big projects like a proper *think,* erm, one project I did, er, I can't remember, I think it was, five, five paragraphs on each thing cos we had to do this world war homework, got planes in, yeah, so that was really …. fun, so used to do that, erm R: yeah H: [slight laugh] so that's really all I can remember about reading and writing and that

[Interview 1, lines 160-174]

R: and so, thinking about um, so we're talking about the times when you *have* to read so

H: I *have* to

R: like in English for example

H: yeah like in English

R: yeah

H: I just talk to myself in my head, I just flip the page every five minutes,

R: OK

H: cos they know I'm a slower reader so that's why I do it slowly so I'm not like … so then it will just look like I'm not doing anything so I just think to myself in the head and then [inaudible] … normally at the end of school [small laugh] yes, can't wait to get home from school [inaudible]

[Interview 1, lines 345-352]

R: so I was wondering about, um .. that, so whether, people, well yeah, whether people understand … about you not being able to read kind of thing

H: I don't think that really affects me, in the way like … out of school, it doesn't really affect me, cos it doesn't stop me from walking, writing, biking hanging out or whatever, um, yeah it doesn't stop me from doing that … it's not, it's *school* that it affects than anything else, so yeah

R: OK … so tell me about something that it affects in school

H: woah, like if I don't have my medication … you know it's ADD attention deficit disorder, you gonna be like, so I think like year three, or I don't … when I was young they knew I had something but it was till year three or four that's when I go the medication, I didn't know how to take it, cos it's not one you can put in the glass and then, cos as soon as it touches the liquid it starts melting and then it just explodes into my chest … but like, so yeah, I had to push it down my throat and then drink water

R: yeah … so it's, so, so, so,

H: it's finding a way

R: so that's people understanding your ADD as well as your reading, they're kind of together

H: they're together, yeah

R: yeah

H well, I have a bit of hay de, hay … hay de HD I think, I can't remember, hydroactive something

R: mmm, yeah the H is the hyperactive bit isn't it

H: yeah, well no … the hay, har, H A DDD,

R: mm

H: I have something like that, the ADD and something else but like the ADD is much bigger than what like, I'm not too bad, like some people like without their tablets they just run around and stuff, *I'm not that bad* [small laugh/sigh out] but like my one thing my medication definitely does is take my appetite away like *that*

R: mmm

H: it takes that away um

R: mmm, yeah, I remember you saying that before

H: yeah, like if I'm off them at home I could eat, a whole elephant full of sweets and, whatever, sandwiches, yeah so that's, that's one thing, like I just eat eat eat at school, like, I'm just fine thank you, like at *this* school, they really don't know if you eat, cos they don't really know, do they? At my old school they would say packed lunch or school dinners [coughs], if you had packed lunch then you can sort of get away with it

R: yeah

	H: but, I would, I would always have school dinners cos I couldn't be bothered to bring something *extra* with me as I said but …. So yeah, I had to um, like cos what they do is they tick you off when you come through so they call each class in two [???} sign you in like, if you don't come they find you and they make you eat food … it's just annoying … if I don't wanna eat I don't wanna eat *[Interview 2, lines 1079-1098]*
Smarter sister	H: mm yeah, don't like reading a lot, R: mhmm H: so yeah … don't really read much at all, my sister does, lots of reading, she does the library challenge six week thing R: ah oh yeah H: so yeah, but I don't cos, it's no R: OK H: not fun, I don't like it so yeah *[Interview 2, lines 50-56]* H: … my sister's good, she's better than me R: [small laugh] how old's your sister? H: er she's ten, ten, er yep, she's coming up *next* year, when I'm year nine R: yep H: so yep, that's her first year here [small exhalation] *[Interview 1, lines 274-278]* [This time, as soon as we sat down he began telling me about his sister coming to the school in September, and how much better she was than him at reading and writing, and everything else. The transcript thus starts half way through Harry's conversation about his sister, from the point when I turned the Dictaphone on.] R: yeah? H: she's much better at reading, writing … spelling, other stuff … *[Interview 2, lines 558-560]* R: yeah, no so I was just thinking, when we were first talking you were talking about your sister H: oh R: and that was something I wanted yeah, wanted to H: ok R: ask you a little bit more about cos you said something about her um, H: she is R: um being, cos you said she's really clever H: she is R: and she reads a lot, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit more about that H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading, R: mm

