

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BRIDGE:

**A STUDY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN
FURTHER EDUCATION PROVISION FOR YOUNG DISABLED PEOPLE**

**A thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy**

by

Craig E. Johnston

Centre for Youth Work Studies

School of Sport and Education

Brunel University

March 2011

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a detailed account and analysis of young disabled people's inclusions within one Further Education College. These inclusions were tied to a number of complex interactions between the people who exist there and key reforms to Further Education systems which aim to support an individual's capacity to offer entrepreneurial performances. Central to these reforms is alternative provision, which offer places in college to school aged students who risk failing to invest in the work-related skills and knowledge that apparently has measurable consequences for future earnings and social justice. This thesis shows how the inclusion of young disabled people in a contemporary college community has some unintended effects and consequences, and how their lives were differentially affected by social capital arising from social networks based on trust.

An emancipatory, qualitative methodology was used to gather data. The findings provide important insights into how young disabled people possess, produce and utilise social capital, to build new relationships, to develop identity, to resist or manipulate pre-assigned social roles, networks and resources and to make the transition from school to college. In their own words, young disabled people question the sense of optimism often attributed to alternative provision and the extent to which their existence in college has overcome the social barriers and closed networks that can be associated with disabled people as a marginalised group. To harness such existences and to further develop social capital theory, my conclusions set out a young disabled person's negotiation of college as an ethical project in which everyone - college students, teaching staff and researchers - have work to do on themselves. This makes alternative provision not something that is just *done* to many young disabled people but a project for which everyone is responsible.

This thesis, therefore, re-reads the story of alternative provision with a wary eye, using a critical approach to social capital theory. In doing so, the research not only confirms the significance of social capital as a crucial analytical tool for young disabled people, but also confronts the overly positive underpinnings of the social capital debate in education.

CONTENTS

		Page
Chapter One:	Introduction	13 - 30
	1.1 Introduction and rationale	
	1.2 Tash: a brief case biography	
	1.3 Defining the conceptual and policy context	
	1.4 Background to the study: some biographical notes	
	1.5 Outline	
	1.6 Summary	
 Chapter Two:	 The political and policy context for young disabled people in FE: a review and critique	 31 - 61
	2.1 Introduction	
	2.2 Politics and policy: an over-reliance on human capital and consumerism in FE	
	2.3 A critique of policies that assimilate alternative provision in FE	
	2.4 Exploring the nature of choice for a young disabled student in FE	
	2.5 The search for inclusion in FE: disrupting the boundaries of disability	
	2.6 14-19 policy contexts: constraining access to social capital	
	2.7 Summary	
 Chapter Three	 Social capital	 62 – 100
	3.1 Introduction	

- 3.2 The promise of social capital for young disabled people in FE communities
- 3.3 FE communities as potential sources of social capital: Robert Putman
- 3.4 Looking beyond social capital: a Marxian perspective
- 3.5 The types of social capital: towards a synthesised definition
 - 3.5.1 Social networks and social support as sources of social capital
 - 3.5.2 Trust as a source of social capital
- 3.6 The extent of social capital: different forms of social connections
 - 3.6.1 Bonding social capital
 - 3.6.2 Bridging social capital
 - 3.6.3 Linking social capital
- 3.7 The discriminate value of social capital for young disabled people in FE
- 3.8 Summary

Chapter Four: Social capital, disability and FE: ‘spanning the socio-cultural divide’ 101-120

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Social capital and social disadvantage for young disabled students in FE
- 4.3 Absence of value: social class and disability in FE
- 4.4 The immobilisation of a young disabled student’s learning identity in FE
- 4.5 Summary and conclusions

Chapter Five:	Research methodology	121 - 179
5.1	Introduction	
5.2	Research purpose, concerns and questions	
5.3	Contextualising methodological ideas from previous research	
5.3.1	Methodological stance taken	
5.4	Research Methods	
5.4.1	Considering the interview	
5.4.2	Focus groups	
5.4.3	The significance of documents in FE	
5.4.4	The reflective journal: ‘jotting it all down’	
5.5	Triangulating data collection strategies	
5.6	The case of Haven College	
5.7	The research participants in the College	
5.8	The research framework	
5.9	Some comments on ethics in the research	
5.10	Conducting the research	
5.10.1	Researcher subjectivity	
5.10.2	Data handling and analysis	
5.11	Writing up	
5.12	Summary	
Chapter Six	Presentation of findings	180 - 212
6.1	Introduction	

- 6.2 Re-setting the stage
- 6.3 Social capital and groups of young disabled people in Access
- 6.4 Bonding social capital: sociability and social networks
 - 6.4.1 ‘Strange at first’: friends as resources
 - 6.4.2 A ‘cosy’ place: hanging out in learner support
 - 6.4.3 Social life: making known
 - 6.4.4 Summary
- 6.5 Trust and Dependency
 - 6.5.1 Views of people ‘out there’ and their effects
 - 6.5.2 *Bad boys*, bodies and dominant masculinities: ‘a room of our own’
 - 6.5.3 Immobility
 - 6.5.4 Summary

Chapter Seven

Presentation of findings: bridging social capital: the nature of young disabled people’s participation 213 - 243

- 7.1 Bridging Capital
 - 7.1.1 Participation and control
 - 7.1.2 Special clubs
 - 7.1.3 Choice
 - 7.1.4 Risk: ‘escaping the bubble’
 - 7.1.5 Summary
- 7.2 Collective action and advocacy
 - 7.2.1 Civic engagement: involving young disabled people

- 7.2.2 Empowerment and social control
- 7.2.3 ‘On our side’: social capital and engagement
- 7.2.4 Summary

Chapter Eight **Presentation of findings - tutor-based social capital:
the role of the special needs tutor** 244-263

- 8.1. Introduction
 - 8.1.1 Constructing the successful learner: reciprocal relations
 - 8.1.2 Individualised learning
 - 8.1.3 A sense of belonging
 - 8.1.4 Summary
- 8.2 Concluding thoughts on data analysis

Chapter Nine **A discussion of the research findings:
Life through a lens: social capital, disability
and FE provision** 264 - 294

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Social networks and sociability in the classroom
- 9.3 Social capital and friendship networks
- 9.4 Student identity work within the provision
- 9.5 Who’s in? Who’s out?
- 9.6 Boys, bodies and masculinities
- 9.7 The nature of participation: crippled agents
or active agents?
- 9.8 Scanning the risk landscapes of young disabled people

9.9	Mining the landscape for resources: technology and cultural intermediaries	
9.10	The restricted role of the special needs tutor	
9.11	Student identity work, changing networks and the impact on social capital	
9.12	Summary	
Chapter Ten	Conclusions	295 - 314
10.1	Introduction	
10.2	Reaching for conclusions: 'scratching below the surface'	
10.3	Disability, identity and social capital	
10.4	Social capital and young disabled people in FE	
10.5	Concluding comments and recommendations	
Bibliography		315 - 372
Schedule of Appendices		373 - 417
Appendix I: Student interview transcript		
Appendix II: Focus group transcript		
Appendix III: Contact summary sheet		
Appendix IIII: Reflective journal		
Appendix V: Coding protocol		
Appendix VI: Consent form for college student participant		

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A research project of any magnitude has degrees of solitude, but it is quite impossible for any researcher to work in a vacuum. Indeed, I reflect upon my PhD as a challenging but also fun part of my life. However, I have also come through very difficult moments on both a personal and professional scale during this time. These moments have made me further realise the pivotal importance of social relationships during this endeavour – my social capital. Indeed, completing this self-funded PhD on a part-time basis, required regular contact, support from and complete trust between my various social connections.

An excellent example of this support was Dr. Simon Bradford, whose generosity of time and spirit, intelligence and humour has helped the paper immeasurably. I cannot express enough my gratitude to a supervisor, whose advice, fellowship and belief-in-me is remarkable! Although he was thoroughly involved in various other duties, he always found the time for fruitful discussions, reading innumerable drafts and giving me many, invaluable suggestions. Without Simon, I would not have started neither would I have completed this journey. My hope is that I may be able to repay his efforts in the future. Needless to say, any flaws that remain in the grammar or argument are entirely my own.

I am also indebted to all the staff and of course all the young people I have worked with over the years in giving this research its motivation, but in particular the Access programme staff whose assistance during data collection was the key to this paper. On that note I would like to thank the staff at Haven College (assumed name of the College within this study) for their great help with the research and making all the

interviews and focus groups possible. Special thanks go to all the amazing young people at Haven College for also making this research exciting and intriguing. I am grateful to you all, not only for participating, but also for being enthusiastic. It is my sincere hope that you all find yourselves and those around you, to be a source of constant inspiration.

I would also like to thank my many colleagues at both my full and part-time jobs for being such fun and interesting people to work alongside. Gratitude is also due to my family and friends - my social capital - for their unwavering support, especially through the various ups and downs over the last five or so years. However, I apologise to these individuals for being despondent and/or detached during those years ('I never noticed', or 'more grumpy than usual'). I aim to return to 'normal' as soon as is humanly possible!

Most of all, I will be forever indebted to my truly amazing friend and wife Tara for her assistance, patience and encouragement during this very lengthy and sometimes arduous, but always fascinating journey. Tara, your unquestioning support and trust during the many distant hours I spent researching and writing the paper is beyond any possible form of appreciation or thanks that I could possibly give to you here. Therefore,

...it is to *you* that this work is dedicated.

LIST OF TABLES

- 1.1 Key policy documents
- 1.2 Dimensions of human and social capital
- 1.3 Comparison of the main social capital scholars
- 1.4 Social capital and learning in FE
- 1.5 The disability labels of participants
- 1.6 College population: ethnicity, age, gender and disability
- 1.7 The research framework
- 1.8 Characteristics of the different groups of young disabled people
- 1.9 Creation and distribution of social capital: impact and consequences

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and rationale

The thesis explores the experiences of young disabled people of school age enrolled in Further Education provision by articulating and fostering social capital theory. The main purpose of the thesis is to better understand young disabled people's social capital in relation to social inclusion and well-being and to use social capital theory as a tool to examine aspects of their experiences at college. In doing this, the thesis identifies many of the often hidden mechanisms that patterns agency and that sustains social inequalities.

The purpose of Chapter 1 is to outline the rationale behind my research interest into social capital in Further Education (FE) provision for young disabled people. The Chapter provides one brief case biography, which acts as a springboard for exploring the many, different issues, questions and contexts in which this biography was rooted. The remainder of this chapter outlines the purpose of the research, how research issues were identified, and what this thesis offers in terms of an original contribution to knowledge.

With such an astonishing interest over the last decade in social capital - generally, social networks, any reciprocal relations arising from them, and the importance of these for accomplishing various ends - as a means to create inclusive learning economies, it is a surprise to find most social capital-related research have shown little interest in young people who fall outside the range of what is provided and expected by politicians, policymakers, and others in positions of power. In reply to the neglect of youth and social capital, there was a plethora of research that examined children in transition (Holland *et al.*, 2007) and young people's own social capital across cultural contexts (Reynold, 2006; Fuller *et al.*, 2007 and Helve *et al.*, 2008). Although it is incorrect to assume that young

disabled people, as would-be active agents, consumers and recipients of social capital, are not present in such studies, crucial questions remain over how social capital *works* for this marginalised group (Holt, 2010). My research, therefore, contributes to this region of study by focusing on the somewhat unfamiliar social capital of young disabled people.

I therefore aim to create a better understanding of disability and social capital, the relations thereof, and knowledge about the effect of social capitals upon the experiences and career prospects of young disabled people. This is crucial to consider, especially at a time when growing numbers of young disabled people are enrolling in alternative FE provision in order to better their chances of success. Existing published research in this area almost exclusively favour linear relations between FE, social capitals and the chance of gaining paid employment. This is due to the convention of asking professionals, rather than young disabled people about the networks in which their lives are embedded, and a lack of non-oppressive ways to understand young disabled students as future adult, workers. Bearing this all in mind, then, a methodology that both affirms and is sensitive to identity as well as any socio-cultural influences and one that maintains young disabled people at the centre of the analysis, rather than as objects of existing frameworks, is vital.

The motivation for the study stems from the belief that a critical understanding of the complexity and characteristics of young disabled people's social capital is required. This need emanates from studies such as, Allan *et al.*, (2009), Holt, (2008) and Campbell *et al.*, (2005) who outline conceptual problems between social capital and disability. First, that young disabled people's social capital is not well understood. Second, there are doubts about whether certain policies, which aim to include young disabled people in

mainstream settings by way of alternative provision, have indeed succeeded in nurturing social capital, and if a lack of network resources is a cause or effect of social inequality.

To explore these concerns further, the study outlines social capital theories in both integrative and Marxist traditions and examines the implications of these theories for young disabled people. Subsequently, a methodology is developed that engages young disabled people in data collection processes so as to examine the significance of social capitals in relation to their lived experiences and to map the extent to which they draw upon and contribute to public and private versions of social capital in one college. The study concludes by considering the implications of data analysis for the policy and practice of alternative provision with young disabled people. Therefore, to summarise, the following research questions and/or areas of research act as a guide for the study:

- What is the inherent value of peer and friend networks, and its influence over young disabled people's personal, social and/or cultural development in FE;
- What is the nature of young disabled people's participation in the wider college community and the value of social capital in their transitions to employment;
- How, and in what ways, do the role of 'special needs' staff shape and reproduce aspects of social capital in its many differing forms and types.

The justification of these questions, and a methodology that acts as a guide to document the experiences of young disabled people in their own words, is developed in Chapter 5. These voices invite you, the reader, to glimpse an educational world as experienced by students who may, a short time ago, have been taught in mainstream or special schools.

The next section will introduce a brief biography. The story of Tash, who is a participant in the study, aims to alert the reader to the context in which her inclusion in FE is rooted.

1.2 Tash: a brief case biography

Tash: 'I wanna do somefink different cos school's crap. I mean, I passin' college cos like I do stupida' stuff, but the fink what's betta 'ere is talkin' to new people.'

(Individual interview, 12/6/08)

Tash is 15 years old, and in her second year of alternative provision. When she was in school, Tash was identified with learning disabilities and as being at *risk* of failure, or ostensibly having poor orientations towards work (Tight, 1998). In an effort to *cure* such 'problems', Tash's school enrolled her onto alternative provision at a local college. Her presence is significant, as her mode of participation confronts the limits of the learning society and regimes of value that mark contemporary FE cultures. The background to her inclusion is a debate that binds Tash to over a decade of reform to FE systems, with the aim of supporting her capacity to offer entrepreneurial performances (Pavey, 2006, 221). These performances are supposedly enhanced by a climate of enterprise within FE (Gibb, 1998) and realised by Tash acquiring and embodying human capital (work skills and competences) in the formulation of her capacity to labour (Rikowski, 2001, 30).

This study is concerned with the sense that Tash, and young disabled people in similar positions, make of their experiences in FE. In particular, I explore the positioning of students in FE provision, as part of a broad policy context of so-called social inclusion (Levitas, 1998) which affirms and valorises work related rituals and traits that seemingly

have measurable costs for future earnings and social justice. In the study, I make the case that young disabled people's inclusions in FE strip them of social capital that holds the potential to broaden learning and also life experience. Borrowing from Adler and Kwon, (2002, 23) I (re-) define social capital as "cooperation shown by a range of actors to young disabled people, both as individuals or groups. Its source lies in the structure and content of their relations with others and its affects flow from the influence, knowledge, and solidarity that are routinely made available to them in FE (full account on page 80)."

The argument, here, is that Tash's inclusion in FE is heavily premised on human capital and consumerist discourses, which endorse terms such as intelligent, competent, and normal, and is characterised by social barriers and closed networks. To explore the production of these barriers, including stigma, marginalisation and a lack of community engagement, I examine the social, cultural as well as the political landscape of FE. This examination entails a process of teasing out the varied connections between competing discourses and the informal micro-cultures of the inhabitants of FE. These interact and map onto one another throughout the interpersonal world of college, to form overlapping micro-cultures in FE. Viewing alternative FE provision through a critical lens highlights the struggles and contestations inherent in cultural processes, foregrounds their link with prevailing social and cultural contexts, and focuses on the issues of power and prestige.

1.3 Defining the conceptual and policy context

This section will locate the study in the context of a broader debate over the widening of participation in FE and enhancing workforce skills. This relaxes many of the educational requirements for students of school age, especially those at risk of or already excluded

from school. Widening the participation of young disabled people in FE is a concerted effort to foster social inclusion and social cohesion through the endorsement of paid employment and emphasis on goals and values for the “domain of the social and self (Lister, 1999, 9).” Some of these goals and values include, personal and international competitiveness, freedom as autonomy, equality and no rights without responsibilities, which all support a ‘third-way’ political programme that is, “...essentially a normative ethical framework” ...[for a] ... “radically altered world (Bradford and Hey, 2006, 23).”

The last decade (2000’s) also saw a key focus in Labour government policy on partnership working as important to deal with social exclusion in its various guises (see Byrne, 2000) and to help young people develop the *right* skills and social capital relevant to the world after school - the world of work. Bearing this in mind, a range of alternative FE provision, which varies in policy, practice and coverage (see Cullen *et al.*, 2000), has been developed and expanded within colleges to achieve a “new educational settlement” (Gleeson, 1996, 16). This is a settlement which blends notions of ‘civic unity’ and vibrant communities with (individual and national) productivity and competitiveness. Thus, the context of my research is concerned with the personal cost to the participants in terms of both time and effort, as well as with the future career prospects of young disabled people.

These areas of concern are reflected in the policy documents that underpinned alternative FE provision, such as Back on Track: modernising alternative provision (Department for Children, Schools and Families [now Department of Education, DofE] 2008). Key policy objectives in this and other documents, which were driven by the lifelong learning agenda of the outgoing New Labour government (examined in Chapter 2) include, keeping young

people in education, an expansion of vocational learning pathways, and the development of work related skills. Policymakers warn that a decline in the availability of un-skilled jobs in the economy means that an individual who is not competent in the rituals relevant to work faces consequences, such as their long-term exclusion from mainstream society. To improve their chances of gaining work, some young people from the age of 14 must acquire the skills that are relevant to a service based economy. In doing this, they must choose from a range of alternative educational provision that is seen by policymakers to be an appropriate option for students who are struggling to become productive workers.

Part of the function of FE provision, then, is to sculpt a successful future for many young people through the promotion of particular economic routines and rituals. This includes young disabled people who, as Riddell *et al.*, (2000, 84) state, “appear a poor investment in a learning society, limited in learning and less productive” than able-bodied people who apparently exhibit work-related skills and competences which embody the essence of an enterprising self. The social categorisation of young disabled people as different (in becoming successful workers) is created in and enacted through the various policies that *speak* about them. Policy is seldom neutral. It often signals underlying relations of power. Thus, in Chapter 2, a discussion is offered on the changes in the values that have taken place in the sector over the last decade. Chapter 2 considers how policy is absorbed into the real-life world of a college, as well as how social capital is re-distributed as a result.

The contested nature of policy is evident in a college’s commitment to inclusive education, which is defined in various ways but generally affords the momentum toward making learning accessible to young disabled people. In many contemporary FE colleges

such a commitment centres on the commonly found endorsement of *inclusive education*, “a notion that is distinct from that of inclusion in schools, which invokes notions of social acceptance and a sense of belonging (Rustemier, 1999, 2).” In contrast to inclusion per se, inclusive education can involve including young disabled people in a known reservoir of learning resources or placing them into social activities alongside non-disabled people, rather than accepting different responses to learning. These are often taken up as points of resistance to exclusionary practices (Slee, 2001). Further, such a promotion neglects the (re)-distribution of social capital to people who are habitually marginalised by their peers, because they are unable to fulfil the requirements of a contemporary college community.

This in mind, this study promotes an alternative reading of an idyllic and idealised vision of a FE landscape which now exists in policy. The study takes us into new territory as it regards FE provision for young disabled people as generating networks of reciprocal social relations. It shifts attention away from the need to acquire formal knowledge and skills to meet economic change (Hodgson, 2002) and takes a view of young people, in particular of young disabled people, as acquirers and transmitters of knowledge and the creators of the type of knowledge which may add to a process of social transformation. Whilst participants in the study do benefit from and reshape the social arrangements in which they are positioned, they are also constrained in the creation, application and use of information and knowledge. Thus, the inclusion of young disabled people in FE may bring about new knowledge and skills, but it may have deleterious consequences as well.

My argument is that the creation, application and use of social capital may make young disabled people’s alignments with an employable subject position more feasible. I

see this proposition as holding good whether I understand FE as being connected to the individual acquisition of work related knowledge or, more liberally, being connected to the development of knowledge. Whilst this debate has drawn interest for the transitional and social justice issues of able-bodied young people across many different contexts, knowledge about the social capital of young disabled people remains only partial. This omission has implications for this group of people. For instance, it may be an uncritical “endorsement of mainstream ‘integrative’, functionalist or consensus based social capital theories which are coercive and used to support the social order (Holland, 2006,163).” Writing without a vocabulary of social difference, integrative social capital theory tends to gloss over the socio-cultural and politico-aesthetic factors that, as this study suggests, prevents young disabled people from producing or consuming network resources in FE.

In the study, I make a more subtle and eclectic use of aspects of social capital theory to make sure that this notion retains integrity following its manipulation over the last decade. Two criticisms of social capital are that its overuse and expansion in new disciplines degrade and homogenise issues relating to power or conflict (Saegert *et al.*, 2001), and that its misuse by writers tends to cut across social cleavages, such as class and gender (Fine, 2010). In contrast, such concerns are pivotal in this study, for they *peg* or attach social capital to the concerns of young disabled people who, with the exception of a few studies, are excluded from contributing to social capital theory. So, if the core ideas behind social capital are well known, the study marks a departure in several ways.

Three understandings of social capital are especially relevant to the study. First, social capital is concerned with power. By treating social relations as a form of capital, it proposes that every young person can use network resources to advance their interests.

That is, social relations can constitute a *power to*. I do not wish to overstate their use in enabling a young disabled person to gain access to key spaces and subjectivities. Power of this type, is granted if a person is recognised as an audient participant in formal or informal social networks (Sen, 1999). Such recognitions - that are contingent on but not determined by existing local and systemic power relations - are vital here, as success or successful subjectivities in academic and social-cultural terms are not available to all in FE. Neither are the network resources which accrue to such valued social performances.

As this might imply, I work in a theoretical framework that perceives structure and agency not as polarities, but existing in a symbiotic relationship with one another. On one hand, young disabled people's participation in both producing and consuming social capital takes place through unequal relations of power and thus, through power struggles. On the other hand, the way that young disabled people's active participation in certain social spaces form and produce social capital is a consequence of their agency as human subjects. However, it is vital to note that like Pierre Bourdieu, whose ideas I explore in Chapter 3, I see social capital as one of many resources (cultural, symbolic and economic) linked to race and gender which increase a person's capacity to exercise power. Integrating disability into social capital theory does not, as implied by Fine (2010 60), "obscure interest in social differences." Rather, considering disability, along with age, social class, gender and ethnicity bolsters understandings of how social differences delineate an overall 'Otherness'. Therefore, incorporating disability clarifies how these social differences merge and function together to structure social relations, and to grant degrees of power, privilege and important social capital resources to different networks.

Second, following Coleman's (1961) study of the attainment of vulnerable children in schools, much attention is paid to social capital as a way to promote achievements. In so far as social capital studies explore young disabled people, they promote patterns of experience that emphasise stability rather than change, solidity rather than flexibility (Field, 2008). This fails to offer a wider debate, that 'risky' forms of participation may better promote qualities that appear vital to sustaining work in a more fluid society (Kay *et al.*, 2006). Also, while recent work in Helve *et al.*, (2007) highlights the relevance of indigenous social capital for the well-being and mobility of young people, there is little research on young disabled people as producers of social capital. The extent to which their own social capital could maximise self-determination and self-awareness is worth closer investigation given the influx of young disabled people to alternative FE provision.

Third, empirical evidence suggests that there are significant, linear and positive links between FE and success in normative terms. Yet, although they are significant, the links are neither simple nor do they act independently of a range of other factors in FE and beyond. This has significance in relation to disability, for there is little interest in the way that contemporary discourses within FE effects the flow of social capitals between people. For example, what is apparent within this research is that the idea of progress, as the quest for a future perfect in contemporary British society, makes disability subject to new forms of professional power, and renders many young disabled people different in the milieu of expectations of contemporary college life. Given the grip that many forms of success has on the texture of life, the production of a subject position *young disabled student* holds theoretical significance for understanding the distribution of social capital which, as this study proposes, has continued appeal over young disabled people's lives.

1.4 Background to the study: some biographical notes

It is against this backdrop that I carried out my data collection in one college. The overall impetus for the study came about as a vague dissatisfaction over a number of years working as a learning tutor within FE. Here, I was struck by the various but consistent patterns of marginalisation and segregation that young disabled people were experiencing at college. Many of them, like most of us, simply wanted to make friends and establish new possibilities through their social networks experiences. At one point in 2002, I was dealing with several such issues, so I decided that this area - young disabled people of school age entering FE - merited further investigation. In September 2004, I conducted a short qualitative based piece of research that culminated in a Masters Degree dissertation. For me, this was the starting point of a journey whereby my own reading of social capital theory, of disability and of the expansion of FE provision over the last decade, generated new understandings of the discourses that inform policies, perceptions and also practices within a FE college. This remains as both a reflexive and cyclical process (Pollard, 1999).

From my own specific reading of this area of FE, I want to point out that it was hard to trace out what social capital might look like for young disabled students. Each college is formed by historical background, location and an effort to prosper. Indeed, as Ainley and Bailey suggest, “there is no such thing as a typical college” (1997, 9). That said, my decision to approach one college in particular, as a possible research site, is because it is known (and knows, recognises and represents itself) locally and nationally as a market leader of alternative provision in the context of the outgoing New Labour government’s policy strategy (traced out in Chapter 2) for students identified as ‘at risk’ of exclusion.

It is important to point out that FE is still in the making. The expansion of the sector - particularly the spate of developments during the 13 years of New Labour Government (1997 to 2010) - is examined in this study. However, since the fiscal constraints placed on the sector by a Conservative and Liberal coalition led government, the role of FE provision remains un-clear. Change is inevitable! Yet, political concerns over students who do not fit the system and *need* FE provision remain. A question for young disabled people is, will any assertions of fairness or enterprise in the coalition's manifesto discard a need for the asymmetries of care relations such as trust and mutual reciprocities in FE?

What this means is that I am not making, indeed cannot make, a simple argument that the processes and understandings that are described in the study present a sterile map of social capital. What I am doing is to indicate how things are for a small group of young disabled people who exist through changing political discourses and policy regimes. In particular, I aim to illustrate these existences relative to the "discursive framework of a market society and the aesthetic of consumption (Bauman, 1998, 2)." This is a point of interest and importance to the study. Market and market relations form the "background for understanding the social order" (Slater *et al.*, 2001, 1) in FE, and provide a basis to explore the multidimensional struggles that young disabled people have over acquiring, producing and consuming certain aspects of social capital to *good* effect in their lives.

The stories told in the study are thus personal ones, but they are embedded in a larger political context. Like FE colleges in many parts of the UK, the public face of the College in question, and its own survival, is contingent on how successful it is perceived to be. In their daily college experience, every student in the College has to negotiate this context. For students for whom 'success' is not on the agenda, this negotiation is fraught

with problems, such as accessing social capital that shapes their future options. There is, however, little scope in literature for readers to gain different understandings about the social capital of young disabled people. The voices of thirty students will fill the space with the type of knowledge which may relate to the concerns of young disabled people in other colleges. The case for generalising from this study is made in Chapter 5 (p.161).

But how am I to define young disabled people? Medical classifications of learning disability, such as numeracy, reading or social dysfunctions, situate many of the young disabled people within this study in to a broad group. This group describes those who have “greater difficulties in learning new skills than the majority of other students at their age” (Education Act, Department for Education and Skills, 1996). In addition, learning disabled includes people with a special education need (SEN), a small percentage of who have a sensory or physical disability. For my purposes, the category learning disabled is far too broad, as it obscures every mind-body-emotional way of failing in ‘normal’ terms. However, I do not wish to do away with difference categories. As Julie Allan (1999) has shown, such attempts are frequently misguided. They do not unravel the reproduction of inequality, such as how individual disabilities can dictate access to specific social capital.

It is also clear in Chapters 6 to 8, that the production of relations of domination and subordination in FE is an active process, enacted simultaneously across disability, as well as across multiple forms of social difference, such as gender and ethnicity. Through this process a person comes to occupy leading social positions and the resources accruing to such positions. Thus I do not employ the term disability to describe the participants, as it does not engage the inequalities that cohere strongly with being multiply positioned in FE, but rather I use their accounts in Chapter 6 to describe four categories of responses to

existing in FE. These categories are not watertight; they serve as a heuristic device to highlight the functions of networks, and the reciprocities arising from them. That, said, I do use the terminology associated with SEN, and, in particular, *young disabled student*. Where I do this, it is in order to explore how this subject position is produced, and how it is lived through by those students who have no choice but to position self in relation to it.

Of course, this leaves the matter of the many I's' that occur throughout the study. How do I engage young disabled people? Who was/is this I? I was a working class *lad* who was not only failing, but who was told by a guidance teacher to leave school as I, and I quote, "have no academic ability." I am the I who recalls the push and pull of dense network ties in those years, but who had the resources of an elite athletic body that enabled the kind of network experiences that allowed entry into University. I was the under-graduate, first in my family to attend higher education, who acquired and utilised network exchanges to develop a new understanding of self. I, the full-time worker and PhD student studying, have a career linked to young people, most of whom are unable to or resist fulfilling the requirements of normal schooling and are locked in and out of capital. All of these I's' resonate throughout the study. The impact I have upon the study is explored in Chapter 5.

1.5 Outline

Chapter 1 introduces the contextual and conceptual frameworks of this study. It explains reasons behind taking a critical stance in relation to social capital theory. Chapters 2 to 4 are concerned with alternative provision and the role of FE at a policy level and its work in relation to higher political processes. Together, these recognise challenges presented by young disabled people's inclusions in one college. Chapter 3 introduces social capital

theory. Integrative and Marxist theoretical stances are considered to give meaning and consequence to young disabled people's experiences within FE. Subsequently, Chapter 4 considers the volumes and types of social capital, networks, support and trust, which are accessible or denied to young disabled people, and how social capital *works* (its flow). This supports a close examination of the processes that sustain social inequalities in one college. How social capital operates for and against young disabled people is a crucial discussion as most of the current literature on social capital sees social networks, support and trust as automatic in nature. Indeed, many 'social capitalists' paint a broad picture of social ties in contemporary educational settings. As a consequence, few writers take a critical theoretical stance over social capital in FE, or ask if the energy credited to social networks based on trust can overcome the concerns of young disabled people in a college community. Overall, the literature review forms "a preparatory stage to gathering data (Cohen *et al.*, 1994, 51)." Moreover, it acquaints the reader with the key issues in relation to an educational context that is at the forefront of the contested lifelong learning agenda.

Chapter 5 is concerned with describing and explaining a research methodology that helps to illuminate the complex relations between social capital and young disabled people in FE. In so doing, the methodology that I develop here lends itself to a complex sociology of Further Education, through exploring how disadvantages are nurtured by the characteristics in one FE institution, and by the socio-cultural processes occurring there. Since young disabled people are actors in these processes of change, their understandings are crucial. However, there are also dangers and inherent weaknesses within the research that need to be acknowledged but, overall, the Chapter's *real* value lies with identifying a methodology which can reveal the complex, paradoxical nature of social capital in FE.

Chapters 6 to 8 are concerned with examining emerging themes that come from my data analysis. Chapter 6 focuses upon the ways that young disabled people's social networks and any related social capital in the classroom impact on their transitions to FE and thereby upon their lives. Chapter 7 focuses on the nature of young disabled people's active participation in FE, compared with any (or the absence of!) activities that generate reciprocity and trust between them and the wider FE community. In light of this absence, Chapter 8 is concerned with how and in what ways special needs tutors determine and reproduce social resources. The data analysed over these chapters enables Chapter 9 to reassess the character of young disabled people's social capital as regards the forms of social capital to which they have access and the nature of their relations with these forms of social capital. In Chapter 10, I will draw conclusions and implications from this study.

1.6 Summary

Chapter 1 has illuminated the need for a study that examines what young disabled people stand to gain from FE in terms of the social relationships that enhance socio-cultural and economic progressions. The Chapter also identifies a need to reflect upon, learn from and add to the lack of literature documenting young disabled people's lived experiences over social capital in FE. The motivation behind such research is the desire for an educational system, if not a society, in which social justice is realised and where young people have control over their learning. However, it is vital to state that this *story* is not a complete account of young disabled people's lives, but rather places a critical lens onto the covert social exclusions that exist for them in one FE College. This in mind, then, Chapter 2 will begin by locating the rapid growth and status of FE in recent years, and by outlining contemporary developments across the educational policy field for the 14-19 age range.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE POLITICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT

FOR YOUNG DISABLED PEOPLE IN FE:

A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I address key contemporary debates about the policy context for young disabled people who are enrolled or enrolling on alternative provision in FE. The initial sections of this chapter will begin by defining and locating the growth of FE provision over the last fifteen years or so, before outlining contemporary developments across the educational policy field for the 14 to 19-years age range. This is a discussion that cannot be divorced from the inherent ambiguity, for young disabled people, of New Labour's amorphous lifelong learning agenda and human capital approach to education generally.

The initial sections of this chapter consider findings from recent literature that indicate and critique particular implications of those policy regimes that reinforce the enrolment of young disabled people to FE provision. This suggests a prolonged tension between the emancipation and subjection of young people through disabling practices in FE. I sum this up through the identification of questions for young disabled people into the structure and practices of FE, and in college communities generally. The review and critique of policies informing FE provision capture the difficulties of such developments over the experiences of and opportunities therein for a growing number of young disabled people who engage, daily, the landscape of FE. The last part of the Chapter advances the idea that young disabled people do not have access to or use key aspects of social capital¹. Social capitals, in the shape of social networks and any reciprocities that arise from them, aid success through schooling (Field, 2008) by better enabling young people to confront particular situations in which they find themselves (Bourdieu, 1993).

¹ Social capital was first considered relevant and useful to government policy by the (2002) Performance and Innovation Unit, whose investigations into social capital produced a "case for applying social capital thinking to a range of policy areas (see Aldridge *et al.*, 2002, 73)."

2.2 Politics and policy: an over-reliance on human capital and consumerism in FE

The related social and schooling issues of young disabled people are central concerns in this chapter. This is because, they are often seen by policymakers to be the ones who are most at risk of failure of not acquiring the human capital which is seen as relevant to the learning society (DfES, [now DfE] 2002, 5). Such concerns were fuelled by a decline in a youth labour market (Ashton *et al.*, 1990) and, to an extent, the current recession that removes or restructures work into which young people, predominantly from working-class families, progressed upon leaving school at 16. The section looks at the politics and policies which *speak* directly to FE provision and about young disabled people and, in particular, the way certain interests and concerns are being deposited into their learning.

It is vital to recognise at the outset that FE provision forms a relatively small component of formal education. But, with new interest in alternative provision for young people who struggle to find work², there is a shift from treating it as a marginal aspect of schooling to a vital part in the social inclusion project. Social inclusion is a key concept here, but is subject to various explanations. However, Levitas (1998) argues that New Labour's discourse of social inclusion privileged labour market attachment and was preoccupied with the risks related with social exclusion, which largely equated to being outside the labour market (Byrne, 1999). This led politicians to portray some life-styles and circumstances as risky. Also, some young people were frequently depicted as being predisposed to risk due to their own inadequacies (Ferudi, 2002). Accordingly, these personal failings required state/agency involvement. For Ecclestone and Field, "lifelong learning is increasingly the focus for these new inclusive interventions (2000, 272)."

² The employment rate of young disabled people who are of working age in England and Wales has risen from 38.1 % to 47.2% from 1999 to 2009 (Office for Disability issues, 2010).

The concept of lifelong learning, which figures prominently in subsequent governments neo-liberal prescriptions for individuals to incessantly re-train and reinvent self, is as Young (1998, 193) suggests, “deeply contested.” There are several papers which spell out the background and links between the reconstruction of FE and the emergence of neo-liberal economic policy following de-industrialisation in the manufacturing sector (e.g. Hyland and Merrill, 2003, 4-19). I do not propose to rehearse this background here, but to acknowledge as Clarke *et al.*, (2000) argue that this process of reconstruction has been a compound one - involving more than just policy changes. Rather, there were moves toward increasing freedom of the market economy, a reduction in state protection and new economic relations between those who use further educational services and those who provide them. Therefore, neo-liberalism should be “understood as generalised trends ... diversely played out, rather than a homogeneous enterprise (Holt, 2010, 242).”

The most recent notion of a learning society - as cited earlier - is located in New Labour's third-way politics, which links economic priorities with social justice and cohesion (Fairclough, 2000). The use of human capital in the form of work related skills and competences that produce economic value, such as interactive skills (negotiation, communication and leadership) and emotional work (looks, personalities and emotions), strengthen the link between learning and employment. Human capital is rooted in the assumptions of writers, such as Becker (1967) and Urry (2000b), who conclude that an entrepreneurial individual is favoured in the labour market because he/she is the wisest in terms of investing in their self, and because of his/her ambition and ability to adapt to a world of mobilities (Bauman, 2006). In Chapter 4, I make the case that human capital and regimes of value that mark contemporary FE cultures comprise a ‘story’ that does

not make sense to young disabled students who connect with the market in ways that are affected by disability, and by barriers to their embeddedness in the social life of a college.

The use of skills and competences to describe the aims and outcomes of education has, however, been rejected in various studies (Hyland *et al.*, 2003), and for sound reasons. For Hyland *et al.*, (quoting Winch, 1995) it overlooks “the fact that skills require a foundation of knowledge and understanding (and leads) to the confident deployment of skills in a variety of situations (2003, 40).” Despite the contradictions in human capital theory, its language and themes permeate current debate and feature prominently in the learning targets and the work of alternative FE provision. In “the learning economy, it is skills that puts them (young disabled people) on the path to success (DCSF, 2008, 3).”

The use of the term learning *economy* rather than *society* is worth noting here. In an economy, people may engage with one another not as community members of equal worth, but as recipients and owners of work related information, who seek to survive the tough climate in the labour market. The economic emphasis within the quote above, and in recent policy for the FE sector, point to a tension in colleges over what Cripps (2002, 263) calls, “market coding and care coding”. Whether reconciliation of market relations with civic virtue is possible or not is taken up in later chapters. What can be said for now is the standard view over why a person participates in FE is not simply to learn new skills or to meet new people, but for its personal economic benefits. This emphasis on providing vocational opportunities, which sustains a shift to FE for employment, is also supported by an abundance of recent empirical research (see Cockburn, 2002). The main

argument with human capital in Cockburn's study is that it under-specifies the salience of key variables, particularly a lack of choice for young disabled people (Gleeson, 1999).

This in mind, there remains an uncritical focus in policy and in literature over the virtues of widening participation for traditionally disadvantaged groups in college, and not on why school aged students show low levels of achievement and retention in FE (Lawson *et al.*, 2005). Qualitative studies in the FE sector, such as Attwood *et al.*, (2004), Culham (2003) and Lumby (2007), offer a rather narrow view over the nature and scope of their participants' experiences in FE. This subsequently downplays what Hornby *et al.*, (1997, 32) term the 'inclusive dilemma' in mainstream college communities or the need for a critical analysis over the benefits and costs for young disabled people of enrolling in FE.

Such an analysis would include insights into those patterns of interaction young disabled people have with their older peers in FE's social milieu, for example, and their influence over how young disabled people learn. In contrast to this, the majority but still limited studies of young disabled people in FE has highlighted and reinforced aspects of skills based curriculum (i.e. the formation of human capital) as a key factor in attracting some school aged students back to formal learning. As Attwood *et al.*, (2004, 93) argue,

“their commitment to completing the college course and their...positive attitudes to education... is strongly informed by its relevance to future employment.”

One short quotation will suffice here, but such a basic analysis over motivation shows a permanence of human capital discourse common in most of the literature in this area of education (Kinder *et al.*, 2000; Cullen *et al.*, 2000). Whilst the majority of these studies

extol alternative provision as both innovative and fair, for allowing some young people to maximise their probability of gaining work, FE provision is embedded nationally by policies that focus on *flexible* vocationalism, "...if all young people are to access high-quality, motivating options (Department for Education and Skills (now DfE), 2003, 42)."

On one level, the DfES's relaxation of the curriculum requirements for students at Key Stage 4 provides a crucial acknowledgement of both the diversity and complexity of their learning needs. At another level, this relaxation is criticised by writers such as Lawson *et al.*, (2005) for introducing a variety of utilitarian assumptions in FE. Lawson and his colleagues point out that these assumptions are saturated by the idea of a shrewd *consumer*, who is fixated on increasing personal profits and on reducing personal risks through formal education. For Newman and Vidler, this image of a rational and self-maximising consumer tends to: "situate new initiatives, drives or targets in to (FE) that provide a rationale for institutional and cultural change (emphasis added, 2006, 195)."

The growth of flexible work-related provision and more consumer choice over, for example, services which make provision for the habits that are relevant to a service-based economy has become a central platform for the restructuring of the FE sector for some young people over the last fifteen years. Indeed, identifying partnerships between public services and private companies to enable more choice for these consumers is now an *unquestioned* narrative that requires radical changes in the FE sector (see Green *et al.*, 1999). As the story goes the young person, as consumer, is used to participating in user-centred processes and, given a choice over social services, is assumed to formulate rational choices that will make him or her-self better off; the outcomes are thus optimal

(Clarke *et al.*, 2007, 10). According to these writers, policymakers view service users as customers who are able to assert their own-interests, and gain access to and influence key services. By portraying individuals as able consumers, consecutive Conservative and New Labour government's managed to weave a normative and overly optimistic image of FE, which has enhanced consumerism into most areas of college life. For Clarke, each of these governments have justified socio-cultural change in the FE sector by drawing upon an ideal vision of a consumer society, which contains "a proliferation of goods and services, that (apparently) enable a variety of wants and needs to be satisfied (2004, 2)."

Newman and Vidler have been quick to criticise New Labour's use of consumer choice as over simplifying entry into FE provision and the "centrality of consumerism in delivering change, which remains uneven and contested" (2006, 207). Two troubling issues facing young disabled people in FE are of importance, here. First, assumptions that equality of access to key knowledge has been achieved and, second, that everyone can utilise knowledge effectively to transform self into expert service users (Slee, 2001).