	H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why … she looks exactly like her mum … and her grandma um … [sigh/yawn] … she's al*right* but then we don't get along most of the time like, I annoy her *[Interview 2, lines 816-827]* R: so does she, yeah, tell me about her being, so she, how is it that she's better at, how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you H: I really don't care, really R: mm, mm H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy R: yeah, so there's a bit of H: yeah R: things even out a little bit H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think *[Interview 2, lines 842-849]* H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why, but yeah … *[Interview 2, line 938]*
Researcher's unconscious avoidance/playing down seriousness and impact of sister's superior reading skills	R: and so is there anyone else in your family that finds writing tricky? H: *no* R: Or reading tricky? H: um … my dad's like, he *can write*, yeah he's not the best … my mum's the best in the family, she's really good, she's a nurse … my sister's good, she's better than me R: **[small laugh] how old's your sister?** H: er she's ten, ten, er yep, she's coming up *next* year, when I'm year nine R: yep H: so yep, that's her first year here **[small exhalation]** R: **[small laugh] mmm**, so do you talk about how you're all different, in your family? Do you talk about H: no R: people being different at writing and reading? H: nope R: no H: not really … **[sniffs, sighs]** R: and what about your friends? Do you have friends who find it tricky or H: no, jus' get along … you see I can, it's *school* I'm bad with, not with like friends R: yeah H: I have friends, it's school I can't do [deep breathing , sighs, sniff] R: yeah … *[Interview 1, lines 271-289]*

R: so does she, yeah, tell me about her being, so she, how is it that she's better at, how does that feel, that she's better at reading than you

H: I really don't care, really

R: mm, mm

H: um … like, she's better at writing and reading, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths … I love maths, I can do maths easy

R: yeah, so there's a bit of

H: yeah

R: things even out a little bit

H: she's great at English, I'm … bad at English, she's bad at maths, I'm good at maths, I think

[Interview 2, lines 842-849]

R: yeah, so they, so, yeah, so I'm just thinking about this idea of being … lazy,

H: yeah

R: when it comes to sort of, reading

H: not sure

R: and whether, sort of, so

H: it's not I wanna be lazy about reading, I don't like reading, sadly, it's not a thing I like doing at all but, like, even though I sometimes read I hate reading … like, my primary school they made a thing where your parent would have to sign and make sure you were reading, my sister does that six um book thing at the library in town … I did that once but I failed cos I didn't get one, I don't know why, but yeah … and then … yeah, like … no I'm not sure … lazy? … … sometimes I just get like books and just flick through them, don't read them at all, but

R: yeah, no I mean, I'm, no and *I'm* not, *I'm* not saying it's lazy, I'm just interested to sort of

H: yeah, I know

R: think about some of these things

H: I don't really know

R: that we talked about, yeah

H: it's really like people are depending, I don't like, if you don't read you don't read

R: yeah

H: and um if you like reading you read

R: yeah

H: er like my mum likes reading, she's got one of them book like things,

R: yeah

H: my dad bought her it, and she reads like every night

R: yeah … yeah … so your mum reads and your sister reads

H: well my sister reads sometimes … now she's got that new TV she's on that twenty four-seven

R: [laughs] right

H: like, she'll go into her room, she'll never come out until lunch, dinner… whenever

R: mm

H: yeah

	R: OK, and so … I guess the thing that, yeah, that's like, that really ca-, yeah something I've thought about quite a lot was that [becomes very ponderous; slows down, sounds awkward, as if not wanting to intrude] um, when the, how, sometimes you kind of, how you react sometimes when you're given a test or H: I R: given something to do that you don't want, and I was really remembering that yeah, you'd got a little bit… emotional about that, and H: I don't know, like in my science, this is completely different from like an essay, R: mmm *[Interview 2, lines 933-961]*
Researcher controlling non-verbal resources	I also wanted to make sure that *you*, so *you* got a chance to say anything else H: mhmm R: that you want to about it, H: mmm R: um H: I'll try and say as much as I possibly can or want [inaudible] R: [laughs] yeah H: and again, as before, in the mystery box under the Dictaphone there's um, so there's pens and paper and things in there, so if you did sort of think oh actually I think I might be better drawing this or, oh can I make a note of that, H: yeah R: then that's all in there for you to use, H: yeah R: alright, just so you know that's there [laughs] so just, help yourself [laughs] H: talking's easier for me, um like I hate art so neh R: ah well there you go [laughs] H: talking is actually better R: talking is great [laughs] talking is great *[Interview 2, lines 561-576]*
Teachers' control of extra time allowed (e.g. tests)	R: OK, and so … I guess the thing that, yeah, that's like, that really ca-, yeah something I've thought about quite a lot was that [becomes very ponderous; slows down, sounds awkward, as if not wanting to intrude] um, when the, how, sometimes you kind of, how you react sometimes when you're given a test or H: I R: given something to do that you don't want, and I was really remembering that yeah, you'd got a little bit… emotional about that, and H: I don't know, like in my science, this is completely different from like an essay, R: mmm H: but I, so I don't even know if some teachers know I have ADHD or ADD, I don't know if they do, I don't know if they don't, but I know some teachers do, because … w-, because of my mental disorder I get an additional like twenty five um percent, or minutes, not minutes, I get twenty five percent extra for a test, R: mm, mm H: essays, um, GCSEs test, um I can have a um person that reads it for me, R: mhm H: so yeah I can have all of that, R: mmm H: yeah, so yeah, um some teachers, don't even say, but then some teachers say you have, you can use your fifteen minutes extra, you can use it