Reflecting on such assumptions, Lawson *et al.*, (2005) remain concerned over the effects for young people from complex backgrounds of policies that foster a consumerist culture which sees the individual as being the pivotal energy behind economic activity - with an emphasis on work as the route to self-satisfaction and advancement. I do not concur in relation to young disabled people in FE. For, behind the empirical research of human capital and its payback on consumption aspects in education, it is clear to see that such rationalistic assumptions have not enhanced the positioning of disabled people in the labour market. For example, many disabled people who, because of the youth labour market's collapse during the late 1980's, "invested heavily in lifelong learning (at least

ostensibly)...have seen little or no improvement either in terms of their social status or in economic returns (Riddell *et al.*, 2000, 123).” This particular weakness, amongst many others, could perhaps be connected to the fact that these basic ideas do not consider aspects of social difference, particularly in ways that focus on the important determinants of *participation* and *choice*, for every student at college (Rees *et al.*, 2002).

The attempt by Lawson *et al.*, (2005) to bridge the rhetorical gap existing between policies, such as 14-19: *opportunity and excellence* (DfES, 2003), that extend vocational options to students at Key Stage 4 and a young disabled person’s negotiation of FE, by illuminating barriers to partnership working between schools and FE colleges. Issues such as limited staff capacity and increased staff workloads, competition between schools and colleges, and a lack of relevance and application of policy over how young disabled people should benefit from their transitions to FE, are all key themes in Lawson *et al.’s* research to which I will return later. For now, I concentrate on their concerns over the viability and desirability of largely desk based but influential policy documents, such as *opportunity and excellence* (DfES, 2003) in reinforcing the value of human capital discourse in formal learning. As noted earlier, the Thatcher and Major led Conservative administrations had, in their 18 years of government, instilled particular interests into a young disabled person’s learning, such as the notion of basic or core skills, which tends to narrow the relevance of formal education to the world of work (Pring, 2005). It is not surprising then, that many writers continue to be critical of the grip human capital has over the political imagination. There is also mounting evidence to suggest that a reliance upon human capital and, more recently, consumerist discourses to bring about ‘change’

in compulsory education are having, “deleterious consequences for young people on the margins of society” (Coffield, 2000, 50). One evident problem is that policy portrays:

“...learners as an undifferentiated mass with the same...capabilities, motivations and levels of support and encouragement, as if they were all equally ready and able to take the opportunity to upskill (Ball et al., 2000 cited Coffield 2000, 13).”

It also appears that policymakers for the 14 to 19-age range have striven to align policy so a young disabled person’s learning experience in FE can be more individualised and person-centred. This has had the consequence of extolling what social capital, such as in the form of skills training, is embedded in qualifications and in the daily dynamics of a person’s learning. Crucially, this affects what professionals consider “the *right* sort of social capital, or unhelpful capital...particularly when indicators of social capital are set externally (Ecclestone, 2003, 273).” Bearing this in mind, then, I now provide a critical review of the policy context that assimilates such a narrow view of alternative provision.

2.3 A critique of policies that assimilate alternative provision in FE

Whilst a large amount of academic research has distinguished and interrogated the implications of human capital discourse within schools, FE has been left to languish in the research wilderness (Gomoluch *et al.*, 2002). Now however, with the rapid growth of policy over the last decade for the 14 to 19-age range, which recognises alternative FE provisions economic and non-economic benefits for individuals at risk of exclusion, many debates have emerged on how best to support changes at the Key Stage 4 phase of education for young disabled people of school age (Waite, *et al.*, 2006; Kitchener, 2008).

This section pivots on the effects of such changes as they relate to young disabled people and on those documents that aim to extend provision in FE for pupils at Key Stage 4. The DfES Pathfinders (2003), Flexibility Provision and an obligation for employment related learning for 14-16 year old students (2004), espouse a notion that some school pupils will gain from a chance to attend college, which moves Further Education away from its long-established and crucial role of provider of education for adults. This expanding role and provider of alternative provision in FE was progressed by the conclusion of the Education and Skills Paper, DfES (2005), as well as Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances (2006).

Alternative provision is not a new concept however. Commonly known as local authority run Pupil Referral Units (PRUs), or *satellite* programmes in FE, each has a character that is locally influenced by mimicking a school's perspective on the problems that each programme is set up to ameliorate. Nevertheless, most have distinctions that offer young people with differing abilities and aptitudes, a 'second chance' to promote their moral, mental, cultural, physical and economic development (GB Statutes, 1996). Moreover, they arrived to promote such interests in heterogeneous settings where it is assumed their needs and interests are as legitimate as any other (Dyson, 2001). Picking up on a complex matrix of objectives, recent policy changes aim to extend FE provision further. In essence, they aim to create a practice of taking students "struggling to reach their potential" or those students deemed to benefit from a taste of vocational education, out of school or exclusion³. Further, they seek to allow alternative learning choices, which will, "develop those skills and attributes relevant to adult life (WGR, 2004, 13)."

³ 135,000 students attend FE provisions in England, 75% of who have SENs (DCSF, 2008).

The nature of choice and relevance within this context are reiterated and underpinned in recent policy proposals with a different focus from profiles constructed for colleges of the past - one that largely viewed learning as valuable 'for its own sake'. Simply stated, the relevance noted in the policy literature is restated as a curriculum matter, with alternative provision aimed at increasing choice and participation by making available 'vocational packages that are relevant' to the world after school - the world of work. A lack of relevance in the classroom for those aged 14 to 16 was seen by New Labour as a matter of criticism from employers and consumers that result in disaffection and a failure to provide skills and attitudes necessary for successful economic routines. Recent 14-19 policies reiterate concerns over such irrelevance, and have utilised this to generate a significant impetus for curriculum change at the age of 14. This is a shift that notes the value, at this age, of a student making choices that affect their working life without, it seems, making any considered reference to issues that relate to disabled people; raising concerns that these policy changes may not consider every learner (Lawson *et al.*, 2005).

The importance of such a concern, as how best to integrate young disabled people in FE, provides a timely contribution to the current (14-19) policy debate. This is because of the distinctive nature of disability over each moral, mental, cultural, economic and physical domain in challenging and complicating the utilitarian priorities of FE provision. In other words, how each of these domains will be accommodated in the expansion of a framework of relevant work related qualifications which includes giving enhanced status to vocational options is still not clear. However, it is taken as read that participation in learning is improved if alternative provision 'dis-applies' some elements of the national curriculum, previously compulsory, so as to provide learning

pathways that are different from school, and more successful in terms of attainment and progression. Furthermore, by linking such pathways to overarching curriculum reform and personalised learning, and to the principle of inclusive learning in FE, it is assumed this presents an ‘enterprising’ option for young people to engage with learning (DCFS, 2008). Indeed, New Labour and the new coalition government view enterprising traits in young people as vital for the skills revolution and for economic prosperity (Pring, 2005).

For Lawson *et al.*, (2005) the narrow rationale of vocationalism, which seeks to ensure young people gain the key skills and knowledge for a changing economy, is problematic. Not only is vocationalism weighted on a rather simplistic view of the nature and scope of learning (Dee, 2003), but it also skews attention away from other readings or broader notions of participation which were originally outlined by the Tomlinson Committee:

“By participation, we mean the extent to which students with learning difficulties and/or disabilities...(can)...participate fully or are offered the same range of opportunities as other students (in college) (Tomlinson, 1996, 53).”

The nature of participation, outlined above, relates to endowing *all* learners within FE with opportunities that possess breadth and balance of learning opportunities, which is juxtaposed with the narrow economic priorities of alternative provision. For example, the term ‘entitlement’ used in 14-19 policies, encapsulates a different meaning than that used in most mainstream curricula equating to a much broader view of learning. This is an important shift that Lawson *et al.*, (2005, 14) notes, moves away from young people having a basic right to and expectation of participation in learning opportunities to a far more flexible interpretation of entitlement where institutions must only ensure subjects

are “made available to any student who wishes to pursue them (DfES, 2002a, 34).”

The consequences of such an important change may be minimal for young people who aim to pursue a post-16 destination after school that is relatively straightforward. Indeed, these kinds of changes might come as a move that could offer them more flexibility and choice over new forms of social services and vocational related learning. Yet, this raises concerns for some school-aged students who remain unclear about career progression, or who may not have given much thought to their future career, or for whom the concept of career development is relatively strange. This unease is made problematic on two fronts.

First, given the knowledge that many disadvantaged young people are dependent on educational institutions for support, guidance and information, “if they cannot find these forms of social capital elsewhere in their lives (Croniger and Lee, 2001, 549).” Second, despite a policy commitment (DfES, 2003) to offer young disabled people more choice over their subjects, there is little guidance for external providers, such as colleges. Where this does exist, there is only limited recommendations on how best to plan social programmes around an individual’s career aspirations, which is similar, perhaps, to that already on offer to disabled students in post-16 college settings (Quality and Curriculum Development agency, QCA, 2004). Just as schools consider the intellectual development of their students, they are also being asked to consider the social and emotional norms that young people live by. This is addressed through extended schooling or the provision of activity slots in the curriculum, such as school-based drama productions, for example. Yet the various impacts and consequences of discourses on young disabled people are not equally distributed. In order to map this terrain, a table (1.1, below) may have value.

Policy documents for 14-19 education (alternative education) in England and Wales		
Policy	Commitments made by policy	Implications for young people
14-19: Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards DfES, (2002)	Funding for structural (14-19) curriculum experimentation in order to build new, collaborative arrangements and establish best practice between schools and FE	14-16 FE provision is offered up to young people in England (e.g. the launch of Pathfinders provision for under achieving and disengaged young people).
The Disability Discrimination Act 1995, and the Code of Practice Post-16 (2002).	Requires that colleges must not subject a disabled student to unfavourable treatment and must, where possible, develop various reasonable adjustments for them.	The code aims to help students understand the law but it does little to govern the unfriendly responses that their presence may invoke in public spaces.
14-19: Opportunity and Excellence DfES, (2003).	To increase choice; access to different types of provision so a student can choose from a range of subjects that develop skills for work and life; extra support for special needs students; increase a mix of partnerships between FE colleges, schools and businesses.	Requirement for work-related learning for all students brings more school-aged students into FE. Yet, the desire for change is economic rather than social, This sidelines people who are unwilling and/or are unable to fully support fiscal growth.
Working group on 14-19 Reform DfES, (2004) - Tomlinson's Review of 14-19 education.	Widening participation in FE by strengthening vocational routes. Commitment to create parity of esteem with academic learning through an overarching diploma and a focus on core or functional skills which are relevant to work, such as Maths, ICT and English.	The review makes an attempt to give value to vocational routes that (if accepted) might have meant more meaningful credentials for young people. WGR still underline economic, rather than more politically or socially complex imperatives.
Guidance for FE Colleges who providing for Young Learners AoC, (2004).	These extensive guidance papers emphasise the need for increased monitoring, collaboration and information sharing as well as an increase in teacher/staff training.	A long <i>best practice</i> checklist (p.11) for young learners in FE risks placing them in a position of dependent recipients as opposed to reciprocal partners.
14-19 Education and Skills DfES, (2005). This document is supplemented by DfES (2005a) Collaborative Arrangements to 14-19 provision.	A vision to improve vocational qualifications to ensure they operate in a coherent framework; individualised transitions for students through monitoring and planning; work related learning; create more opportunities to develop <i>life skills</i> through wider access to differentiated curricula.	These papers recognise the value of qualifications at pre-entry level. Yet highlighting individualised learning and the world of work as the common context in colleges tend not to value the extension of social boundaries for young people outside of pre-entry provision.
White Paper: Back on Track DCFS, (2008).	Proposes learning entitlements and passports. These contain key historical facts about students to 'better' assess their needs in FE.	Core entitlements and passport, which is a file written for, not with students, tend to reinforce an education to work pathway.

The New Labour (14-19) policies that are listed above have little regard for developing young disabled people toward social norms. They also do not consider the role of useful advice gleaned from other people and the effect this has on a young disabled person's career development. Nevertheless, in general policy terms, students at Key Stage 4 could be the impetus for the improvement of these and other related policies due to the central importance given to individualised learning within the DfES, (2004) *Five year Strategy for Children and Learners* (Lawson *et al.*, 2005, 12). However, analysis of data collected from those interviewed in Harkin's (2005) extensive report on school aged students in FE, suggests that the opportunities presented by policymakers for those enrolling on or enrolling in alternative FE provision seem to be different from the lived experiences of the students themselves. That is, the degree to which a student gains from and values the chance to connect with vocational learning relate to the way that learning opportunities in a college are understood. As the DfES *opportunity and excellence* document suggests:

“Learners are expected to be at the centre of policy discussions, but too rarely do we discuss how they are taught or what they learn (2003, 26).”

In Davies *et al's* (2004) study of pre-vocational students within one FE College, this discussion is taken further by noting the value of involving the interpretations and expectations of pre-16 students in shaping their own opportunities to learn in FE. While not claiming to represent young disabled people, Davies's study does reiterate the need for a much wider discussion about the 'positive learning culture' within which a student learns. This study suggests this will depend on involving them in processes of choice and in an active participation not only in their own learning, but also whom they learn

with. As Davies *et al.*, discover, in too many cases students found themselves enrolling on courses that were considered to be appropriate for them by professionals as opposed to making choices of their own. Davies *et al.*, point out that “Policymakers (DfES 2003, 36) talk about how young people need to make ‘best choices’ and manage their options well”, but they also ask, “whose ‘best choices’ are we talking about here (2004, 15)?”

Davies’s research suggests that both policymakers and researchers need to refocus their debate over the importance of seeing vocational options (and the general motivation for actively participating in FE) as a “complex interrelationship between a number of factors rather than from a narrowly vocational focus” (p.15), constructed around the notion of choice. In this respect, the vast difference of experience amongst the students in Davies’s study owed more than just the vocational nature of curriculum offered to them in relation to work but relates to learning opportunities and the social aspects that FE afforded. That is, the routines, rituals and practices (being different from school), which had profound affects on the life experiences and the choices of those young men and women involved.

In summary, policy proposals for modernising FE provision rely on a narrow view of learning and motivation, which fails to take full recognition of human agency. More specifically, to recognise the determining role of a college in unevenly distributing the social capital that constrains individuals in achieving autonomy through learning. One indicator of this status is the level of choice individual’s are able to exercise. The choice over curriculum options, for example, can be of value in minimising the effects of social difference (Bloomer *et al.*, 2000). This in mind, the next section of chapter 2 will consider those practices that potentially constrain young disabled people’s choices in FE.

2.4 Exploring the nature of choice for a young disabled student in FE

The section will explore problems that are inherent in young disabled people activating and acting on choice. These issues are not new; a lack of choice has been a source of exclusionary practice that has worked against disadvantaged students for sometime (see Thomas *et al.*, 2001). The many ways in which choices are constrained are to be found in Rustemier (1998) and the Open Society Institute's report (2005) into the experiences of post-16 disabled students in FE. These studies identify a lack of both perceived and real choice(s) over timetable options and work placements, with the experience of disabled students being equated to a pass the parcel affair or schools passing these students to FE colleges, who then pass them on to limited work-related options. This suggests to me that young disabled students do not simply end up being alienated, but that professionals in a college can inhibit the support which may allow a student to establish a learner identity (Ball *et al.*, 1999). This role consists of restricting access to valuable, "information about academic decisions, active guidance and extra support with class-work", which Croniger and Lee believe "plays an important part in a person's capacity for learning (2001, 550)."

Two further issues are also of relevance to choice. First, the value of skills training for participation that may challenge the structures and practices that constrain agency, such as some older students' and faculty members' negative "perceptions of (young disabled people's) limited competence (Jenkinson, 1993, 361)." Gary Thomas (2005) has long cautioned against this aspect of disability theory. For him, the choices available to a disabled person (that are innate to consumerist policies) are worthless when professional disciplines represent their clients' needs and seek to define and, therefore, constrain the nature and quality of opportunity which is to be made available to them in a community.

Second, the issue of competence that links with the issue of legitimacy in the ability to effect change or to find the ability to speak up or advocate for one-self and others is pivotal to construct a useful knowledge of dynamic forms of participation. It is also central to the development of advocacy skills (Miller and Keys, 1996) that, in a competitive educational context constructed around discursive rights, are important for an individual to gain access to resources (Gross, 1996). As Rustemier (1998) suggests, in such a climate there is often a clear differentiation between being *given a voice* and *empowerment*. Many writers concur with Rustemier's criticism and highlight the former and its regular limitation and constraint upon the current situation within contemporary FE communities. As Tyne suggests, "a great deal of consultation happens (with learners) with little result other than minor choices within existing service-options (1994, 251)."

Studies such as Rustemier (1999) and Tyne (1994) also illuminate the lack of choice that disabled students have over what and where to learn, and their inability to participate in FE for their own reasons. Although much of New Labour's policy rhetoric reiterates FE provision as a means to stimulate choice and participation, such rhetoric seems to be far detached from a disabled student's other apparent (social) needs. That is, for them to "participate fully in a variety of learning experiences (Lawson *et al.*, 2005, 17)." One effect of this separation is that it militates against enabling more enterprising individuals who are able to thrive in the labour market. Therefore, the quality of what is on offer to disabled students in terms of skills training and social capital deserves further scrutiny.

If FE is to be accorded the role of primary change agent for young disabled people by

making more choices available, then, I need to attend to the processes involved in initiating such inclusive policy arrangements. Defining policy is difficult. On the one hand policy may be seen as representing normative guidelines, in the sense that it sets out how things should be. On the other hand, it may be set in textual form, as is often the case for FE provision where students work along a continuum from strict conformity to modification. Policy is therefore discursive and implies power relations (Ball, 1994a), which are shaped and bound by a college's own history, locality and struggle to prosper.

This is an important point. Many studies that examine the nature of choice in FE neglect the ways in which policy and practice are constructed, interpreted and subverted at local levels. Doughty and Allan (2008) illuminate some issues that they found related to disabled adults in Scottish colleges. First, there was resistance, either conscious or not, that occurs in the work of staff. In particular, resistance to changing familiar teaching practices was identified. Second, searching for key inclusive indicators, such as choice, tended to reduce inclusion to a contrived cultural performance that staff should simply demonstrate, but not commit to. Third, choice, and its availability, was influenced by factors such as a student's academic or social status in the classroom. Benjamin's (2002) study exemplifies the tensions that are inherent in the process of including SEN students in a competitive school environment. Central to her study was how government policy initiatives on improving school standards and inclusion were translated into practice, and how disabled students were purged from the normal economy of success as the school moved toward inclusive education. In Benjamin's study, the distribution of power away from students was not a direct consequence of policy texts. Inclusive policy reinforced pre-existing power relations in the school, existing only as an articulation of the possible.

2.5 The search for inclusion in FE: disrupting the boundaries of disability

As I suggested in the last section, separating agents from social capital that is available in normal spaces or “mediums where people act, intersect, move and locate themselves (Freund, 2001, 694)” has not always benefited disabled students. On the contrary, it is evident to modern educationalists that disabled students have, historically, paid a high economic, cultural and social price for existing in distinct learning spaces. This is why educational stakeholders, such as the parents of disabled students, regard an inclusive discourse that seeks to transform the social norms, priorities and policies propagating, “practices of exclusivity as an irreversible moral objective (Simons, 1998, 45).”

At first, policymakers were apathetic about incorporating this moral objective in FE. This was due to the changes that resulted under the (1992) Further and Higher Education Act, which made all colleges’ commercial institutions *free* of local government control. Inclusion has since gathered pace over the last decade or so, especially after a string of criticisms regarding ineffective policies and practices for disabled students (Meager, 2003). These were seen to exclude individuals from gainful socio-economic prospects or a flourishing life generally. In FE, inclusive measures are based on the findings of the Tomlinson Report (*Inclusive Learning*, 1996) and to a much lesser extent *Learning Works* (Kennedy, 1997), which focus on the reciprocal benefits of widening participation of disadvantaged groups in learning. These reports recognise the rights of individuals to an equal *access* to, and distribution of, learning resources in order for contemporary colleges to be engines “of economic renewal (and) social cohesion (Kennedy, 1997, 2).”

The rhetoric given by the advocates of inclusion, which is intertwined with Labour's (14-19) policies, has now merged to underpin its rationale in FE as a good and virtuous thing (see Rustemier, 1999). This makes inclusion hard to argue against, but it is worth doing so for the reasons I expand on now. First, policy documents stop short of engaging with the opportunities that are assumed to exist when disabled students enter mainstream educational spaces. This is due to a lack of definition over key terms such as *access* in Tomlinson's report which also leaves uncharted the relationships between social capital, inclusion and the provisions made for students inside a college, such as student services (McGonical *et al.*, 2007). A brief glance at recent policy documents suggests that these services aim to promote inclusion but, as Bates *et al.*, (2004) found in their study of the impact of services on the lives of disabled people, they cannot offer access to the social capital that exist within informal networks, such as the tacit knowledge of peer networks.

Second, overcoming the many *struggles* and *negotiations* that are inherent in any competitive, social landscape is likely to make problematic a young disabled person's inclusion to FE and may depend on relational elements such as consistent supportive ties (Cross, 2004). Yet, how a disabled student may experience inclusion in FE, beyond the lip service paid to participation in policy rhetoric, are notable by their absence. Simply gaining student status may not improve their ties to others when limited opportunities exist to build relations. This makes participation a contested ideal (Kay *et al.*, 2006), especially when the recognition of young disabled people in popular spaces is often tempered by limits (Holt, 2010a). Third, the ways in which other students perceive young people is vital for their capacity to draw on stocks of social capital. For example, if older students label a young disabled person as a threat to the prestige that accrues

from their associations with an exclusive social space, then the response may be hostile (Farmaropoulou and Watson, 2003). This in mind, a disabled student's inclusion in FE may fail to negate the unequal resource distributions and the potential consequences they may also face entering diverse institutional and social-cultural contexts, and to form social ties to people that control key institutional resources (Stanton-Salazar, 1995, 140).

Whilst seeing a college as an overt environment for *all*, Tomlinson and Kennedy sidestep the understandings and the issues surrounding the lived experiences of different cohorts of people in FE. I would have thought, however, that discussions about inclusion and its impact on learning would shift to reflect the influx of younger students in FE. This takes on more significance given the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act, (modified by an updated Code of Practice post-16, 2002), which provide an impetus and a duty for FE colleges, partner agencies and professionals to support equality for young disabled people. Yet, this impetus seems to have stirred limited debate beyond the poor retention rate of school-aged students and their lack of success over attaining codified knowledge.

It seems to me, then, that instrumental objectives inform the rhetoric of inclusion in FE and the values underpinning this, but do not seem to promote an environment that is conducive to a more reflexive and networked world. Rather, Tomlinson's priority for inclusive learning, which does not rule out segregated FE provision, is to enhance those individualised opportunities that promote the knowledge, competences and skills which are seen as vital to the cultural revolution of Third-way politics. Similarly, Tomlinson's signification of the centrality of *outcome* for and by inclusive learning shifts the already questionable emphasis of 'inclusion' away from the (re)-distribution of valuable social

capital resources to a situation where economic priorities are given a dominant position. Further, by emphasising individual choices and self-autonomy, Tomlinson individualises the process of inclusive learning and moves the liabilities, or blame for any *poor* choices made, over to individuals and, thus, away from any dysfunctional institutional networks.

It is, therefore, vital to note the utility of the inclusive discourse in extending the ideas of greater individualised inclusion with those of economic and personal success. It is also interesting to note that this is achieved only by legitimising, further, deficit terms such as disaffected and disabled to justify a young disabled person's participation in FE in the first place. Such superimposed terms contain many negative ideas about the young people involved as well as about the conditions of their personal lives, which might not be a reflection of those who are positioned in this way. Once attached, such labels invite the validation of a young disabled person's inclusion into discrete or alternative learning structures, and the lack of legitimacy, I alluded to earlier, over their academic ineptitude which often consigns them to a less valuable status than their peers (see Youdell, 2006).

By setting some young people up in unequal relations with others, institutional actors may compromise their ability to, first, acquire and then to transmit the types of social knowledge that is vital to agency (Field, 2008). This issue is made worse by discrete learning spaces, which are separate from normal services, and are constructed around the *types* of students participating rather than what these individuals aim to do. In other words, young disabled people are known to other FE students by their inclusion in alternative FE provision which is principally designed for those students who are unable or risk not reaching normative levels of academic success within school (Lumby, 2007).

The creation of differences in separate spaces, informed by marks attached to young disabled person, is a key part of the process of division (Foucault, 1991) or the repeated re-drawing of limits or borders, which being included in FE provision seems to invite. This is vital, especially when marks or labels are based upon a human capital discourse that seems to protect such advantaged labels as intelligent, normal, competent, fit and healthy. Such terms strengthens disability status as physically inferior and/or mentally inadequate (Fine and Asch, 2000) by excluding questions that relate to the uncertainties surrounding the human body as an impartial, obedient mechanism that *all* young people can rise above. In other words, an institutionalised ability system diminishes a body that does not easily conform to certain socio-cultural norms, and thus makes the marking of disability into key classifications emerge almost naturally and inevitably from schooling.

The process by which a young disabled person's social positioning is maintained and legitimated is thus complex and inconsistent. It is also open to resistance by both the special needs tutors (Smyth, 2004) and young people themselves (Weller, 2007). Yet, as Raby (2005) notes, resistance is multifaceted, and its understanding depends upon who, or what, is resisted. For Cothran *et al.*, (1997), some practical resistances, such as being assertive or being humorous, displaced repressive practices within formal education but these were also found to be connected to power as well as to forms of (cultural, social, economic, symbolic, and psychological) capital resources a young person had available.

An important part of making available social capital resources to young disabled people should also take place in the ways *spaces* in colleges are considered, separated, and are made available to these students. This is important in order to break down the

practices of oppression that are founded upon negative notions of social differences and to ease accessibility to the supportive social relationships within FE which often make accessible a range of social resources from institutional actors, organisations and college agencies. It seems, however, that *ordinary* and *atomised* accounts of inclusive education now presuppose the spaces that young disabled people inhabit. This, and other tensions, downplays their lived experiences by not valuing the expansion of socio-cultural barriers so that *every* FE student learns to cooperate, gain access to, and have accessible to them several social worlds (Misztal, 1996). A limited access to shared social spaces, such as leisure-based opportunities, makes problematic mutual recognitions and relationships in competitive settings. This relates expressly to young disabled people who are perceived by other people to hold limited capacity for mutual reciprocity. I consider this issue now.

2.6 14-19 policy contexts: constraining access to social capital

The current discussion around government policies for young disabled people enrolled in FE provision points to issues, such as marginalisation and segregation. These issues can, potentially, affect the abilities of social agents gaining a sustained access to and securing social capital from social relationships (Field, 2005). In the first instance, recent policy documents such as Back on Track (DCFS, 2008) stop short of considering the wider social needs of young disabled people in FE or, indeed, the potential of how learning in the wider social milieu can inform FE life. This critique could also be placed against the majority of policies for the 14 to 19-age range. In other words, these policies place only limited importance upon constructing equal access to spaces in which new learning can occur. This may also lead to concerns with these sets of policies, which do little to

acknowledge tensions between agents and the privileges gleaned from sets of relational resources. In other words, current 14-19 policies fail to acknowledge how the notion of disability forms the shape and performance of a student's body as non-normative, which in turn, give rise to limited relations and any related social goods (Ypinazar *et al.*, 2004).

In addition to their lack of access to learning spaces, young disabled people may be particularly vulnerable to being marginalised from formal schooling due in part to the prevalence of past conflicts within a student's prior experiences of education (Bratlinger, 1993). Indeed, to make successful transitions to diverse FE communities, young disabled people might depend on staff and other students as key sources of support (Antle *et al.*, 2009) and as important sources of information and knowledge that challenges as well as liberates individuals beyond their own limited network connections (Baron *et al.*, 2000).

This in mind, the scope to which a student can rely on the support of staff in order to shape their own social outcomes in FE is complex, given a lack of training for tutors (Harkin *et al.*, 2003) and knowledge that alternative provision is often staffed by tutors who perceive college in its traditional role as a post-16 education provider (Lumby, 2007). A study by Pearson (2005), looking at trainee teacher's thoughts toward disability, shows that too many of them concentrated on factors within a disabled student or on a medical model of disability. Pearson further states that trainees used insulting or rude language when they were discussing their disabled students. Also, unsettling cultural clashes that originate from policies that were initially receptive to students of school age attending college are evident in studies, such as Hodkinson *et al.*, (2000), Davies *et al.*, (2004) and Gleeson (2005). These studies stress the negative attitudes of many staff who

chose to teach in FE colleges so they never had to instruct or see students as young as 14, as well as issues associated with the utilisation of part-time staff and the negative effects on staff-student relationships, as undermining receptive capacities and trust generally.

In the same way that policies for the 14-16-age range do not acknowledge the positives that come from accessing social capital, the Tomlinson Report (1996) does not connect the lived experiences of young disabled people in FE with those of other college students. As noted in the introduction, whilst key policies tend to focus upon individual learners, inclusive education ignores the social aspects of learning. In addition, utilising terms such as ‘alternative’, for example, to describe vocational provision for those young disabled people who have differing and/or special need, is unlikely to separate “discrete educational provision (and/or programmes) from their detached status (Hall, 1997, 67).”

This is a situation that is not being made any easier by the dominance of economic interpretations in lifelong learning policies generally (Cockburn, 2002). As noted earlier, these policies link FE provision with the world of work, a world in which a disabled student, if they work hard enough for long enough, can supposedly have a successful future. Yet journeys from FE to the *good life* are soaked with narratives that advocate competition, consumerism and bodily efficiencies, which dictate and constrain relations between young people and new social ties. These are narratives that a college must (in order to recognise and represent itself as a success) embrace and be accountable for in providing a student with skills to meet the requirements of a competitive labour market, even if this embrace counteracts any egalitarianism expressed in 14-19 policies.

In this particular instance, the increased use of ‘performativity’⁴, or performance monitoring, is a useful example of an accountability system that has impacted negatively on social relations in FE (Avis, 2000). Indeed, it is a system that progressively erodes the levels of generalised trust in FE communities by increasing staff scrutiny through target setting, inspection, and commercial involvement and competition. Thus, under the guise of accountability to managers and parents, tutors are often made to feel incompetent and fearful. Ball is, therefore, right to state that performativity generates a “culture or system of fear (2004, 143).” Performativity has also placed unrealistic demands on ‘street level bureaucrats’ (Lipsky, 1980) to work in instrumental ways with young disabled people that aim to enable them to gain work and to promote self in competitive labour markets (Pring, 2005). It is vital to note the Labour governments’ pragmatic stance on education generally, was in itself, dis-empowering to young disabled people enrolled in FE. This is principally because human capital approaches to education reconcile their reliance on FE provision with one of ineptitude or burdening the mainstream discourse of material and symbolic production. As such, the students who already inhabit marginalised bodies may struggle to conform to prevailing social norms within highly competitive communities, norms that may ultimately dictate access to valued social capital (Riddell *et al.*, 1999a).

This complex picture of inter-personal social relations seems far removed from the one painted by 14-19 policies, whose images of FE communities consist of interdependence

⁴ Performativity denotes the use of out-come related measures of performance to improve accountability and permeates what makes a *successful* tutor. It is enormously stressful, requiring consistent performance, emotional pressures, and changed social relationships (see Ball, 2008).

or congruence between the obligations and the values of its actors; where every student can command access to, invest in and gain profits from socially resource-rich contexts.

Labour's attempts to reconcile the tension between needs, choices and equality, into a faultless account of modern education provision are equally problematic, because expert consumers must have complete (equal) access to all available (social, cultural, symbolic, physical and also psychological) capital in order to sway the hierarchies of power and/or knowledge in a FE college. This apparent disjuncture between a disabled consumer and professional practices means that opportunities may well remain uneven for those young disabled men and women making their transitions to college. This is because their access to social capital resources is likely to be tied up with the lack of generalised trust in and between partners. Indeed, young disabled people are the students who are most likely to lose out from such fragmented social relationships in FE, as they struggle to transform themselves to consumers and/or to successful future, adult workers (Clarke *et al.*, 2007).

2.7 Summary

The key role that many colleges now hold in developing young disabled people as both consumers and workers, places them centre stage in the production and deconstruction of the future life chances and careers of these individuals (Slee and Allan, 2001). The need to highlight the social landscape of such communities, both inclusive and exclusionary, is important, especially with the contradictory nature of 14-19 policies that set out young disabled people, principally, as separate entities to be placed in FE colleges to increase their employability. Indeed, by lacking any real clarity or emphasis on equality of access

to opportunity structures within FE communities and an active participation in the social networks they form, 14-19 policies for FE have neglected or, at best, assumed that young disabled people will simply benefit from the social capital resources in FE communities.

It occurs to me that the current policy context for alternative FE provision and FE generally, will not produce, despite all the 'inclusive' rhetoric of policymakers, major change for young disabled people of school age. That is, without nurturing the ability of those social actors to negotiate - may I suggest bridge - access to, and also to secure benefits from, the social networks in a contemporary FE college community. It is, therefore, the relational ties between young disabled people and the different circuits of social capital, which exist within a college, that are important (Kilpatrick *et al.*, 2003). Placing a critical lens over the complex social relations and patterns of participation that young disabled people have (or not!) at college, illuminates how social network relations and the social capital they produce can exclude, limit or promote human agency. Bearing this in mind, then, I now move on to discuss these and other related areas in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER THREE:

SOCIAL CAPITAL

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter my focus revolves around a relatively new concept, social capital. The topic was prominent in the New Labour's lifelong learning policies between 1997 and 2010, in which they believed the solution to disadvantaged people and places would emerge through humanising capitalism (see Castells, 2000, 7). However, like lifelong learning, social capital remains a vague concept. In the first part of this chapter, I look to critically appraise pivotal social capital definitions that have been used by many of the central figures in the field, paying specific attention to the work of Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu. The purpose of the review is to develop social capital as a concept, so that a critical approach could be adopted which focuses specifically upon how and why aspects of social capital inexorably work, in inequitable ways, for young disabled people in FE.

I then go on to address three types of social capital: social networks, support and trust, before moving on to delineate between these forms of social connections in FE. They are bonding, bridging, and linking social capitals. Finally, the many consequences and value of the different types and forms of social capital in relation to young disabled people in FE will be examined. More specifically, I will look to differentiate between the exclusive social experiences and status of disability and how these relate to the dominant discourses driving FE colleges, which indirectly lead to unequal levels of social capital for young people and particular groups of young people in one college. This chapter is, therefore, structured to create a conceptual dialogue that alerts the reader to the social capital (the plural is important) that young disabled people can, potentially, access and use in FE. I then explore the complex and problematic nature of young disabled people's relationships to different aspects of social capital in a contemporary college community.

3.2 The promise of social capital for young disabled people in FE communities

Throughout this chapter, I problematise and present the notion of social capital as it relates to young disabled people within FE. To do this effectively, it is vital to analyse the notion as defined by one principal scholar on the subject, James Coleman. His theory is important to this study as it is focused on recovering an association that links social capital and the social-cultural dispositions of materially poor children in the context of education (Schuller *et al.*, 2000, 3). Thus, the section critiques the value that Coleman's definition and understanding of social capital holds for enabling young disabled people to achieve instrumental ends. In doing so, I bring forward his contributions to the debate.

First, he brought clarity to an under-theorised concept. Second, Coleman found a link between human capital and a person's access to social capital as being a key foundation for advantage in the context of education. This in mind, Coleman defined social capital as "the norms, the social networks, and the relationships between adults and children that are of value for the child's growing up (1990, 334)." More specifically, it is a child's family ties and the close, even intrusive surveillance of adults that affect their behaviours in and attitudes toward school. Only in this restricted sense does Coleman acknowledge social capital to be of importance to children. Last, and relatedly, Coleman's (1989, 102-104) critique of human capital drew awareness to social relations as a powerful form of control that favours those individuals committed to economic routines and rituals, while penalising those defying dominant social standards or flouting their social responsibility.

Coleman's much deeper pre-occupation therefore lay in finding a synthesis of sociology and economics, more specifically, any relationship between social capital and

human capital. Indeed, his work strived to generate an inter-changeable social theory through the framework of rational choice (a theory that human behaviours result from an individual pursuing his/her own particular interest), and it was in this framework that he positioned social capital. Coleman did not concern himself with examining the qualities of either social capital or human capital separately. He was principally interested in the relationships between the two concepts (See Table 1.1, below). As Coleman himself, put it, “rather than being competing concepts the two were often complimentary (1989, 7).”

* Table 1.1: Dimensions of human and social capital		
	Human Capital	Social Capital
Focus	Individual agent	Relationships
Measures	Duration of schooling Qualifications	Membership/participation Trust levels
Outcome	Direct: productivity income, indirect: health, civic activity	Social cohesion, economic attainment, more social capital

* Table taken from Schuller (*Thinking about Social Capital*, 2000, 5)

Coleman’s key argument is that relations in schools are productive assets for enforcing collective sanctions, and a capital resource realised by establishing shared expectations, identity and values amongst individuals in socially bounded groups. Therefore, in the production of social capital, Coleman (1990b) regards social closure, or the availability of mutually reinforcing relationships amongst actors, as pivotal to achieving desirable outcomes and actions, such as better attainment levels for poor children in schools. The creation of social capital is, therefore, whatever allows individuals or institutions to act in a closed network of actors in order to form a sense of stability, or a common ideology. With this *fuzzy* definition in mind, Coleman draws a picture of social capital that is not a “mechanism, outcome or *thing*, but simultaneously all of them (Markusen, 1999, 15).”

For Coleman, social capital and the conditions required for its nurture centre on close-knit relations that bind a normative vision of community. This vision supports the general aim of Third-Way politics, which for Giddens (1998) is to help individuals navigate globalisation and change in their own lives and communities. Giddens's interest in communities, which care for those falling behind, suggests a sense of belonging. Now, however, with market relations and the economic interests of consumers appearing to hold 'successful' communities together, the warmth that Giddens's notion of community suggests is being undermined. Communitarianism has been taken up as one way to move back from a social order characterised by excess individualism, to the idea of reconciling individual rights with responsibilities individuals owe to the collectivity. Etzioni (1995) is a prominent theorist of Communitarianism, whose ideas are based on the principle that:

“human existence can (not) be sustained...unless its members dedicate...energy ...to shared projects. The exclusive pursuit of private interest erodes the network of social environments on which we all depend (358-9 cited in Hyland 2002 14).”

Particularly as formulated by Coleman, social capital is highly congruent with Communitarianism because of its emphasis on parenting deficits (Etzioni, 1993) as a key source of many ills in modern communities. The concept of community - as discussions in earlier chapters pointed out - is, of course, never a neutral one and is often open to manipulation (Schattschneider, 1960). For example, the normative positions of Coleman and Etzioni, if applied to FE, assume that people are willing to include disabled people and will - if they adopt prevailing social norms - be sustained through the exchange of social capital. What this means for young disabled people is not that they act in ways

that are mindful of others, rather an optimism that networks of close relations will negate their *pathological actions* so they can pass as members of a community. The potential emotional and social costs to a person of being absorbed into a network are glossed over.

Whilst politicians take up ideas that are cloaked by the fear of social exclusion, they also ignore some key issues. First, close networks that bind hypothetical, *normative* communities may serve to exclude people who lack the know-how to adhere to norms (Baron *et al.*, 2000), or who, for many reasons, wish not to conform. Second, in the context of FE, they ignore the risk that a college may lack the means to enable a person to be aware of norms through, for instance, the creation of equitable forms of support (Lister, 1998). Third, Coleman's (1961) construction of young people as passive in the formation of 'good' social capital is unable to recognise that the support and knowledge accruing to teenagers from peer-group interactions could, and often do, offer solutions to social cohesion (Morrow, 2002). Thus, Coleman ignores the peer group as a vital source of social capital. Despite such weaknesses, an interest in close networks is crucial to my study as it recognises that access to social capital is given when a person identifies with a cooperative social structure. Of course, there are contrasting views on these positions, which have further implications for young disabled people, and I discuss these below.

3.3 FE communities as potential sources of social capital: Robert Putman

In this section, I draw attention to the work of Robert Putman (1993; 1998; 2000; 2007) and the value he places on influences and resources from secondary network activities, such as sports associations (Nicholson and Hoye, 2008), as enabling forces in fostering social cohesion. I also touch on the sense of pessimism in his work that has much in

common with Coleman, such as teenagers' social capital having largely negative effects on social cohesion (Leonard, 2005). Further, that young disabled people who flout social norms may *need* to be shunted into closed networks of incarceration, where they have no option but to create and consume social capital in detached spaces (Baron *et al.*, 1999).

Putting such criticism aside, the work of Putman is of value to this study. This is because he recognises the potential of *weak* ties, outside closed networks, as transmitting tangible social capital. Indeed, Putman's analysis of US city ghettos illustrates awareness that being excluded from wider networks can impact negatively on young people's lives. Although different in context, there are similarities in this work to the creation of clinical institutional relations, such as asylums, which warehoused disabled people away from normal society (Goffman, 1963). In both contexts, young people failed to benefit from what Putman (1993) calls *bridging* ties. All things being equal, such ties provide a level of social intercourse between individuals, which instil the ethical habits and reciprocal moral obligations that Putman argues are the *keys* to a civilised society (Newton, 1999).

Putnam defined social capital as, "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (2000, 19)." Within his definition there are three separate but interrelated aspects: social networks, social norms and trustworthiness. For Putnam (1993), these aspects of trust or social networks, trustworthiness and norms of reciprocity are mutually reinforcing. To be more specific, Putman views social capital as being of importance in the formation of social control. This is achieved by increasing the *penalties* for those who deviate from collective norms through deploying shaming rituals, by adopting reciprocities and by increasing the passing on of knowledge, which includes reputations. Thus, Putman views social capital as being "built on internal and

external relations of any given group, which must entail participations in, and access to, new exchanges to avoid exclusion (Cox, 1995, 5).” For him, networks build their success on the presence of reciprocities and trust. Reciprocity as a norm fortifies trustworthiness that fortifies reciprocities. Therefore, trust and reciprocity make networks more effective and productive and, in those networks, trustworthiness and reciprocities can be nurtured.

It follows from this understanding that shared activity systems, with common frameworks of understanding may aid the associational life of disabled people (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Such a notion resonates throughout Third-Way politics. For Putman, the trustworthiness of a person is understood and organised by passing on information, as “reputations (are) transmitted and refined (and) embody...collaboration, which can serve as a culturally defined template for future collaboration (Siisiainen, 2000, 174).” That social capital is an asset gained purely by virtue of its existence is a result of Putman’s terminology, in which people are ‘social capitalists’ simply by existing in a civic society, such as the UK. Yet, this ignores the circumstances in which many disabled people exist.

Putman has not been spared criticism for this. This criticism has taken a number of forms (see Arneil, 2006), and is replete with tensions once social capital considers young disabled people. First, Putman only recognises the agency of teenagers in the formation of negative social capitals, such as between gang members. This image of teenagers has been supported in government policies, where a group of young people congregating in communal spaces is often seen to be menacing (Valentine, 2004). Second, Putman pays insufficient attention to social inequalities and neglects the wider structural context of society. Indeed, writers such as Li *et al.*, (2003) emphasise the need to consider social capital in terms of who gets what because many (young disabled) people in positions of

disadvantage often obtain situational social capital. Third, Putman ignores the changing dynamics of space that are characteristic of contemporary life (Holt, 2008) and a young disabled person's quest for identity in this world that is often met with multiple barriers (Hughes *et al.*, 2005). Fourth, his survey methods neglect young people as interviewees, failing to figure out how they understand the world, as opposed to deriving quantitative measures of participation. Last, Putman fails to recognise conflicting benefits or interests between clubs/associations (Small, 2009), and that those different types of associations or clubs foster both trust and mistrust (Misztal, 2000) between different parts of society.

Despite this criticism, writers such as Fukuyama (1992; 1995; 1999) continue to stress the value and vitality of trust as a social capital in relation to understanding, and forming an efficient socio-economic order. His work, which otherwise differs from Putman's, views trust being formed, and *good* ethical habits and reciprocal moral obligations being internalised, through an individual's participations in a civic society (Newton, 1999, 23).

Fukuyama's concern lay at a macro-level of analysis, or with a nation's capacity to create competitive institutions. According to him, this is dependent upon the potential and willingness of citizens to trust. Such a tendency for trust is situated in the principles guiding each society. To exemplify his own argument, Fukuyama sets apart high-trust societies, such as the USA, which he sees as able to create companies out of family firms through a "rich and complex civil society" (1995, 150), and *low-trust* societies, such as France, which he characterises as limiting trust through the destruction of civil society by a large and intervening state government. The distinction between nations, which he sees as being efficient or inefficient, is the solidarities that support economic well-being.

For Francis Fukuyama, then, the true value of social capital rests in the ability of social networks to instil the collectively held ideas and values, as well as a citizen's eagerness (where needed) to forgo self-interest to satisfy national competitive interests. Sharing ideas on a national scale apparently persuades each citizen to trust. Trust is: "expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and co-operative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms (1995, 26)." Fukuyama, therefore, predicts limitless capitalism "seeking friction-free economies (1995, 149)." This uncritical approach to trust has various weaknesses, however. Durlauf (2002) argues that a single indicator of social capital is too simplistic, and fails to identify that trust cuts both ways, especially when social obligations unduly override economic calculation. Second, public trust is seen as better than *thick* interpersonal trust. Yet thick trust, as shown by Weller (2007), can offer young people, in their transitions through school, close support. Third, defining trust on a national scale causes various problems for the "theoretical development and empirical research" of social capital (Cook, 2005, 8). This is because it cannot illustrate how social capital works on the ground, for example, how young disabled people use social capital.

The broad scope of this discussion sums up the conceptual confusion surrounding the different *features* and *entities* of social capital from a variety of scholars, such as James Coleman, Robert Putman, and Francis Fukuyama, whose perspectives on trust and social networks *work* the concept in different ways. Given this conceptual uncertainty, it would perhaps be beneficial to establish and draw upon the common ground in the work of the 'big three' integrative writers in relation to both social capital and education, whilst also acknowledging any divergence: see Table 1.2 overleaf. This common ground will act as a forerunner to exploring social capital as it relates to young disabled people within FE.

Table 1.2: Comparison of the main social capital scholars; incl. Bourdieu				
Social Capital Scholars	Francis Fukuyama	Robert Putman	James Coleman	*Pierre Bourdieu
Components	Trust	Civic association, reciprocity, trust	Family, bounded links, obligation, information and social norms	Networks, obligation: focus on restricted social networks
Location	Nation Organisation	Organisation, civic association	Between and among actors	Personal Networks
Sources	Networks of association and inter-group membership	Networks of civic association and the level of group membership	Family or closed communities; presence and expectations	Cultural endowment, recognition, and memberships
Definition	<i>Integrative (Normative) – relations that underpin EET, and that maintain a ‘healthy’ civic community</i>			<i>Marxist - conflict analysis</i>
Theoretical emphasis	Internal (bonding)			External (Bridging)
Operational emphases to education	<i>Instrumental: capital growth; relationships that maximise economic interests</i>	<i>Instrumental: as a glue/oil to cultivate civic norms, and to secure effective democracies</i>	<i>Instrumental: secure social status, human capital: labour market returns income/career</i>	<i>Instrumental: reproduction of unequal relations and opportunities that lead to economic advantage/ capital</i>
Outcomes	‘Spontaneous sociability’; a core moral consensus	Civic (ness), support and sharing, trust in other people	Increased social position/ labour market returns; income/career	Experienced actual/ potential support, class or network inequality

* The zigzag border indicates a stance that is examined later, in Section 3.4 (below).

Despite offering different perspectives on social capital, Coleman's, Putman's and Fukuyama's definitions are broadly similar. First, all of these writers' definitions of social capital differ upon its source within society and its affect on individuals, albeit at different levels of analysis. Putman's definition, for example, contains aspects of both bonding and bridging (this is not indicated in Table.1.2, but outlined later) that are useful to draw upon. Despite such differences, these writers relate their research to mainstream paradigms in neo-classical economics, as well as being strongly connected to a liberal individualist view of society. They prefer it seems, to explain social-cultural occurrences in relation to personal preference, self-interest and logical estimations and effectiveness.

Second, what is central to the definitions of Coleman, Fukuyama and Putman is that they analyse the arrangement of relationships between agents within particular communities, moreover, on the communities' internal characteristics. In other words, collective social capital (localised communities, for example) is situated in *internal* social structures or the linkages between agents in a specific community and in those features that offer up social cohesion as well as aid in key communal objectives (see Adler and Know, 2002). According to these authors, internal theorists tend to conceptualise social capital from individual behaviour, despite noting the concept's relational quality. In doing so, the authors assign the label *capital* to ties that arise in the confines of communities, at the same time distancing themselves from the concepts *external* capability. On this view, the concept is seen as sets of resources that exist in networks binding agents together. This view may explain the different levels of achievement between rival social communities.

For example, an actor's actions can be greatly facilitated by a direct or indirect link to social agents in other networks. Internal theorists do not acknowledge that relational structures vary in duration or connectedness. This is a key point. Structures differ in their ability to offer *capital* like properties, such as substitutability, a transformative capacity and reliability, that are needed to achieve capital-like outcomes (Robison *et al.*, 2002, 8-17). In this vein, the degree to which social capitals could be regarded as *capital* lies within the overall framework as well as substance of an agent's internal (bonding) plus his/her external (bridging) social relationships, and in the ebb and flow of the knowledge offered and given by others. However, by dodging the hierarchical nature and differing value of networks, internal theorists duck the crux of the matter in FE college settings, which, arguably, is to foster a sense of social cohesion and justice for *all* students in FE.

Third, the three examined scholars so far embrace social capital as mainly an unadulterated good, and argue that the practice of civic virtue is of value to every person, community and to the state. This bias is given strength by a normative and conditional view of social capital that, among other weaknesses, does not accept the complexity of social processes. For example, claiming that trust is a social fact would imply that social processes in society are linear, even though they can be seen as non-linear (Ormerod, 1994). These processes are vital to consider for they offer moments of ordinariness and exclusivity. McGregor (2003) also argues that the nomadic lifestyle of some people, and the contingency of contractual relations in globalised life, leaves no reason to build trust. This is problematic as it involves opportunity costs, such as no incentive for advantage maximising individuals to relate co-operatively to young disabled people in FE who are deemed to lack the resources to return in equal measure the support that is given to them.

Nevertheless, the three writers examined thus far, broadly agree that the optimal conditions for cultivating social capital include trust and reciprocity, the imposition of various sanctions when these fail, the existence of horizontal, not vertical mechanisms for exchanging information, and the willingness of communities to be responsible for providing a range of social services. As inspiring as this may sound, an assumption that over-specifies the necessary conditions for the generation of social capital may well be problematic for young disabled people. This is because, as I noted above, they are often deemed to lack the resources to return support, such as emotional support, which may be offered to them. The assumption is divisive to any claim that a young disabled person makes over the, “resources possessed by the collectivity (Dika and Singh, 2002, 34).”

The argument for many integrative social capital theorists, then, is aspects of social capital (and its respective parts) fashion logical patterns. This idea may function to a degree in closed communities of belonging, but logical patterns do not hold up for all. For Sheila Riddell *et al.*, (1999), within their study of disabled adults, the role of social-cultural factors in one community had a significant influence on how certain aspects of social capital were often denied them. However, Coleman, Putman and Fukuyama find it difficult to illuminate similar concerns as their own principal arguments, which examine personal behaviours, overlook cultural, structural or political elements. These different aspects of communities are vital for they acknowledge issues of conflict, or constraints on bridging social relationships. The overarching concern with power, social conflict and social capital is one concern of the French capital theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, whose ideas are drawn upon and examined below. His approach to social capital gives attention to the ways a specific group in society employ network exchanges to achieve personal gain.

3.4 Looking beyond social capital: a Marxian perspective

This section moves beyond the integrative versions of social capital, so as to examine the ways that social capital functions in relation to social differences that exist in a society, and how social capital is connected with a lack of social resources and, thus, a lack of power. The section also critically analyses the paradoxical nature of integrative versions of social capital. These over-specify the conditions necessary for developing reciprocity and trust within a normative vision of *civil* society and act as areas of exclusion for young disabled people who are unable or unwilling to contribute to such a vision. In the context of the study, I argue that a Marxist version of social capital is of value. That is, far from being desirable and in need of nurture, the acquisition and deployment of social capital represents a vital mechanism by which social inequalities are reproduced in FE.

This in mind, the work of Pierre Bourdieu is particularly influential for the study. It is from Bourdieu's conception of *capital* - seen here as sets of useable energies - that I can envisage how social actors advance and secure their own interests in respect of those in lower social positions but also in respect of other sub-groups. It is precisely this context that gave rise to the debated concept of cultural capital, which denotes the ways in which social elites "use cultural symbols as marks of distinction, both signalling and constituting their position in the social structure" (Field, 2008, 16). For Bourdieu (1977, 101), these structured beliefs, dispositions and modes of thought, construct 'the habitus' which may provide the crucial *keys* to unlock subjective agency from objective position.

Bourdieu's conception of social capital similarly emphasises the resources that people use to secure their own interests. Although his treatment of social capital lacks depth,

Bourdieu (1977) recognised the concept as the ‘sole means’ of describing the ‘principle of the social assets’ that people mobilise via mutual group membership. As examples, he listed gossip, reputation and hearsay from a family network and via select associations. Writers such as Ball (2003), argue that the insecurity of paid employment in the public and private labour markets has increased the tendency of the middle classes to utilise social capital to retain preferred positions. For example, there is growing evidence of the adverse effects of drawing social capital into education (Fuller *et al.*, 2007). An example in the literature is the presence of a person, such as a mother taking up a pastoral role in school, as mediating between her child and institutionally structured opportunities, so that “meritocratic principles are bypassed (Riddell *et al.*, 1999b, 56).” If not so easily classified as a Marxist himself, Bourdieu recognises social capital as a malign force to be dis-assembled and redistributed to achieve inequality. His definition of social capital is:

“the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986, 243).”

This in mind, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) emphasise a crucial fact that social connections involve *labour* to maintain their value. This, they argue, require investment strategies which aim to transform contingent relationships to those relationships which could be utilised in the shorter and longer term. In other words, social networks should involve “durable obligations subjectively felt”, with these social exchanges forming the, “unceasing effort of sociability (1980, 250 cited in Ball 2003).” This in mind, Bourdieu is useful for seeing how young disabled people, and groups of young disabled people, work to access and deploy social capitals so as to secure and advance their own interests.

Yet, Bourdieu's theory is not without its flaws. For instance, while his conceptualisation includes able-bodied children as bearers of class advantage, there is no acknowledgment in his work that disability can afford young disabled people a detached social status. This can often herald their removal from useful network experiences (Riddell *et al.*, 1999b). There is also the question over the ability of young disabled people to convert social capital into new kinds of capital. This is because their lower social status can restrict the value of their social capitals in society (Leonard, 2005). Also, Bourdieu individualised and treated social capital and its associated benefits as one-dimensional, which does not allow much space for individual reflexivity and/or collective resistances (Boyne, 2000). And, despite his emphasis on context, Bourdieu's concept views culture as a form of capital with set laws of exchange and accumulation (Swartz, 1997). This fails to identify that social laws are not tidy but are overlapped with issues of gender, ethnicity and social difference. This is a result, argues Arneil (2006, 10), of Bourdieu's concerns with class.

That, said, Bourdieu's emphasis on social capital for forming a power to and for ways in which people advance their interests over the longer term, is a vital contribution to the wider debate. His writings on the work required to maintain social capital is also significant, not least because it draws attention to those social and communicative skills involved with the processes of mutual cognition and recognition. It is difficult to gain purchase on such concerns using the ideas of Fukuyama, Coleman or Putman whose key interest in social capital was directed at mechanisms that reinforce integrating values in society toward creating economic stability. These scholars include a list of preconditions of consensus in their conceptual apparatus, which is continuing a dominant current of capitalist thinking in FE, of pluralism, and of integrative conceptions of social inclusion.

The disparity between each scholar discussed here should not be exaggerated. Indeed, these ‘big’ three scholars approach social capital from a different angle or concern, but all emphasise the ways that social capital multiplies and nurtures new kinds of capitals. Whilst many conceptual differences do persist between the scholars, they each have a concern with estimating the affect social capital has on individuals and communities, and all suggest actions to be taken to help nurture trustworthiness and supports toward strengthening effective societies. FE is now a crucial site for this action. For Fukuyama, “the area where governments probably have the greatest direct ability to generate social capital is education (1999, 11).” I would also want to argue that each scholar has relevance here, especially to create, improve and analyse the many opportunities and learning environments for every student to exist within. This is explored in detail below.

3.5 The types of social capital: towards a synthesised definition

So what, then, do Fukuyama, Coleman, Putman and Bourdieu add to my tool-kit for the social examination of young disabled people’s positions and existences in college? I believe that a crucial aspect of social capital lies predominantly, in social networks and the social goods they produce as a valuable resource. This energy can be produced and consumed through the acquisition of and investment in relationships which rotate around three separate but interchangeable aspects: social networks, trust and also social support.

These three dimensions (networks, trust and support) are considered by social capital scholars to be of vital importance in the production and consumption of social capitals (Bourdieu did not talk of trust, rather of the freedom granted via *recognition*). Bourdieu

implies trust is realised via recognition. Butler sees recognition as taking “place through communication, primarily, but not exclusively verbal, in which subjects are transformed by virtue of the communicative practice in which they are engaged (2004, 132).”

In addition to this, however, having a sustained access to networks and various kinds of support are also seen as important in the production of social capital in FE, with trust regarded as emerging from social networks and forms of social support. In other words, a young disabled person’s embeddedness in networks as well as the frequent availability of social support and reciprocities to allow individuals to gain from the opportunities available in FE is crucial if they are to develop capacities for trust. This, as a process, could ease access to support, collaboration and fresh information between institutional agents in FE. Further still, it may result in a level of influence and solidarity that could bear positively upon a young disabled person’s capacity to learn. From this perspective, the relative ‘success’ of FE provision may be understood as inhering in a young disabled person’s ability to access and then be embedded in social networks of support. In order to sum up this discussion, a working definition (adapted from Adler and Kwon, 2002, 23) that differentiates social capital and applies it to this specific setting would be useful.

“Social capital is the cooperation shown by a range of actors to young disabled students, both as individuals or groups. Its source lies in the structure and content of their relations with others and its affects flow from the influence, knowledge, and solidarity that are routinely made available to them within FE.”

This definition has capacity for both internal and external social links and the ability to examine the how social capital works for a young disabled person or group of young

disabled people. It includes the social capital that may be accessible to young disabled people from their close ties and from the social capital that they develop by creating new social links in college and beyond. The following section will focus on each dimension, as social capitals, before moving to examine their value for young disabled people in FE.

3.5.1 A social network and support as sources of social capital

This section will focus upon examining social support and social networks. Within the current social capital literature it is understood that these aspects are important in its definition. For example, Putnam (2000) argues that active participations in a community should be considered as a key aspect of social capital. Similarly, Bourdieu (1986) also acknowledged that social capital is present in relationships and can be generated through recurrent social exchanges. Based on such perspectives, a social network and support (if these can be taken to operate equitably) are crucial for acquiring and using social capital.

But what is a social network? A network is a conceptual entity that molds particular social exchanges. In particular, *nodes* that signify the agents involved, and *ties* that state the connection among these nodes construct a network. In other words, networks provide an illustration of an intricate fusion of social relationships (Tichy, 1981). Yet, different authors have varied judgments about the structure and function of networks. Granovetter (1973), Burt (1992) and Lin (2001) opine that network structure is an *intended* outcome stemming from strategic interactions, which are aimed at people who can provide valued goods. In similar vein, Coleman argues that efforts must be made by schools to reinforce capital, such as trust, but through the emergence of social norms and sanctions. Putman

(1993) too regards the structure and function of social networks as crucial. He mentions two types of social networks: horizontal and vertical. For him, people within horizontal networks are equal in power. This is because the network structure functions as the catalyst for interactive experiences that build a sense that a person can be trusted: the more a person connects with another person, the more the person trusts them, and vice-versa (1998, 173). In contrast, vertical networks cannot sustain trust and, as a result, are less useful in solving problems. In short, efficient networks for the formation of social capital are horizontal in structure, and are characterised by strong ties, with overlapping ties to wider social networks. In these ways social networks hold the ability to produce social capital because, through a person's active participation in networks and through the sharing of support with other people, a reputation for trust may be gained (1998, 12).

For Portes, (1998), the virtue of such support lies in maximising network utility, and not on the way a network is shaped, constrained and redirected by power struggles. Such a concern is crucial to the study, as it underlines the idea that networks enable and restrict agency. Crucially then, social networks can have dogmatic effects. In the context of FE provision, for example, these might be sites for the configuration of supportive professional relations with staff that holds a benevolent image, which can classify and categorise students according to internal social norms and resources (Bratlinger, 1993).

Therefore, networks and social support are related. Indeed, Putnam (2000) argues that networks involve, by definition, mutual obligations. Similarly, Christakis (2009) notes the mutual relations between networks and support, by arguing that networks are crucial for support: a helping hand or shoulder to cry on. I view support as being an affective

and a set response - active guidance, financial or additional assistance, information exchange and encouragement - that a young disabled person receives from within their own and other social network ties (Wellman, 1999). These forms of support are vital in enabling a person to cope with and to negotiate education. That is, they are important in enabling the individuals to get-on and get-ahead. Such 'support' and 'supportive ties' scaffold aspirations, they make decisions real and open up new stimulus (Albrow, 1997) throughout an individual's 'evolving learner biography' (Hodkinson, 2002). Therefore support(s), as aspects of social capital, are network resources that pattern choices and outcomes. However, support is seldom equal or on offer for free. Riddell (1999b) and Baron *et al.*, (2001), for example, both conclude that lived experiences within discrete networks affected the support available to their disabled adult participants, which had negative affects on their choices. As 'captive customers' (Riddell *et al.*, 1999) of mainly dependent aspects of social support, these participants could not conjure up a standing for trustworthiness with other people in wider communities. Networks and support are, however, regularly cast off in debates around trust in FE, especially in relation to young disabled students. This is despite, as I move on to discuss below, the potential value that trust and a sense of trustworthiness holds within a contemporary society (Misztal, 1996).

3.5.2 Trust and trustworthiness as social capital

Much of the recent interest in trust by scholars, such as Fukuyama, has attributed to this notion properties that have given trust and trustworthiness a mechanical quality. The notion is now used in daily vocabulary without much notice being given to its meaning or utilisation in practice. This simplistic understanding of trust is, however, inadequate if

researchers wish it to be a key indicator of social capital. Indeed, trust or trustworthiness is more than a *thing* that, for example, eliminates a need for prudence in the inter-change of specific social resources. It therefore remains a complex notion that serves many ends.

So, then, what is trust? Mistral (1996) answers this question by asking researchers to view how trust operates, and ask how trust may provide young people with the drive as well as the means to collaborate within contemporary social spaces, exemplified by fluid social connections. Based on Giddens's (1990) understanding, trust often functions to ease ontological insecurity. It does this by lessening apprehension about the process of the world around us; supporting reality maintenance and offering-up an un-questioning reassurance that everything is as it should be. This degree of assurance is often referred to as 'thick' trust, and can be nurtured in circumstances where frequent contacts between individuals, of the same background, develops a level of social closure (Coleman, 1988).

A foundation for thick trust, therefore, is *similarity and familiarity* (Khodyakov, 1997). In other words, individuals who are socially close to one another in specific ways and have some similarities may trust one another because they expect a certain level of personal interaction. Yet, trust generated through close social interactions has a limited capacity to offer a range of information and assistance in contemporary British society, as it requires a level of cooperation with and an ability to deal with outsiders. It is likely that dependence upon developing trust through familiarity alone may be inadequate because this can make individuals sacrifice, in lieu of other trust developing processes, the chance for reciprocity. Thus, individuals and groups of young people must strive to develop thin trust when they want to gain benefits on either side of trust-based relations.

At a more general level, thin or 'generalised trust' (Uslaner, 2002) operates to grease the wheels for reciprocity and may promote social inclusion for young disabled people who exist in isolated communities. Generalised trust is thus the capacity to trust young disabled people (amongst other people) who are viewed as outsiders, and believe they could, with a level of patience in many cases, fulfill expected standards of a specific group or community. One purpose of trust at a societal level, then, at least within this study, is in permitting young disabled people to exist with, respond well to and to accept risk. As a consequence, thin trust can promote social inclusion, increase the patience for, or acknowledge the social difference of young people who exist in discrete communities.

Thin trust is, however, more risky, as it increases our reliance on relationships with strangers whose intentions are unclear (Kreager, 2004). This ambiguous situation creates anxiety and apprehension and leads to information seeking behaviours, and to expectations that actors will comply with ethical rules. But, due to a limited knowledge of rules outside their own social practices, young disabled people cannot be rational in their actions all of the time. Indeed, by not possessing reliable information about other peoples' "intentions and/or motivations, miscalculations about the costs and benefits of respecting such practices are easily made (Gambetta, 1988, 12)." In addition, suspicion of other people is heightened by the negative perceptions of entire social categories (Offe, 2006). Disability is no stranger to such negative stereotyping (Davis, 1995). Trust is, therefore, a thoroughly social phenomenon. It depends on knowledge and belief, as well as of keeping an open mind to criticism, to opinions and conduct, and an exposure to continuous examination (Dahl, 1992). What is crucial to note, is the extent to which exposure to formal rules and influences promote a young person's readiness to risk

attachments at micro and macro levels. The work of Misztal (1996) is helpful here, as it explains the formation of trust at the micro level by focusing on cultivating a ‘trusting (cognitive) personality’ and, at the macro level, by arguing that very often weak state welfare systems produce an over reliance on kinship ties. For her, the over reliance on family networks has the consequence of creating unequal child rearing (social) practices.

Unquestionably, not every kin network is well positioned to introduce a child to the practice of exposing and conducting self in ways that promote trust. The recent work of Bradford and Hey (2007) supports this point of view. These writers illuminate, within the context of current educational policy (and educational success), the important role played by social difference in allowing a young disabled person to be well positioned in relation to maximising the spaces in, and possibilities presented by, formal education. Thin trust is not a mechanism that every person can rely upon for support. For example, a young disabled student is, by definition, a stranger to the overly-rational rules upon which many FE colleges openly structure their own sense of intent. Bearing this in mind, it would seem fostering trust between different groups of college students is crucial to avoid it becoming “a device for the creation and reifying of boundaries (Avis, 2003, 1).”

Summarizing trust then, is not simple. But, for the sake of brevity here, trust is made possible through the constant interaction with people whom we typically know (or come to know) over a long period of time. These relationships lubricate cooperation and breed trust and a reputation for trust (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998). Yet, trust is not easily conceded and any decision to trust or be trusted is for Khodyakov, (1997, 12) influenced by habits, imagination and judgments, that are situated in the past, present and future.

The slow process of trusting as well as being trusted has numerous functions in relation to social relationships. For instance, it is “spent cultivating support or more crucially, allow for freedoms of recognition, such as to be heard (Solomon *et al.*, 2001, 12).” Of course, fostering recognition amongst people, especially when underpinned by personal interest, might lead to less attractive results, such as marginalising others (Shah, 2008). The question remains, then, how trust (as a social capital) may support a young disabled person’s learning in FE? Indeed, having considered the differing types of social capital, I turn to discuss the forms of social capital that bring individuals and resources together.

3.6 The extent of social capital: different forms of social connections

At this point, it is vital to note that most of the benefits gained from closed networks of trust and support are unlikely to overcome the redundant modes, mechanisms and points of embeddedness of many young disabled people in FE. In other words, it is a mistake to assume the closed networks, within which many young disabled people exist, have the resources that could allow access to valuable networks. This section helps us to realise some forms of social capital will be more efficient than other forms in getting groups of people together regularly, and will be important in creating wider networks of support (Field, 2003). This in mind, it is vital to develop a broad understanding of social capital. That is, too narrow an understanding may leave little scope for this study to explore the impact of other people upon a young disabled person’s existence in FE (Raffo, 2006). Neither does it echo the *value* of social capital over their stance towards formal learning. Across the sciences, many theories preside over the *true* nature and impact of networks upon the well being of the individual and communities. Since arriving as a theoretical

notion early in the 20th century (Fine, 2010), a key step in conceptualising social capital has been the acknowledgment of different types of networks. Woolcock's (2001) work is crucial here, because of its "critique of the binary nature of debate over social capital and because his work alleviates the problem of form distinctions (Schuller *et al.*, 2000, 23)." For Woolcock, conceptualising social capitals as either bad or good resources is far too simplistic. Instead, he argues that various aspects of social capital hold both positive and negative effects, and the level of stability among these effects will be context dependent.

This approach includes bonding capital, which relates to closed links, reciprocity and trustworthiness between individuals who share a similarity (in terms of ethnicity, or other social differences), and bridging capital, which relates to links between individuals who do not share a similarity in the same way. A person might be accepted in a network with people who are similar. Therefore, the bonds formed through associations such as a college football club, for example, hold the potential to generate bridging capital. This is because inter-college tournaments gain access to wider associations in other FE colleges.

Woolcock, (2001) also refers to another key social capital: linking social capital. This form relates to the social linkages in a hierarchy of power relations. In other words, it relates to social relationships of recognition and reciprocity between and with those individuals or groups of who possess both power and authority. This element of vertical social linkages is important, as it relates to a useful connection that can lever monetary and other social resources or social goods. Therefore, a balance of certain forms of social linkages is not assured, but desirable. This is because too many close bonds to people who are alike without the ability to bridge out of an insular network can lead to narrow-

mindedness. But, lots of bridges as opposed to bonds can also lead to vulnerability. Moreover, bonds and bridges without much wider links can leave a community secluded from power and authority. The value of bonding, bridging and linking capital, then, is the difference between its horizontal and vertical dimensions. In other words, horizontal dimensions refer to characteristics such as race or year of age. Vertical dimensions refer to a person's social standing (which also associates to race and other social differences).

With all this in mind, then, how can this approach allow a fuller acknowledgment of the authority and power of social capital upon learning, as well as its role in nurturing a young disabled person's disposition to learning? The following discussion of bonding, bridging and linking capital contributes to this understanding, and offers a response to the question. This discussion will also put some flesh on a skeletal analytical framework.

3.6.1 Bonding social capital

Given that there are various aspects to social capitals, it is likely that some aspects are better connected with certain types of knowledge production and consumption. Through nurturing a child toward attainment norms, strong bonds may encourage engagement with and positive learning habits in school (Field, 2005). For Coleman (1988), bonded communities with collective norms form an agreement around the value of attainment norms, and may impose penalties on those deviating from the collective. It is vital to note that Coleman did not view collective norms as having a link with learning itself, rather he focused upon social capital as an element of control that favour the students committed to education. His work did, however, tell us that a person's desire to achieve is affected by close bonds, and by the norms that they regularly connect to. Bonding

capital is often realised in various occasions in college. For example, the support young disabled people receive from close friends. In relation to informal learning, bonding links might produce the social skills that are suited to the day-to-day social exchanges in a specific community. They may also make possible the input of social knowledge and hot gossip that is not frequently shared between associates, for various different reasons.

Bonding links, then, may well support casual learning in a closed social group, but they also restrict access to gossip and social skills that are not routinely accessible in a group. For Webster (2004), close links had multiple consequences for the young people in one disadvantaged council estate. For instance, bonding capital encouraged low aspirations, and organised young people and community members into categories of 'us' and 'them'. The consequences of this are addressed in Chapter 4. It should be restated that bonding capital is not always bad. That is, it does not necessarily order a mistrust of strangers. The availability of bonds does not depict a lack of linkages to people outwith closed networks. Rather, it relates to the levels of similarity within networks. Thus, lauding a form of bridging capital over bonding capital is frequently problematic (Healy, 2001). Bonding capital is frequently a preface to generating bridging capital, as opposed to prohibiting this aspect of social capital. Encouraged by the notion that children are agents in their own lives, writers such as Weller (2007) show the many degrees to which children produce social capital and show agency in the ways they consume it. However, such upbeat literature is only notable by its absence in relation to young disabled people.

3.6.2 Bridging social capital

In contrast to bonding, bridging capital illustrates distant or open-ended relationships amongst individuals who exist in wider networks from one's own. This develops wider reciprocities as opposed to keeping people confined in narrow groups. Bridging capital is of significance, at least initially, to generate *soft social skills* that may be taken from the acts of collaboration with people from different backgrounds. As well as a capability to trust, soft skills comprise working in teams to solve collective problems and encouraging customer relationships. Such affective and moral characteristics are resources of value in contemporary British society, with its necessity for self-renewal (Gallacher *et al.*, 2002).

The value of bridging capital, then, is that it might nurture ways of acquiring new social experiences, and might also promote inclusion through connecting individuals and, thus, to push aside apprehension gained from previous experience. Hall and Raffo (2000) is a good example of a study which emphasises the power of bridging capital for identity change from the perspective of young people's transitions, from poorly qualified school leavers to paid-employment. While change was made achievable by their frequent social interactions with adults in the workplace, these social relationships were easily broken. Furthermore, identity change was not readily wanted or even feasible for the majority of young people. A young person's apparent inability to talk or say the appropriate things in the right way limited their capability to move away from their own immediate social networks into, for example, different networks. This is a reflection that is frequently overlooked in any debate around bridging capital and disability. To an extent, bridging capital is not about choices, but is tied to the capital resources that a person have at hand.

3.6.3 Linking social capital

The articulation and subsequent development of linking social capital by Woolcock (2001), relates to those valued social network goods that are often embedded between specific communities or amongst individuals in related organisations. The development of linking social capital is important, as it shifts us away from a binary distinction which is frequently associated with the more commonly used forms of social capital (bonding or bridging capital). This third, vertical dimension exists across hierarchical relationships and/or across differences in social status. Its power lies in enabling young disabled people, or those working with them, to access connections which could lever crucial resources that exist outside an individual's own social milieus by, for example, making links for them to sources of support that exist across departments or in other institutions.

The idea of linking capital could also be seen to reinforce existing ties within power structures. Indeed, part of a successful 'scaling up' of social capital between schools and colleges is providing access to resources of privilege or status. Specifically, the success of FE provision relies upon tutors 'scaling up' the relations of obligation and trust which are often conferred by teachers in mainstream schools onto many middle class students (Reay, 2006). For Smyth (2004), such obligations foster aspects of social learning that scaffold aspirations and successful learning habits. It, therefore, appears that social ties contribute to learning in many ways. So, in Table 1.3 below, I offer a brief overview of the influence of these different forms of social capital upon learning within a FE college.

Types of capital	Social capital resources	Possible effects on learning
Bonding - dense bonded networks, high levels of trust, reciprocity and homogeneity of membership	The support, guidance and information a student receives from peers and college staff; tutor/ peer expectation. An example may be the existence of internal study groups.	Free exchange of information and skills; strong influence on identity formation; poor access to new knowledge high trust placed in information received, low trust of knowledge from outside
Bridging – an open-ended network, high level of trust, shared goals, heterogeneous membership, but reciprocity is often limited.	Inter-peer and staff support; memberships in college wide groups, clubs or organisations. Access to mainstream college resources and opportunities. Access to, for example, counselling and mentoring services.	Free exchange of a variety of ideas, skills within group/ between groups; potential resources for identity renewal among people; high trust in knowledge from within group; relations with education system highly context dependent.
Linking – open-ended networks, common norms and goals, levels of reciprocity trust/ are limited by competitive rivalry.	Connections to, and the introduction of, other support organisations, reflective dialogue and collegial relationships between students, FE staff members and other outside support agencies.	Relatively free exchange of a variety of ideas, knowledge skills within group and between own and other groups; trust in knowledge and influence from within group; open resources that aid or support identity change.

*This table is Adapted from Field (*Social Capital and Lifelong Learning*, 2005, 34)

The assumptions above are, however, linear and rational where in life social behaviours are related to structural factors, such as class or race and other personal circumstances, which all shape a disposition to formal learning (Fine, 2001). If I see social capital as consisting just one type of capital at an individual's disposal, it seems that interactions between networks and learning may entail relations of power and social disadvantage. Of course the kinds of immobilisation that young disabled people may face in FE require much further contextualisation. Thus, the following section is devoted to an analysis that unveils the value of social capital discourse upon an individual enrolled in FE provision.

3.7 The discriminate value of social capital for young disabled people in FE

Overall, the picture drawn of social capital is consistent with an integrative perspective. In other words, social capital will have a positive affect upon young disabled people in FE. If I am to accept such a positive outlook, the ability to contribute and draw upon stocks of social capital must be made routinely available to any new learning member of a college. This is because social capital not only influences opportunities and choices, but may also aid the nature and quality of young people's transitions to and progressions from one state to another: from a school pupil to a future adult worker. A denial of such valuable social capital resources can have harmful implications for making active life choices, and for resolving daily tasks. In this section, I seek to adopt a critical focus so as to unveil the characteristics of social capital discourse for young disabled students in FE.

With respect to their progressions from school to FE, young disabled people face a host of factors associated with accessing social capital, which can effect any relation between being school pupils becoming future workers. The successful negotiation or bridging of this relationship will relate to all aspects of student experience in FE. For instance, young disabled people acquiring knowledge from the practices of cooperation with other students that is of use in living up to the expectations and choices available to them as consumers. Such expectations and choices, endowed as these are with multiple discursive rights (Giddens, 1994), generate a mix of hope and conflict (Hughes, 2002). Crossing a bridge between school and FE, therefore, requires young disabled people to not only be absorbed and established in a community in which they learn effectively, but also where they have the confidence and know how to demand access to any available social capital, which may be situated locally but which are also different from school.

In order to look critically at these factors, I need to look back onto the narrative of alternative FE provision, specifically, how this narrative shapes social arrangements for young disabled people in FE. At first glance, FE provision, with its emphasis on skills and competences for work, seems to fit the overriding cultural imperative of those young people who want to make a transition into the labour market. It is also apparent that this imperative also generates a false 'reality' for many young disabled people as it takes for granted a rather narrow, individualised notion of their transitions to FE and then to work.

This 'false' reality splinters and constructs points of separation by crystallising sets of problems or identifiable special needs in relation to this reality, which require "specific attention to bring them into line with the mainstream (Wyn *et al.*, 1997, 51)." In this instance, alternative provision differentiates between students who are seen to *need* cultural correction in order to reach their potential as workers and consumers. Cultural correction relates here, to a mix of professed deficits in work skills: cultural competences, and rituals that apparently provide a basis for trust between workers (Hanson, 2002, 15).

Despite the seemingly generous nature of FE provision in promoting a young disabled person's resilience and agency, this study suggests that it is drawing attention away from the resources that make available other forms of self, identity and reflexivity (Skeggs, 2007). In this instance, FE provision is situating some young people in different subject positions, which justify new sets of social relationships that are located away from the resources made available to others. Marked out as different, by the fixed differences of a normative and consumerist orientations, a young disabled person's existence in a college is made redundant when they are cut off from many, normal social network experiences.

There are, however, important issues here in relation to the way that a college considers social capital (the plural being important) to reduce transitional tensions that are, almost invariably, experienced by young disabled people enrolling in FE. Two examples are how colleges can support a student's participation in mainstream activities and how to structure social arrangements in a college, so as to re-distribute key social resources. Thus, the importance of a social capital discourse in FE is where it can compensate for those social practices that inhibit access to valuable networks (McGonichal *et al.*, 2007).

A critical social capital discourse would value the importance of situating or allocating resources into the networks in which disabled people exist. This discourse must stress the extent to which they could (at both a micro and meso level) gain an equal access to resources of status and privilege that are situated in the mainstream of college life. For example, at a micro level, young disabled people may be in a strong position to benefit positively from FE if there are similarities between the values and norms of the actors that make up a network, and if they are in a position to access resources from that network. This might be a network characterised by close connections that expose people to ideas about the functions of networks, such as culturally authentic relations with others, which may inform new actions of people. This 'turning point' in a person's learning career is achieved when they become embedded in networks of like-minded people, from whom they can then acquire knowledge, and new understandings that "allow them to operate in a cultural field with a certain expertise (Hodkinson, 2006, 10)"

A social capital perspective in FE can value a much wider emphasis on those networks that have access to broader sets of resources. That is, to replace strong ties with loose reciprocal ties that could promise various, new forms of learning. In this way, the association between social capitals, young disabled people, alternative FE provision and FE generally, may be viewed as a process of young people learning from each other. Indeed, both Bourdieu and Putman realised this, and noted that people acquire particular social skills and knowledge through their frequent access to much wider fields of social movement, such as organised clubs or through much looser affiliations. Alongside a new network of experiences, a young disabled person may be offered occasions to first view, copy and validate decisions through these various exchanges (Raffo and Hall, 2000, 13).

Social capital can thus promote learning (Field, 2005). However, the value of this learning may be reduced if the opportunities to learn from each other are restricted, or if the line of communication between social actors is such as to pressure an individual to promote divisive behaviours. In other words, behaviours that are seen by outsiders as an attempt to develop bounded solidarities that, either by choice or necessity, are inward looking and supportive of restricted subject positions (Portes and Landolt, 1996). This in mind, it is doubtful whether every individual may be so easily persuaded into learning simply by following the direction of others. It seems likely - given past conflicts with their learning in schools - that some young disabled people will bring with them negative learning dispositions, which may negate a positive engagement with teaching staff in FE.

At this juncture it is important that I acknowledge dispositions to be part of a wider habitus and evolving identity of a young person. This helps avoid hypothesis that

conceptualise subjectivity purely as atomised, but rather see individuals re-forming their dispositions in response to social capital. Making a successful transition to FE will rely on other actors, and on social arrangements that promote learning, as well as on a young person's "deeply ingrained systems of perspectives and pre-dispositions" (Reay, 1998, 528). Thus, despite the operation of disability as a master category in the study, I suggest that although dispositions can be transformed by accessing wider networks, a person's habitus delineates differential opportunities for a young person to know about and/or know-how to access particular economies of social capital. For example, Brown (1999) focuses his attention on the function of unequal power relations amongst people within a network as factoring in to both the production and the preservation of social capital.

Brown highlights three types of power - coercion, charisma and authority - that are obtained as a result of individual characteristics from which a young person could gain from social networks (p.5). Here, Brown alerts me to the prospect that some young people might be more or less gainfully situated in a social network because of the power relations that dictate the various exchanges between group members in a network. What this may mean for this study is that some young people will realise more opportunities than their peers to create, control and therefore exploit network ties such as class tutors, for example, by virtue of their pre-existing interpersonal, affective and cognitive skills.

Although both Reay and Brown focus on class and Bourdieu's notion of habitus, I suggest that there exists a parallel with young disabled people in FE whose views about what is possible may be affected by what is regarded as 'acceptable' for a student with a disability. Indeed, a feature of disability in educational contexts is the extent to which

young people's impairment(s) could dominate the nature and quality of accessible social capital (Baron *et al.*, 1999). I further argue that equitable distributions of social resources are problematic where student characteristics, social experiences and/or social influences augment each other to produce what Thomson (2001, 4) calls a "spectacle of embodied otherness." This is a status that marks young disabled students as possessing redundant attributes of value, which in turn, bring with them the types of individualised transition support that discriminate against accessing more valued social capital. Indeed, a young person's 'embodied otherness' is an important factor in drawing a student away from the valued social capital that could, potentially, enable a self to be aware of opportunities and choices in complex transitions and progressions in FE (Raffo and Reeves, 2006). That is, there might be processes of reordering at work in FE which can position young disabled people within different and less capital/resource-rich sets of social relationships.

In the context of FE provision then, social capital is tied up with the distribution or redistribution of 'social goods'. In other words, social capital shapes a struggle for resources that influence why, how and with whom young disabled people forge relations in a college. This grasps the true nature of a critical social capital discourse, for it admits a recognition that some young people exist in pre-existing and unequal relations of both power and status. Unequal relations can constrain them and provide the context for their interactions and the conditions of existence (Bourdieu, 1986). This inevitably affects the nature, range and value of social capital, which are made available to them in a college.

3.8 Summary

New Labour's emphasis on stressing the economic aims of lifelong learning, as well as the socially inclusive ones, has seen a proliferation of interest in social capital theory. Despite this attention, and despite new critical stances over the various writings of the 'theoretical fathers' of social capital, these critiques contribute little to the lives of most young disabled people. Thus, conceptual definitions were considered, so as to outline an outline for conceptualising the social capital of young disabled people. This definition includes the dimensions of network, support and trust. In this study, it is argued that all things being equal, these three aspects facilitate the creation of valuable social resources.

That said, however, it is inherent in any study of young disabled people that a critical theoretical style was required in relation to examining social capital. Even though integrative assertions remains that social capital thrives best in open cultures, which are unrestricted by tribalism or superstition (Popper, 1934 [2000]), there are differences with (re-) distributing social capital within FE. This is because of the way in which a series of mostly American writers has presented their social capital theories as being beneficial to everyone, while overlooking social differences, such as disability, class, race, age and gender, which are frequently the cause of many power struggles and personal conflict between individuals in contemporary societies (Fine, 2010, 4). Despite a wide range of literature that has gone before social capital, I find it unsettling that there remains a lack of research that focuses upon these very issues in relation to the embodied experiences of young disabled people. This is what I now set out to consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

SOCIAL CAPITAL, DISABILITY AND FE:

‘Spanning the socio-cultural divide’

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I begin by considering the volumes and types of relevant social capital available to or denied young disabled people. I will then look to illuminate how social capital works (its flow and rhythm) in order to compare the vagaries, complexity and slippages that sustain social disadvantage in FE and beyond. This, I believe, is a crucial discussion, as most of the current social capital literature sees social networks, social support and trust as rather inevitable, mechanical or automatic in nature. Indeed, many ‘social capitalists’ paint an overly simplistic picture of the social linkages they seek to describe. As a consequence, few writers operationalise these distinctions in FE, and ask whether the descriptive force attributed to social capital can overcome the social barriers and closed networks which exist for young disabled people in one contemporary college.