	R: mmm H: if you *want* to use it … *[Interview 2, lines 957-970]*
Latency stage interests > developing male potency	H: … cos I like emergency services, or diggers … as I said I have a digger named *after* me so I was like, I really like … all that sort of stuff so I mmmm, so it's normally like *rescue*, um police cars … anything really, with lights … ambulance, anything about emergency service interests me or, construction site, any … yeah R: mmm H: so yeah R: so is that still the case now, H: yeah R: or is that, yeah H: yeah, cos I wanna be a cop when I'm older R: ahhhh, OK H: yeah and that's why I'm trying to actually do something good … cos you need high grades R: yeah H: definitely in the English as well R: yeah H: [sighs … then errrgggh sound] *[Interview 1, lines 104-116]* H: … [sniffs] the worst test I hate is … essays, all the writing, so, not really in my keen, so but I can't really say that cos like, if I gonna be a cop I gotta know how to write erm, speeding tickets blah blah blah, R: right H: what they're saying … so you can get them in court *[Interview 1, lines 224-226]* R: so you were saying you read comic books H: ye-, not *comic* R: like graphic novels, that sort of thing H: yeah, yeah R: yeah, yeah, yeah, sorry that's what I meant H: anime (?) R: yeah, so graphic novels, texting, *[Interview 1, lines 479-485]* H: … I barely like English but it R: mm, mm H: it's a thing you're gonna have to do if you're gonna be a police officer sadly, cos I can't just put nothing on the ticket and then

R: [laughs]

H: [coughs] yeah so, trying to do that but …

[Interview 2, lines 661-665]

H: so they don't know where I got it from but I just like motorbikes, apparently

R: that's alright

H: but I don't know what I wanna be really yet, I'm thinking about *arms* but then I'll be in London normally cos that's where it all normally

R: oh is that right?

H: yeah, it's between a dog, canine but, yeah

R: mm

H: I not fastest runner but, you never know

R: mm

H: yeah to keep up with the dogs

R: yeah

H: and so yeah, um, don't know what else I would be, thinking about being er, a *marine* officer

R: mmm, mmm

H: [voice goes very quiet, sniffs] might do yeah

R: mmm, and do you know anything about what you have to do to

H: or

R: get there or for anything else?

H: I don't' *really* know, but like … first you would have to be a good swimmer, first of all

R: yeah [small laugh]

H: um, I haven't really seen any like people where they're like stopped by a police boat, jumped off aboard, tha's probably the *worst* idea

R: [laughs] yeah

H: what, yeah, yeah … definitely [inaudible] but you never know, like, I … I, someone who's now like in my family now he was a US army military

R: ooh

H: um, he's now over here, I don't know if he *lives* here or he still lives over there with his family but yeah … and um, he was around lots of guns and stuff … I've always wanted to shoot a gun, dunno why, just do

R: mm

H: but then I can't really ... I've ha-, I actually have shoot a gun, I've shot a …. erm, rifle or a shot gun, a two- a double-barrelled shotgun, um, full adult style um with um like the discs that fly out, clay shooting

R: oh yes, yes

H: or pigeon even more like, but then it's not really a pigeon

R: [titters]

H: it's clay, I have one at home in my bedroom, it's a clay disc, I have the actual slug that the shotgun used

R: yeah

H: it kicks your shoulder back, as in like an adult one, not a child one

R: yeah

H: we all went there, my cousins, shot, I hit like two, out of the six I had

R; ooh that's pretty good

H: [short laugh]

Interview 2, lines 731-762]

H: I'm not exactly want to be on YouTube but I watch this person the whole everywhere … he's a police officer in America, I know *that* much, and he like blogs

R; Oh, OK

H: so yeah, I watch *him* a lot,

R; yeah, yeah

H: but like, in *this* country … I think just about last year they put up like every officer has a tazer now but that's basically it, we don't have any guns, it's hard to get a gun in the UK but really you can get a shotgun and a rifle pretty simple cos you're *allowed* them, but you're not allowed to shoot someone in your house cos you get arrested for murder, I think that's the only rule I would go against, in the UK that's the only rule like … I think people should allow have shotguns, if someone comes in their house threatening their family they should be allowed to kill them and *not* go to prison cos they're like actually trying to save their lives and all you can do is hide in the closet and call 911 *999,* and wait till they get there hope they don't find you so yeah, that's the only rule I would go against really

[Interview 2, lines 777-781]

H: and I watch like motorbikes a *lot* like, motor madness where both [inaudible] like arresting in it

R: what did you s-, call it? Did you say murder?