This discussion will therefore warrant “a more sensitive and cautious approach to invoking the idea of social capital (in order to) ensure that the term maintains some integrity (Wall *et al.*, 1998, 319).” Indeed, many social capital scholars have chosen to cut across social cleavages, such as class, race, gender, and, in particular disability. In so doing, they have damaged a fuller understanding of social networks, support and trust as pivotal resources in transforming (at least ostensibly) a young person’s learning identity. This is an identity which entails both continuity and change, in part, through reciprocal social relations in non-redundant networks of influence (Bourdieu 1986; Portes 1995). Finally, this chapter explores variations in the social capital available to young disabled people as students, which may adversely affect their engagement with, and commitment to their learning careers in FE, as well as those that might help rectify social inequalities.

4.2 Social capital and social disadvantage for young disabled students in FE

It was suggested in Chapter 3 that social capital might promote inequality because of a young disabled person's poor and un-sustained access to differing social linkages, and the social capital this nurtures, in a FE college. Outside a handful of social capital related studies of the young, such issues find little expression in the current literature. This reflects the broad weaknesses over how social network resources matter to young disabled people's individual and collective well-being and leaves little or no room for optimism that they will engage in learning through their inclusions in college. But talk of social networks, support or trust is not to be considered in isolation from the ubiquitous issues of power or social control that labour against general social capital growth, or that plague a person's learning processes generally. The first point I therefore attend to will relate to those general concerns over the poor distribution of particular forms of social capital to young disabled people. The subsequent points concern how a poor distribution of social capital sustain and underpins a wide range of social inequalities in a FE college.

At a general level, initial concerns in the literature point to a disparity of social capitals in relation to advice and guidance that have been the primary source of young people's alienation from key roles in the labour market (Lee, 2001). These concerns also alert me to the denial of learning experiences which weaken the nurturance of particular skills, competences and dispositions such as those that enable individuals to become embedded in wider social exchanges. This is most profound when people are contained in local 'socio-scapes' (Albrow, 1997), which are high in bonding capital. In other words, where they are situated away from social networks that contain high volume social capital or

'hot knowledge' (Ball, 2003), such as the latest gossip, which can provide insights into how a young person may advance their interests. Edwards and Foley (1997, 677) note:

“Access to social capital depends on the social location of the specific individuals...attempting to appropriate it...(and)...the social location of the social capital itself affects its “ use value,” regardless of who appropriates it.”

Most of the social capital literature under plays the fact that diverse colleges can be divided, or that disabled students tend to exist within different spaces. This ignores the context in which the social capital available to young disabled people is generated and consumed. Indeed, as Das rightly argues, not to consider the differential nature and value of social network resources, “obviates the need to conceptualise the way social capital develops in, and is constrained by, the class context in which the poor live (2006, 72).”

The idea that the social capital accessible to young disabled people is constituted in classed contexts, which may be exempt of valued resources or of material and symbolic assets, is a useful one. I say this because *context* gives rise to key factors that underpin social inequalities for young disabled people in FE. This point is not yet evident in the current literature. Two points can be made here. First, as noted above, social capital is not readily available to every student in FE. Geographic isolation limits the accessibility of social capital (Rustemier, 1999). Second, social capital is not equal (Edwards and Foley, 2003). This will depend upon where the social capital was produced and, in part, upon the social status of who produced it. Indeed, ties to people with dissimilar outlooks, living and working in different situations, leads to new life experiences, aptitudes and a variety of capital, such as psychological capital, for example. It is through the activation

of capital and active participations in a variety of networks that links the relationship between education and work, as a process, leading to a realisable future (Ball, 2003, 90).

Further to this, it is suggested, “differing relationships, plus varied contextual influencers, may also be antithetical to social capital production (Chhibber, 2000 299).” Indeed, for Portes, social capital “cut(s) both ways” (1998, 18), or is paradoxical, in that it may give rise to desirable outcomes as well as cultivate distinct social ‘bads’. This *bipolar* view is echoed by a number of cultural analysts, who see social networks as posing barriers to learning, such as conformity to family demands (Shain, 2003), or loyalty to local neighbourhoods (Hanley, 2007). In the latter study, for example, social capital is regularly deployed to place excessive claims on neighbours, which asphyxiates individual freedoms and exerts a levelling-down effect on personal aspirations. Such complicated network patterns mean that social relations and norms can promote learning and control learning, and its consequences. As Portes argues (1998, 18), social capitals that function as social controls can conflict with any “network-mediated benefits”, which are gained from such capitals, as the second has the capacity to “bypass existing norms.”

In addition to this, so-called disadvantaged students in educational institutions may be denied access to social capital due to the “social antagonisms and divisions existing in wider society (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 13).” For example, education has long conflated disability and working class (ness) or language, culture and/or behaviour against the supposedly more rational middle-class (ness), which has come to symbolise competence and success in schools/colleges (Bernstein, 1977). This has caused problems in building social relationships, because as Evans notes, “[if] people cannot trust each other or work together, then improving the material conditions of life is an uphill battle (1997, 2).”

The main argument here is that differential access to relationships and the existence of cultural norms form part of a specific habitus which is crucial to, and places limitations on, an individual's attitude toward and participation in learning (Field, 2005). It would be simplistic in the extreme, however, to suggest that a lack of social ties is the only factor, or the most influential factor, involved in informing a young person's aspirations in formal education (Strawn, 2003). Indeed, as noted throughout, inequalities of access to reserves of capital intersect with other sites of social difference, such as those of race and disability. Yet, the social capital literature frequently fails to recognise the culminate significance of these key sites on acquiring and utilising network resources (Holt, 2008).

There is more to the role of social capital in young disabled people's transitions to FE than norms and networks. Given the complexity of the labour market in a fluid, open and separating society, and given the almost inevitable pressures or cutbacks on spending by future employers as a result of the current recession, constant attention needs to be given to acquiring new learning habits with the capacity to bridge new and unknown landscapes of learning (Bentley, 1998). In addition to this, however, this new, troubled landscape is also mediated by consumption, with current trends in FE colleges calling on people to be choosers and consumers of their own learning. Likewise, choice is seen as important in a young person's capacity to experiment with their identity (see Hughes *et al.*, 2005). This would assume every young person has "the means to exert an unprecedented degree of control over (their) bodies (Shilling, 2003, 2)". However, to what extent can disabled people choose when it comes to their body, and to what extent can they actively participate or be embedded in social network associations at a college?

Superficially, I agree with policymakers that a young disabled person, who hails from a poor background, might gain from a transition to FE. Indeed, their transition may symbolise a second chance to gain admission to and construct attachments, which may embed them in wider networks of support. I also view their transitions to FE as offering/being a source of differentiation, where issues linked with social capital inequalities do not lessen. Rather, they remain up front, and get played out inequitably. This is because disability is “remapped” (Connell, 1994, 133) or devalued in relation to contemporary educational trends that promote able-bodied traits and middle-class positions. In the next section, I argue that some people are stripped of social capital because their bodies are represented by deficit and, therefore, in need of correction by the values that uphold a consumerist FE culture, and by what constitute success in contemporary British society.

4.3 Absence of value: social class and disability in FE

As I will argue, there are processes of reordering at work in FE which position young disabled people in different and less resource-rich social relations - with college staff and peers. It is not, however, my intention to review the plethora of evidence associated with what Paugam (1996, 1) refers to as a “spiral of precariousness” or a gathering of factors (disability, race and social class) that contribute to a disabled student’s marginalisation in education. Rather, I identify how these processes mark out and categorise difference. In other words, I illuminate class and disability as structural sites of oppression and explore how these intersect with consumerist and entrepreneurial discourses in order to see how they act as exclusionary mechanisms in the socio-cultural fabric of a college. It is these essentially capitalist ideals driving FE which are, I argue, inconsistent with the

constitution of disadvantaged and young disabled students, and masquerade as exclusive criteria positioning them differently in an “economy of student worth” (Ball, 2004a, 10).

That, said, Das (2006) argues that a mis-appreciation among many social capital writers signifies either class or disability as having a negative influence on a person’s access to networks of actual or potential support. Neither were such sites of oppression recognised in New Labour’s lifelong learning agenda (Coffield, 1999). This lack of recognition may be understandable were it not for the substantial literature exemplifying these key sites as permeating students’ experiences and expectations of education and learning (Willis 1977; Ball *et al.*, 2000). This is due, partly, to education integrating the working classes with disability, understanding them as departures from valued (middle-class) standards, in order to allocate young disabled people a set of ascriptions marking them as the Other. Indeed, what is not widely acknowledged is that the characterisations of deficit and failure, used to separate or strip disability of power in mainstream education, is similar to sets of supposed defective characteristics being attached to working class individuals.

In many ways, ability and class differences interlock to characterise some young people as lacking in mind and spirit. Thomson acknowledges, “this sense of embodiment is conceived as either a lack or excess ... (with young disabled students) ... regularly, if not always, described in terms of aplasia, meaning absence or failure or associated with hypoplasia, meaning mind-body-emotional underdevelopment (2001, 7).” Similarly, the working classes are historically constructed “as an unknowing uncritical tasteless mass⁵” (who are closely) “associated with images of disease, filth and waste (Reay, 2006, 295).”

⁵ According to Tyler (2008) the comical figure of a ‘chav’ in popular media is a recent, abusive term for white working class young people. For her, this figure can be associated with notions of lower-working class (ness) and has also become a powerful expression of (middle) class disgust.

The key point here is that I consider working class (ness) as comprising other systems of representation. That is, to regard working class traits and values as performances of disability, whose ‘psychic’ properties intertwine with negative views of disability and youth in order to represent some young people as subjugated bodies (Horschelman *et al.*, 2010). This leads to a lack of recognition and acquaintance between staff and students, which block the emergence of social capital as a constructive force in FE. In stating this, I recognise that a broad-spectrum of disabilities may dictate differential access to social capital. For example, young people in wheelchairs, as opposed to working class students, will experience FE life differently; indeed, the former may have little option over their travels in college. Nevertheless, what distinguishes disabled and working class students in education is how they are endlessly subjected to forms of discipline (Foucault, 1977) - social pressure to shape, regulate and normalise - that deny them the level of autonomy which some middle class students are thought ‘naturally’ to require and/or be able to use.

That, said, however, consumerism and choice subject the *disabled* body to new forms of correction or inequalities. This is achieved, first, by reducing cultural tolerances for social dissimilarity by espousing such ‘ideal-traits’ as excellence and youthfulness (Hughes *et al.*, 2005). Second, inequality occurs by stifling the key resources required to widen capacities for learning and self-innovation in post-modern spaces, where itinerant or nomadic lifestyles and risk are norms (Giddens, 1991). Risk and itinerancy are also identifiable in FE. They are fixed in place when politicians talk of self-responsibility or resourcefulness, and the need to discipline the body (Shilling, 2003) in ways that will positively affect economic success or happiness in normative terms (a big house, a good job) across multiple spaces and relationships that may be new or uncertain (Beck, 1994).

This ‘individualisation’ process, in other words, holds the promise for a “new active self to be an agent in our own project of reinvention and reproduction (Hall, 1997, 1).” This is shaped, held together, or abandoned, as a result of a wealth of affiliations rather than relations dictated by social class or disability. Embedded into this mantra of a need for *new selves* are new attributes of value, exploitation and governance which for Skeggs (2004b) and Hughes *et al.*, (2005) fix deficit such as class, in place, in order to make it governable so that others can monopolise mobility. For example, Hughes *et al.*, see that the virtue of youth in consumer culture is embodied in the external territories of the body and is “incompatible with a disabled body’s carnal constitution (2005, 10).” This, they argue, attracts rather than repels correction. Skeggs also argues that “middle-class normality hidden in expert systems operate to exclude the disadvantaged in favour of those who can draw on culturally embedded material and symbolic assets (2004, 8).”

Certainly, Raffo *et al.*, (2000) argue that particular skills and/or dispositions are needed to decode normative progression systems emerging in FE. In effect, a student’s social and cultural capital, or cultural know how, enables a central position to be taken up in relation to this type of learning. This is because such systems “believe a middle-class orientation to ‘futures’ a ... confidence gleaned from varied, non-redundant network experiences that makes imagined futures possible via the actions of the present (Ball, 2003, 163)”. In contrast, Livingstone (2006) argues that such qualities are not readily felt within a working-class habitus. Indeed, a poor attitude to learning formed by insular relations may be seen by staff in FE as a symptom of working-class untrustworthiness, rather than as a resistance to FE’s normative systems (Skeggs, 1997). The implication is that a college is unlikely to develop the support services which help students to achieve.

A number of other studies have been less optimistic about reducing the centrality of class-based relations in post-modernity. One such study of mainly post-16, able-bodied students, moving from school to education, employment or training (EET), was by Ball *et al.*, (2000). Two key topics of this study are structure and choice, “the extent to which young people now see their decision making as individual choice rather than the product of structured constraints (2000, 2).” In other words, the participants believed they had control, freedom and choice over aspects of their transitional experiences, and that their own personality traits and ambition could decide what chances they had in life. Despite a strong desire to control their own destiny, this insightful study noted that the life chances of the young people were informed by fear, anger and humiliation of prior experiences. In other words, it pointed to these actors consistently retaining a sense of choice and optimism, while in reality “their opportunities were stratified, and access to different levels depended on familiar predictors (2000, 145)”, such as their own close family ties.

In addition to this, Ball and his colleagues (2000) point out that identity is not a subject position that is grabbed voluntarily. Rather, the positions that are attained at birth and then added to and elaborated on by a young person’s and other people’s reactions in space, often restricts ‘hopping’ between subject positions. This point is important, as it describes working class young people, and young disabled people in particular, in terms of being inactive beneficiaries of non-reciprocal practices, rather than active social agents set ‘loose’ by multiple social networks and their associated social resources and liquid social relationships that supposedly mark the new urban economies (Urry, 2000b).

On that note, Benjamin (2002) shows us that such lived experiences go overlooked in the rationalised day-to-day understandings of educational normality which, she expertly argues, repositions young disabled students with traits that suggest ‘anomaly’, or what Goffman calls a “spoilt identity” (1963, 3). This may result in a student’s incarceration within paraphernalia of professional support systems and social networks that appear far removed from the socio-scapes of the individuals for who they were designed (Albrow, 1997). In effect, they are becoming a group that Bauman describes as the “new poor” (2001, 93) or those devoid of the capacity to produce, consume and/or scaffold their existence within contemporary cultures through the acquisition and utility of capital.

The Othering of disability, therefore, takes many forms at a time when colleges, and those young people who exist in them, are guided by an aesthetic of consumption (Bauman, 1998). Indeed, the notion that consumerism is an educational positive in the lives of individuals fails to conceive of the idea that some young people may not have access to the resources required to ‘reinvent themselves’. In addition, the policy view of young disabled students as tormented by forms of deficit and needing compensation in the form of more choice is creating a “false map of the problem” (Connell, 1994, 130). More often than not, choice is contained by relations of power and by disabling contexts.

Accessing the opportunity structures in FE, and declaring an identity other than one implied by deficit will, to a degree, be enhanced by confidence in new networks of experience. In other words, access to wider networks influences can offer a weight of evidence, solidarity and support to create confident perceptions that might inform new actions of an individual (Raffo *et al.*, 2000). The development of such a capacity can be

closely aligned to the development of a disposition to learning. A disposition towards learning is understood to be part of a wider habitus. Thus, it is a complex set of cultural acts, contingent on risk and vulnerable to diverse influences such as relationships outside and inside FE. This disposition becomes part of the evolving identity of a young person (Bloomer, 1998). However, as a flawed consumer, a young disabled student is not free to produce and consume aspects of experience, which bears upon their capacity to learn, endure or transform identity over time. It is to these important aspects, which I now turn.

4.4 The immobilisation of a young disabled student's learning identity in FE

The above view does, however, contrast sharply with the singular approach to learning progression currently adopted in FE. This defines atomised actors with stable and enduring trait-like qualities of learning dispositions, choosing and consuming their own education. Indeed, the prevailing fallacy in developing FE provision was that this could make the difference in meeting a student's differing needs by acting as a 'safety net' for weak students (Working Group on 14-19 Reform, 2004). Indeed, there is a taken-for-granted assumption that their needs are best served from a known reservoir of resources that must first exist and then be drawn upon, in order to learn along a linear normatively structured model (Clark *et al.*, 1998). This singular and normative vision is flawed as it can impose upon, rather than develop from the life experiences and situations of variably disadvantaged students (Priestley, 2003). Subsequently, it produces the foundation for a number of oppressive processes which may militate against a young person's sustained access to social capital and which may labour to transform a learning identity over time.

My concern at this juncture is of young working-class and disabled students entering FE colleges with highly localised social skills, and, thus, without the practiced social skills to engage and be absorbed in to a wide range of socio-scapes. Indeed, as illuminated by Holt (2010a) they may be more akin to identifying with their peers where an identity and status was gained by factors other than, and which militate against, normative forms of success. For many, if not all young disabled people, the ability to manufacture sustained access to FE's 'opportunity structures' could present a vital problem, not only because of a social status as Other, but also because of their powerlessness to "decode the system"; or grasp the complex "cultural logic of (further) education (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 13)."

Addressing such issues, and considering what appropriate relations consists of in FE, signals a different form of learning than that predicated on integrative assumptions: social capital in the form of influential social skills or 'social energy' (Hirschman, 1984, 42), which is ultimately useful in relation to finding paid work. EAUDE, (2006) notes, however, that none of these are skills to be taught in separate ways but, rather, are ways of working and attitudes learnt predominantly through practice. For him, all students can and should be taught social rules and strategies, but it is primarily through practicing and through repeated experiences of what these feel like that they can become internalised. However, as I indicated previously, many colleges now invest in constructing a powerful 'employable' subject, one which is rational, autonomous and/or manageable. That, is to say, young people are treated as "raw materials to be processed, developed, sorted and quality-tested (assessed) for added value at regular intervals (Benjamin, 2002, 36)."

However, as Smyth (2004) notes, it is not sufficient to explain disadvantages as existing exclusively inside, and thus open to being managed by, a college. What may be

missing are the opportunities to build a relationship with peer-organisations or voluntary groups inside of other college communities. Indeed, in order to form a disposition to interact positively with a range of learning tasks, people must be routinely exposed to these types of exchanges (Falk, 2006). Consideration of social capital is of no formulaic value to learning strategies that need to rationalise the time and space of young disabled people. I therefore argue that organised learning generates an absence of purpose and reinforces restrictive bonding capital. This is achieved through repetitious activities, which reproduce pedagogical rituals and routines, that are akin to the Fordist workplace which in turn, inculcate a fixed identity and produce docile subjects (Baron *et al.*, 1998).

At its starkest, disabled students are passive consumers of ‘rights’ in FE, defined and delivered by professional others rather than as active agents and, thus, members of a community forming rights in the inter-change of duties⁶ (Baron and Dumbleton, 1999). This does not mean *risks* will never be visible in a young disabled person’s existence in FE. On the contrary, there might be an increase in the extent to which risks appear in their aspirations and will be vital to their choices (Scott, 2000). First, risk is fixed in FE due to a student’s vague knowledge of their capabilities and aptitude for something new. Second, they may not have access to networks that provide insights into the changes still needed to take place in a learning career (Bloomer *et al.*, 2000). Lastly, bad decisions are not easily reversed without financial or personal cost. A capital-poor student might make poor choices in relation to risk. This is not due to any aspiration difference in contrast to their middle class peers but, rather, might well be due to the cost of failure being greater.

⁶ Baron and Dumbleton (1999) argue that an individual’s responsibility to a community does not end once rights are granted. The right and duty of an individual is to strengthen/promote community norms. This is one way accountability is imposed. Rights and duties coupled are, therefore, a key part of the social bond between an individual and other community members.

In addition to this, however, risk is also rooted in the constantly changing forms of social exchange, obligation and through signs and symbols in FE which are likely to make it difficult for school-aged students to become at ease in a college. For example, as fixed transition routes into employment transform, so will the norms of reciprocity, and the reproduction of identities (see Raffo *et al.*, 2000). That, is, young people recognising themselves in the models that are close at hand, and acquiring identity relevant skills and knowledge by following in the footsteps of someone they know to be similar to them. Raffo *et al.*'s analysis of transitions of working class young people to employment, is one of many studies that point out this period of time is no longer informed by culturally authentic support, class specific forms of sociability or recognisable subject positions which they previously experienced or understood. For Sennet (2003), this poor level of compatibility between the social norms of contemporary educational systems and young people's own value interjections can have the effect of creating a lack of mutual respect, between those who are providing social services and those forced to abide by them.

In order to defy these trends, Smyth (2004) sees the role of teaching staff as crucial in providing the types of support that counter these norms and values and that ultimately serve middle-class standards. However, John Smyth underplays the "interactive trouble" (Freebody, 1995, 296) associated with his participants' failure to pick up on "cultural cues", and the role of social difference in dictating trust-based behaviour among agents. Moreover, he failed to note the influence of a secular and consumerist society on young disabled people's relationships with other people around them. Certainly, new influences of distinct consumerist lifestyles, which have come to symbolise the youth identity, are

of relevance here (Hughes, 1999). What is of importance again, therefore, is the *clicking* of individual or institutional habitus, in as much as it matches a learner's knowledge or inclination to engage with constantly shifting social fields. This matching helps reduce risk and allows young people to be absorbed in networks by offering up moments of realisation and exchange. Such moments can make people feel at ease as well as allow them to develop social capital which is identity relevant, for example to develop help-seeking behaviours and supportive links as forms of insurance against risk (Cote, 2007).

As the literature reveals, the bonding capital on offer to a young disabled person may not be enough to grant them the position, capacity or inclination to engage with learning events in a college, or to aspire to a consumerist lifestyle. This is because FE's individualised and business ethos side-steps the mismatches between exclusive cultures in FE and the lives and experiences of young disabled people. This aside, colleges are obliged to make these two life-worlds commensurate in order for people to break free from their deficient status, to be socially adept, to obtain social capital, to take risks and to form a disposition that, as learners, they possess economic potential (Bynner, 1997). As I have outlined here, however, young people, both literally and figuratively, are likely to start from a point of disadvantage in relation to accessing, sustaining and composing learning events, activities and social relations within the *normal* social spaces of college.

Thus, the bonding capital that has most significance for young disabled people in FE is at risk of being unresponsive to an evolving learning identity. This is, in part, because of the segregation, devaluation and the abject positioning of a disabled body in relation to the current discourses in FE that seem to reflect the priorities of middle class

non-disabled students. Moreover, the networks, the support and trust offered to young people may not lubricate their ‘travels’ through new urban economies (Ball *et al.*, 2000). This can be summed up best by relationships with teaching staff that are marked more by requirement, than reciprocity, and by existences in detached spaces of capital production and consumption. This in mind, I turn to a summary and conclusion of my discussion over Chapters 2 to 4, and to the relevance of social capital for young disabled people’s lives in FE. But, I do so bearing in mind that the social ties in college can cut both ways.

4.5 Summary and conclusions

In summary, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 suggest that the integrative version of social capital has grown out of attempts to reinforce, rather than to understand, the existence of unequal economic and socio-cultural structures. The implications of this are that the participation patterns and the learning outcomes of young disabled people in FE are misconstrued. I also argued a need to generate critical understandings of social capital theory, one that challenges the standard deficit promoting human capital and consumerist discourses that influence the opportunities, career choices, and life-chances of young disabled people.

Chapter 2 makes reference to key policy reforms over the last ten years or so, identifying alternative provision as safety nets, to meet the needs of failing students, moreover, to *modernise* their lives through human capital and consumerist assumptions, with work as a major target (WGR, 2004). Yet, the assumed link between explanation and predicting economic or social benefit in an abating youth labour market is complex. This is due, in part, to the instrumental objectives informing FE provision which draw attention away

from relations that make possible its initial generation. Thus, it is not only the skills and knowledge that young people possess that are vital but an ability to acquire and utilise such skills in, and from, wider networks that develop a successful future career. This is, of course, contingent on an unequivocal human state as ‘success’, being easily predicted.

Starting with this perspective in Chapter 3, there is initial optimism about the potential of social capital to bind disparate elements of a student’s transition from school to college. In the hands of Putman, social capital is aligned with the rhetoric emerging from policies that relax some educational requirements for young people, and promote innovation and learning by noting the benefits of FE communities as meeting-places where they can network and exchange support. Thus some policymakers argue that FE increases trust, while others argue that it makes trust abstract. Either way, most analyses agree that the ideal climate for creating social capital is by inserting young disabled people into open social markets where refining socio-economic success is unambiguous.

If, as integrative theorists predict, the nurturing of social capital relies on fostering trust and reciprocity, then pitfalls await young people in FE. For example, the need for them to acquire social capital by displaying levels of competence over culturally normative behaviours has consequences. This is because a disabled student’s perceived inability to add value to the work related priority of FE positions them as Other, which can decrease control over their own bodies. Chapter 4 stresses, in particular, how young disabled people are seen as deficit workers by the aesthetic and consumerist desire which appear in conflict with their young age, disabilities, race and other elements of social difference.

In relation to the literature review, therefore, it is essential to state that young disabled people may risk not recognising themselves in contemporary colleges that are tailored to a middle-class and able-bodied world of advantage (see Hughes *et al.*, 2005). This is heightened by a lack of studies that relate to those experiences of young disabled people, and how the studies that exist see their bodies as moving with ease once enrolled in FE. My analysis suggests that ease of access to all networks and culturally embedded support systems in FE is taken as read, but such a narrative remains remote from the experience of young disabled people. This is because they may narrate their transitions to FE as a series of barriers and, shunted sideways into networks of incarceration, they have limited choices but to produce and utilise social capital in distinct social spaces. Indeed, students of school age generally, and disabled students in particular, may not gain those aspects of social experience and forms of social capital to shift with social flows. Indeed, social networks, social support and trust may well remain significant to their immobility in FE.

Some people who laud the virtues of social capital in contemporary society might view the issues connected to social structure as dated. But, as the partial literature that relates to young disabled people in FE shows, they are still marginalised by aspects of social structure, which is manifested by the many ways social capital is denied them. To address such issues, it is vital I move to the empirical from the theoretical and study the effect key aspects of social capital have on a micro-level. Chapter 5 will then outline a research programme that seeks to analyse the social capital to which young disabled people in FE have access, and the nature of their relations to social capital. This is done to explore processes and practices which relate to young disabled people producing and consuming social capital from within and beyond their own *special* networks within FE.

CHAPTER FIVE:
METHODOLOGY
AND
RESEARCH APPROACH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe an appropriate research methodology which will help to illuminate the complex and contradictory relations between social capital and young disabled people in one FE community. The methodology contributes to a complicated sociology of Further Education, and is used to explore how social disadvantages were created from the institutional characteristics and the socio-cultural processes occurring within a contemporary college. The real value of Chapter 5, therefore, lies in identifying a methodology which can reveal the complex, paradoxical nature of social capital in FE.

This chapter starts at Section 5.2, which will outline the research purpose. This will take account of the central issues and points that were raised within the previous three chapters. From these main ‘themes’ a set of questions and areas of concern are developed which will assist in guiding the research enquiry. This chapter will then move to Section 5.3. This contextualises the methodological ideas from previous social capital research with a view to providing a suitable stance to this study. This is a stance that is sensitive to the complex situations that exist for young disabled people in FE, and resists the distorted theoretical knowledge that still encapsulates our current understanding of social capital and disability. This will then leave me in a position in sections 5.4 to 5.5 to justify the research activities to be taken that make up the research design. A particular intention is to review my own experience in Section 5.6 and to explore the issues that emerged from the research process as a whole. Finally, Section 5.7 will summarise Chapter 5 having developed an emancipatory, qualitative methodological approach.

5.2 Research purpose, concerns and questions

The key intention of the study was to explore the *ebb* and *flow* of social capital through young disabled people's social network connections within FE. Although the volume of social capital was of concern here, the focus was on exploring relational aspects of social capital. This was to identify those social capitals in use through the social interactions, understandings and practices of young disabled people. In one respect I was examining localised issues, but there was also an aim to contextualise the study in ways that show how some individuals, intentionally or not, secure advantages that disable others on a wider scale. Thus, I purposely deployed social capital as a tool with the aim of exploring exclusionary processes relating to a reproduction of social inequalities in FE and beyond.

The focus of scholars such as James Coleman in measuring social capital has been to identify its 'quantity', not its 'quality'. This assumes families to be the principal influence on learning and, thus, ignores other relational aspects such as how peer groups interact to influence each other. The first area examined was how social capital *works* in a wider social context. A second area of concern was the lack of regard given in current literature to structural constraints, particularly on how they can impact on social capital formation and distribution. Importantly, recent social capital related studies neglect disability despite the fact that social capital can be a heuristic tool for all disadvantaged groups. I focused on how young disabled people are deprived of the resources to control their learning priorities because their social-cultural orientation to life is in opposition to the dominant orientation that now exists in contemporary FE colleges (Ogbu, 1992, 5).

Third, a key point identified in the literature was the idea that some young people may need support to cross cultural boundaries as well as to counter the norms/values that

can serve to promote “dominant Anglo Saxon...standards (Stanton–Salazar, 1997, 2).” It was of value, therefore, to explore whether the development of significant, encouraging relationships with college staff may help surmount the many barriers and also obstacles which make an active engagement with FE difficult for capital-poor people. In summary, then, the following questions and/or areas of research acted as a guide for the study:

- What is the inherent value of peer and friend networks, and its influence over young disabled people’s personal, social and/or cultural development in FE
- What is the nature of young disabled people’s participation in the wider college community and the value of social capital in their transitions to employment;
- How, and in what ways, do the role of ‘special needs’ staff shape and reproduce aspects of social capital in its many differing forms and types.

At this stage in the study, a choice was made which identified a suitable process of systematic exploration of the norms, practices and expectations that exist in FE. This process, which consists of guidelines to generate convincing and trustworthy findings, is called a research methodology. This shows the important decisions that were made to determine the best approach to the questions posed and is dependent on philosophical stance: a belief about the way data should be gathered, analysed and used (Galliers, 1995). In order to appropriately question the philosophical stance and approach taken in this study, I also need to contextualise the methodological approaches of some previous social capital studies. In so doing, I adopt a suitable methodological position from which to grapple with the issues of disability, social capital and inequalities in FE and beyond.

5.3 Contextualising methodological ideas from previous research

I referred above to the fact that much social capital research conducted until now has tended to contribute to a pattern of quantitative work, which is influenced by American methodological ideas. So much so, that it has led Wall *et al.*, to assert that: “virtually absent from any methodological strategies for social capital research are qualitative methods (1998, 319).” The aspects of rational truth, which quantitative work extends, allow many policymakers to take an insensitive position over the social character of the material being analysed. This is problematic, as the adequacy of quantitative measures leaves much to be desired, especially in regard to the relational aspects of social capital (see Levi, 1996). I sought a methodological approach that can operationalise the concept and can identify social capital in use. Further, this should be a methodology that does not distract the reader from understanding the kind of social justice that is important for any movement that can make college communities more humane, socially inclusive places.

In Chapter 3, it was suggested that one key reason behind using the idea of social capital is because it provides an analytical tool which connects with a diversity of social sciences under the economic paradigm of methodological individualism and quantifiable data. Perhaps, most importantly, this allowed such scholars as Francis Fukuyama, who sought to “focus equally on the social and economic dimensions of human life, to bridge the divide, methodologically, between social and economic spheres (Arneil, 2006, 1).” A qualitative methodological approach holds potential in terms of transcending disciplinary divides and is useful in considering simple trends at a fairly high level of generality. For example, the association between positive attitudes to learning and of networks and

norms appeals to the construction of a civil and entrepreneurial society promoted by the previous Labour government. Yet, it was the view of social capital in helping bodies to travel with ease through social networks that most appealed to the previous government, for it pointed to the promise for greater social inclusion despite the competitiveness and chaos in much of contemporary society. Such a narrative was underpinned by integrative definitions of social capital, which were fashioned in such a rational and linear way by Coleman and Putman as to be welded to this liberal, individualist view of social reality.

Positivism and quantitative study ‘tools’, therefore, may be disguising the many levels at which analytical purchase can be made. For instance, one issue relates to whether social capital theory as a concept can be measured at the same level of objectification as economic capital, which boasts standardised, *reliable* measures to ascertain the rationality with which the study of economics is concerned. The difficulty is that a social phenomenon such as trust, for example, is dependent on both context and history. In respect of the romantic networks that Putman (2007) describes, social capital is entrenched in its pre-modern form, albeit, with some updating. Weak and strong ties, and also local and distant relationships are in place in a static, external social reality. Here, social capital is predictable and available⁷. In contrast, within contemporary FE settings, trust is likely to be complex due, in large part, to the prevalent discourses that now operate in colleges. For example, Slee (1998) describes the discourses of inclusion and competition as creating a real sense of tension between trust and self-interest, for example, with one given more emphasis than the other depending on the circumstance.

⁷ Schuller *et al.*, (2000) are critical of the issue of circularity in Putman’s work, in particular, for its conflation of phenomena such as civic association and trust under one banner - social capital.

Given the complexity in social analysis, then, it is hard to isolate trust, for instance, as a universal fact which provides the linear argument demanded by pure logic (Baron *et al.*, 2000). This does not inevitably imply that trust does not exist. Rather, as strict interpretivists argue, trust is relative to a specific time and place. This stance is of interest, as it “reaffirms studying people in their natural settings and redirects qualitative research away from positivism (Charmaz, 2000, 510).” The relational manner of this stance also offered a way forward to extract and posit social capital from young disabled people who attach multiple meanings to notions such as trustworthiness and trust, which are dependent as much on social class, age and other forms of social difference, as on the dynamics produced by specific contexts. An account of a social world must, therefore, be *internalist*; that is, arising from within the cultures being researched (Winch, 1990).

Giving acknowledgement to the social nature of social capital, then, explains the extent to which methodologies incorporate the different meanings that a growth in certain kinds of associations may have for young disabled people in FE. If I fail to recognise social differences in meaning then a shared activity may either not be measured, or its value to learning careers missed in aggregate measurements. For instance, the idea that the right social capital can make alignment to a subject position more feasible coheres strongly with the themes of social closure, which run throughout the study. What I am keen to demonstrate, here, is that the social character of the material being analysed undermines the idea that methodological individualism and aggregate numbers can examine social capital in ways that relate to the questions noted above. I do not dismiss quantitative analysis. However, the issue lies, as I see it, in the way positivist ideas are framed to make it easy to ask specific questions and apparently provide easy answers. The

important point here is that positivist analysis is not subtle and critical enough to articulate how social capitals are operationalised, in complex ways, by young disabled people to help them negotiate or bridge an existence within an FE college, and beyond.

If the flow of social capital in FE was to be viewed as a nuanced and multifaceted process, then, a methodological approach needs to be contextualised and empirically grounded in ways that account for young disabled people's experiences in FE. This does not mean that our empirical knowledge of this area is non-existent, as some qualitative studies are referred to above. However, there are relatively few of these research studies. Where they do exist the impetus has been, on the whole, to move toward the rejection of rational accounts, to add depth of understanding to the complex nature of social capitals; albeit, at the expense of young disabled people who are often ignored in recent research.

However, qualitative studies such as Riddell *et al.*, (2000), Lumby, (2007) and, more recently, Allan *et al.*, (2009), are not without their methodological problems, I identify two. First, such insightful research studies tended to draw their findings from proxies and gatekeepers such as teachers, parents and able-bodied children and young disabled people, to name a few examples. This is problematic, as teachers are located in a professional culture which positions them as implicated in some (though not all) of the oppressive practices with which they may collude, but who are also detached from the subtle events that occur on the margins of college life. For example, they offered limited insights from the lived experiences of a young disabled person whose existence beyond a classroom was regularly associated with isolation and marginalisation (Beckett, 2009).

My second point relates to the fact that it is now common in research texts to view qualitative methods as being bound to an interpretative stance. This is problematic, as this stance places no necessary importance on confronting and illuminating the power structures within contemporary society (Myers, 2002), or to identify ubiquitous barriers which social capital helps to create and maintain. For example, non-disabled writers are criticised for, “moving between projects like ‘academic tourists’ using disability as a commodity to exchange for advancing their own interests (Barnes *et al.*, 1997a, 6).” I, therefore, raise a concern that I, as a non-disabled writer, had the potential to accentuate the inherent power relations that exist between non-disabled and disabled people, within formal educational settings and the wider world. My methodology sought to redress this.

In summary, then, there is a wide range of problems within the methodological approaches that have been adopted in relation to social capital theory. For both positivist and interpretative stances view social reality in differing ways, albeit they share a desire to access ‘reality’ through methods that position writers as experts, a role that implicitly upholds a stance that the lived experiences of disabled people is not of value. For me, a stance is more real and for disabled people it is more advantageous to better understand reality, its structures, and social capitals role within it as multifaceted and an engagement in networks as partial, rather than equal. Beyond the constraining effects of the dominant stances, lies the possibility for a mediating emancipatory methodological position from which to gain purchase on the issues of youth, disability and the social inequalities that exist for some young people within FE. This methodological position is explored below.

5.3.1 Methodological stance taken

Based on the discussion above, I suggest that social capital scholars working within the dominant paradigms for research on disability have marginalised and also worsened the lived experiences of young disabled students. In order to avoid a situation that Michael Oliver finds oppressive and unrepresentative, I aimed to integrate social capital with an emancipatory position which was “critical, self-conscious and change orientated (1992, 110).” This was a key element that contributed to the consistency of the study’s purpose.

The new emancipatory paradigm, which has been called for by disabled people and disability theorists, represents a shift from oppressive epistemological positions adopted by positivist and interpretative perspectives in conducting disability research (Felske, 1994). These perspectives are oppressive in the eyes of disabled people as they often spawn an individualistic, personal tragedy model of disablement and are conducted in an oppressive set of relations. In their place, an epistemology of disablement was devised where disability was recognised as a set of relations shaped by disabling situations and attitudes that are both “socially constructed and culturally produced (Oliver, 1990, 22).”

Subsequently, disability theorists are dedicated to the examination of disablement and to reverse any oppressive relations of research production by laying their abilities at the discretion of young disabled people as a basis for a research study. I wholeheartedly agree with the principal concerns of this stance. However, my own ability to realise such concerns was only partial. With this in mind, it is crucial any such constraints are stated as I consider each data collection method that formed my own approach to this research.

In such a context, there is an insistence that understanding can only be attained by my identification with, and commitment to, elevating the complexity of the daily struggles of young disabled people. I have taken this up democratically in each of my research methods by involving participants during the process of my research analysis and by paying attention to the importance and vitality of the voiced data. Care was needed, therefore, to intertwine the guiding principles of emancipatory research: gain, reciprocity, and empowerment. All of these guiding principles were used to gauge the extent to which this research can claim to hold any transformative potential (Zarb, 1997).

The task of taking this position was not simply to collect observations of the social world, however, as a participant's knowledge was incomplete and partial, but to explain their day-to-day struggles within a theoretical framework which examines the underlying mechanisms of social injustices (May, 2001). I, therefore, deployed social capital as Morrow suggests, as a 'tool' (1999, 7) to uncover the practices and processes that render the social fabric of young disabled people's lives more redundant in relation to the 'normal' routines and rituals of college life. The fruit of such labour, then, was in what was achieved by this research as in the issues explored and the questions raised about key aspects of the existences of young disabled people in a contemporary college.

In expressing such features, existing disability research is now more inclined to utilise qualitative rather than quantitative methods. Indeed, emancipatory research has a strong link to qualitative methods and data (Thomas, 2006). This can cause problems for a researcher, as an easy bond between qualitative data and an acceptance that barriers exist for disabled people is problematic. Barnes and Mercer (2003) therefore argue, in order

for the social model of disability to be used within this study, then, mixing research methods which are also logical, rigorous and open to scrutiny⁸ is required to satisfy a need for a much clearer understanding of oppression, especially for those young disabled people enrolled in FE provision, of which little is known. Whilst it was clearly important to uncover the disabling experiences of students within FE, my concern at this stage was how experiences could be appropriately accrued, used and accepted in the wider research community. This issue was vital in choosing suitable research methods within the study.

To summarise, then, the emancipatory position allows:

- engaging research methods which bring a researcher closer to the participants
- research that has subjective principles and obligations toward disabled causes that are appropriate with challenging the inequalities which exist for participants
- exposure of social conditions and structures that add to oppressive situations
- the empowerment of young disabled people through offering them the chance to talk about their social lives from their own perspectives
- a contribution towards social change and reconstruction

Implicit in this stance is the recognition that the distribution of social capitals within FE is unequal and stratified. This is problematic as social capital is at the heart of processes that shape and sustain identities, aspirations and priorities. Taking a qualitative approach in the research, which in this context meant gathering and analysing data based on young

⁸ Barnes and Mercer (2003) are concerned about the more radical and/or controversial conclusions of some critical studies, which have based findings on only one research method. This has underpinned further calls of 'bias' within the position.

disabled people's own understandings or experiences to provide key insights into their circumstances (Monteith, 2004), sought to assist a more critical understanding of the nature, extent and importance of the distribution of social capital in FE. However, representing social capital within young disabled people's lives was inherently complex. Therefore, this study benefited from a range of research methods, such as interviews and focus groups. These methods not only allowed young disabled people to identify and articulate their priorities and concerns, so as to tilt the power of the research process in their favour, but to also build a picture of what social capital looked like in their lives. This in mind, the following section examines the research methods used in the study.

5.4 Research methods

5.4.1 Considering the interview

Having established in the literature that qualitative methods were an important way to collect data, I had to decide which approach, out of the many available, would be best to adopt in relation to the study topic. This was not a simple task. As was noted above, capturing the texture of young disabled people's use of social capital as cultural, material and social resources is challenging. It was prudent and appropriate, therefore, to engage them in dialogue over how their lives within FE involve decisions over the networks and resources needed to move them outside of, or embed them in, the wider FE community.

The decision to use interviews as a data collection method was based on an overriding interest of communicating ways that facilitate important insights into the proximate world of people's everyday lives within FE. That is, the situatedness of social capital within FE's political and social structure, and its realisation to practices that

existed within specific locations in the College and at particular, critical moments. This makes a distinction over the degree of formality or structure that the research adhered to and, therefore, helped me to select which form of interview to use (Gilbert, 2003).

This in mind, *semi-structured* interviews were appropriate: as opposed to the *directive* questions of more structured interviews, or the apparent lack of structure in an open interview. In essence, the questions directed to participants were flexible enough to incorporate the principles of emancipatory research, but strict enough to ensure coverage of those aspects of social capital that were the key topics of my discussion (Kvle, 1996).

In common with any data collection method, interviews also have limitations and associated problems. It is clear from the literature review that this method can be highly subjective. Indeed, many researchers have reservations over the interview as a source of bias or errors (Bell, 1999). These reservations are underpinned by the important question of reliability in terms of how researchers categorise events or guarantee uniformity of questions “stimulus equivalence” (Oppenheim, 1992, 86), which varied from interview respondent to interview respondent. There were also issues of validity in terms of a prolonged involvement in the field, which can leave many writers exposed to criticism over bias and not giving ‘truthful’ accounts (Bryman, 1988). As such, undertaking any qualitative inquiry has led to a temptation, if not a distinct pressure, to corroborate a non-quantitative account with some form of statistical analysis (Silverman, 2006). That is, to strip interviews of their interactional elements and, thus, sanitised the interview of any stimuli. This is principally done to create an atmosphere of undistorted communication between an unbiased as well as reflective researcher and research subject (Barnes, 1996).

I agree that stimuli, such as gender, and class elicit specific responses on both sides. Researchers and participants have sensors, ways of seeing and interpretations from the stimuli issuing from the other. They enact practices and interactive competencies to process such stimuli and act on them. My position was that these alleged *errors*, which positivists detect, were not intrusive obstacles to the process of the interview but rather they exhibited the properties of social interaction, such as inter-subjective knowledge, that are revealed as people make sense together. The reason for taking up such a position was not to take the working class (ness), for instance, out of the research process, rather to use it positively, to establish familiarity. The intention was to attend to the implicit power relationship that exists between researcher and the researched (Skeggs, 1992) and the potential for empowerment, because of a reciprocal interview process (Lather, 1991).

Lewis (2004) is therefore right to stress the process and analysis of interviewing as an art form. This recognition was amplified in relation to interviewing young disabled people who required additional staff support in order to participate meaningfully in the interviews and focus groups. This required a willingness to try flexible strategies that helped overcome barriers that arose in the context of the study. At times these barriers became all too obvious. At other times they were far subtler, particularly in the case of those disabled students who are far more unaccustomed to talking openly with an adult.

Despite the clear advantages of capturing descriptions and interpretations at this individual level there must be recognition of the un-naturalistic limitation of interviews and, thus, their apparent inability to elicit crucial information which can better ground young disabled people, collectively, in the specifics of social capital activation. By this I

mean using collective experience and opinion. The ability to elicit information of this kind is a crucial element of focus groups, which made it suitable to adopt in this study. What distinguishes focus groups, then, is the explicit role of people to build upon and to elicit new perspectives which are not readily available without the interactions of group members (Morgan, 1997). Thus, the use of the focus group technique is explored below.

5.4.2 Focus groups

This study relied on focus groups to unfold the experiences and views of young disabled people over how social capital was represented in their lives. So as with interviews, the focus groups involved an exploration of ideas and interpretation of what the participants said. Focus groups also differ given that they are dependent on interaction, which allowed young disabled people to consider and comment on each other's experiences, and for me to reflect on issues relating to social capital that I had not personally considered (Barbour, 2005). Therefore, focus groups did not replace the one-to-one interviews. The data produced during group interactions was different in terms of their range, specificity and depth and, thus, perspective on how social capital functions in FE.

Frey and Fontana (1993) assert that the distinctive features of focus groups are, to be precise, that they focus on certain topics and that group dynamics play a key part in generating data. As stated by Morgan, for example, (1997, 25) "focus groups are useful when it comes to investigating what participants think but they excel at uncovering why participants think as they do." This method can uncover new layers of thought as the participants begin to articulate their views about topics or as they challenge each other's reasoning behind their opinions. Such participation allowed me to investigate and

document exchanges in terms of the solidarity shown to one another, and to note any contradictions in why some people view college differently than others. Asking people to justify this provided elaborate accounts of the support and assistance on offer.

Focus groups also allow participants to build on and respond to the reactions of other members of the group, creating what Stewart *et al.*, (1990, 16) term a “synergist effect.” This leads to the production of more elaborate accounts than those generated in interviews. Thus, in the context of agreement and support, focus groups enthusiastically extended, elaborated and embroidered on those individual accounts (Hoppe *et al.*, 1995). For instance in the cumulative accounts of accessing specific, valued or popular spaces.

Perhaps, more importantly, focus groups created a situation where the researcher ceases to be the ‘authority’ in the research process, making this a potentially egalitarian method (Putchá *et al.*, 2004). This was vital for two reasons. First, it was attractive in reducing the inherent power an adult researcher has over school age students (especially students with disabilities) in an educational setting (Allan and Slee, 2008). Second, focus groups encouraged young disabled people to take up the positions of power that are usually withheld from them, and allowed them to follow their own agenda and develop themes valuable to them (Nind, 2009). This was crucial, because unless young disabled people are involved in determining which areas of experience the research should focus upon then, obviously, this study will not hold much potential for transformation.

Other writers assert that there are problems with the use of focus groups, notably, that some group members may be dominant and disrupt discussions, thus preventing others from participating (Myers, 2002). One feature, amongst many others, (such as

careful pre-planning, for instance) which Putchá *et al.*, (2004) see as important for conducting focus groups, is ‘people management’. This is a heightened extension of the effective use of prompts and probes as discussed in relation to one-to-one interviewing, and moderation of who is in each group. This entailed asking tutors and staff beforehand of problems that might exist between class members in order to try and become aware of important ethical points such as the harassment of one particular class or group member.

This in mind, then, I chose a (heterogeneous) group of 4/5 young people, which follows Latane *et al.*,’s (1979) advice that small numbers allow for in-depth discussion of participants’ stories or to avoid what they call ‘social loafing’. There were other reasons for small groups. One reason related to the potential for oppositional behaviour within a group. Whilst there were costs involved in bringing disruptive students together, the benefits of searching the perspectives of these so-called ‘worst’ students outweighed any such concerns. One other consideration I gave to group selection related to attendance and confidentiality. These issues were overcome, in part, by co-opting a participant’s involvement in the selection of groups. This meant that groups were formed in terms of gender or around the school where students came from⁹. Despite limitations, this had a good impact on attendance and confidentiality as participants were inclined to attend and disclose among friends (Brown *et al.*, 1995). This interactive base helped to maintain a balance between an active and passive moderator level. A moderate level (Krueger *et al.*, 2000) of interaction was decided upon so as to allow structure in the discussion to develop around my concerns and to allow participants to develop themes on their own.

⁹ Group selection was left, with exceptions, to the participants. But, I always tried to get at least two different sets or groups of friends together to provoke more ‘active’ discussions.

In summary, the focus group technique allowed young people, and me, to question and discuss whether, on one hand, ideas expressed individually were shared collectively (e.g. were they excluded from certain kinds of social capital?) On the other hand, it enabled me to explore the processes and practices that could link the acquisition, maintenance and deployment of social capital into young disabled people's existences in a FE college.

5.4.3 The significance of documents in FE

The attention that I have thus far placed on what young disabled people say and experience, must not exclude the value of researching in what Atkinson *et al.*, (2004) call emerging documentary cultures or societies. These writers argue that the production of documents is now part of how an educational institution represents itself both to itself and to others. Thus, documents enshrine a distinctive (documentary) version of reality. This reality, I argue, embodies forms of power that align New Labour's aspirations for FE with the growth of conventional modes of representation in contemporary society (Feldman *et al.*, 2003). What follows logically from such an observation is that I should give due weight and analytical attention to collecting and analysing documents alongside oral and visual data in understanding and explaining the value of social capital in FE.

However, some writers are reticent about using documents as a data source of the social world. This is because they view documents as placing them at a distance from their subjects (Hodder, 1994). The omission of documents in their analysis does not do justice to the significance of documents in the settings they purport to describe. In FE, for instance, it is now standard practice to see staff and students collaborate in producing documents such as ILPs (Individual Learning Plans were heavily drawn upon within this

study). The official purpose of ILPs is to collate a set of facts, which are taken from school documents, about a student's support needs. These facts aid tutors and students to celebrate success and to elide failure through the allocation of appropriate resources and targets, which are then fed into formal recording mechanisms that are drawn on in being accountable for their actions either to others or to the individual student or professional.

The purpose of introducing the ILP was not simply to list an indicative type of document. Rather, it was to inform us that textual communicative practices were a way in which objective realities were constituted, along with the forms of rational knowledge appropriate to it. The point is that documents do more than record social arrangements. They were implicated in the organisation of social life around what it should mean to be a productive worker or FE student, but they also form networks of rules and regulations, which define young people both as subjects and objects. Objectivity is achieved through what Foucault (1977) calls regimes of power, the continuous exposure to, coupled with an engagement with, practices, rules and discourses which a person encounters in life¹⁰.

From Foucault's perspective, the codification of thought and action in textual form are keys to developing complex institutions and their organisational arrangements (Strum and Latour, 1999). In this case, the immobilisation of young disabled people to develop a capacity as an employable adult and/or consumer was related to their spatial constraint, but also to the rather complex and contradictory matrix of economic, vocational and consumerist priorities that construct and symbolise an objective reality to which every student in a college is made subject. As I noted above, embedded in these

¹⁰ In Foucault's terms, documents are devices that construct both the speaker and the objects that are spoken about, through establishing in texts the disciplinary technologies of surveillance, self-surveillance, classification, examination, for example.

priorities are attributes of value, exploitation and governance that are not consistent with disability (in its broadest sense) as being desirable, but with practices of correction.

The view in the study was that documents (the ILP, for instance) utilised by the staff and students within FE construct representations of reality, using their own logic and language, which focused attention, concern and attempts at remediation on a young person rather than on the social context in which they existed (Mehan *at al.*, 1986). As such, I viewed these documents as regulating young disabled people and the different professionals who worked alongside them (ensuring that they achieve what they were required and encouraged to achieve). I therefore agree with Prior (2004) that documents or ‘textually ordered knowledge packages’ must be seen as stabilising the sequence of *things* when they appear in that objective reality. As such, the documentary data is made implicit in the research, as representations of what was assumed to be present in college.

Such knowledge had particular connotations for how participants were subject to a document and how, as young disabled subjects, they were also constituted, sustained, contested and re-inscribed in and through the dominant “discursive themes by means of which the text has been produced (Prior, 1997, 66).” For example, the aftermath of a re-reading of documents, into which certain logics were inscribed, implicates texts not only in the overall production of particular, desirable or successful individuals, but also in a disparity of experiential learning possibilities for different types of people. In drawing upon textual sources, then, I sutured in the research new understandings of the character of discourses and the power needed to access the various, different discursive practices which displaced the ebb and flow of social capital within a contemporary college setting.

No less powerful in disabling (and of course enabling) a student were documents, such as Individual Educational Plans (IEPs) and transitional plans (e.g. Section 140's), which accompany pupils of school age who are referred by a local authority or school to FE. Although there was little direct interaction between a referred student and a college, young people do not enter the provision with a clean slate. By the time they entered FE they have already been identified as different. Mehan *et al.*, 's (1986), research into the transition of disabled children between schools in the USA is of note here as it revealed a pervasive systems approach to 'handicap the handicapped' through the institutional mechanisms that are purported to empower disabled students of school age. Evidence in their study established, for example, that the differential treatment of disabled children and their families in each school was based on professional perceptions which emerged as a consequence of one interpretation of the students: that of the school psychologist.

Indeed, the educators in each new setting capitalised on the language of the psychologist, and their modes of representation of disability, in order to use it as grounds for determining special measures for young disabled people and, thus, to regulate those resources that are available from normal student spaces. The aftermath of a re-reading of documents by educators and the use of prior knowledge to regulate resources (Foucault, 1977), then, was key to the way in which texts sustained labels as social facts, and why they created certain learning pathways and possibilities for young disabled people in FE.

There are, however, varied criticisms of using documents within research which tend to stem from how documents are used rather than their use in the first place. Both implicitly and explicitly, many of these have been covered in the earlier review of other methods. For now, I mention bias and selectivity of documents. The importance of

seeing a document in terms of its likely bias is emphasised, for an understanding of social reality can be informed by the selective reading of documents or, indeed, the documents themselves may be selectively chosen (May, 2001). What is recorded was informed by decisions, which relate to the socio-political environment of which a document is part. This had as much to do with my bias as it did with the availability and clarity of documents, which, in this study, were often incomplete. These were not easy concerns to overcome. Such criticisms of bias required reflexivity, and an emphasis on social context, to gain an understanding of the meanings contained within documents. Thus documents provided an important source of data for understanding transformations, events, processes and the relationships that relate to young disabled people's lives in FE.

5.4.4 The reflective journal: 'jotting it all down'

Despite the composite wealth of information made available through interviews, focus groups and documents, none of these methods demonstrate a particular sensitivity to the dynamic aspects of experience in everyday life, either of the participants or of myself. This was because discussions took place in specific contexts, were short in duration, and were more selectively focused. They document, explore and investigate certain aspects of a situation, such as peer group relations. In each case, I descended on a social world to ask and to understand the actions of others. As a result, the interviews and focus group methods were rather dry, as the premise upon which data was gathered seemed staged in comparison to the everyday scenes of interaction (Silverman, 1985) occurring around the boundaries of more formal study methods. In other words, what I expected to be on offer throughout the study were insights into the hidden texture of daily experience and action.

The question is how did I make use of such rich experiences? It was clear that I needed a record of less formal but intriguing conversations, with tutors, for example, and to externalise my inner dialogue to find and develop the new insights which emerged. In short, I needed a method that encouraged systematic reflection and a means of clarifying confusing issues, to uncover the hidden aspects of learning that support other sources of evidence. In these settings, keeping a reflective journal of any new insights or questions for consideration provided “clues to fundamental issues (McKernan, 1991, 87).” In the study, clues and thoughts were picked up directly as young people reflected on the topics outside formal discussions. These provided insights to the ongoing social relationships, events and processes in FE as, for example, a young person and I walked to an interview.

In hindsight, many of the comments in the reflective journal were at the level of my own gut reactions. Monitoring my own thoughts and actions through the journal was an activity that assisted in analysing what I was experiencing, to enquire (with a degree of flexibility) upon people’s actions in different settings, and eventually to ask countless questions relating to social capital. This ongoing process used the flexibility of a journal to focus the interviews on answering any new, emerging questions. In other words, the questions to which I am directed after an exposure to various social scenes, together with underlying aims and concerns of the study, enabled me to focus my research enquiries.

At first, the “data logging process”, as Loftland and Loftland (1984, 23) call it was labour intensive as I spent time familiarising myself with settings and people in them. Following an initial period of taking notes on everything, which proved impossible, my pre-occupation with social capital theory guided my field-notes. I found it beneficial to divide my journal into two sections on each page (left and right), and to then note on one

side the comments in which I was interested (on page 413). From here, I made analytical notes, or notes to myself, after further investigation into an event had been made. This notation system was complimented by key words, and theoretical memos as suggested by Strauss *et al.*, (1998) to jog my memory and add consistency and accessibility to what the participants shared (May, 2001). These aspects built a healthy picture between social relations, events and processes of young disabled people in FE. Yet, in these conditions, the research records naturally bear the signature of my own interpretation of any events.

As one small solution to this issue, I utilised photos taken by young disabled people of the people, places and spaces that they understand as significant in their lives, to make problematic my understanding of emerging social scenes. This allowed participants to tell stories about their lives (Pink, 2004). Like field-notes, photos reveal characteristics and attributes of people, objects and events that often elude a researcher. As Emmison notes, a focus on written texts has meant that researchers tend to neglect the “places and settings in which humans conduct their lives (2004, 260).” Through the use of photos, I discovered and demonstrated relations to people and settings that may otherwise have been overlooked. Moreover, images promoted emotions imparted by spaces, activities and interactions. As such, young people provided tangible details that work alongside field-notes, so as to open a *window* on an otherwise protected domain (Silverman, 2004).

Therefore, before the start of the second and third set of interviews, I gave the participants a disposable camera each to take pictures of their own lives in FE. During the interviews I looked at the pictures they had taken, and used them as prompts to talk about aspects of their own experiences. At times, I asked them to organise the pictures in different ways, their favourites, for example, to better gauge their intentions behind the

picture. Eventually, all of the participants wrote on the back of each picture some contextual information. In this way, the productive qualities of the visual data were used as an adjunct to the ‘encompassing structure’ of the journal, and to aid in interpretation by elaborating on the milieu of where the photos emerged (Marvasti, 2004). The photos were, then, more than just part of the journal, they were a bridge between young disabled people and my-self that offered them the means to visually depict their environment and for me to grasp better understandings over the meanings given to this by the participants.

In summary, the journal served many purposes. It was, for example, rather cathartic in that it offered both a space to record and to reflect upon a range of experiences. As such it was idiosyncratic, and yet it was of great use in capturing and linking “understandings and occasional insights” from the “buzzing, blooming confusion that existing within FE entails (Walford, 1991, 189).” Of course, this suggests that I was absorbed within the study or an unconscious process of thought. This is not necessarily an issue, as some positivists claim. Rather, it is my belief that self-knowledge and self-consciousness were tools in understanding how social capital influences the shaping of young people’s lives and assisted in bridging a gap between an understanding of actions and prejudices which difference and diversity often meet. The flexibility of these data is seen as an advantage in producing a representation of objects under study. The capacity of methods to get at things, from many perspectives, in order to get a more accurate picture, finds support for employing *triangulation*. This is problematic, as the use of subjective elements to form objective evidence reads like a positivist desire to mediate amidst sources of data in search of *truth*. This identifies further problems to consider, which I will discuss below.

5.5 Triangulating data collection strategies

In light of the issues highlighted above, there are understandable concerns about the use of the triangulation methods in qualitative research, especially in trying to arrive at an overall truth (Oakley, 2000). Moreover, there are issues over how qualitative research is done, how it is described, and how the reader can decide if findings are valid and reliable [if at all possible in my research]. The aim of section 5.5 is to examine triangulation - method and data triangulation - and to question its capacity to establish credibility within qualitative inquiry. I did not reject the value of triangulation within research processes. Rather, I utilised it in ways that deepen our understandings of social capital within FE.

In social science, triangulation is defined as mixing methods or data in order that different perspectives shed light on a theme (May, 2001). Methods, here, refers to the many procedures for data collection used (e.g. focus groups) as well as the use of many data types in a single study, known as data triangulation. The strategies apparently aid the validity of the findings that arise from a qualitative research study. Of course, given the preceding arguments over the positivistic hegemony in social capital thinking, and charges of subjectivity in qualitative research generally, it is not surprising that the preoccupation with a search for valid and reliable data with which to confirm the notion's effectiveness across contexts, assumes triangulation to be useful in this project.

The logic of methods triangulation, for instance, is to blend methods which have non-overlapping strengths or weaknesses (see Brewer *et al.*, 1989). As was pointed out earlier, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were used in the study to gather better data. The idea being, of course, that the whole was better than the parts. The aim

of data triangulation, then, was to corroborate one data set with another. In other words, to make two data sources converge on one proposition (Erlandson *et al.*, 1993). Overall, the strength of triangulation was thick descriptions, which would not be possible if fewer strategies were employed; essentially all data in the study was needed but insufficient on their own to explain a phenomenon in a rigorous and credible manner (Hassard, 1993)

As Massey *et al.*, (1999, 1) argue, these views only make sense if I work in “a positivist frame of reference which assumes a single...reality and treats accounts as multiple mappings of this reality (Silverman 1985, 105).” The question was, therefore, can I envision reality along these lines as, “social reality is not some 'thing' that may be interpreted in different ways; it is those interpretations (Blaikie, 1991, 120 cited in Massey *et al.*, 1999).” These authors further argue if I rejected a fixed social reality, then a navigation technique, which may have helped me to pinpoint this reality, will make little sense (1999,1)! This specific fault has led to operational *errors* in triangulation; for example, one method may operate in the place of the other. In these circumstances, a proposal created through a particular plan would be similar to the one that might emerge had the plan’s functional twin been used to establish the accuracy of the first, as opposed to simply assuming it to be accurate. This and many other critical errors has led many writers, such as Anne Oakley (2000), to argue that the important mistake made by many researchers who retain the term triangulation is that they have stretched the metaphor too far, taken it too literally, and believe that they can reach a level or kind of objectivity and the same level of certainty about social reality as surveyors can about physical reality.

All of this had resonance for the reliability, validity and plausibility of this study, especially since one of its defining characteristics was that it uses multiple methods to cast light upon social capital. It is, however, crucial to state that the use of mixed method and data triangulation, here, differed from the original prescription offered by Denzin (1970). This implies, contrary to Denzin, that the methods and data sources used within the study cannot get at, and did not claim, an objective truth. Rather each of the research methods was a unique technique, which constructed a unique kind of data from the voices of people situated in a particular context. Moreover, I recognised that how I understood a young person's talk varied depending on context and on my own subjective lens of perception (Silverman, 2004). In essence, what writers such as Sayer (2000) go to great lengths to point out is that because our understanding of meanings is imperfect, objectivity is a false, unattainable aim for many researchers who are naïve objectivists.

The position then, that researchers influence all knowledge, constitutes the matter of *reflexivity* in research (Roth and Breuer, 2003). I am keen to argue that researchers shape the context in which they gather data, and any concept they bring to a field (Ball, 1993). Rather than ignoring such effects, practicing reflexivity enables researchers to question or be self-critical of the meeting of two subjectivities (Silverman, 2004). In essence, the researcher and subjects in the research was specified - their gender and ethnicity, for example - was identified, closely considered, and any influence factored in to the study (Hammersley *et al.*, 1983). However, reflexivity in the social sciences raises questions about the 'subjects' in the study. The idea of a researcher's reflexivity implies a self-knowing person, a person that rationally assesses the actions of myself and the other

participants. If researchers are self-knowing subjects, then, so are research participants (Fuss, 1989). Such an account does not sit comfortably with the subject I cast light upon in Chapter 4. This leaves questions that will need to be addressed within this chapter, for now it is crucial for me to point-out that while reflexivity may elide the subjective /objective dichotomy, it does not resolve such a binary. Indeed, as Silverman (1999, 117) warns, perhaps reflexivity is being utilised far too frequently within qualitative research.

To prevent this account falling into a constructivist chasm, where I find myself in infinite regress over the data I describe, I was interested in adding value to data outside of a data source, and its relation to wider contexts, such as FE. Thus I leant on a weak as opposed to strong social constructionist position. The two positions differ by degrees. A weak constructionist is inclined to perceive causal objective aspects to reality, whereas a strong constructionist perceives almost everything, to a degree, as social constructions (see Pinker, 2002). That, said, I do not make any sterile attempts to map social capital in ways that could claim external validity. My specific interest was the ways which young disabled people represent social capital to each other, and to what ends social capital is operationalised. Indeed, this approach makes explicit the dialectical, changing nature of social structures and resources. Since social structures and resources were changing, I assume that they existed while empirically examining effects as evidenced in recorded data (Olsen, 2004). As illustrated in their discussions with each other and myself, and in calling on theory to derive a partial reflection of reality, I envisaged a fragile awareness of trust, for instance. After all, social capital was implicit, but as social resources that work in networks they were key in allowing some people to *get-on* and others to *get-by*.

This means that as I talked about the key features of the research study - the theoretical underpinnings of social capital - I gave each one performative force, and in doing so allowed them to act as a plausible, albeit brief, framework in which data methods 'sit'. Implicit in this was some support for mixing methods in research, and of different ways of thinking about data. Indeed, the argument remains that a variety of methods could be complementary, rather than exclusive, tools (Patton, 1988). For instance, by interviewing young disabled people, I gained one perspective on the resources that were intentionally utilised or have unintentional effects in shaping their social horizons. By utilising the flexibility of photos, I had a product with a capacity to represent the particularities of experience from a person's own perspective. This was reflected on, both by participants and myself, to make sense of the capital in people's lives. In this example, triangulation was not used to create accurate or precise readings but "is best understood as a strategy that adds breadth, complexity and depth to any inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, 5)."

In conclusion, to glimpse social capital in action locally, I conducted research in one FE College. In so doing, I utilised methods such as interviews, focus groups and the collection of documents, and actively asked young disabled people to guide me through their own understandings of social settings, and to identify social capital that circulated there. Further, as I talked to young disabled people, I sought to identify and untangle the effects of social capital being operationalised. The use of triangulation methods in this context did not generate a clear picture of these effects. Rather, a 'dialectic of learning', (Olsen, 2004, 4) was established in that these thrived on the contrasts among what was voiced in interviews, what was articulated in focus groups, through my consciousness, and what differences arose when comparing these understandings of social capital in FE.

This in mind, I also acknowledge that my representation of social capital in the study was constrained by theory and by my own capacity to embody social capital in young disabled people's lives. In response to such accusations, I make my own position clear by stating the ontological and epistemological positions taken and that my choices over a methodology were rigorous and open to scrutiny. This was, then, a political, democratic and a theoretically focused approach. That said, I did not seek objectivity, neither did I attempt to map out what social capital might look like for a young disabled person in a college, because this implies a sense of uniformity from the social landscape. Rather, I sought to develop a representation of important instances inside college with the aim of untangling the influences of social capital that guide a disabled student's existence there.

5.6 The case of Haven College

Having considered research methods, I engaged in a location with the belief that it might lead to understandings and assertions about social capital for young disabled people in a single FE context. As a tutor for a number of years, I leaned upon my own social capital and looked upon one college, (Haven College¹¹), as a research site. The decision was taken for a number of reasons, but principally because I enjoyed good working relations with many of the staff there. This was important, as it allowed me to establish, quickly, the necessary levels of contact with some of the influential 'gatekeepers' (Whyte, 1984).

Another aspect of my decision to approach Haven as a study site was because it is known nationally and respected locally (and knows, recognises and represents itself) as a successful college. Following a glowing Ofsted report, Haven has been constructed

¹¹ This is an assumed name and protects the identity of the FE institution. This was a condition of gaining access to the College site itself.

(and constructs itself) as a market leader of alternative programmes for young people who present many challenges to conventional educational provision. While the purpose of alternative provision may be clear, to offer alternative learning opportunities which support achievement and advancement, there are evident differences in the provision on offer at Haven. There is *vocational* provision that requires students to be bussed in part-time from schools in order to pursue a diploma, which is founded upon academic and applied study (DfES, 2005) and tied to specific areas of employment. This is in contrast to the Access provision¹² which is a programme undertaken by 14-to-16 year olds who have a special need or have been excluded from mainstream school. This programme is further along a spectrum of provision that relates to core skills such as English (or applied communications), and is related to the type of work or a general occupational area that young people apparently find easy to connect with in a world beyond formal learning. The Beacon status¹³ or national validation of this area of the College's work means that Access is recognised as a strength of Haven itself, and as a strength from which other colleges and their staff can learn. This has brought with it material rewards in the form of extra funding, and the status of a college that has measured up successfully to the official parameters that were constructed as desirable by New Labour.

This is a key point, because it located the study within a college that is consistent with New Labour's policy strategy for FE provision. This strategy (traced out in Chapter 2) offers a synthesis of utilitarian and progressive objectives - widening access to FE and empowering individuals, whilst 'tooling up' 'UK PLC' to be competitive in a global

¹² Again, this is an assumed name to protect the identity of the actual alternative provision.

¹³ Beacon status identifies the very best providers of the FE sector. Beacons are a source of expertise and agree to, and willingly, share their expertise and practices with other colleges.

economy (Tett *et al.*, 2005). But this success is dependent on squaring a complex matrix of government priorities. Thus, the College is a site characterised by a constant configuration and reconfiguration of those priorities in the context of the current strategy for alternative provision. What this means for Haven and for other FE colleges is that discourses associated with inclusion, and the uncritical acceptance of human capital co-exists alongside discourses of consumerism and innovation. Yet the relationship between these discourses was not seamless. Indeed, any efforts to produce itself as a college that can reconcile the often, fractured lives of students, with sterile economic expectations which dominate the FE sector, still continued to be a matter of internal staff controversy.

Nevertheless, there was a strong moral discourse underpinning many of the staff team's plan for their students to become *employable* subjects with the skills to flourish in a competitive labour market (Levitas, 1998). This is partly because Haven College's tales of its success in this endeavour were framed as equal opportunities imperatives. Indeed, most staff members were avid that gaining employment is a means of labouring against the injustices faced by many young disabled people. Enabling these young people to construct and conduct themselves in ways that validate such a privileged designation - as employable - was understood as a crucial way to keep alive the issue of social justice. Paradoxically, this commitment legitimised a narrative that underpinned the prevalence of economic and vocational discourses over rather more progressive priorities in FE, and worked also to make normative versions of success desirable (Bradford and Hey, 2007).

Most of the tutors that I spoke to know that there was more to social justice than getting a job. Yet, daily life at Haven de-legitimised the expression of this. Most of the time, success can only be recognised in relation to economic and vocational priorities, and all versions of success exist in relation to these key priorities. What this meant was that in recent years Haven reformulated its inclusive concerns as concerns over employability and empowerment to be in line with New Labour's dominant priorities for FE. That is, Haven's strategy emphasises cultural change towards labour market adaptation, rather than pursuing resource distribution (Bryk *et al.*, 2002). Haven's position and positioning as a success in relation to these dominant priorities, located the study in a space and time that enabled it to interrogate the working through of policy reforms from the level of the interpersonal, and examine the interpersonal within the context of wider power relations.

These policy priorities generated tensions that are incorporated into the lives of the 7 full time and 15 part-time tutors (and various support staff) who are brought in from other departments in Haven to work with school aged students on the Access provision. What was of interest was the construction of resistance to the study among staff which, I suggest, might be related to the many, different shifting priorities and discourses in FE. For example, standing in front of staff at a team meeting, I sought to give a fair account of the research and to construct an appropriate self in order to avoid being tarred with a *sullied* brush. This is what Hammersley *et al.*, term, impression management (1983, 11).

My efforts were met by sceptical facial expressions. This left me feeling like an intruder who must be exposed, as I was harried into selling a positive picture of the study. Consequently, I tried to disentangle myself from several sceptical suggestions or

mumbled remarks that alluded to ‘extra work’ and ‘surveillance’ (Field-note, 05/09/07). These, and other issues raised (e.g. class disruption), were hard to overcome in the time that was made available to me that day. So in the end only one former colleague and one manager, acting as gatekeepers, took any responsibility for unlocking the site. This was done by, amongst other things, identifying 30 participants for the study, arranging space for individual interviews and, where necessary, speaking to the parents or feeder schools.

But why did I feel unable to give a meaningful account of the research to the people who, I thought, had every reason to be interested in it? A possible answer to this apparent inability, like the study itself, lies within educational policy. What counts as legitimate research is work that can confirm, and operationalise, the dominant discourses of the site (Tooley, 1998). An accurate picture of the study’s critical nature may have been a discursive jump too far in introducing a socio-cultural approach that resists the narrow and rational conceptualisations that structure FE life and corrupt the emotional and psychic domains of the people within FE (Ball, 2003). I do not claim that these reactions are to be found across the sector, nor do I suggest that tutors do not care about social concerns. It is simply that, there were degrees of reflexivity towards and resistance to my presence that must be seen through a micro-political lens and as identity work.

That said, then, I considered *identity work* at this point for it illuminated the interplay between social capital, agency and social policy in a reflexive project of self as part of the construction of identities¹⁴. As I earlier described, the idea, or ideal of ‘nomadic’

¹⁴ Transforming identity via a diverse range of affiliations and an identification with new contexts are central to the modern world (see Learn to Compete, DfEE, 1996)

identities, and the value of work in contemporary thought, has come to dominate recent FE policy (Merrill, 2000). As I argued, this rational, competitive system, to which *all* in FE were exposed (and which some were immobilised by), were inscribed as common sense and irrefutable in relation to a person's future life-chances. Although the staff were not responsible for the system, nor, solely responsible for a student's immobilisation in it, the drive for success in Haven allowed staff recourse to powerful mechanisms that regulated their own and others use of space and time. Documents played a part in this.

This regulation of space and time was pivotal in producing 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977, 135) and emphasised both the embodied and spatialised nature of identity work. As Gordon *et al.*, notes, "space is social and mental, and constrained but not determined by the physical (2000, 4)." The shifting of *power* to staff and their ability to deny and control social relations were barriers to young disabled people who wished to develop a project of identity. The significance of location - in terms of access to informal spaces for social capital construction, and how distinct forms of subjectivity at play in formal contexts were regulated and in whose interests - was crucial to a person's identity work. Thus, identity work meant a version of 'politics- in action': the process of performing, contesting and configuring power relations in contexts contingent on prevailing micro-political conditions (but not - necessarily- determined by them) (Benjamin, 2002, 12).

In summary, while the College's alternative provision was successful this (apparent) success had many contradictory effects. By going inside Haven College to examine its processes and discourses which structure this success I offered insights into the way that

FE related to and created certain sorts of subjects. This was a planned move so that the College and its processes and practices were subject to close examination. As such, the research was founded upon Foucault's understanding of Haven College as a disciplinary organisation where both knowledge and power are contested and inscribed. This is strongly related to how the sorts of disciplinary technologies, outlined earlier, constituted the young people, tutors and the support staff who populated it. This did not imply that the young people were instantly rendered docile - various resistances were found in the study. Thinking about Haven College in this way did not mean that social capital in the young people's lives and the practices of FE provision may not be a source of liberation. However, it will adjust what is understood as liberatory in a much wider societal sense and how acquiring and utilising social capital may be viewed as a contributory factor to this. This in mind, then, I go on to discuss the selection of participants for the research.

5.7 The research participants in the College

As is noted above, I was given access to a small number of Access's overall population of 100 students who were experiencing a transition at a "critical phase in an educational life (DfES, 2003, 1)." As a result, the existing participant group in the study consists of 30 students: one year 10 and 11 class. Admittedly, this did not follow Hammersley's suggestion that the selection of participants be "intentional, systematic and theoretically guided' (1994, 61)." That is, 30 individuals were not representative of the alternative Access provision as a whole, in that they did not cover the full spectrum of disabilities.

Participants did, however, bring to the study complex histories and backgrounds that were shaped as much by demographic characteristics, such as gender and class, as

well as by disability. All these factors helped structure young people's existences in, and also relations to staff and older students at Haven. Whilst a participant's background was an element here, my principal concern was their attached disability labels and the affects of these on their learning possibilities and social relationships within Access and beyond.

This in mind, the participants in the study were labelled with a disability, which include 12 disability classifications, and many have secondary labels, such as bipolar disorder or extreme mood disorder. The disability labels used were not ideal. As I suggested in the introduction, premature attempts to use these labels were misguided: they can make it harder to unravel the continuing reproduction of social inequalities. The breadth of SEN terminology was worked with reluctantly as a way to make visible points on the axis of systemic inequality. It is also vital to understand disability alongside 'successes', such as intellectually (GCSE grades A* - C), and aesthetically (via the body), as it is valued by employers, by the media, by the participants, by older students and by members of staff.

These points of difference in society imply the inscription of some young people in relations of power through sets of normative expectations that were often inaccessible to them. This rendered acceptable justification for distributing some social capitals and experiences on the basis of need (Thomas *et al.*, 2001), and curtailing social capital was an important social disadvantage. Thus, the use of a person's clinical label was used to demonstrate associated experience and social capital distribution as a result of his or her inclusion in an alternative provision. Of equal importance was their continued isolation, justified by their disability, from social experimentation or risk taking, and independent social lifestyles, that now characterise youth and youth identity in a consumer orientated society (Cavet, 1998). The disability labels of participants are listed below, in Table 1.4.

Table1.4: The disability labels of participants	Student numbers
Multiple	8
Cognitive	17
Physical	2
Sensory (hearing impaired)	1
Emotional (autism)	1
Physical illness/accident	1
Total	30

In comparison to the general college population, the 30 participants all resided in the Borough and have socio-cultural backgrounds that were broadly representative of the area and the 100 students enrolled in Access full-time. Overall, the participants made up nearly 30% of all the students between the ages of 14 to 16 years enrolled full time at Haven, but less than 3% of the College’s population as a whole. Nearly 80% of learners who attended the College full-time were aged 19 or over, the average age being 21. The participants also made up nearly 35% of the provision’s disabled population overall or of the 12% full-time students who were ‘known’ to have a disability or learning disabilities.

In terms of ethnicity and gender, 35% of participants were White British. This is short of the 66% ethnic minority breakdown of the Borough, and half of the 73% of full-time students at Haven who are from minority ethnic groups. 59% of these students are women. In comparison, 65% of the participants in this study are male. 30% of the Asian participants were roughly representative of Haven’s population, while African-Caribbean participants were not equally represented and made up only 5% of the participant group. Lastly, Haven is located in an area of extreme and multiple deprivations and is rated one of the most deprived English local authority districts. Unemployment in 2007 was double the national average and 41% of adults were workless. Table 1.5 (below) offers a simple breakdown of the College population in relation to ethnicity, age, gender, and disability.

Ethnicity	Age %			Gender	Disability
	%	under 16	16 - 19	19 - over	Female
White British	27	>1	5	21	Not Known
Other White	3	0	0	3	
Mixed Indian	2	0	1	1	
Indian	10	0	1	9	
Pakistani	14	>1	4	9	
Bangladeshi	11	>1	3	8	
Other Asian	5	0	0	5	
Black Caribbean	10	>1	2	8	
Black African	5	>1	1	3	
Other Black	2	0	0	2	
Chinese	3	0	0	3	
Other Ethnic Groups	8	>1	2	5	
Total	100	3%	17%	80%	59% 12%

Awareness of these differences and similarities between the participants and those in the College population was the foundation for considering relations which were described here. By delineating the participants in this way, I grasped the flow of social capital in contexts, where differences were made uncomfortable in some of Haven’s social spaces, but enabled support in others. Thus, my view of disability was relational, contextual and dynamic - played out in the day-to-day life at Haven. In this sense, disability was about being subtly and literally placed away from FE life and social capital which existed in it.

Whilst the student’s experiences and the knowledge gained from these experiences were context specific, it is wrong to assume “highlighting what is referred to by Goffman as ‘the backstage of social phenomena’ could not inspire further theory building more generally (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 85).” However, one problem was connected with what may and may not be asserted from case studies, no matter how cautiously procedural matters are detailed. Diamond (1996) argues that case studies can not generalize, although Sikes (cited in Maguire, 2005) notes they are of use in illuminating the “subjective, emic and

ideographic (2000, 263).” Like the participants in Maguire’s study, I argued that young disabled people have “subjectivities that accommodate, appropriate, colonise and resist” (429) social capital that entangle them in the social production of FE. Yet, the possession of social network resources was made complex in a college that is used as a ‘beacon’ for other FE colleges to learn from. Thus, the students’ inclusions in this particular college draw attention to the complexities, and sometimes the contradictions of real life, which are obscured by political rhetoric. Consequently, the College and participants in question have much to say about the plausibility of social capital ideas across the FE sector, and the expression of networks, support and trust in young disabled people’s lives generally.

5.8 The research framework

All things considered, then, it may be useful to summarise and to further develop the methodological framework, which was followed in carrying out the research. The data collection was conducted over a period of one academic year and over the 30 days leave available from my full-time work. The research was, therefore, “shaped by the time the researcher (I) has available (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, 39).” This in mind, it was sensible and practical to take a systematic approach to sampling a preconceived but reasonable set of dimensions such as time, space and bodies, for example (Glaser, 1978).

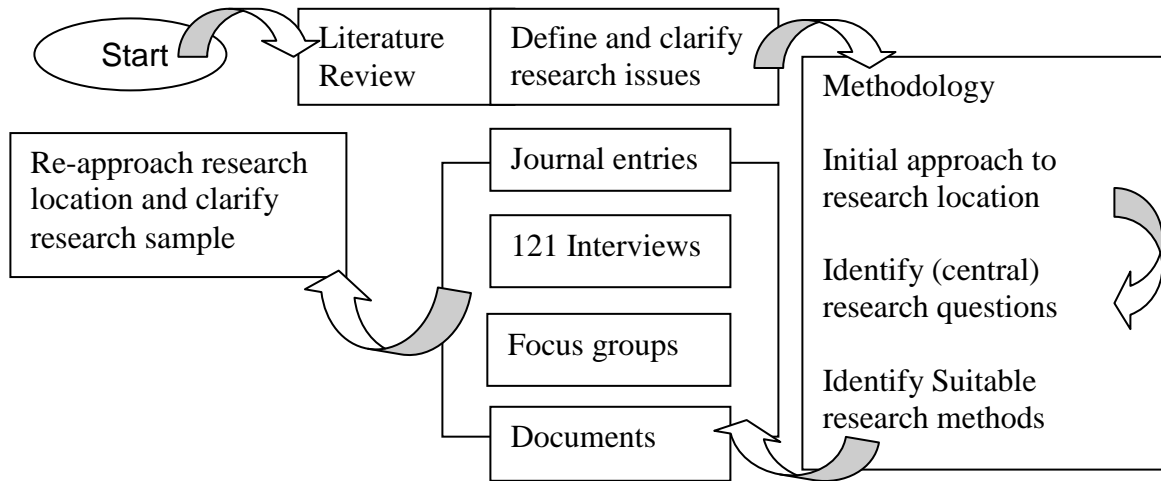
The implementation of research occurred in ten-day blocks at the start, middle and finish of Haven’s academic calendar. This allowed the participants time to traverse a spectrum of learning events en-route to using social capital at Haven. Providing a picture of the base, mid-point and end was vital to link a young disabled person’s developing disposition to learning by participating in Haven. Admittedly this idea is consistent with

a linear idea of social capital, which implies networks have value because they allow people to cooperate for mutual benefit, and to gain access to goods which they could use.

One weakness with the framework was, therefore, the limited research time available, which could only sanction one interview per student, three times a year. This is based on a sample of 30 students, in addition to holding 12 focus group sessions with 4/5 young people in each. Although the wealth of data was initially overwhelming, I was keen to enhance the research with insights that are beyond my own limited time at the College, such as from the favoured out of bounds areas of a particular sub-culture or group of young people, which tend to be spaces that are invitation-only. The visual data were a key to such worlds (Percy-Smith, 1999), which operate independent of my existence at Haven and which allow me to view, listen-in and to ask questions, even as I remained an outsider. The aim of collecting such data was to elicit the perspectives of young disabled people on their environment in ways that enabled them to control what they wanted to depict. In this way, a person's use of time over a given period included the crucial spatial complexities, meanings and relations which they attached to particular activity locations.

In addition to a sampling strategy that takes account of time, space and bodies, I spent time near the end of each session involving some participants in the initial stages of data analysis. That is, they listened to focus group tapes, noting phrases and words, and placing these on cards, before talking about the themes they thought had arisen from this. As a process, this was crucial for gaining their input at each stage of data analysis, and gave them some insights into what I was doing with their accounts. These occasions also provided more data and a chance to reminisce about their experiences, and acted as a process of closure. This in mind, the research framework (Table 1.6) is outlined below.