H: no, oh, yeah,

R; what it was called

H: yeah, no I said if like in this country say someone come on your property and then you *shot* them with your rifle or shotgun you get arrested for murder cos you're not,

R: yeah

H: you're not

R: yeah, I thought you, there was a programme, I thought you called it something that you said you were watching

H: oh there's *moto*-madness

R: *motor* madness, I thought you said *murder* madness and I was thinking, what! [laughs loudly]

H: what am *I* watching

R: well yeah!

H: no, YouTube would *not* allow that probably,

R: [laughs]

H: and um, yeah there's one, you know like motorbikes always shout at people for being on their phones, there's, I dunno, it were on Youtube, that's all I know, but this one copper was knocking on this window and kept slipping him off cos he thought it was just a bike telling him to put the phone down, so overlooked his siren

R: ah, mmm

H: and then he started shouting at him cos he didn't realise it was a cop until like he punched him in the face and he ta- got tazed [sigh/gasp]

R: oooh, goodness

H: [laughs]

R: oooerrgghhh [small laugh]

	H: [small laugh] it was, it was completely on, it's like, like you know go-pros, probably they all have them, he, well the cop had one on his helmet and it was all videoed,
	R: oh, gosh
	H: so it wasn't too injured because he had the helmet on,
	R; yeah
	H: but then, still, it's illegal to punch *any* cop in *any* city
	R: [yawns] yeah, not great, oh
	H: he got he said sorry but
	R: [small laugh]
	H: he wasn't very happy with him
	R: mmm, so you were saying that, so when, so
	H: the beginning
	R: sorry, go on
	H: what, the beginning yeah?
	R: yeah, no so I was just thinking, when we were first talking you were talking about your sister
	H: oh
	R: and that was something I wanted yeah, wanted to
	H: ok
	R: ask you a little bit more about cos you said something about her um,
	H: she is
	R: um being, cos you said she's really clever
	H: she is
	R: and she reads a lot, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit more about that
	H: well she, like, obviously she's like she's better than me at writing and reading,
	R: mm
	H: um …er yeah, that's like, obviously, cos I have disabilities she does not, dunno why …
	[Interview 2, lines 783-827]
	R: mm-aah, OK, so when, um, yeah when we met before we were talking a little bit about um … you were saying about, the idea that's like, some people think that if you can't read that makes you stupid, um
	H: [shrugs and small laugh] I dunno where I got that from
	[Interview 2, lines 889-890]
Dad as masculine role model	H: so yeah, trying to make it like, all my dad has said is … the harder you work in school the better house and job and car and vehicle you'll get,
	R: mm
	H: better *life* [small laugh-sigh]
	[Interview 2, lines 721-723]

H: like my dad always, my dad's like, his job is always around maths, like he does, he has this like, he has, when he goes to work he has his own storage room, when they do a stock, a stock check to see what they *don't* have, what they have, he has to go through all their things and then count them up and then make sure he's not like, missing anything cos like the order says this, like two and there's not, two and there's nothing or there's like six and there's only eight or there's more than there's supposed to be, he has to check all of that, supplies, if his boss is not in he's normally in charge so he's got a lot of w-, he's got to do his own work and the boss's work … so yeah, and … he used to have a tiny office, now he has a bigger office

R: what's he do? what's his job?

H: Tele- well he, I don't really know what to call it, but he his workplace is xxxxxx, so they do, they do, they've done like er menus for the hotels, um restaurants, things like big big big briefcases, I don't know what they're exactly for,

R: yeah

H: and they have workers who do like slips and stuff, do like panels and then they get paid, they have like a van to deliver the stuff obviously

R: yeah, OK

H: and yeah, and sometimes you do overwork [coughs] and one time, um … I, I think it was something to do with sewerage got blocked or something, so my dad decided to like see what was going on so I had to like put loads of water in this like *big* sink and then like drain it, and then he put like a *rake* sort of thing so when it came, when it got unblocked and it came through,

R; yeah, yeah

H: it would get caught in the net sort of thing … and, after like an hour nothing happened, I was still, it must have got built behind what it was, I'm not gonna say what it was, it was funny,

R: [laughs quietly]

H: and then we had to get it out

R: mmm

H: yeah, and there were, it was cold water, there was no hot water, so my hands were turning like blueish

R: mmmm

H: I had to stop, and then the next, half an hour we tried again, did two and then it was like, he's pulled the man thing off and then you hear this [makes sudden whooshing sound], and you just see all the, like lots of water coming through

R: right

H: and it's unblocked and then, we were like but what's blocking it, cos nothing came through for like ten minutes and then it came through, and then we got it out, and then he got paid, fixes machines as well, he does like if there's a machine broken he tries and fix it, and they have like, they have lots of [inaudible] stuff, yeah so

R: so busy,

H: busy

R: busy job

H yeah, busy job

[Interview 2, lines 851-871]