Table 1.6 - The research framework



<p><i>Early Sept. 2007</i> <i>Mid Sept.</i> <i>Fieldwork Stage 1</i></p>	<p>Implementation of Research Methods & Strategy: Initially with Staff, and then with Class Groups One to One Interviews (week 1) Focus groups (week 2) Data analysis with young disabled people</p>
Oct.	Transcribe Interviews
Nov.	Transcribe Group sessions
Dec.	Transcription/ Fieldwork Preparation
Jan. 2008	Fieldwork Preparation / Issuing of Cameras
<p>Mid/Late – Feb. 2008 <i>Fieldwork – Stage 2</i></p>	<p>Implementation of Research Methods: One to One Interviews (week 1) Focus groups (week 2) Document collection (ongoing) Data analysis with young disabled people</p>
Mar	Transcribe Interviews
Apr	Transcribe Group sessions
May	Fieldwork Preparation / Issuing of Cameras
<p>Early June Fieldwork Stage 3</p>	<p>Implementation of Research Methods One to One Interviews – (week 1) Focus groups- (week 2) Document collection Data analysis with young disabled people</p>

5.9 Some comments on ethics in the research

Given the sensitivity of the voiced data in the research it is important to comment on, for obvious reasons, the ethical principles that were utilised throughout. Therefore, this section focuses on ethical practice and how I achieved ethical practice in the study. As a platform to think through such concerns, I start by distinguishing between two dissimilar aspects of research ethics - that is, 'ethics on practice' and procedural - before moving on to examine the actual influence that each aspect had when I was *doing* the research.

In the first instance, time was spent gaining prior approval for the study through the Brunel University Research Ethics Committee¹⁵. The completed application form traced out the study, asked what measures I had taken to cater for any unanticipated outcomes and uphold the ethical principles which are crucial for, and of relevance to, the research. Notions such as informed consent were vital, for example, given the age of the students. The notion of consent usually means that research is free from deception or coercion, which is intended to create a situation where the young people feel informed about the purpose and nature of this study (Benson, 1988). A letter was created and discussed with students and parents (see page 415), to lay open to scrutiny their entitlements and rights and the particularities of the study. For example, it made clear that place and participant names would be replaced with fictitious ones to protect anonymity (Cohen *et al.*, 2000).

However, even a cursory reflection upon the notion of informed consent picks up discrepancies, which stemmed from the close nature of my interaction with the young people. There could be no guarantees for the potential of some negative repercussions in 'delicate situations' where I needed to make spontaneous decisions about issues of harm

¹⁵ Ethical approval was granted by the Universities ethics committee prior to the study

and confidentiality. In other words, such nuances were not always obvious, they could not be foreseen, nor illustrated in a way which an ethics approval form had required, or similarly, methods to minimise risk were hard to clarify. This exemplifies how easy it is for ethical ideals, which are set out by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004) and adhered to here, to be complicated in doing research (Sheehy, 2005).

Therefore, procedural ethics could not in itself provide all that was needed to deal with what Guillemin *et al.*, (2004, 13) term “ethics in practice.” What they mean by this is a researcher’s ability to recognise nuances in the ethical dimension of conducting research everyday, to always reflect upon the issues of ethics and to react correctly. Consider, for example, how to deal with sensitive information given by participants or how to best respond to information regarding their life stories without damaging the honest nature of the interview. Indeed, did I ignore a confession or challenge it directly? If so, in what ways - what could I say, do I use a serious tone of voice? Keep recording or stop an interview? Offer to talk about the problem or ask someone else to? These were concerns surrounding the ethical duties I had in relation to responding to the participants in a non-exploitative and compassionate way, whilst also being aware of my task as a researcher.

Such concerns were not always ‘dilemmas’ that demanded a stark choice to be made between options. In the case of a disclosure about physical abuse, for example, it was relatively clear how I must respond. The questions that I pose above are about how to respond in situations where I did not feel myself to be in the horns of a dilemma. There were numerous ethically significant instances in which this was the case: when a participant indicated discomfort with an answer or revealed a vulnerability, or when they

wanted their real name to be used instead of a fake name in the findings section of the study. I had no set strategy to deal with these ethically significant instances, but just tried to respond appropriately when each instance arose, and accepted, for example, that I had to abandon a question if it was damaging the trust developed within the interview.

In some cases, ethical considerations were made apparent when a conversation produced disclosures in regard to sex, drugs and/or alcohol. This developed my thinking further, when I considered the question of whether I was entrusted as a fellow human being or as a researcher, realising that a student might not discuss such issues with just anyone and that this could begin a series of ‘confessions’. I therefore had a rule; if I was uncertain over using a specific item as a finding, I must get permission for its use within the study from the participants. I argue, then, that ethical research was much more than gaining the approval of a research committee; highlighting ethical principles that were pivotal to the study was of little help in the field. One key process that leads to ethical practices within research was the role of reflexivity. This process, which required that I reflect upon data, myself and young disabled people, as well as the particular contexts that a participant inhabited, acted as ways to be aware of the power issues which arose throughout the research study. These, and other important issues, are examined below.

5.10 Conducting the research

5.10.1 Researcher subjectivity

It is not hard to imagine, then, that social relationships and opinions formed under such circumstances must have effects on the nature of the study. Thus a need arises to be self-

aware about how power operates in micro-political situations. This is the purpose of this section. First, I examine the limits of a study which is commensurate with taking an emancipatory stance, through gaining awareness of the relations of research production that produce an inequality of power (Barnes, 1996). Of concern, is the dividing line between identifying with the experience of being both young and disabled and exploiting people in wider research (Reay, 1996). Second, the limitations are mapped onto wider social relationships which consider the study to be structured around issues of systemic division and difference (Bottero, 2005). Third, I use reflexivity as a social critique to examine how power and responsibility create differing conflicts, especially as I occupy multiple positions in relation to young disabled people and the research endeavour itself.

A crucial challenge in the study was to address the balance of power throughout the research and to disrupt disabling relations amongst the individuals who conduct the research and the individuals that are the focus of the study (Priestley, 2003). In essence, the research process aspired to shift the balance of control from the researcher to the researched at every level of this ongoing process. There were, however, difficulties and limitations in realising this aspiration. One was time, both from a participant's and my own point of view. The other was student ability. For example, if they were to have a say on the final shape of the study they needed to comment on a draft (Zarb, 1997), which the majority are unable to do. Such an aspiration was, therefore, modified in favour of an alternative method of dissemination. In this case, a summary of my findings was presented in stages in order to give a broad picture of their collective experience, and also provided new data and added breadth and complexity to data analysis. Whilst this

was beneficial, ultimately it was my responsibility to write-up the final paper and with little and limited time to canvass the participants' opinions, I was forced to mould the content of the research study in ways that I deemed most appropriate (Ribben, 1999).

The limitations placed on the study raised the issue of exploitation, I often found myself asking: I know what I am getting out of this experience, but what are they getting out of it? Undeniably, I am the key beneficiary who had an inescapable power over data. Moreover, I gained a better understanding of myself through the experiences of others; a crucial point that I return to later. Despite this, and despite my general concerns over exploitation, the young people in the study made it quite clear to me that they valued being heard, as it led them to reflect on their own experiences and make sense of them.

This is precisely the kind of empowerment¹⁶ that this emancipatory stance helped me to promote, through a genuine emphasis on brokering opportunities to discuss and reflect on their own and other people's experiences. Although it is difficult to assess how empowering this was for them, either individually or collectively, it is argued that the chance to make their experiences known and to reflect upon these experiences was, in-itself, a form of empowerment. Karl discerns that a sense of empowerment comes from "being recognised and respected as equal human beings with a contribution to make (1995, 14)." I agree with this prescription. That said, then, if the prior experience of the young people is that they had not been treated as equals - which is the case with young disabled people positioned as 'Other' - then a relationship which treats them as equals, may sow the seeds of empowerment by allowing a participant to speak and to be heard.

¹⁶ I view empowerment not as a single event, rather as a process that consists of core components, such as collaboration and increased self-efficacy (Dempsey *et al.*, 1997).

A further issue that I reflected upon was reciprocity, and the exchange of personal information and vulnerability. Reciprocity has been defined by many researchers in many ways, but is often seen as being prepared to answer questions regarding personal information, and, thus, secondly, introduces vulnerability through self-exposure into the study (McLeod, 1990). Throughout my research I learned through close interactions with young disabled people when, or if, it is acceptable to share information in relation to my own experiences. This, I think, helped to establish ‘balanced rapport’ and was a factor in establishing and maintaining relations with participants (Guillemin, 2009) whereby they did not feel, in any way, evaluated (Converse *et al.*, 1974). Yet, perhaps as Valerie Hey suggests, I am being simplistic in my principal assumptions about the ease with which I established rapport. Indeed, as she argues, rapport “relies on a great deal of conscious as well as unconscious adjudication (2000, 175).” Hey’s insights motivated me to further reject my own constructed stance as an intellectual and to *locate* my own social classed and gendered experiences of education. This resulted in conflict with my self-reflexivity.

I do not intend to open an excessive self-analysis, here, at the expense of attending to the participants. Suffice to say that my own uneasy experiences of school as a working class lad in education, which defines normal as middle class, white and male (Bhopal, 1994), offered insights. Indeed, the more times young disabled people recognised social class difference as contributory to their experiences, the more I was aware of my disquiet about contempt for educational Others. As a result, I was interested in the way language operated in FE to depict some people as both “lazy and dishonest” (Giroux, 1992, 13).

One reading of why my discussions with participants, which focused on social capital, kept drawing attention to class might be due to having retained my Scottish accent. Hey refers to her northern dialect as a “dangerous instrument” in conducting interviews as it “elicits sympathy” (1997, 146). I found, as many working-class academics (Burn, 2001) have, interviewees said ‘I find you easy to chat to’. On one hand, my own memories of difference risked framing the research, in the sense that I gave undue weight to my own experiences, rather than those of the disabled people. On the other hand, deconstructing social difference in this way enabled me to better see opportunities to overcome the class relations that may withhold status from young people, and to view it more as a resource, or a positive set of practices from which to build forms of reciprocity (Maguire, 2005). For example, to encourage accents, or to be more sensitive to the fact any disclosures about others could be a “perilous act within a closed community (Plummer, 2000, 97).”

Social class is only one factor in shifting relations that impact on the practices of researchers. Indeed, issues of race or status also presented themselves (Fontana, 1994). Denzin, for example, points out “gender filters knowledge” (1989, 16). What Denzin means is, the socio-cultural barriers imposed by an essentially paternalistic (British) society will inevitably affect the interview process. Fontana (1994) also notes that many traditional and structured research processes become more challenging when participants are female, as feelings and emotions are often discouraged. Therefore, to adopt such a stance, which emphasised male characteristics and discouraged young disabled women from expressing themselves fully, would be “morally indefensible (Oakley, 1981, 41).”

Alternative approaches are encouraged to minimise differences in status, and to dispense with some, but not all, masculine characteristics within an interview. Reinharz (1992) notes other ways that some women reveal knowledge through digression and states that a 'warm' approach, among young people, can result in more honest and much richer data. From my experiences, discussing my own experience of school tended to encourage this in the other and introduced a more relaxed element into the context. I must not assume, however, that all women operate in ways that focus on emotion and experience (Oakley, 2000), neither that I eradicated hierarchical structures. The situation was too complex as a white male in a position of relative power, which may have inhibited the response of some students. That said, I did observe that showing my human side did, at times, build rapport and promote trust and trustworthiness (Bell, 1999), but I also over-identified with some of the students in the process. Therefore, personal values clearly had an effect on my processing information and behaviour within the interviews.

It is also suggested that additional difficulties exist when researchers are located within a professional culture that positions them as complicit with the subordination inherent in my profession to which, at times, they might collude (Bines, 1995). Perhaps what was of most significance, here, was that I was multiply positioned in relation to the tutors, students and the research endeavour. As an ex-tutor, I was released of contractual responsibilities but still remained subject to professional notions of ethics and culture. Simultaneous engagement in a research project further complicated my position. Hill speaks of "the contradiction that, while belonging to one group (tutors), I was involved in pursuing the goal of another group (academics) (1995, 104)." The very fact that the

outlook, understanding and, indeed, language of the two varied left me in a position that was, on numerous occasions, difficult. For example, some of the class tutors, managers and support team members associated with me as a colleague, whilst others (eventually!) talked to me more as a friend. Of course, this made it hard to be relentlessly ‘critical’ of the many staff team members to whom I had a professional and personal loyalty.

Issues of power, responsibilities and ethics were, therefore, threaded throughout the research. Such issues surfaced at many levels throughout the data collection phases, especially at times where I was embedded in the intricacies of relationship discussions with those young people who sought more than a distant researcher with dispassionate curiosity. It is, however, hoped that my own influence on responses was as neutral as possible. That is, in the sense of being open and forthright in my interactions with the young people. Further, that through a continuous process of evaluation, which I evoked during and after the research process, I ensured that patience, preparedness, and flexible study measures were made transparent, explicit and consistently implemented during the days spent handling and analysing any data. These are the topics to which I now turn.

5.10.2 Data handling and analysis

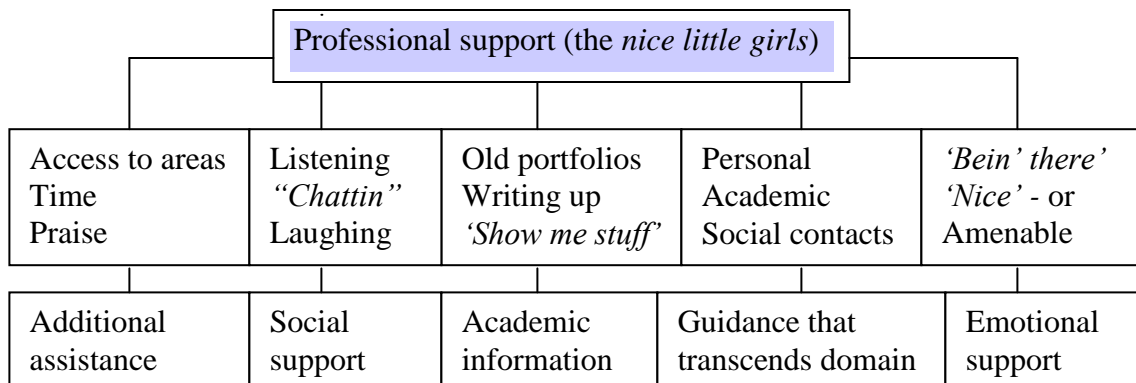
Due to the wealth of information that I gathered in the study, I was quickly overwhelmed with my own thoughts of how best to handle data. This is not to say that decisions were not made concerning data management initially, such as transcribing voice recordings. It is simply that I did not want to ‘get it wrong’. That is, to skip a stage or level that might illuminate the subtle contradictions of experience that being enrolled in college holds for

young disabled people. Co-creating a story with them ensured that handling, collecting and analysis were not such discrete stages, rather that each stage occurred concurrently. Before findings emanating from data are revealed, “a discussion of the procedures for treating the data is crucial (Turney *et al.*, 1971, 31).” That is the purpose of the section.

Researchers disagree where explicit data analysis should begin. I was mindful not to interpret what was discussed in my first interview. However, after several interviews, it seemed acceptable to start the coding process within the framework of social capital theory, albeit from my own revised position. In reality, coding was a case of reducing and complicating data. Coffey *et al.*, see coding as of use “to break up and segment the data into simpler, general categories and used to expand and tease out the data, in order to formulate new questions and levels of interpretation (1996, 28).” For them, coding is thought of as ‘essentially heuristic’, with both formal procedures and informal processes of reflection, from marking words to a far deeper exploration and explanation of themes alongside young disabled people, offering a way to interact with and to think about data.

In the first instance, however, it is true to state that I entered the field with a code start-list (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The *a priori* codes were, participation in college and in classrooms, peer-support, professional-support, trust and agency, drawn from the theoretical ideas discussed earlier, and from areas that are embedded in my questions. Codes were of use as a way of categorising data in relation to the overarching questions, but were not precise. Rather, they acted as a way to arrange ideas. The continual reading of literature and analysis at each stage of data collection worked to reconstruct this list, resulting in changes to a *a priori* codes. For instance, professional support characterised

relations between students and staff. I realised that a student negotiates, acquires and/or rejects support in differing ways, with many consequences and outcomes. Students were also recognisable to staff as *good students*, *nice little girls*, *bad boys*, and *naughty girls* (see page 183). These subject positions served as tools to highlight both the structure and function of peer networks. This in mind, professional support needed to be widened out, as I had in fact used it to note social capital flowing between the students and some staff. Professional support was, therefore, better understood as a form of power. Set out below is one example of a *priori* code, to which I have attached some of my coding categories.



As these codes were brought to bear upon the study, the flow of social capital began to be 'mapped' out for different groups of students; albeit rather un-comfortably, with other layers of analysis: bonding, bridging and linking capital. Following my critique of social capital in Chapter 3, the key features of social capital offered a way to critique processes, which can relate to the production of social inequalities for young disabled people in FE.

This in mind, then, I wanted to familiarise myself with what was present in data. The aim was to give feedback to participants on my ideas. Thus, summary sheets (Miles and Huberman, 1994) were introduced as a way of using writing to facilitate reflection,

and as a starting point for data analysis (see page 412). Eyeballing data (Bernard, 2006) or marking out key words in the transcripts assisted the process. In practical terms, this way did not *feel* methodical, but mixing strategies enabled a quicker identification and description of any emerging ideas and the transportation of my ideas to the focus groups.

The focus group discussions with participants culminated in a day at the end of each research session, listening to their recorded discussions and then talking about what was being said. During this time they extracted interesting points, and they noted phrases and words, to then be sorted onto cards. We then talked about these ideas, in order to add depth to these, before they sorted these cards into themes. Some of the themes that arose were: ‘bein’ there’, ‘hangin’ out’ and ‘fittin’- in’. In hindsight, these consultation times provided an important link between the research process and its context, which helped to enhance the quality of my own thoughts around the functioning of social capital. These opportunities also ensured that their own ideas resonated through the research process and the ‘maturity’ of data. This in mind, the final ordering of data is shown on page 414.

The next level of analysis involved developing initial sub-codes for each of the major codes that came from patterns and themes which emerged in data. The maturity of sub-codes was constantly ‘evolving’, the analysis process being one of comparing and contrasting different data sets. For example, by contrasting the responses of one young person talking about his relationships in class, with those of his peers, I abstracted more in-depth sub-codes about forms of participation in new communities of belonging. For example, I gained a picture of how the exchange of (virtual) social capital leaked into, and thus, resisted and revitalised, the permanence of formal spaces and special activities.

This came to form a sub theme from which the young disabled people's participation in FE took place. The shift in my thinking toward the negative value that I had attached to certain activities was crucial. I now better understood from the understandings of young disabled people the ways that they deploy social capital, and the diverse forms this takes.

Findings such as these were systematically checked using multiple sources of data, to add richness and complexity, and to verify the thought processes behind my analysis. Here, data and mixed method triangulation was, "not so much a tactic as a way of life (Miles and Huberman, 1994, 267)." Triangulation was not a panacea and raised varied problems. Double-checking findings, along with young people, for example, was a way of ensuring that verification processes were built in as we went along. I am not saying that there were never surprises in the data. Indeed, away from the 'noise' of social capital, students often sought solitude. This is revealed in one-to-one interviews, (but not in groups), in documents [a student being alone was often written up by support staff as cause for concern], or by stumbling upon a student in a tutor room. These, and other, surprises shed light on how they experience 'territory' as a myriad of spaces and places that they cannot go, even to escape the chaos and complexity of their existences in FE.

Coding was not a linear process. As a relatively new researcher, I did, at-times, take unconventional paths, which I will steer clear of in the future. This in mind, Miles and Huberman (1994) offer some guidelines about how to approach the analysis of data, such as clustering, seeing plausibility and the use of metaphors. I was mindful of using these during data analysis. The key aim being to reduce data by systematically exploring and explaining data, while bearing in mind the ideas of young disabled people over data.

At the end of data collection, several layers of data were worked through under a *priori* codes with which I continued to work. Eventually, and not without frustration, I began to see plausibility as an unwieldy 81 sub-codes began to accommodate certain responses and ideas. A process of clustering had begun, defined by Miles and Huberman (1984) as ‘a higher level of abstraction’, from which the final ordering of data emerged. It was the interplay between engaging data, reading literature, and various reflections on data sets that added depth and richness to the analysis and made the process motivated, active and inclusive, where the voices of young disabled people were more than the communication of *facts*. Indeed, their voices enticed me into a critical engagement with the data generated. This shaped the findings into the imagination of you, the reader. There are, however, implications in the writing up of findings, which I consider below.

5.11 Writing up

One of the main features of the writing up was selection. This meant discarding large amounts of data. In this context, it was vital to concede that this process of selection was present throughout the study, and not just at the writing up stage: “Judgements are made at every point as to what material is relevant, and what is irrelevant, to the research project (Powney and Watts, 1987, 11).” For example, I made decisions regarding the discarding of quotations. In most cases, I included short quotes. This is because some young people did find it hard to articulate in-depth responses to questions. Yet, I tried to include long quotations so that I can gain a better understanding over a person’s strength of opinion towards many issues. In addition, the pauses and ‘jargon’ in the quotes were also retained to convey to the reader, a young person’s authentic voice (Corbett, 1998).

In terms of writing strategies, I gained support from texts such as Becker (1986), Truss (2004), and Flyvbjerg, (2001), and inspiration from the writings of George Orwell. With regard to the mechanics of writing, the list of ‘dos and don’ts’ by Taylor *et al.*, (1988, 176) were helpful. They identify what are common mistakes in writing from qualitative data. These were relevant here, especially the warning about the temptation of letting quotes make a point. They argue that analysis is vital, and that it is not enough to quote from an interesting interview, for instance, and hope that the point makes itself. Further, they argue against the overuse of colourful quotations and against indulging in data overkill. In addition, they advise understatement rather than overstatement. On a positive note, they advise letting the readers know where the argument is going, using direct and concise writing, grounding the writing in specific examples, and editing drafts carefully. I have tried to respect all of this useful advice in writing-up the research study.

5.12 Summary

The research process goes some way in clarifying my thinking, to organising thoughts and accruing knowledge, and to invigorate my relationships to young disabled people, rather than construct these as matters of expediency. Indeed, it enticed me into a critical engagement from what I witnessed in the field, and to enquire or provoke critical thought and insights with young people. At this stage, I remained heartened by the study. This is because the quest for understanding and the challenge to my imagination gained from the literature thus far, only impelled me to be resolute over the importance of aspects of social capital in young disabled people’s lives within FE and to reveal, where present, the significance and unforeseen ways that social capital affected the participants.

CHAPTER SIX:

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Bonding social capital: social networks and sociability

6.1 Introduction

The next three chapters present an analysis of data that focuses upon the experiences of young disabled people enrolled on one FE provision. Chapters 6 to 8 will analyse how young disabled people understand social relationships, support and FE provision, and provides an appreciation of the exclusionary processes involved with their inclusion in college life. And, while this is difficult, the participants' observations offer vital insights into how the connections they make, and the context in which these are made, inform the policies and practices binding FE. Each chapter will, therefore, conclude with a brief discussion on learning for social capital theory as it relates to young disabled people.

6.2 Re-setting the stage

In New Labour's vision of education, any individual who fails to invest in marketable skills is likely to be excluded from employment. Therefore, a key part of New Labour's project was to enable young people to modernise themselves by embodying economic skills. Labelled with *poor* social skills, supporters of this viewpoint point to a young disabled person's inclusion in a supportive college environment as a way to improve their labour market attachment. Despite the role that social networks and norms have in reducing failure by individuals forging commitments to each other (Field, 2005, 11), an enquiry into the supposed linear relationship between young disabled people and the availability of many forms and types of social capital in FE has largely been overlooked.

There are three key points to be made here. First, in favour of positivist ideas that ask certain, as I see it, inept questions about the volume and type of social capital which are not subtle enough to articulate how social capital 'works' for many young disabled

people on the ground. Second, positivist ideas favour benevolent debates that champion inclusion, alongside other policy concerns, as the best means for young disabled people to adopt work identities. Such debates produce disabled people as objects of concern and assume professionals to be their primary influence on learning. This ignores how peers interact to support each other or how structural constraint impact on capital formation and distribution. Third, much policy rhetoric in FE binds the ideal college landscape with self, in assuming congruence exists in colleges between the values and obligations of its actors; where every student can command access to, invest in, and gain profits from socially rich contexts. But, how much choice do young disabled people really have over their affiliations? It is this type of question (see page 124) that my findings address.

6.3 Social capital and groups of young disabled people in Access

The focus of my study is social capital in FE. Yet, there are strategies attached to, and resources produced and consumed by young people that enable them to exist in FE. The 30 participants in the study are aged 14 to 16 years and the College they attend is located in an economically deprived area. This is reflected in the participant group, as they are (before entering FE) all eligible for free school meals. They all share *objective* locations in regional and class terms, but the intersection of other sites of difference (gender, and perceived academic ability, for example) in a young person's subjective experiences in their local situations make available four subject positions within Haven. The categories I identify here, describe strategies attached to students by staff but they are never static; they serve as a tool to highlight the structure and function of networks, the reciprocities arising from networks, and the value of each subject position in relation to social capital.

The strategies attached by staff to specific groups fall into four categories, *nice little girls* apparently adopt unquestioning attitudes and work hard to become good students; *good students* present as passive and vulnerable - working in the needy stereotype of a disabled student; the *bad boys* position is apparently an oppositional one, resisting Haven's ethos of vocational excellence; the *naughty girls* distance themselves from this ethos without resisting its authority, whilst aspiring to position themselves as heterosexually attractive and active. I assign most participants who are quoted a category, and Table 1.8 (below) traces the characteristics of each group of young people. Six participants are categorised as *nice little girls*, ten as *good students*, six as *naughty girls* and, lastly, eight as *bad boys*.

That, said, some of the participants are *border-dwellers*. I use the metaphor of border-dweller to elaborate on the participants who resist the divergent and contingent labels of their disabled identity in order to actively negotiate a border space in between (Bhabha, 1994) the hierarchical system of identification that exists in Access. I therefore draw attention to the realities of negotiating identity and belonging between, within and beyond the expectations of the four socio-cultural locations, both dominant and marginal.

Table 1.8 Characteristics of each of the four groups of young disabled people			
The <i>good students</i>	The <i>nice little girls</i>	The <i>naughty girls</i>	The <i>bad boys</i>
The students code themselves as childlike and where the clothes of most FE students suggest hetero/sexual attractiveness these young people present as desexualised.		These students wore 'trackies' influenced by <i>gangsta rap</i> , and loose gold jewellery. They also try to wear the high speed, high volume and heterosexual gestures of that fashion too.	
The <i>good student</i> networks centre on passivity – working within stereotypes, which means being respectful of his/her dependent position and deferential to the insights of staff.	The <i>nice little girl</i> networks centre on traditional Asian culture, preference for Asian friends and for the most part work hard to achieve academic success in college.	The <i>naughty girl</i> networks centre on positioning themselves as hetero/sexually appealing, but not in ways that faculty interprets as being oppositional to their authority.	The <i>bad boy</i> networks centre on toughness, fun and independence. They show opposition to authority through fighting and lateness and resent conformists in Access, whom they call 'propa' disabled'.

Given the diversity of data, Chapters 6 to 8 are organised around *a priori* codes that are drawn from the theoretical ideas discussed earlier, ideas that are embedded into questions. To aid in the clarity of my findings, each theme set or main themes and sub-themes that emerge from data concludes with a brief discussion. I also code data as it relates to bonding, bridging and linking social capitals. This highlights the exclusionary processes relating to the reproduction of inequalities at Haven College; for example, in understanding the degree to which certain social capitals are present in a given group. It is essential to note that themes do overlap at times. But the conceptual headings assigned to each theme draw together the data. The ordering of data in Chapter 6 is shown below:

A. Sociability and Social Networks

1. 'Strange at first': friends as resources
2. A 'cosy place': hanging out in learner support
3. Social Life: making known

B. Trust and Dependence

1. The views of people 'out there' and their effects
2. *Bad boys*, bodies and dominant masculinities: 'a room of our own'
3. Immobility

6.4 Bonding social capital: sociability and social networks

A key theme in the data concerns the transitions of young disabled people from school to college. The data suggest that how they navigate their own transition has consequences for their well-being in Haven and beyond. Not only does a successful transition offer a basis for identity that may be supportive of an engagement with the challenges inherent in FE life, but it also has an impact on their career development. In this chapter, I will focus on how student networks and related social support and solidarity, or bonding capital impact on their transitions to Haven and thereby on their lives in FE, and beyond.

6.4.1 'Strange at first': friends as resources

The most expansive theme to emerge from data is the influence and influential resources gained from young disabled people's relations with each other. Indeed, most comment on the friendships that are formed throughout the course of the year. The section draws on my discussions with young disabled people over the functions of friendships, in order to illustrate the significance of bonding capital in different scenarios, to enable them to settle into their surroundings. How they manage to utilise friendship networks underpins one of the most vital challenges for participants, their transitions from school to college.

The participants draw on a number of cognitive, emotional and social resources from their own friendship networks in order to face the challenges presented during this transition. For example, some of the participants relate that they did not like to initiate conversations with new people, even if they were at first excited about starting college. Zoe in year 10 gives this reason why she does not like conversing with strangers, 'cos strange people make fun of me.' She therefore drew on friends and acquaintances made through her old school networks to provide her with coping resources to generate the type of emotional support which helps her to settle within Access: 'my best mates from school is 'ere, an' they're the nicest to me'. Here, acquaintances represent an important foundation on which Zoe often falls back in times of uncertainty and anxiety. Another year 10 focus group participant, Harriet, reinforces the importance of friends by stating:

'...comin' 'ere [the college] wiff yer friends mean ya don't act like, all weird an' that, ya know stick out, 'cos we know each other', init. I mean, we just all stick wiff each other', ya know, like look out for each other all the time.'

(Focus group, 10/9/07)

This rather instrumental use of friends provides participants with confidence, which is expressed in terms of them being ‘relaxed’, ‘more like myself’ or ‘who I like to be’ in new surroundings, since being seen on your own makes you stand out either as different or unpopular (Weller, 2006a). That is, being seen to be part of a group projects a more confident and a popular persona to strangers. For as Pahl argues: “having someone as a friend is a form of power, which those without friendships do not have (2000, 162).”

Having friends is important as it allows a young person to show a more relaxed self to strangers, such as tutors and classmates, and to escape the stress inherent in their transitions. This form of power is expressed in terms of *resilience* in the face of the rather careless social manner of other students, both inside and outside of Access. Tom, year 11 interview, reinforces the value of a friendship network within this context:

Tom: ‘They’re it man...yeh’ve got to ‘ave mates in this place (the College)’

Craig: Could you tell me more about why having mates here is important?

Tom: ‘...in case yeh’ get ‘assle (from students and staff), init’ (12/9/07).

Here, friendships act as ‘back-up’, ready to support and defend against bullying. Those without a friendship network are inherently more vulnerable to bullying (Weller, 2006a) and to not ‘fitting-in’ or ‘not making any friends’. Thus, the idea of a linear and positive progression to friendships is an over-simplification. The transcripts also indicate that some of the participants enter FE without knowing anyone. In general, those students tend not to share the same level of optimism about the College as their peers, leading to the complaint of *loneliness* as their greatest subjective burden. This comment is typical ‘I don’t like it ‘ere (Haven) it’s too big n’ loud, init’ (Darren, year 10 interview 13/9/07).

Implicit in most of the young people's anxieties is a deficit of freedoms in their schooling experience. For many, school did not involve making personal choices, such as 'sittin' where I want to' (Harriet, year 10). Choice has been the prerogative of staff that was, and remains, subject to withdrawal. Indeed, I often noticed freedoms presented by the informality of FE life deepening the anxiety of autistic students, whose difficulty in understanding the rules of social interaction is made known through their tendency to express feelings of irritation by shouting and swearing. These acts cause a withdrawal of key choices, such as where to sit or even to remain in class. For them, making friends or settling in the routines of FE life is hard, which makes Access a place to be endured. This kind of peripheral position is evident for young people at the front of the class, such as those with complex learning needs, who subsequently fail to be accepted at a table.¹⁷

Acceptance at a table is pivotal to student culture in Access, as students tend to sit at one table all day. Rejection from a table means Access is seen in poor light, at least initially.

Elliot 'I just wanna' go home all day an' say to my mum, I wanna' quit! My mum tells me that there must be other boys like me, that'll be your best friends!'

Craig: '...and do you still want to quit (the College) after two weeks?'

Elliot: 'I wanna' quit now yeah, but my mum says I can't' (interview, 14/9/07).

Elliot is not alone; other young people thought about¹⁸ 'jackin' it in'. However, for those who are isolated in this way, many grew appreciative of 'people like me'. That is, those who share something in the way of their appearance or disposition and whom they said,

¹⁷ Students who do not have access to such a group are likely to remain alone or an outsider.

¹⁸ 4 of the sample left within the first few weeks, although their names remain on the register and many others accumulated erratic attendance patterns during this and other periods of the year.

'I'm safe wiff'. For some, this is a start point for building trust and engendering a sense of empathy, based on kinship, which leads to many students being invited to a table and then to forms of reciprocity with other people at the table. This is the case for Elliot, who believes, *'I'm safe talkin to people like me cos I know they'll be nice'* (interview 7/9/07).

Young disabled people also express in explicit and implicit terms how a shared ethnic and racial bond provides the context for reciprocal relations to develop. That is, the ties established, fused and embodied through a shared cultural identity encourage familiarity and affinity among students and their same ethnic peers. Gaining access to this friend network also results in being invited to a table. Farz, a year 10 student, relates this here:

'We's (Asian girls) talk about normal stuff...what we's wearin', I's wearin' jeans an' Salwar-kameez [to college] Yeh know, Sir, we's all just sit togetha yeh know, wiff each other in class, talk about stuff, 'elpin each other' (focus group 19/2/08).

While girls tend to be more intimate in describing friends than the boys, the themes of reciprocity, loyalty and 'being there' for each other occur repeatedly in boys' accounts of college life. The forms they take shapes different norms and behaviours that I discuss later. What is apparent, however, is that most participants are uniform in their choices of friends, particularly in terms of ethnicity and/or gender. Moreover, the production and reproduction of bonding capital through friendship networks provides a social energy, a force. It is a capacity to be receptive or resilient to any influences from other networks. But, while friendship offers a sense of inclusion, the fact that they choose friends similar to self often create group solidarities that exclude some peers. This leaves many students seeking out staff as alternate sources of bonding capital, which I go on to discuss below.

6.4.2 A ‘cosy’ place: hanging out in learner support

In the previous section it is suggested that friend networks play a role in the development of a kind of *zone of social energy* or space to produce and use bonding capital in order for participants to get used to or resist the many challenges of FE life. At the same time, these *zones of energy* produce regressive social milieus, where students’ strong in-group identifications preclude an outward looking dynamic. At-times, these milieus encourage some of the young people to begin to depend on their own sets of resources, make do with close friends, and avoid extending any bonding capital to other potential members. Harry a hearing-impaired student (speaking via a worker) gives an example of this, here:

‘I get annoyed sometimes [about being isolated from peers], but it happens to me all times, I don’t bother with it now. I get annoyed, yeah, but what’s the point in getting upset...I think it is better for me to be with teachers’ (interview 20/2/08).

Despite the difficulties he encountered, Harry appears to have adjusted well to his first year within FE. This adjustment may be explained by the fact that being hearing-impaired all his life, the ‘struggle’ over what it means to be a disabled student has taken place much earlier for him. It is apparent at the outset that peer networks are problematic for Harry. He has few friends and if anything sees himself at a distance from his peers who, he said, ‘always teases me’. Harry contrasts this to a ‘cosy’ environment that exists in the learner support room, an insular world¹⁹ with social rules and roles that express a sense of belonging beyond peer networks and where he portrays having fewer problems:

¹⁹ Goffman (1961) was the first to highlight the way in which institutions often become a world in themselves, with rules and social roles that express a power beyond wider society. Recent research in residential settings suggest disabled people being drawn into ‘service world’ with a high degree of dependence on staff for meaningful relationships and activities (Johnson, 2005).

Craig: Why do you hang out there (in learning support)?

Harry: *Because it's nice there!*

Craig: Ok, can you tell me who is not nice to you (in class)?

Harry: *I think there are a lot of bad kids in class who are loud. I don't really fit in with them...it pulls me down a bit because they tease me'* (interview 20/2/08).

In all the transcripts produced with Harry, it is clear that learner support and his student support worker²⁰ are crucial to his existence at Haven. They help him to find his way around and also make a definite 'fuss' over him. This may well be because Harry holds a *central* position within the G block's supportive network²¹. He holds this position not because of his SEN, but because of the symbol he represents to people there. That is, Harry is a potential caricature of what it is to be a young disabled student in FE – needy, vulnerable, respectful of his dependent position and deferential to the insights of staff. Certainly, he does not need to hide in learner support as he did in class. On the contrary, support staff demonstrates almost parental obligations in the way they interact with him. Harry reveals (interview 20/2/08) the value of the support to his existence in Access:

'I like learning support, they give me so much...I'd rather be out of class and be there. They treat me really great...I don't think I could survive without them.'

Harry is not alone in constructing many of the learner support staff team as 'caring' and, above all, 'nice'. Harry said the staff acting 'friendly' or accepting toward him is the quality he most valued in the staff. This was a view shared by many of the young people, especially among those students who are marginalised by their own peers within Access.

²⁰ As a student with hearing loss Harry has a communicator to offer support in the classroom

²¹ G block's learner support room is situated near Access, but away from the main campus building. Learner support is offered to students in subjects with a high literacy or numeracy content. The exception is SEN students who have other support needs. Although there is a dispute over allocation, a support tutor normally supports several students in any one class.

For *good students* like Harry, accessing learner support fills in for the lack of bonding resources gained from peers. But, while a dependence on the support staff may ensure a resource surplus, it also marks the *good students* out as needy. Here, one support tutor acknowledges her struggle by trying to justify her protective stance toward some of the participants. ‘They struggle [making friends] because most are slow (lack or have poor social skills), but when I see people giving them a hard time my paternal instinct jumps out...if we (staff) don’t protect them they will feel more isolated’ (Field-note, 20/02/08).

Given such care and attention, it is perhaps not surprising that many of the young people’s photos²² are of the support room (Fig. 6.1). Through the pictures they construct the space as ‘cosy’, or as ‘our place’. The notions of our place and cosy are interesting, suggesting a sense of belonging. I agree. The room has an *air* of security, investment, and identification of territory, which is emphasised by their class-work being on display. This differs from a more animated climate that exists in the College’s bustling hallways.



Fig. 6.1 ‘Where we all like to sit’ - the learner support room located within G’ block

²² To show the practical nature of the support on offer in this area, it is interesting to note that the staff supported two students to prepare and take this and other pictures of Haven.

While it is true that the surest way for a FE student to access learner support is through the official route, most students can, if they want and the conditions are right, position themselves as needy and access support in a more informal way. For example the common sense, informal understanding of support staff as caring often swings into operation much more easily than the bureaucracy involved with formal identification of quantifiable learning needs. Students who can thus position themselves as needing to be cared for elicit support that could often be deployed in order to make a difference. Cam illustrates this in an interview, where a perception of vulnerability is used to good effect:

'...teacher wants to move us to a table with the loud boy's. But you wanna be wiff the people what helps you, init...So I's just look sad an' ask Trish (support worker) to ask Sir (a class tutor) not to move me, an' I's look sad an' Trish says boys bully me an' Sir say's ok, I's stay wiff my best friends' (interview 26/2/07).

The support staff and many subject tutors, regularly refer to Cam and her friends as *nice little girls*. These five girls have a Bangladeshi origin, and manage to code themselves as childlike and/or as a *good student*, who present as needy and vulnerable. The *nice little girls* are dressed in shoes with small heels, wear little or no make-up, appear quite shy, and frequently look downwards, which suggests a general willingness to oblige and to conform. Like most Muslim women at Haven, all of the *nice little girls* are dressed in *Shalwar Kameez*. That said, whilst most of Haven's Muslim women are playful with what they wear, in an effort to present a self that is hetero/sexual appealing or sexually attractive, the girls appear as de-sexualised. They are also pro-tutor as well as pro-Haven culture. That is, their unquestioning desire to please staff also sits rather neatly with the

College's central ethos of vocational excellence which is largely based on hard work and allowing other people in the College to work hard so they might also achieve success.

It might well be that girls of Asian origin are accepted by the staff as hard working. But their evident compliance obscures the many ways in which they produce a weak subject position in order to retain the staff supports they see as crucial to 'do good'. The fear of rejecting, or being seen to reject, the disciplinary standards of the provision also had an effect on some of the *good students*. Their close association with some of the support staff tended to position the *good students* with a stigma of outsider-ness among their peers because it exhibits a level of dependency and vulnerability (Deal, 2003). Harriet suggests the heart of the problem by identifying for me what she believes it may mean not to reciprocate the social goods (care and attention, for example) on offer to her by the staff and how this distances her from the mysterious and amusing world of her peers:

Harriet: Miss (support worker) 'elps me so much 'ere (in class), she 'elps me do good always – do this, do that! I gotta' do good to get a job, right? But, some girls don't talk to me, I fink it's 'cos I sit wiff Miss? That makes me sad 'cos they larfin' an' 'afin' fun. I dunno what they's all larfin' about' (interview, 25/2/08).

Harriet's weak position, along with the other *good students* in Access, is intensified by the fact that these students are not confident, sporty, or 'cool' enough to escape Access's supportive bubble. That is, to access alternate spaces and subjectivities that might allow them to travel around the intricacies and difficulties of what it means to *be* someone other than a young disabled student. In the next section, I move on to look at how some of the participants transgress the limitations placed upon them by their disabled identity.

6.4.3 Social life: making known

In recognising the positive outcomes of taking up a dependent position, as that discussed above, it is crucial to question some of the potentially less positive outcomes, namely a person's inscription into a disabled identity. Thus, the preferred voices in the section are of those who convey their young disabled identity as a form of incarceration, and who attempt to subvert the norms, either through resentment toward staff or through various transgressive actions which oblige Access students to present as young disabled subjects.

Amjit and Bea [two *nice little girls* with learning disabilities and a mild speech difficulty and involuntary tick, respectively] are like many enrolled in Access, border-dwellers in the respect that they are keen to socialise with peers, even if that consists of infringing classroom-rules. Yet, socialising is often 'ard', Bea said, 'cos people find ma' ticks 'ard to deal wiff'. She makes a point that her inability to *talk* or *act* in specific ways is problematic for negotiating friendships and behaving in publicly desirable ways²³. As such, Amjit and Bea generated a pedagogic approach that intended to shed new light on the apprehensions that their classmates have of both girls. Such instructive tactics utilises humour. Bea reveals this in her first interview (13/9/07): 'people (her peers) stress about treatin' me like normal, ya know, 'cos I got ticks an' that. Now, I get all jokey wiff 'em so they chill out. I 'fink I gotta' be funny. I don't want 'em 'finking I'm weird or nufink'.

However, joking about a disability is not a single performance that promises the same response in the future; rather, this is to be practiced. Giddens (1991) describes this

²³ Interaction between disabled people and non-disabled people can be difficult for a range of reasons. As Goffman (1963) described, the effect of stigma is to undermine the possibilities of interaction, at least at the outset. Skill and confidence is required if people are to go beyond a preoccupation with disability, and find what they have in common (Fisher *et al.*, 1988, p. 173).

as an awareness²⁴ of any threats that may constrain people into acting disabled. Here, for example, Amjit tries to undo the *embarrassment* and *pity* that she senses in other people:

‘...Sir [tutor] said to stand-up ‘n read in class, I’s nervous an’ like ‘spaz’d out’. I seen Sir, like, lookin’ at me ‘finkin’, “Oh God, she can’t read good, an’ like, my mates all ‘lookin’ sad at me’. I ‘fink Sir wants to disappear. All I was ‘finkin’ ...is burst out larfin...be jokey right. But, like Sir went all mad!’ (Interview 28/2/08).

While Amjit’s strategy improves peer apprehension, she is still confronted by the tutor who judges her acts as failing to collaborate. While transgressive acts could offer up new opportunities for a young disabled person, they may also undermine other opportunities. In the same interview, Bea expressed her frustration that the constant manufacturing of a self that is funny was emotionally tiring and stifles occasions to be ‘accepted as myself.’

Some participants enter FE with well-practised tactics for rejecting staff support. What they do is repulse supports (e.g. care and attention) in ways which are disagreeable and worrying for staff. The *bad boys* and *naughty girls* renounce their neediness by via a style of clothes [e.g. *hoodie* tops and *trackie* bottoms] and ways of chatting, acting out and walking which aims to produce a strong hetero-sexualised position. These all mark a break from the institutional culture of success, and the regulatory processes of Haven. A ‘we don’t care’ approach illustrates their responses to vocational education. Therefore, these young people move away from constructing themselves as weak or needy students: a subject position which staff in Access make both accessible and appealing to a student.

²⁴ Giddens’s (1991, 129) utilised Goffman’s notion of the *Umwelt* (1971) and relates it to “the sphere around an individual where potential sources of alarm are found.” He views *Umwelt*, or a person’s ongoing vigilance over threats as crucial in the formation of a defensive bubble.

That said, their sub-cultural identities and practices imbue them with status and prestige in the Access student milieu, and others want to constitute themselves as similarly *bad*. Justin in year 10 is one such student. However, he felt his prosthetic legs are inferiorised by members of the *bad boy* network, which is ordered around macho values such as aggression and strength. Justin said ‘some lads in ‘ere (in Access) fink they’re tuff an’ (disabled) lads like mes weak’ (interview 21/2/08). Despite risking his own safety, Justin counters any negative perceptions of him as weak via risky acts of transgression. These include being pushed fast along corridors, and down flights of stairs. Having witnessed these acts over a two week period Dave, a *bad boy*, expresses a positive reaction in his initial preconceptions of Justin: ‘he’s safe bruv, yeh’ fink he ain’t ‘ard when yeh see ‘im, but he scared u’ shite, he’s fuckin crazy ‘n that ‘fing (his wheelchair)’ (year 10 interview 22/2/08). While the actions are effective in allowing Justin to access a *bad boy* network, ‘acting-out’ in these ways is not confined to the network but is achieved in public and embedded in pride. Yet, such acts held a different value in public, which I return to later.

All of these acts are transgressive in that they challenge the fixed identity of a disabled student and limits the imposed by this identity. Yet, an effort to go beyond limits also reveals limits (Foucault, 1977). This is frustrating for those who lack an awareness of the invisible requirements of space and relations, and whose attempts at transgression make them more aware of the impossibility of transcending their present circumstances:

I arrive at the classroom and wait on Atif to finish his work before our interview. [As is often the case] students are not engaged in work and, instead are talking or laughing to one another. The bad boys [who are shoehorned round one desk] nod their heads in time to a rap song coming from a mobile phone, which I can barely

hear. Atif turns toward the bad boys and tries, but fails, to nod in time with them. [They all ignore him]. The tutor does not ignore Atif. Rather, she asks Atif to stop! He stops [momentarily] before producing a phone and playing the same rap song, but loud enough for most to hear. The tutor demands Atif's phone. He said no, and objects further by shouting, then he runs to the door. Tom shouts out 'yeh lost him again miss' [laughter]. He gets a stern look from the tutor [who notices, but failed to challenge Atif's exit from the room], before the class returned to normal.

[Field-note, 27/02/08]

This short episode shows a series of potentially disruptive or 'mischievous' acts from people talking to boys nodding to a rap song, which are all transgressions of the norms of accepted classroom deportment. Yet the tutor does not censure these. The censure of Atif, a year 11 *good boy* with autism, emphasises that his own practices are somehow different to those of his peers. Their transgressions are authenticated by an encouraging audience or by a tacit awareness of how far to push the invisible behavioural requirements of the classroom. It is the way Atif breaches normal classroom requirements that render him different - his transgressions lack an awareness of the 'cool' way to behave 'bad'. Atif, then, breaks explicit class-rules that end with some jovial warnings of his departure that reinforce the invisible divide between who is 'cool' in the classroom and who is different.

Transgression can enable young disabled people to acquire new forms of subjectivity, but it includes risky practices that raise new barriers. For instance, transgression conflicts with the interests of more powerful others, as is the case in the examples given here. That said, it is only really possible to analyse the true energy of these acts and conflicts when they are examined in the wider college context, on which I focus in the following section.

6.4.4 Summary

The chapter outlined the views of some young disabled people on the reality of their existences in one alternative provision. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- The value of young disabled people as producers of their own capital in enabling a sense of well-being is shown here. They gain confidence and support from friendships. It is important to incorporate these insights into disability and social capital literature, which do not stress the influence of friend networks over young disabled people, and their ability to generate bonding capital to settle into new situations. For some students, strong (alternate) social ties are on offer from staff.
- The participants are beginning to be recognisable in four distinctions or *zones* of *social energy*. These are worked through by the material and discursive practices within Access and are differentially useful in creating the time or space needed to maximise difference and to mobilise resources of impression in order to gain (or to avoid) staff support. However, too close an association with staff constitutes a disabled self, and demands that some friend networks remain distant from others.
- Some participants are purposeful in building a bond between self and others and do so for many reasons: search for excitement and status or to express a narrowly defined masculinity. This offers key opportunities for reciprocal trust and mutual understanding amid peers that has a role in stimulating laughter and self-efficacy

as well as developing a shared identity, but also risks an awareness of the limits to social mobility and, thus, deters many from developing a transgressive project.

Several other issues emerging from my discussions with young disabled people are too broad to examine in this section. The issue around the views of older students ‘out there’ open wider discussions about the way in which their status as young disabled students affects the function of their friendship networks, both as part of Access and in the wider college community. Although the participants do not always associate being an Access student directly with issues of bullying, for example, much is said about the enduring distrust and detachment associated with their existences at Haven and how it provoked different acts of resistance from the different groups of young disabled people. The next section is devoted to examining the young people’s views on these particular issues.

6.5 Trust and dependency

The New Labour government assumed as a matter of principle that students of school age will be treated as valued participants in FE. However, some staff and older students in Haven act in a manner that challenges such positive and optimistic assumptions. One exclusionary structure labouring against the acquisition of bonding capital with staff and older students is a lack of trust and disinterest, or the delicate and not so delicate ways it is communicated to young disabled people that their presence is not valued by other people. This section looks at the participants daily struggles in order to uncover the value of their presence at Haven, and the extent to which Access is fused and shaped as acceptable for older students through their experiences in the wider college community.

6.5.1 Views of people ‘out there’ and their effects

Several students and groups are acknowledged by young disabled people as having an impact on their sense of agency and identity in Haven. This acknowledgement relates to any views they hold over people ‘out there’, or in Haven’s mainstream spaces, and over the recognisable faces that provide a link to a local school or to a local neighbourhood. It is clear that all of these combine to give the participants an understanding over who they are, who they can *become*, and in which spaces their presence is to be tolerated at Haven.

I broached the question of other people’s views of them, as students, prepared to hear a blend of accounts. Yet, the negative attitude toward their presence is evident from the start of our discussions. As a result of incidents of verbal abuse, many made it clear they stay near Access for fear of ‘bullys’. Although only three of the participants relate physical harm, the common perception of Haven is of a hostile place. This claim is given some weight by the recent Ofsted and ALI²⁵ report that made clear concerns over the *exuberant* behaviour of some of the student population, but only a rather euphemistic reference to acts of bullying in Haven. Nevertheless, in this climate of fear, ‘passing’²⁶ (Goffman, 1968) became a daily preoccupation for young disabled people in college.

While there is a number of techniques for passing that are available to those with less obvious impairments, such as epilepsy, passing for the overtly impaired is trickier. This is because there is a constant threat for participants, such as Bea, for example, that aspects of her ‘spoiled identity’ may act as a coercive marker of disability (Allan, 1999), and restricts the time to *pass* as ‘normal’. While such restrictions are disabling enough, a

²⁵ Ofsted and the Adult Learning Inspectorate (ALI) inspected Haven College in 2007.

²⁶ Goffman’s (1963) concept of passing refers to situations where disabled or stigmatised people deliberately conceal information about certain aspects of their ‘spoiled’ identity.

stigma attached to acquaintanceship is equally so. This issue is glimpsed in an interview given by Darren who, like most participants, is identified with 'learning as a primary cause for concern' but can pass as 'normal' if judged purely on facial appearance. Here, he relates how a meeting with his Access friends, two of whom are overtly disabled and others wearing school uniforms²⁷, act as coercive markers of their disability. Darren said,

'I 'fink lads (in school) see me as a freak, like when I was walkin' wiff friends (from class) past some lads from school, they start larfin' an callin' me 'retard an 'that, it's cos' they 'fink Access is for the stupid kids, init (interview 11/9/07).

Unfortunately, Darren's experience is far from unique. Most of the participants give some rather obvious examples throughout the year of where once recognisable faces of acquaintances, from their old mainstream school or neighbourhood, have begun to socially distance themselves at Haven. In a year 11 focus group (4/6/08), for example, some of the young people talk animatedly about this situation and how they deal with it:

Darren: *I hung wiff him in school... We'd say hi to an' that, cos' my mum knew his mum... He's weird to me in 'ere ...like I'd say hello an' he'd say nufink.*
(At that point several of the boys mumbled 'yeah'). Then Elliot interjected.
Yeah...yeah like some lads from our school they won't say nufink' (raising his voice) *I 'hink it's well wrong cos', just cos' we're in like college an' that now*
Harriet replied: *I just don't talk to 'em, 'cos I feel stupid when they ignore me.*

This, together with the previous extract, suggests that most are acutely aware of either the possibility or the actuality of negativity in other people's views of them. The

²⁷ Access students wear uniforms one day a week for their GCSE work at school.

emotional consequence of this perception is often manifested in depression or anger²⁸. One memorable example of the former occurs in the second research session when a girl called Christina, appears in a depressed state. She spoke to no one unless they addressed her first and looks as though she might burst into tears at the slightest provocation. I later find out, from one of the learner support workers, who had been consoling her, she is upset because some of the boys from her school asked if she is retarded. She had said 'no', but they demanded proof, and when she began to cry they just started to laugh at her. Later that day I began a conversation with Christina, after her depressed mood had improved. Here, she logically explains to me why the incident had made her so unhappy:

... *'you might to (be sad) Craig, if you's stuck in 'ere all day (in Access). Yeah, what 'ave I got to be so [h] 'appy about bein' called a retard an' like end up doin' nufink like em' (overtly disabled peers) in 'ere (in Access)' (interview 19/2/08).*

The bullying of Christina that is taking place here is an arduous experience and without the emotional support of staff, hard for her to deal with. Sadly, themes of isolation and stigmatisation resonate through our discussions. Further, in describing other people's views of them, it is clear in either the sad or angry tone of the participants' voices that the cruellest responses relate to an acquaintanceship with Access or of being ignored or bullied. This explains their inertia about a proactive engagement in the social fabric of Haven. Whereas some students reflect with each other on how to cope, most settle for accepting the status quo. Other students take up different positions, which I discuss now.

²⁸ Eight out of ten (82%) of young disabled people are bullied in and/or out of their school, and (79%) are scared to go outside because they are frightened of bullies. About one in three or (30%) of young disabled people also suffer depression by the time they are 24, but few seek help. This is often due to concerns about what their friends may think (MENCAP, 2007).

6.5.2 *Bad boys, bodies and dominant masculinities: ‘a room of our own’*

In this section I illuminate the interweaving of disability, masculinity and race in order to consider the strategies employed by some young men who pose a threat to hegemonic forms of masculinity in Haven, with regard to body image, bodily continence and social routines and relationships (Noam, 2008). Indeed, it remains a rather unsettling fact in the data that young men from Access “are not real men (in FE): they don’t have access to physical strength or social status in the conventional way (Shakespeare, 1999, 60).”

While there is a sense in the data that these issues are taken for granted by those born with an overt disability, the boundary between able-bodied and disabled is not so demarcated for every young man. Sam - and other white, working-class *bad boys* labeled with a disability - situates himself within a border-zone of the hierarchically constructed duality of ability/disability. They are neither disabled, nor able-bodied, but occupy an in-between space (Trinh, 1991). Sam is thus dubious of my questions around his disability and made clear the distance between those he describes as ‘*propa*’ disabled and himself:

Craig: Would you say you have a disability?

Sam: *eh ... (long pause)... What do you mean?*

Craig: Do you think your disabled ‘cos, as you said, you can’t read good?

Sam: *No, I’m not like Harry an’ ‘em who’s propa’ disabled (interview 18/2/08).*

In relation to difference and distance, the data reveal the heightened significance of *bad boys* glorifying elevated forms of hostility, risk-taking and use of words such as ‘pusey’ to describe *good boys* as being associated with specific forms of hegemonic masculinity. For example, loud (and shared) activities such as fighting in classes attempt to construct an identity and identifications against, instead of in common with, many peers and staff.

Most of the *bad boys* also have definite views about the sorts of jobs that lay ahead of them and their peers. For example, Kevin in year 10 said, ‘girls do beauty stuff an’ most of ‘em (*good boys*) got no fuckin’ chance (of gaining paid work)...there’s jobs for ‘ard lads like me [in construction], places yeh’ ‘ave to do [heavy] liftin’ (interview 25/2/08).

Like decades of white, working-class lads before him, Kevin identifies with hegemonic versions of masculinity whose attributes reflect a world of manual labour, machismo and streetwise laddishness (Mac an Ghail, 1996). For McDowell (2003), such traits are made *redundant* in a largely service-based economy where many employers now seek the type of interactive skills and feminine attributes that are key employment assets and are also part of social success in capitalist economies (Bauman, 1998). Such emotional labour includes a pleasing look, and emotional traits that woman are seen innately to possess, such as caring or communicating (Bradley *et al.*, 2000). An interactive work identity is not incidental to Access but is integral to it, with a student’s portfolio work highlighting such competences. There exists little evidence in data that the *bad boys* are receptive to these types of personal performances, which may be required in low-status service roles.

As a further form of ‘biographical disruption’ (Bury, 1982), the transition of a bad boy to FE undermines any prior assumptions about possessing a fully functioning body. For example, most relate harassment over facets of their size, appearance or age. Many are told to go to school, referred to as ‘chavs’ or fail to establish any recognition among people in popular social spaces, such as the Hub²⁹. The conflict that arises from this is traced to their otherness in relation to a *cool-lad*, who is a version of the dominant subject position at Haven, a successful student, but who also embodies the competencies

²⁹ The Hub is a popular social area where students can play pool, play music and/or just relax.

of what Castells (2000, 18) terms “self-programmable or networked labour.” He is multi-skilled and multiply positioned - a street cultured person with attitude, a consumer ‘wi sick clothes’, appears hetero-sexually attractive and active, is popular in the Hub, and who knows, or appears to know, where he is going in life. *Bad boys* attribute such *coolness* to older, African-Caribbean students. Thus, a discourse of white envy of black style and masculinity (Frosh *et al.*, 2002) is prevalent in many of the boys’ discussions around what constitutes cool. The discourse is refracted in their mobile³⁰ phone pictures.



Fig. 6.2- Taken in the hub, the picture depicts rap artists whom the bad boys revere

Gaz (a year 11 *bad boy*) gives me an example of a part-time African-Caribbean Access student, called Steven, who is able to ‘chill’ or blend in with other *cool* lads in the Hub. This is possible, he said, ‘cos of (Steven’s) black way of doin’ ‘fings’ (interview 5/6/08). Despite some of his mates’ mimicry of Steven’s style, Gaz is wary of ‘actin’ black’ as he

³⁰ It is apparently deemed to ‘un-cool’ or ‘kinda’ geeky’ to carry a camera into popular social areas. Thus, most *bad boys* elected to take photographs on their own mobile phones.

saw this as inauthentic. A complex combination of his own indignation and sense of bodily exclusion at the College results in a complex narrative justification of his stance:

'I'm not bein' racist, but it bugs me when my mates act all black, callin' each o'f a nigga. There's a lot of that 'ere (in Haven) init, cos girls 'fink it's cool. Suppose actin' black is the way it is, but boys would bang their fuckin' knee against a wall to get a limp an be chillin wiff 'em [black young people]' (interview 5/6/08).

Gaz's understanding of the way his mates deliberately fashion themselves as a means by which to assert their toughness, signals an attempt to position themselves as powerful within the pecking order of masculinities in FE. Haven's large Asian population does not, however, provoke the same level of envy or respect among the *bad boys*. That, said, the shared ethnic identity of older male, Pakistani students is seen as an important form of bonding capital, which provides a sort of blanket security. In one interview (19/2/08), Tom cites a common view that 'Paki' lads stickin' togetha'' is a group response to the unquestioned and unquestionable (Schutz, 1944) cultural hierarchy that exists at Haven:

'The Paki's [Asian boys] stick togetha' 'cos they talk the same. But, I 'fink they know it's betta' stickin' wiff their own kind in 'ere (Haven) too, it's safer, init.'

It is in relation to threats of violence, to spaces divided along ethnic lines, to the *bad boys* small, white disabled bodies, which in masculine 'cool' terms does not embody success, that they make sense of their awkward social positioning at Haven. So, when *bad boys* 'got 'assle', they tend to counter this lack of respect through acts of resistance. These acts come on an individual and collective level, and include verbal and physical forms. One focus group discussion with the year 11 *bad boys* exemplifies such a stance:

Sam: *they're [young males] always like, coming up to ya', '' 'hasslin' ya!'*

Kevin: *yeah, they 'fink they can gives us shite an' get away wiff it.'*

Craig: So, Tom why do you think that is?

Tom: *I 'fink it is cos' we are still in school an' that they look down on you, an' 'fink that that they can push ya' about...fuck that, I just give it back to em' lot.*

Kevin: *'yeah...yeah...but we ain't gonna just take that shite', init.*

Jimmy: *yeah, ya gotta' deal wiff it, yeh know.'* (Focus group, 27/02/08)

Mate-ship for *bad boys* results in this constant search for counter-experiences, ranging from abuse to petty vandalism. In the face of a rapid dissolution of their masculine sense of self, it seems to me that the acts are moments where they take refuge in what Charmaz (1994, 287) calls a 'restored self.' For instance, the vandalised sign indicates a boundary marker that they construct between themselves and what they describe as a '*girly*' space.



Fig. 6.3 – Kevin describes this picture as a place, '*for girls an' gays, not lads like me!*'

In one focus group (27/2/08), Kevin spoke with amazing insight about how the support generated by his mates aids in the construction of what he views as being, 'a room of our own'. This room, or the close proximity of and perceived support they gain

from each other have a strong social function as they labour against the exclusion Kevin experiences in FE. This room reinforces what I observed to be a commonly held view among the staff, that *bad boys* are offensive, troublesome and threatening. This leads in some cases, but not always, to a position in Haven which threatens the basis of social cohesion and the ethos of equal opportunities upon which the College and the success of hard working students depends. Yet, bonding capital is not to be conceptualised solely as individual or collective action. Access sets the parameters of the young people's social worlds and, as I discuss below, produces and perpetuates their social immobility in FE.

6.5.3 Immobility

For many young disabled people, gaining a place at Haven, which is some distance away from their local neighbourhood networks and from existing friendships in school, is a chance to open-up wider geographies or to live a 'de-territorialised' nomadic lifestyle that is iconic of college life (Attwood *et al.*, 2004). Yet, a participant's optimism about engaging a variety of people, who make accessible new skills and knowledge, is not so evident in their travellings. This is because opportunities to develop new understandings of themselves as FE students, through the acquisition and use of new network resources, and the opportunities to practice being streetwise (Cahill, 2000), is as much undermined by adult surveillance as it is by some missed freedoms, which I go on to look at below.

An area that most of the participants had particularly strong views about is staff paternalism. For Leigh in year 11, the opportunity to 'get burned', or to try new things, are most apparent when support is given, not offered to her by some of the support staff:

I'm not allowed to try to do fings by myself, ya know, get burnt...erm, 'like, when I 'ere (to class) in the morning sometimes, they take my stuff out of the cupboard an' put it on the desk [and] they never let me take it [my work home] home, 'cos they said I'd maybe lose it...I'm not allowed to do that, I don't know what they 'fink is goin' to 'appen to it (her college work) (interview 12/06/08).

Here, Leigh appears angry with her support worker, along with some of her class tutors, for protecting her and doing things for her. Leigh sums up such paternalism in this way:

I'm treated like a kid, I 'fink they're into lookin' after me cos I'm in school... that's not good cos' I can do 'fings myself ere (in Access)' (interview, 29/2/08).

The participants did, however, appreciate a chance to 'get out u' school', which most said is 'crap'. That said, most relate that their social world is narrower than it was at school, and complain that aspects of FE life are worse, such as being transported to Haven or being seen by other students in a bus³¹. This, they said, reinforces an adult and peer gaze and took away unsupervised spaces between school and home. These spaces are vital. For example, they allow a *naughty girl* to produce a self that is heterosexually active and attractive and to generate bridging capital. Hayley relates this in an interview, 'a bunch of us 'ad larfs gonna school an' like chat up boys on the way home!' (21/02/08).

The *naughty girls*, who are predominantly white, face the task of demonstrating their maturity to older boys. That is, to produce themselves as pretty, or sexually active and attractive against the formal and informal cultures at Haven, which have a common-sense understanding of young disabled women as sexually undesirable (Shildrick, 2009).

³¹ Students are expected to progress towards independent travel. While Access offers travel training, there are identifiable reasons for not being able to travel otherwise. Safety is one, which is often assessed by distance to travel or any behavioural concerns, for example.



Fig, 6.4 – In this picture, Hayley illustrates despair over having to take a minibus home.

The opportunities to construct a new sense of self through access to a variety of network experiences, which can provide experiential and informational resources - forms of talk, presentation of self and demeanour (Goffman, 1977, 16) - are frequently denied *naughty girls*. This is especially so when they are seen with boys. In other words, social encounters and links are crucial to establish, for they form boundaries around popular expectations of femininity, which I suggest, may be a source of advantage for the girls to obtain interactive but low paid service work. That said, however, it is quite striking how limited a girl's social life is in this respect, which many understand to be a result of constantly being observed and monitored and of unnecessary levels of adult surveillance.

It's also important to note here, the physical structural obstacles which many physically disabled people, such as Justin, encounter at Haven. Of the many examples noted in my journal, the one I recall as most significant occurred when Justin asked me to push his

wheelchair to a counselling session³². I had initially anticipated few problems during the normally short 5-minute walk to the main campus building, since I have experience of pushing wheelchairs within schools. The journey time was, however, far longer than I anticipated, as we had to negotiate uneven pavements. There were also two fire doors and two chairlifts to be tackled, as well as the problem of locating the room itself. This problem was due, in part, to the room numbers being located high up on the doors. On arrival at the locked room 15 minutes later, and after 20 minutes waiting for someone to let us in, I left Justin in the crowded corridor in order to locate the counsellor. After 10 minutes, I returned with a key and the news that the counsellor may not be coming. Fortunately the counsellor did not appear, as Justin's wheelchair did not fit (without my manipulation) through the door. The structural (small doorways) and professional (the counsellor not keeping appointments) issues that are highlighted in this example, should serve as a reminder of the fictional acceptance of young disabled people, and physically disabled students in particular, as not being recognised as valued consumers in college.

6.5.4 Summary

This section has illuminated data that point to Haven's community as a social market that does not encourage a young disabled person's mobility, or diverse nomadic lifestyle. The issues presented here, strike at the heart of the participants' inability to settle in to college life. Despite young disabled people wanting to locate themselves in Haven's normal culture of social capital consumption and production, there are communicational, physical, structural and attitudinal barriers which seem to smother any such ambitions.

³² I was startled by Justin's insistence that I help him to manouver his wheelchair to the counselling session, since he was reluctant to allow any adult to push him around college.

- Young disabled people find it hard to break from a stigma attached to Access, which is nourished by narrowly defined versions of success. This splinters and constructs points of separation, which often leads to deficits in trust toward them.
- Young disabled people's sense of trust in other people is weakened by incidents of verbal abuse and hostility. This led to rejection, which clearly affects their sense of identity, acceptance and belonging. While *bad boys* look to one another as a means of restoring their sense of status, identity and protection, most retreat to Access and remain socially distant from the normal lifestyles of FE students.
- Participants relate that older student's understandings of social competence are not just about physical appearance but a wider ability to conform to the College's social norms. They have not, as yet, defined any exclusionary social spaces, but the associated feelings of fear restrict the potential for bridging capital formation.

The chapter has captured the views of young disabled people about provision, support, and inclusion, and issues that surround their interactions with, and the understandings of older students, and how these relate to and impact upon their friendship networks and mobility in the College. The next Chapter draws on aspects of social capital theory, such as choice, participation and control, to further explore the emerging relationship between young disabled people and other individuals at Haven in the building of bridging capital.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS:

Bridging social capital: the nature of young disabled people's participation

7.1 Bridging Capital

7.1.1 Participation and control

In the previous chapter, I explored young disabled people's understandings of the Access community, views on their own social networks and any issues that impacted on bonding capital. In this chapter, I explore the nature of participation structures and inter-group membership, which are reiterated as crucial theoretical elements of bridging capital. For young people, in particular, participation beyond the closed spaces that Access provides is vital, if the social possibilities inherent in Putman's idea of active participation were to be realised (Willow, 2002). Thus, Chapter 6 focuses on participation between students in Access and in relation to any activities, such as sports clubs and online communities, which generate reciprocity and trust between themselves and the wider FE community.

Although the notion of bridging social capital is often discussed primarily in relation to the connections between poor and affluent communities (Saegert *et al.*, 2001), I consider bridging capital across the different 'zones' of bonding capital that exists in the provision. In particular, this chapter looks at aspects of social control which makes collective political participation and collective agency problematic for many, if not all, young disabled people in the College. The ordering of data in Chapter 7 is shown now:

Bridging Capital

C. Participation and Control

1. Special clubs
2. Choice
3. Risk: 'escaping the bubble'

D. Collective Action and Agency

1. Civic Engagement: involving young disabled people
2. Empowerment and social control
3. 'On our side': social capital and engagement

7.1.2 Special clubs

So far the data support the significance of young disabled people in the production of bonding capital. This production pattern is a crucial one, but is not characteristic of a network society. Its hallmarks are that new knowledge and information are embedded in the interactive processes of knowledge osmosis. This interaction is vital for individuals to form the capacities that develop a distinctive agency (Alheit *et al.*, 2002), and to obtain new network resources from various domains, such as sports clubs. As I note in this section, however, such active participation is only evident by its absence in the data. One reason for this is the existence of different understandings of leisure-time between Access and young disabled people themselves. For the latter, leisure is about making friends, or being popular. In other words, there are social motives for participation that relate to the temporal barriers young disabled people experience in Haven. For Access, leisure is framed in work-related terms, with skill-based activities, such as frequent visits to a local connexions centre, and a youth centre, filling-in most of a student's free time.

Despite a strong desire to participate in the mainstream leisure options at Haven, most activities have limited viability for Access students³³ as they are geared toward the norms and skilled performances of the majority. This is frustrating, for participating in sports in school had been allied to how many located and came to understand themselves during those years. This is highlighted in one *bad boy* focus group discussion (28/2/08):

Sam: we played [of football] at my old school in the [football] team an' that

Craig: I see you have pictures here of you guys playing football, where's that?

³³ For example, at the time of data collection there were no female basketball or football teams.



Fig. 7.1 The picture is of the Year 10 and 11 boys playing football at the Cage.

Sam: In the cage ...it's alright, but it's not the same...

Craig: What do you mean it's not the same?

Kevin...Mr Harris (a teacher at school), let us 'ave a kick 'bout in the [sports] 'all when it rains, but games in the playin' field wiz best, yeah, ye'd stick it to the olda' lads, init', ...ye'd get really stuck in, but they'd do the same to us too...

Tom: we'd play, 20 a-side...I miss that, like ye'd be a legend if ye'd do a slidin' tackle on a big lad...no-one plays 'ere, it's just us (Access) lads playin', init,

The comments suggest that an athletic identity is placed close to the apex of a personal, identity hierarchy, for Sam, Kevin and Tom. As a result, the loss of this identity is hard to cope with since it is closely associated with a masculine sense of self. Football is thus a setting in which to construct and maintain the cultural values of masculinity, such as activeness, strength and fortitude (Hickey *et al.*, 1998). This masculinising experience is a bridge that engenders a self-confidence and bodily continence. This is an important

aspect of the *bad boys* social routines and relations at school, but the chance to ‘stick it’ to their older peers reformulates relationships with them. Of course, following a move to FE, a young disabled person’s participation in sports is an option. But in a college with a large population, and with bad boys small statures and apparent lack of physical strength compared to older boys, and without knowing a team member who can *vouch* for their ability to perform, gaining access to Haven’s one, prestigious football team is difficult.

It is fair to state, however, that not every participant attributes a negative value to the existence of *special* activities. Frequent trips away from Haven College brought Zoe and Harriet, from Year 10 and 11 respectively, together as best friends at a time when they are both having difficulties with class-work. The reciprocal nature of this friendship is a source of self-improvement in the sense that working together helps them to overcome problems, such as typing up work, and helps them to improve upon the study habits they acquired in school. Further, it is a source of togetherness and intimacy that is displayed irrespective of their differing impairments. In a focus group (26/2/08) they describe such improvements as being drawn from their newly acquired adult status as FE students:

Craig: Did you know Sara before college?

Tash: ‘No!’...*well...she’ a year above, we were kinda’ alright (friendly) wiff each other an’ that, but not really mates or nufink’ ...’*

Craig: So Sara, you became friends with each other on this course?

Sara: ‘*Yeah...well we started chattin’ about music an’ stuff on trips’*

Craig: Are you good friends now?

Sara: ‘*Yeah, we chat about everyfink’, help each other wiff work an’ that, like adults, init...not like school or nufink’, it’s kinda un-cool to work ‘ard there.’*

The relative diversity of the student body (in comparison to schools) also makes young disabled people conscious of how they differ from others, and heightens an awareness of such differences. For many, being conscious of this on a daily basis is a new experience. Rob with autism, for example, said he had ‘no problem [making friends in school] ‘cos I’m treated normal’. In college, however, he is asked to sit at the front of the class. This means what Rob is really like, as an individual, is not readily manifested to his peers:

‘I’m different ‘ere (at College), boys ‘ere ‘hink I’m nerdy I ‘hink ‘cos I’m stuck up at the front (of the class). Erm, I suppose I’m alright wiff ‘em, just not that matey... maybe ‘cos they (his peers) dunno’ what I’m like’ (interview, 14/9/07).

In speaking about what he is really like, Rob switches to a description of himself outside of FE, where there is more to him than his shy demeanour suggests. In fact, there is an area of his life where he demonstrates versatility and fluidity as a social actor. Through gaming online, Rob generates ‘virtual’ capital (McGonigal *et al.*, 2007) in a community that is popular with *good students*. The process of creating and exchanging knowledge online fosters Rob’s entrance into a peer network. This focus group discussion (25/2/08) traces the source of these relations in the multiplayer online role-play game Guildwars³⁴:

Craig: What do you guys do on breaks?

Elliot: ...*dunno* (Pause) *erm...we talk about Guildwars mostly!*

Craig: That’s interesting. Can you tell me a bit about Guildwars?

Elliot: *it’s an Internet game, Rob set up a Guild an’ we go fight people an’ stuff, an’ get skills, an’ go on adventures like after college an’ that...it’s cool!*

³⁴ Haven’s Internet policy forbids sites such as Guildwars during normal college hours.

Darren: Yeah...He's (Toni) an Assassin, Harry's a Warrior, I'm a Ranger... an' Rob's a Monk, we'll we can all be other people too...we're a Guild!

Craig: That sounds magic, how did you get started in that!

Darren: erm, Rob was playin' it down the youth club...it looked well cool!

Craig: So Rob, what do you guys do on Guild wars?

Rob: erm ... like go on quests an' that... like we 'elp each other out an' that too. Like, I (h)'eal people mostly, like I have 'ealing payers 'cos I'm a monk...

Craig: That's sounds magic, but who decides what to do?

Elliot: Yeah, well. Rob, he's like level 20 he tells us what Guild-battle to do an' that ya know, to level up like him, an' what people to avoid tradin', wiff an' that.



Fig. 7.2 The picture, sent via e-mail, depicts one of Rob's characters from Guildwars.

Here, Rob is offering *gifts* in the form of support and knowledge of a virtual community. This provides forms of intimacy that fundamentally differ from, but also bridge, virtual and material worlds. Internet initiated interaction displays, I argue, Rob's ability to deal with the ambiguities of conflict and cooperation characterised in a community that runs parallel to, and is embedded in, other modes of interaction. It mediates capital exchange as a ritual performance (Goffman, 1972) that throws into relief the socially constructed

nature of self, offering a bridge or space for reciprocities that makes Rob more confident among his peers. The fact that Rob shares in the *good boy* activities during break, shows new technologies can reshape power struggles that exist in the material world of Access.

Part of the responsibility of the staff is to develop a student's social ties and 'the net' provides a link (Chamber, 2006) as transcripts are littered with references to *gaming* as recourse to building relationships with other students within and beyond Access. Yet this bridging creates tension amidst the socio-economic goals of staff and students. Part of this responsibility is a respect for a person's judgement to choose spaces in which to trade capital. Responsibility relates to choice also out of knowing what is best for young disabled people. To not take account of *need* is the failure of some special needs staff to not take this responsibility seriously. This often can, as I discuss now, overlook choice.

7.1.3 Choice

Making the transition to FE, a huge step for most young disabled people, is very much a time when they need to be consulted on any options that are available to them, in order to make more informed choices. For most participants, however, there is only a marginal involvement of independent advocates or other adults who may be of use in terms of gaining advice and guidance over their options at college. The lack of choices and other related themes are discussed here, but are perhaps best summed up by Zoe in response to an interview question about what advice she had received before entering the provision:

'No one asked me! The teacher just said I'd 'ave a betta' chance of a job if it do it an' it's betta' than school. I 'fink College s'alright but I can't wait to leave'

Interview, (6/09/07).

Dave, a *bad boy* in Year 10, gave another common reason for accessing Haven:

'I got a permanent exclusion (at school) A lady came to my house an' said that I had to do home tutorin' or 'ad to come 'ere...I wasn't sure 'till I 'eard my mates were up for doin' it, 'cos they said it sounded like a doss' (interview, 10/9/07).

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that (six months into term) most had a rather vague and mainly negative idea of their referral to Access. Further still, what this course could provide them in terms of their future career prospects remains elusive. Typical answers about why the participants thought they were referred to the provision include:

*'I thought they just wanted to get rid u me'
'She (a teacher at the school) told me I'd get me a good job, an' cos they said I wasn't gonna' be passin' much (GCSE exams) there (in school) anyway.'*

A young disabled person's lack of choice is most keenly felt over their timetable options, which are key aspects of college and indicates 'adult status and autonomy' (Ash *et al.*, 1997).” The rhetoric and reality of choice is related by Hayley in this interchange:

'No, I neva' got asked what I wanna do 'ere. I just got told that I 'ad to do Maths an' that... erm, that's ok, cos' you need that to get a good job right? But other stuff like money skills is rubbish I save all my money' (interview 14/09/07).

Here, workers fail to match her educational needs with the learning environment on offer at Access, thus reinforcing her non-adult status. Hayley's experience may be due to her late start to FE, because where students knew in advance they were being referred the

chance to inform decisions about their options made them feel ‘ok’ about this proposed move. On the other hand, most students said that they had little chance to make decisions neither did they complete (or remember completing) an S-139³⁵ document (DfEE, 2000). Darren’s response to an interview question (12/9/07) about the S-139 is a common one:

‘I fink Miss (his Connexions worker) done that...she said it (S-139) don’t matter ‘cos I’d do loads in college that like I wanna’ do...she wrote stuff, an’ I signed it’

The exchange raises questions over the affects of labels on young disabled students. The temptation of special needs tutors and staff who may be knowledgeable through their prior dealings with disability often presume ‘wisdom’ over how to get young disabled students through formal educational systems (Rustemier, 1998). Many examples of this are present in the one-to-one interview interviews where a support worker accompanied students. In response to my interview questions to Ian [a year 10 *good boy*], for example, a support worker tends to answer for him. Whilst this may be done sympathetically, to make sure I get useful answers to my interview questions (13/9/07), my understanding is that Ian could not speak freely or for himself. The extract exemplifies this specific issue:

Craig: ‘Can you tell me if you have joined in clubs since being at college?’

Teresa: (Ian’s worker interrupts) *‘I can answer that. I can report that Ian had a bad experience of sports, so is not in a rush to re-enter. Are we Ian?’*

Ian agreed, though this was contrary to the opinions he had expressed in a focus group session earlier in the day:

³⁵ The S-139 (the Learning and Skills Act, 2000) is an assessment of a young disabled person that results in a written report of his/her educational needs and provision to meet those needs.

Ian said then: *'I wanted to join the music club this year, but I couldn't really, 'cos I end up doing some cooking rubbish.'*

Also, when I asked Ian about his subjects:

Teresa: (again interrupts): *'He's had positive experiences but I feel that the programme let him down, not pitching high enough - the mainstream level is appropriate but everything else is not - it's a big change from school.'*

These interventions, and those of a different kind noted in Chapter 6, underline the huge amount of adult vigilance in maintaining and developing the identity of young disabled people, as needy, keeping Ian separated off from settings of potential failure and to remediate his social difficulties with peers in a way that Teresa deems to be appropriate.

In other instances, the influence of family, a particular issue for the Asian girls enrolled on Access, factor into their choices and social opportunities (Vincent, 2000). Frequently, the girls said that their families prefer that they be enrolled onto Access for it seems to them to offer a higher degree of professional and familial supervision than is currently available to a parent at school. Ali, a year 11 *nice girl*, makes this point now:

'My parents want me to be 'ere, 'cos my aunt clean's 'ere and she spoke to my teacher an' said, 'yes, I should come'...I 'fink my parents like me to be 'ere 'cos my brother and cousins is 'ere to an' they can look after me' (interview 11/9/07).

Some of the mother's work around assuring forms of supervision within Access, in particular those focused on close adult surveillance and control, are glimpsed in both the former and the subsequent extracts, especially when Ali is seen with an older boy. The expectation of the provision's assumed role as moral guardian from the risky aspects of FE life is clearly in evidence here, an expectation that Access apparently failed to fulfil:

'I's got seen by Shariz and Indy (her cousins) init, like, gettin' in Jermaine's car (a young black man). My parents went ape [mad], and complained to like Miss (the Access manager) 'cos they thought I's doin' something bad, an' sayin' we's don't send you back (to college), if that's what you's doin'' (interview19/2/08).

Despite Ali's protests, she is told by the Access manager to 'sign in' over breaks in order to avoid any future incidents. In a real sense then, Ali's parent's expectations bore upon her friendship choices. Also, her parent's expectations of Access are reinforced by the unpredictability of Haven's youth culture that threatens to puncture the protective bubble created by Access. Whilst the possibilities of dangerous activities are reduced by adult vigilance, so are opportunities to gain information and knowledge from new experiences. This is vital for making choices real and to demonstrate knowledge of how the adult world works and, thus, to be seen as adult's themselves (Robinson *et al.*, 1998). Social literacy and change are concerns in much of the social capital and disability literature and can be understood here, by the ways in which risk enters the experiences or potential experiences of young disabled people in a college. I move on to discuss this below.

7.1.4 Risk: 'escaping the bubble'

Based on the accounts of young disabled people it is clear that most, as one *naughty girl* said, want to 'escape the bubble', either of their mates or of Access. Yet the opportunity to do so is tempered by the practices, perceptions and policies constituting *risk* at Haven, with risk equated with something to avoid, and, thus, not readily linked to *personal development* or seen by staff as potentially liberating. Despite this, aspects of uncertainty and risk are visible in some of the young people's lives. Yet, there are also significant differences in the degree to which and the fashion in which risks appear in various cases.

One area that provides compelling evidence for risk is prior to overnight trips. Here, the preference and interests of young disabled people are set against the potential risks for staff and the College. This is exemplified in one *bad boy* focus group discussion (12/2/07), where several young people are aggrieved at not being allowed to ‘go away to ‘the [Amster] dam’ - a trip that is advertised annually to every student at Haven College:

Tom: ‘we’s remember Gerry (student services manager), comin’ to class an’ sayin’ we could go to the [Amster] dam...so like, we went straight’ to sign up an’ Gerry said “yeah, you’s go”, he said he’d tell us when we’d go, init’.

Gaz: Yeah... She [the Access manager] told us no sir, ‘cos we’s to young.’

For the *bad boys* or, indeed, any young disabled person to be allowed on trips abroad the staff must, as Goffman (1971) states, trust that they are not intent on harming themselves or staff. In a brief discussion with one manager, it is apparent that this is not the case at the Hub. He suggests to me that staffing is one reason for not taking the *bad boys* on trips abroad, the other reason is, and I quote, ‘they’re just not to be trusted’, (Field-note 21/2/10) both of these suggestions indicate lack of trust, and intolerance of transgression.

Given this lack of trust, and given Access’s emphasis on protection and safety, it is little wonder that some, but not all of the participants understand risks as emanating from outside Access. For example, most of them suggest that the informal facets of FE life, in particular, ‘gettin’ to wear what [clothes] we want’ is a positive influence on their lives. Yet certain casual clothes and other danger signs of the hurly-burly micro-cultural work taking place in certain spaces at Haven are, for some, difficult to understand and a source of risk. It is evident from focus group transcripts, for example, that those risks related to

popular public areas are risks from older students, as opposed to places as such. That is, some have an interpretation of risk founded on an “*image repertoire* (Sennett, 1994, 4).”

There are noticeable differences in the transcripts of how different groups map their ability to traverse certain social spaces within Haven. *Good students*, for example, modify their activities and movements to take account of the fear generated from the knowledge gained in conversation with the staff. They talk about staff convincing them to be wary, or hear stories, of ‘yobs’ or ‘gangs’ (who staff depict as homogenous groups, therefore, students often do not know who this refers to) being responsible for dubious activities, such as drug use or happy slapping (bullied on camera phone) in toilets. This information often substitutes for, or taints first-hand knowledge of certain public spaces. It is no wonder, then, that the toilets are depicted as the typical risky area, with the *good students* reacting to a picture (Fig. 7.3 below) of toilet graffiti with remarks such as ‘it’s dangerous’, an idea linked to fear. Elliot’s reaction causes extreme discomfort; he insists that he never uses toilets at Haven preferring, instead, to ‘hold it in’ until he gets home.



Fig. 7.3 The type of toilet graffiti pictured here, is an indicator of risk for *good students*.

However, for the *naughty girls* or *bad boys*, issues of risk-taking are often given prominence over safety or fear. Their comments are supportive of risk as an opportunity to acquire the experiences only available to them outside of the provision. Three year 11 *naughty girls*, Amy, Tash and Carla, exemplify this position. They are keen to interact with ‘olda’ boys and wear restrictive clothes in an effort to produce themselves as heterosexual beings. Like the *bad boys*, they too are reluctant learners, but their response to FE is not anti-educational enterprise in itself. Rather, it is lived through the production of FE as a site for a cocktail of compliance and romantic encounters. Thus, they locate Haven as a working-class female territory (Hey, 1997). Bored in class, the girls said they chat about where to meet ‘fit’ boys in distant sounding locations ‘way over there’, but always ‘where teachers don’t see’. They reiterate to me a need to keep such details a secret. This is due to a rigorous effort by staff to curb their interactions with boys by, as Amy said (interview 14/2/08), ‘spyin’, or telling them to ‘stay away from boys ‘cos (she claims one tutor had said) it’s weird olda’ boys wanna’ go wiff’ (young, disabled) girls like us.’

The many views given by support staff express the degree to which they worry about the girls. There is also a common belief about the sexualised nature of this threat. One version that is regularly shared with me is a view of FE being full of paedophiles waiting to trick the girls³⁶. On most occasions, they rely on their own personal attitude toward disability, sex and sexuality when supporting girls, which often exacerbates risk.

Despite warnings from staff, forming romantic relations is important to the girls. Naturally, they try to obscure this life from staff by, for example, ‘makin’ excuses for a

³⁶ Staff anxiety was heightened by a previous relationship involving a 25 year old male and a 14 year old female student two years earlier, which drew a complaint from a parent.

mate to skip classes'. They also all share knowledge and local intelligence, such as time-sensitive accounts of certain social spaces, or if they should meet boys together. This is aimed at evading 'nosey questions' or 'cos it's safe' togetha'' As such, they develop a covert network of concomitant social capital, with which *naughty girls* try to rewrite the debilitating scripts of those members of staff who seem responsible for enforcing them.



Fig. 7.4 Amy's boyfriend is sitting on the stairs where the girls often meet older boys

Whilst relations formed with 'boys on the stairs' may well serve to broaden the *naughty girls* social horizons by, for example, enhancing their social learning - forms of dress, presentation of self that, they said, 'makes us olda' - this fails to offset a young disabled identity that is incongruent in the milieu of heightened sexual expectation of an adult environment (Shildrick, 2009). Amy negotiates this identity crisis by changing her own sexual goals, which she previously identified for herself at school, in order to counter her older boyfriend's perception that her age and disability would cancel out sexual activity.

Amy: ...that's Paul [discussing fig. 1.1 above] he's fit is it' ...He dumped us 'cos I wasn't gonna' do it (have sex) wiff 'im 'cos he says the olda' girls do it in 'ere' (in College). S'alright Sir, we's back now ...He's ma' boy (laughter).

Carla: (Pause) I 'fink ya gotta' do it, don't ya? Like, if the olda' girl's doin' it....

Tash...yeah, yeh gotta', ya don't wanna' get dumped if yeh really like 'em

Amy: ...he likes me, I 'fink, he's says he'd don't mind if I get all pregnant, we'd get married like my (her seventeen year old) cousin did, she got a baby! Yeah my Aunt's well 'appy bein' a Nan, is it. (Tash interrupts): I 'fink that's nice!

Amy: yeah, he (Paul) said we'd look at a big diamond ring next Christmas time.

(A loud round of 'Aah's' follows Amy's last statement.) (Focus group, 4/2/08)

During the discussion, there is sadness for me as a worker with a career linked to young people that none of the girls find sex, marriage or babies at 14 years of age strange. This is due to the fact that romantic relations with older boys came as a part of FE life that is off limits, or that precludes a safe space to discuss sex in ways that convey a sense of positive expectation. Reluctance to allow girls to be sexual and lack of space to confront knowledge of young lives drawn from a limited repertoire, seem to intensify the bonding capital into which the girls retreat, and to reinforce sex as a priority in their young lives.

7.1.5 Summary

Bringing the section together, I notice that exclusive policies and staff practices, through which different networks of students set themselves and their social capital apart from others, exist in spite of Haven's inclusive rhetoric. In reality, scope for a young person to construct a sense of self around new ideas, knowledge and experiences, is conspicuous by its absence in the transcripts, with these tensions relating to the way they are in effect 'warehoused' in Access. Findings for this half of Chapter 7 are summarised as follows:

- The participants have strong social motives for engaging in FE. Yet they remain dejected by gaps amid inclusive rhetoric and their ubiquitous experience of being denied access to the public spaces of social capital production and consumption.
- The existence of young disabled people in FE is dominated by restrictions. This is opposed to two ideas in integrative social capital literature. First, that an access to network supports and trust are inevitable. Second the risks arising from shared settings, which are socially and network rich, are shared and benefits all equally.
- Young disabled people produced bridging capital in an effort to make Haven exotic and interesting and to rewrite their debilitating scripts. When such capital is seen by staff to present a risk, it is denied to the participants in multiple ways.

The issue of participation can be applied to those participatory structures that encourage young disabled people to challenge aspects of their existence in Haven. The next section explores examples of engagements and affiliations which emerge from data and which are pertinent to increasing young people's trust within and active participation at Haven.

7.2 Collective action and advocacy

If young disabled people are to engage with the demands made on them at Haven then, perhaps, raising political or social consciousness may encourage them to challenge the aspects of college life that affect their existences in FE. A consumer rights discourse, characterised by independence and wants (rather than needs) is significant here (Lawson 2008). This suggests that young people should be fully involved in their own education

and the functioning of Haven. At the present time, however, rather than setting in place the means by which they can work toward becoming active members of the community, there are control measures and perceptions about young disabled people that construct them as passive consumer and act to silence their voices. I go on to explore this below.

7.2.1 Civic engagement: involving young disabled people

It is clear from data that young disabled people are not actively involved in the democratic processes that affect their existences at Haven. Indeed, their reaction to this line of questioning is negligible, with none of the participants reporting that they had any knowledge of, or had completed, surveys such as CRED³⁷; the vehicle for student views' at the College. This is despite accepting its logic, and despite having important issues of concern, such as 'tutors' bein' late', or 'not turnin' up', and 'borin' classes', to discuss.

It is significant that there is no student, from either year, involved in the student representative meetings³⁸. The separate status of the provision, and at least one college Director's negative perception of young people as, and I quote, 'being unable to do most things for themselves', suggests that it is difficult for Access students to be present or heard, in any meaningful way, at a higher level. This particular issue is made even more apparent in a further extract from this brief, but insightful discussion with this director:

'...it's just the way it [Access] developed; it's a community within a community if you like...with all their complex equipment and support staff [and] to be honest, I think these students will be bored in the meeting anyway' (Field-note, 20/02/08).

³⁷ CRED is a bi-annual student questionnaire based survey designed to gather student feedback.

³⁸ Student representative meetings take place every 6 weeks, with members of the College's senior management team and student representatives from each subject area in attendance.

Implicit in these powerful comments is the perception of young disabled people as not being *real* students. They are viewed as a separate community, divided by their limited capacities and need for complex equipment, rather than having a basic right to be heard.

Student committees aside, there are clear issues with absent staff that threaten to consume some of our group discussions. In one *naughty girl* focus group in particular, (04/2/08) I am struck by their sense of powerlessness about what to do, or who they can direct their valid concerns to outside of their friend network in order to unhinge an issue:

Carla: It ain't right Sir, Sir (the IT tutor) not turnin' up.

Tash: Yeah, like he ain't 'ere for two weeks, like yesterday neifa'.

Craig: Really, can you tell me what you think you might do about that?

The girls mumble 'dunno', before Carla asks: *Can you help us Sir, can yeh?*

Craig: I think this is an issue that you guys need to raise with a tutor,

Tash: I told Henrietta, (a class tutor) she said, "he'd be 'ere, but he ain't

Amy: ...yeah, like teachers always sayin, 'it's not their job to complain'

Carla: [Interjecting] 'You see sir, see no-one 'ere ain't gonna listen' to us...'

The *naughty girls* are troubled in this exchange. Despite their efforts to be heard, there is now a belief that there is little they could do. They had yet to acquire the skills needed to activate their close ties with staff and, thus, negotiate a bridge outside of Access. Where *naughty girls* settle into an acceptance of the status quo, the *nice little girls* demonstrate a proactive confidence in dealing with this problem. They approach the support workers directly about the issue in an attempt to get them to speak to a manager about a meeting. The Access manager agreed, and asks the girls to make sure I attend. While this meeting proves to be informative for remarking on the influence that the *nice girls* have over the staff, at least to create a meeting, for me the question is why the manager invites me to

attend. This quickly became clear. During the meeting she acknowledges me in ways (for example, she turns to me whenever she accuses *bad boys* of acting out in class) that make me feel as if the meeting is intended to show the blame for the staffing problems in Access lay with aberrant behaviours, and not the issues of absent or inexperienced tutors.

During the meeting, then, there is animosity between the *bad boys* and the manager. And, while other issues are raised, there is reluctance to take them seriously. Reflecting on this in a focus group (29/2/08), the *bad boys* spoke of now 'writing off' meetings as a prospect for empowerment, preferring, instead, the benefits gained from direct conflict:

Craig: Can you tell me how you think the meeting went?

Tom: *Shite, I wanted to goin' tell' the stupid cow to shut the fuck up!*

Kevin: *yeah, 'bout the 'fings we done init' yeh' know, behaviour stuff,*

Craig: So, did you think you talked about other issues in your meeting?'

Gaz: (cutting off Kevin)... *she just wanna tell us what she 'finks, init, blamin' us for turnin' up late an' that... (Pause)...what's the point wiff all the meetin' shit?*

Tom: *yeah...yer betta' just haffin' a go at 'em, an' doin' what yeh wanna!*

The animosity in the exchange above is pacified by the manager's promise to designate a student to act as a class representative. Whilst this is welcomed, most complain to me that the role is given to a *nice little girl* upon whom tutors already place an unhelpful reliance, and whose attraction is rooted in her willingness to relate to adult sensibilities. This means that most relate not having opportunities to voice their thoughts and to have new experiences, such as meetings with staff at a higher level, which could foster new skills, trust and common interests and goals. Neither, as Tom said, will the appointment likely enhance a relationship with some staff that is governed by status, gender and class:

“It’s just like school, teachers choosin’ stuck up girls. They don’t know what it’s like to get ‘assled (by staff) all day. So, what’s the point?” (Interview, 28/2/08)

That said, the case for a student’s involvement in their own education is enhanced by studies, such as the Foster review (2005), that reinforce a duty for FE colleges to have in place a learner engagement strategy. Despite such proposals, it is wrong to assume that this promotes change here. The student’s narratives regularly depict an edgy relationship between passivity and anger throughout the year. This is as much to do with a sense of discomfort over how to influence decisions or negotiate a bridge outside of the natural limits of an existing friendship network, as it is with the implicit assumption at Haven that all students are treated as *equal* partners by every staff member. I discuss this below.

7.2.2 Empowerment and social control

This section focuses on the nature of empowerment³⁹ and social control within Access. Attention is drawn to the potential of and the limitations for learner-involvement, as reflected in the definitions put forward by participants about their activities, as self-advocates, to move toward the transformation of bonding capital into bridging capital. Attention is also drawn to the tension that is inherent in ‘surveillance’ and the apparent need for every stakeholder involved in a person’s life to *pull-together* in similar ways, for similar ends. These are all aspects of social control that “jar with the populist and educational discourses concerned with individuality and rights (Riddell *et al.*, 2002, 3),” as well as with Putman’s bridging capital theory which assumes the goal is to multiply the amount of social ties in order to create trust, mutual reciprocity and social solidarity.

³⁹ To re-iterate, I view empowerment not as a single event, rather as a process, which consists of core components, such as collaboration and increased self-efficacy (Dempsey, 1997).

The rhetoric around choice and empowerment at Haven is addressed in Access through the slippery concept of citizenship. In citizenship classes, there is an emphasis on trying to break down and to teach skills and knowledge that apparently enable young disabled people to make the most of their choices in FE, and in life. This daunting task is given to Jo, a personal tutor. The young people said that Jo actively encourages them to voice an opinion and/or had a system in place where ‘their voice’ is heard. Jo’s class is described as a place to ‘chat’ or do ‘role-plays’, and seems to offer the opportunity to input their own life experiences, and to hear others as well. Hayley articulates this, here:

‘We talk about normal stuff like problems going on wiff us.... I ‘fink it’s good to talk ‘bout stuff like that. So people can be nice to each other’ (interview 5/6/08).

The participants’ discussions in Jo’s class functions on multiple levels. First, the class connects with their unacknowledged experiences, which motivates an engagement with what is said: “I’s knows this’s somefink’ to do wiff me’s, that’s why I’s in to it” (Amjit, focus group, 23/10/07). Second, it confirms their life experiences and persuades young disabled people to make those experiences known. The participants’ comments about the class show that most value a chance to hear different views on disability and to build trust with their classmates. This provides a good basis for strengthening the social fabric of Year 10. As I noted, Darren suffers from epileptic fits. Speaking about the class, he uses his own experiences of epilepsy to critique how outsiders see this form of disability:

‘I chose [to talk to the class about] epilepsy ‘cos I know epilepsy, like how people go all weird when it ‘appens [a fit] erm, yer face goes all red I told people (his peers) what they can do to ‘elp out if it ‘appened. It’s cool’ (interview 10/6/08).

On this basis, many of the participants' talk animatedly about how they perceived new standpoints that had limited academic foundation but is still placed in a critical structure. Their analysis of situations generates the exchange of a variety of ideas, such as a shared experience of being young and disabled, that maximise young people's existing bonding capital and build bridging capital, by creating links to new groups. One key reason given for liking Jo's class is that it offers a space to be accepted on equal terms and to make new friendships. For instance, Darren contrasts his meaningful role as a self-advocate and the opportunity to 'support each other', with the emptiness of the classroom where, 'I sit in front an' do class-work, just pretendin' I'm doin' somefink' (interview, 3/6/08).

User involvement is also concerned with the endeavours of people to participate on equal terms in the broader processes of which they are part (Swain *et al.*, 2008). At times, these allegedly equal relationships are not clear, as any struggle for *rights* conflict with adult surveillance, especially through *contact report sheets*. Tasks that flow from this six-week⁴⁰ reporting system include information being sent to, and gained from, parents, schools and/or agencies about student progress. This pooling of adult knowledge is an extension of the ILP process that all students are subject to, but a report system is different in that a record of poor behavior, attendance or social progress is sought. Those considered at-risk of failure are subject to close monitoring, such as signing on in breaks.

The extent to which the participants tolerate this involvement depends on how they see themselves as learners and achievers. Not surprisingly, most of the *bad boys* do not want their parent(s) or their school to know about their lack of success, while others,

⁴⁰ Reports were either given out to be signed every six weeks, or in the case of the students, who are not thought to be trust-worthy, were selectively posted to the school and parent(s).

such as the *nice little girls*, basked in the attention it gives rise to. The selective relaying of information to parents in the first few months is, I think, underpinned by a need to ensure some control over a young person's existence at Haven. While most seem at first to accept the reports, young people like Amy and Tash resent the fact that they also note concerns, such as the boys on the stairs: 'It's [report] stupid. I fink it's wrong'. She and her friends said in a focus group (9/6/08) it is their *right* to decide who they 'hung wiff' ... 'cos parents can know about schoolwork, but not boys. That's my business not theirs.'

Eventually, most of the participants relate some degree of indignation about being 'checked up on'. Even Elliot, a *good boy* in Year 10, expresses in one interview (12/06/08) that reports demonstrate a lack of trust on the part of Access. He points out that, 'it's like teachers don't trust me, so they go an' check up on me with my mum...in college you should be treated like an adult.' His need for control seems to be situated within a sense of wanting to take responsibility over his existence, coupled with a desire for trust and I suggest implicitly, respect, that are not on offer to him in FE. A lack of trust that seems to be inherent in surveillance is counter-effective, as the bonding capital, which is evident in the spaces constructed by *bad boys* and *naughty girls*, become more vital than bridging capital resources to their existences in FE. That said, however, staff are important for stimulating close links, and for acquiring and facilitating wider links. Some Access staff members are, for example, able to put some participants in touch with appropriate support groups which can offer an individual a new sense of well-being and make possible political actions and collective support. This support is important if a student is to benefit from community based networks. I move on to discuss this below.

7.2.3 ‘On our side’: bridging capital and engagement

In the previous sections I offered an insight into how social relationships with staff can facilitate isolation or, as I explore now, necessary to an individual’s chances of inclusion in the wider College community. Such exchanges, interventions and connections with Access staff, and other faculty members, work in multiple ways in relation to choices and opportunities. These connect the many openings and networking opportunities made available by support groups, other staff and agencies, which young disabled people can access. In this section, then, there are many examples of what Putman (2000) views as the power of weak ties that provide vital advice and information, but also proves useful for young disabled people to gain a renewed sense of acceptance, belonging and identity.

Of all the staff within the provision, Raj is perhaps the most positive about what she depicts to me as young Muslim women being aware of their own rights. Through bringing Muslim women together as a support group⁴¹, she is adamant that information sharing, friendship and collective consciousness-raising would enhance such awareness. Four mixed year group attendees, Ali, Cam, Farz and Pam, relate how key this support is to them, especially when they are experiencing - some for the first time - direct (or open) discrimination. Cam relays her own thoughts on how she benefits from discussions with the women, many of whom are going through a similar process of self-reflection as her:

‘We’s friends ‘cos we ‘elp each other...I’s told em’ (members) a teacher said, when yeh goin’ back (to Pakistan) to be married, they said, that’s wrong...they know that ‘appens to us ‘cos we’s all know the same ‘fings’ (interview 28/2/08).

⁴¹ The Muslim students’ (women) Association at the College has around 30 members, and support various events, such as the annual fashion show that is held at Haven College.

It is evident that the group acts as a protective buffer and support mechanism in the face of instances of discrimination in the College. This support and/or faith group also offers new spaces, possibilities and crucial networking opportunities and skills for the girls to meet and socialise with other Muslim students, and to explore issues related to an ethnic and religious identity via active participation in faith-based events, such as equal rights meetings. Here for example, the girls put together the group's display board.



Fig. 7.5 The picture is of students asking Farz questions about the girls display work.

The supports, rationale and identity that are generated through the bonds of the support group also motivate the *nice little girls* to construct spaces within which bridging capital is nurtured. The girls highlight this in one focus group discussion (29/2/08), in speaking about their own experiences of helping to support Haven's popular fashion show event:⁴²

Pam: 'we (Pam, Cam, Ali and Farz) 'elp Raj an' that with a fashion show...

Craig: Wow, so what did you help the group with exactly?

⁴² The Muslim women's Association supports a fashion show annually, by supplying and presenting Asian clothes and styles. The girls supported this event in numerous ways.

Pam: We's 'elped do stuff like 'fings, like stage an' that I' fink, the dancin' too, erm (long pause) Craig: the choreography? ... yeah, we's do other stuff...

Farz: Yeah...she (Raj) told us 'elp students at the show, an' make stuff, Raj said "you's must do a good job 'cos people will depend on you's," so we's really busy for like ages doin' stuff...we's all worked really 'ard sir. S'alright, Sir.

Craig: I bet, so did it turn out nice? (This question is followed by a loud yeah!).

Ali: ...all the people at dancin' said it was cool, an' they said do this to it, an' they help us wiff it Sir. So we's kinda learned from each other, init.

Cam: an' we meet fashion people...we's got like work experience wiff 'em, init.'



Fig. 7.6 Taken by Pam, the picture is of older students rehearsing for the fashion show

In this discussion, there is suggestions of the many benefits to be acquired from social capital, which are revealed as potential rewards gained from accessing individuals who are well placed in the *nice little girls* field of interest, and the rewards that develop from their frequent and extended support for and conversations with these exalted individuals.

Of course, not all of the staff connected with Access are as Ali said 'on our side,' most had their own priorities. However, most relate finding it easier to connect with staff that shared aspects of their own subjectivity. Even *naughty girls*, such as Tash and Amy, said in one focus group (3/6/08), 'we talk to Shula (a tutor)...she's easy to gab to'. The

vast majority of the Access staff are, however, female and middle class, which leaves a *bad boy*, such as Gaz, with only limited ways, if any, in which to identify with the tutors:

'They (support staff and most subject tutors) gossip to the girls an' that [and] is always bitchin' [but] they neva' 'ave a larf wi' us init, or talk about the [football] game Saturday. Nah man, they're all up-tight bitches' (interview, 21/2/08).

The lack of deference that saturates their relations with staff is articulated by *bad boys* in relation to 'not bein' safe', and/ being less antagonistic toward, or 'bein' less hostile' to those staff who are 'safe'. The word safe describes staff 'who's chilled', "'ave a larf" or 'knows the deal'. This last comment suggests a manner of engagement (ways of talking, acting and thinking) that *the bad boys* view as a 'safe', or a more appealing performance.

Jimmy: Jo's safe! (a loud 'yeah' is heard in this *bad boy* focus group) (22/02/08).

Craig: Ok, can you tell me what makes her safe, and not some other staff?

Gaz: 'she's not uptight, man...She's chilled 'bout the work n' shite. Yeh know man, bita' larf, bita' work, bita' chat' ... yeah, she knows the deal man, init!'

In this discussion, deference for Jo is not simply calculated by her powerful position in class. The respect between the *bad boys* and Jo is gained by Jo respecting the Otherness of the boys through reference to her own experiences. That is, respect is gained through her own ability to 'ave a larf' or 'a bita' chat'. The word safe thus signifies Jo's distance from the hyper-rational rules in Haven, of being 'chilled' with its ethos of excellence. Safe, then, is a tactic which reserves authority and composes a performance that gains a level of comfort among individuals and groups not wishing to know anything about one-

another. For the *bad boys*, being safe enables Jo, and various other members of staff associated with Haven College, to be known in different ways to most Access staff. Here, Gaz speaks about how a bond that he has struck-up with Satnam, a security guard, frees up access to a relationship which, he said, had been sealed off by prior experiences.

Craig: So, how did you start speaking with Satnam?

Gaz: Dunno...er, I 'fink he caught us out u' class, yeah...he's safe, init,

Craig: So how is he safe can he be if he caught you out of class?

Gaz: yeah, he caught us ova' at the hub, fair play, but like he's speaks to yeh, not like 'em 'ere (Access staff) yeh know, he 'ears yeh out man. He's safe, init...yeh know man, he's chilled up...like I done you's a favour, it's you's turn to do [help] shite for me [and giving me a firm example]...like the police (career) day. To me they're (the police) all wankers, but he said, you're due me lads. Fuck it, we all went an' talked to 'em (police). Yeah...I 'fink he's (Satnam's) safe, 'cos he talks straight.... Not like some other wankers in this place' (interview 21/2/08).

Satnam's authority and distance from Access helps to *spark* Gaz's involvement with an agency that has historically been built around conflict within his and his family's life. In short, Satnam and Raj appear to be what Schudson (1996) calls "spark plugs" or people who broaden civic learning, without imposing any form of oppressive power. Despite the value of such relationships in building breadth and depth into a young person's social networks, Access staff missed occasions to invite supportive relations in from outside. For example, they failed to sign a student up for peer mentoring. This can be a source of both bonding and bridging social capital that has been found to help young people to navigate their transitions from education to the labour market (see Raffo and Hall, 2000).

7.2.4 Summary

The shortcomings of the current approach toward engaging young disabled people, and the associated espousal of consumer rights in FE to generate bridging or linking social capital, should now be clear. It is in this context that the opportunities connected with other ways to engage young disabled people, which are linked to inter-personal relations and sharing life experiences, are supported. The key findings are summarised as follows:

- Participants are conscious of their right to be heard, but only the *nice girls* can mobilise resources of impression to have their concerns recognised. Most Others are seen by staff as not having the know-how to engage in democratic processes.
- Participation that enables young disabled people to reveal ‘expert’ information is a source of bridging capital. It is important for staff (and social capital theorists) to regard young disabled people as capable of influencing the learning of others.
- The participants want to engage with FE. This willingness is constrained by adult surveillance that damages (and did not enhance as Coleman suggests) reciprocity and trust with older peers or create sparks within which to foster bridging capital.

Given the limited life-worlds of young disabled people, the construction and distribution of supportive bonding capital will depend on connecting with some institutional agents, in particular with subject tutors. These connections are vital for young disabled people to scale the various barriers that makes their active participations in FE settings problematic (see Smyth, 2004). This crucial subject is, therefore, discussed at length within Chapter 8.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS:

Tutor-based social capital: the role of the special needs tutor

8.1 Introduction

The principal idea advanced in the previous chapters is that young disabled people do not obtain either the bonding or bridging capital required to succeed in FE, and beyond. Success in both economic and social terms depends on connections that promote change and flexibility, but there is a poor distribution of instances where new social situations and new connections with people who control social networks can be formed. Whilst such absences are apparent in the College, in the form of isolation and disaffection, these situations are developed in the Access provision. What I explore in this chapter, then, is how and in what ways special needs tutors in the alternative Access provision determine and reproduce tutor-based capital, which appears in the shape of “additional information, encouragement guidance, emotional and social supports (Croniger and Lee, 2001, 550).”

Making bonding, bridging or linking capitals readily available, and introducing other social resources which are accessible to students outside of FE, takes on increased importance in colleges like Haven where a regime of successification is accompanied by the eradication of a young *disabled* self as failure. Tutor-based capital works to construct supportive connections that could help to overcome the regime of success at Haven that makes active participations in college difficult for young disabled people. Against this background, I pursue, with a level of scepticism, the attempts of special needs tutors in constructing successful learners. The ordering of data within Chapter 8 is shown below:

Tutors as potential sources of bonding, bridging and linking social capital

E. The role of the special needs tutor

1. Constructing the successful learner: reciprocal relations
2. Individualised learning
3. A sense of belonging

8.1.1 Constructing the successful learner: reciprocal relations

Section 8.1.1 explores the notion of *success* in the successful provision that Access perceives itself to be. It looks at the ILP as a site where a normative version of success is made tangible in the form of a route-map⁴³ that lauds investments in work-related skills as the way to up future earnings and make social gains. The omnipresence of an ILP in tutor/student relations means that it develops (or withholds) tutor-based capital on many fronts. I move on discuss the significance of this on the lives of young disabled students.

While appropriate levels of support, care and the allocation of resources are normally agreed between various agents (schools and school psychologist, for example) at the start of the year, an ILP is a key part of the provision's ongoing practical reasoning around success. That is, it is a means of aiding a special needs tutor and the young person to celebrate success and to elide failure through the allocation of a set of more appropriate resources and a series of formulaic targets⁴⁴ to be set and met every 6 weeks.

Given the number of ILPs to which a tutor is expected to contribute over the year, the formulaic approach taken by many staff to governing targets is inevitable. Yet, it atomises the process and holds the ILP up not only as a notion of progress, which is so concretely tied to productivity, but also as a *marker of normality* (Foucault, 1977). For Foucault, an individual must “obey and respond” (308) in order to be seen as a success or, in short, students' bodies must become docile and disciplined. The consequences of the hegemony of normalcy contained in ILPs are profound, particularly in distributing

⁴³ The ILP rhetoric (if not the reality of its deployment) is based on the understanding that a student's 'putative needs' *will* be successfully *met* by the skilled and caring professional.

⁴⁴ SMART (specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time bound), targets can be incorporated or attached in every aspect of a student's academic and social life in FE.

tutor-based capital. In the transcripts, discrepancies are marked by absences in this data. For example, while practical support and assistance from the tutors in the provision is well represented in my interviews with *the nice girls*, it is something that the *bad boys* and *naughty girls* rarely talk about. In all, thirty examples of additional supportive work over the year are identified in the interview and focus group transcripts of which most, with a few exceptions, are articulated either by the *good students* or the *nice little girls*.

Darren: (*good boy*): *In school we done all exams, 'ere (Access) we do a portfolio. (He recalls) a tutor showed us (a completed) one. I got sad, 'cos I fink' no ways I can do all 'at'. They (tutors) 'elp me, they show me stuff, what bit I gotta' do like this, an' like that an' like we's really gotta' do this bit today'* (interview 18/2/08).

Here, a tutor's inside knowledge helps restrict the 'emotional costs' Darren accumulates from a change to new ways of learning, such as feelings of helplessness, which make the *bad boys* and *naughty girls* 'feel stupid'. Intervening at times of helplessness within the learning career of a young disabled person also encourages them to work harder and, for many, the additional support they receive is viewed as integral to success. One *nice little girl*, for instance, believes that '[tutors] help, by lettin' me know when I'm doin' good'. Further tutor-based capital, such as a link to an industry and active support, join together on this particular occasion to assist or strengthen Leigh's career ambitions. She explains:

I dunno if I wanna do care or 'airdressing...so I went to miss, she used to 'ave (own) a hair shop, that's why I'm doin that (hair and beauty) she set me up to go to see a lady she knows... I know what I gotta' work 'ard at' (interview 4/6/08).

The benefits of being positioned as a good girl come to life within this exchange. Leigh's close proximity to staff, brought about by her deferential and dependent responses over the year, allows her to access useful knowledge. Further, it allows enough influence for her request for support to be reciprocated by a tutor 'going the extra mile' and organising a work placement for her. That way, Leigh's time and her efforts are far more productive.

Another function for tutor-based capital arises at moments of difficulty, when participants understand themselves to be 'failing'. In such moments, a mix of targets and emotional reassurance are used to make acceptable what Bourdieu *et al.*, (1992) refer to as the *illusion* of a game. This can mean the dominant discourse of GCSE's is ignored, in favour of a supportive version of success as individual progress (Benjamin, 2002). The tutors deploying this discourse often refer to a student's past against which his/her learning progress in Access is to be calculated, praised and with more effort a future that appears as a success is made conceivable. Here, for example, Zoe contrasts her failure to make the grade in school, with a brighter future drawn from her apparent success in FE:

'I won't go back (to school) to do GCSE whateva', cos I stress 'bout it, 'an' I'll get no job or nufink goin' back there. I'm betta' 'ere (Access) 'cos teachers say I'm doin (hit) my target. If I pass that mean I'll defo get a job (interview 2/6/07).

While the ILP is seductive it is also surveillant, and while there is a measure of resistance to its policing functions, an Access tutor's continuous cajoling, persuading and sanctioning in relation to targets also generates conflict and issues of control. Some of the *bad boys*, for example, read the commitments of tutors as if they are too one-way

in their expectations, or in one boy's words, 'too pushy'. As such, they reject supports and further construct themselves as anti-learning. In this focus group, Gaz articulates the factors behind why the ILP is such a point of tension between some tutors and himself:

'She hounds me man, like yeh don't hit targets, go to class, do yer work, blah, blah...she sends that shite home too man. I know what I gotta' do.' It's like she neva' treat's me on one level, like she can't wait for me to mess up' (22/2/08).

Here, Gaz depicts the intrusive social norms as factoring into his relationship with most of the special needs tutors. These seem to provoke resistance and sanctions, such as contracts, rather than engagement and conviviality. The last sentence is telling - the way that Gaz seems to sense the tutor's lowered expectations of him after failing to meet his agreed targets. In short, the *bad boys* believe that most of the staff 'don't care 'bout us'.

While the *bad boys* remain detached from subject tutors and Haven's vocational enterprise, the *naughty girls*, such as Amy, maintain an ambivalent position toward both. That is, she is both passive to the tutor supports on offer to her, but she also wants 'to do the right 'fink''. A contradictory attitude looms large in her account of success at Haven:

Amy: 'Yeah, I might pass, I dunno the teacher said if I work 'ard, an' stop doin' nufink', then, I can do another course 'ere (at Haven) next year...S'alright...

Craig: Can you tell me what you hope to do next year?

Amy: 'Dunno...(pause)...I just fink' its long Sir, and sometimes I fink' I'm the stupidest 'ere (in Access), 'cos I can't do it (her classwork). Sometimes, my brain keeps shoutin' to do somefink' else. So, I escape (stare) out the window. That's weird right? Don't tell anyone Sir, 'cos teachers' is nice 'ere' (interview 6/6/08).

Here, Amy appears to welcome the idea of a successful economic future and to accept support one moment, only to refuse it the next. Despite their own strong feelings toward the *naughty girls*, this exasperates the tutors, many of whom have little or no hesitation in announcing that Amy and her friends are ‘bone-idle’. But unlike *bad boys* the *naughty girls* seldom get into trouble for their apparent idleness. This is because their actions are not regularly seen as being in opposition to Haven’s vocational ethos or the tutor-based capital that is on offer to them within learner support. Amy’s resistant acts are seen through a discourse of self-esteem (Renshaw, 1990). In Haven, which takes great pleasure in its own success, there is expenditure in discourses that allow for individual development. Yet, seeing such acts as a problem with the self increase Amy’s neediness; this discourse suggests her problem is one of feeling powerless in relation to the Access curriculum (Dyson, 1999) and to be given power, Amy’s feelings should be transformed.

In reality, Amy’s idleness is due to her being positioned as powerless (Davies, 1994). That is, she is stuck focusing on basic skills, which Amy struggles to master even with the close care and support of the learner support staff, and at the bottom of a sea of qualifications which constructs a fiction in Haven that if she works hard enough, for long enough, then Amy can *be* anything. It is her belief in maybe, one day, having Amy said, ‘a good job an’ like a big house’, and the impossibility of realising the lauded version of success in British society, which seems to construct her ambivalence. Whilst ILPs hint at success in normative terms, the practices around these documents labour against young disabled people displaying and cultivating forms of social competence that may allow them to profit from the networks into which they are placed. I go on to discuss this now.

8.1.2 Individualised learning

Through my discussions with young disabled people, I am given the impression that many are already what I see as competent social actors; they appear to manage difficult situations that would test any adult. Despite this being of *value* to their young lives and future career prospects (Odom, 2005) social competence is one form of competence that college documents, such as ILPs and behavioural contracts that enshrine a distinctive (scripted) version of reality, fail to fully acknowledge or often undermine. The section, therefore, explores how such scripts factor into the oppression of young disabled people.

In the first instance, the participants enthusiastically describe life experiences and career aspirations that require a degree of inter-personal work as well as the navigation of many awkward social situations. For example, as a person with a traveller background Darren has moved around many special provisions over the years, and has done well to navigate the various social relations and social situations that this transitory life presents:

‘I know that some boys won’t talk to me...it’s ‘ard to be friends at the start...In lessons they talk about girls an’ football so I talk about that mostly, that ‘elps me be friends cos’ they listen when I talk about what they like’ (interview 11/2/08).

The tutors’ responsible for Darren’s learning programme leave his social competence or dialogue with peers un-remarked in his ILP. This is despite recognition by Darren that he can benefit from collective peer dialogue. In another interview, he relates how working alongside some of his friends in class alleviates a tutor’s difficult pedagogic approach:

'Well, sometimes I don't understand the teacher... 'cos she talks too fast an' that, an' like chucks the worksheets at me to fill in. So it is easier if I ask my friends in the group, I kinda' understand stuff betta' that way' (interview 11/2/08).

His comments tie in with the use of ILPs to manipulate a student's understanding of any relationships formed within a collective setting. In one section of the ILP, for instance, students produce statements to promote a best piece of work, which informs any future targets that a tutor sets or expects of a young person. Bea's statement about her apparent mastery of one capability values her feminine domesticity and not whom she learns with:

I serve juice to people at a party I enjoy it and I want to make it a part of my life. I said hello to all the people (tutors and managers) who came to our party so they were happy. I think this is good because they are the customers at our party and it was my job to smile and make them all happy (ILP extract, 29/02/08).

The narrative of competencies Bea has apparently amassed is something of a travesty. Not only does an ILP commodify situations in ways that emphasise Bea as a competitive individual, the task is to narrate her as a success, to recast her as possessing a portfolio of competencies. For example, the ability to *smile* or *act* in ways that make customers feel good. Her emotional labour is for a future employer to exploit. The preparation of young people for contact with customers, through an embodied performance (Leidner, 1993) is, I think, a priority of tutors as they recognise that manipulating a student's emotions, looks and personalities is not incidental to gaining work in a service-dominant economy, but is integral to it (Shilling, 2003). The conundrum of whether or how Bea can control her involuntary ticks, so to create an appearance that is consistent with consumer desire, speaks to the tensions which Bea is sure to experience as she tries to secure employment.

The data also reveal that the manipulation of opportunities by tutors, which allow the participants to challenge the positions and restrictive networks into which they are situated, is a key exclusionary process. It is more powerful when it is linked with choices over work or career pathways to which some participants cautiously aspire. For example, Tash, a year 11 *naughty girl*, entered the Access provision one year ago in the hope of becoming a fashion designer. Here, Tash explains how she first thought of a childcare placement, as opposed to retail, and how she understands this to be her choice. In my last interview (12/6/08) with her, Tash typifies an example of a tutor coercing her thoughts:

Craig: 'The first time we talked, I remember you talked a lot about working in a fashion shop. Can you tell me why you have just finished a nursery placement?'

Tash: I'm leavin' (FE) in a month, an' I don't fink I'll get a fashion job (Silence)

Craig: 'So why do they think you might not get a job in fashion?'

Tash: 'she (a tutor) said that I need a good degree', an' she said that a nursery is betta' cos' I'd do three workdays (from Access). She says a nursery is really good if I wanna' be a good mum too...(Silence)

Craig: 'What do you think about that?'

Tash: 'I don't mind...I wanna be a good mum too, so...(Silence).'

Craig: So what might you get as a job when you leave college in July?

Tash: Well, work wiff my sista' I 'fink, in a nursery I 'elp there on like holidays, an' 'that...that's what I wanna do, yeah, 'cos I know people there like ma sista'

Craig: 'And you're happy with that?' *Tash: (Interrupts me with a quiet 'yeah').*

The tutor has laid several barriers in Tash's desired career pathway. First, she explains that the initial requirement to gaining work in fashion is Higher Education. This is not the first requisite but often the last. Second, instead of seeking a work placement to help scaffold Tash's aspirations, the tutor employs fuzzy terms like a 'good degree'. For Tash,

this is far in the future and far removed from her current network experiences. Third, the tutor appears to locate Tash's best chance for success, both as a good worker and mother, is in nursery work. Her aspirations are, then, superseded by gender, with the tutor's career governance literally fixing Tash in a familiar but gendered workspace (Shah, 2008). Yet, where Tash fails in her aspirations, the ILP succeeds; it tracks her successful *transition*, demonstrates *progression*, and constructs for employers the sort of young worker that they covet (employable and obedient), as opposed to a worker with *unrealistic* ambitions.

In contrast, the students whose effect on the classroom is disruptive are enabled to become responsible for such behaviours through a series of interventions. Placing a student on contract - a system where behaviours are monitored - is one such intervention. In our second meeting Kevin, a bad boy, tells me he has been placed on a behavioural contract for 'just avin' a larf'. This contract dictates what he can and cannot do in class. But Kevin said, 'the banter (with his mates) in class' is one of only a few reasons why he attends Haven. However, by tutors judging such performances to be far enough outside the behaviour that may enable Kevin's participation in the labour market, a tight network of procedures and interventions - protective and therapeutic - starts to grow around him.

Kevin has failed to mature over recent weeks and continues to use childish antics to distract his peers...further social skills work is clearly needed before he can successfully deal with customers on his work placement (ILP extract - 29/02/08).

Here, a tutor invokes the notion of *maturity* to respond to the absence of social skills that do not map on to those of a worker capable of delivering a service of one form or another (Leidner, 1991). Kevin's statements point to the negative affect of a tutor's normalising judgements in the construction of an educational trajectory that insulates him from others:

'I gotta' sit wiff teachers on break, it's shit man, 'cos yer mates are chillin', she (the Manager) said she's gonna get me sent back to school if I don't' (interview 19/2/08).



Fig. 8.1: On his way out to play football, this photo was taken by Gaz to 'wynd Kev up'.

As his anger increases, so Kevin's attitude toward the vigilance of staff deteriorates even further. Kevin does not see staff as supportive but rather 'teachers man, they fink they're betta than ya. Like her (tutor above) fuckin' sittin starin' an' moanin' at me u' day'. This type of intervention underlines the large amount of energy devoted to vigilance and of for-fitting some competencies in place of others. These both factor into maintaining a participant's social exclusion in college and a school-like identity, by inculcating their own sense of a fixed identity and by literally *trapping* a body in place (Valentine, 2000). That is, the interventions keep young disabled people from developing experiences that scaffold aspirations, or to gain a sense of belonging from people who face similar issues as their own. In the transcripts, it is more than obvious that some students in year 10 and 11 are not constructively engaging with the Access or FE. Certain pressures in Haven are having a negative impact on their sense of belonging, which I move on to discuss below.

8.1.3 A sense of belonging

As I have shown throughout each Chapter, for some students, Haven College has been, or has become, an alienating place over the year. Certain pressures or barriers are seen as having negative impacts on this and for developing relations between tutors and young people, in particular *bad boys* and *naughty girls*. This section will, therefore, look at some of the tutors' lack of time with, experience of, and poor attitudes toward these particular participants, which makes reciprocal relationships difficult. I start this section with Hayley, and a concern that most of tutors had low expectations of her academically:

Hayley: *'At least in school I liked some teachers, ere', all they do is fool around an' that, 'an teachers just let 'em. I fink they (the teachers) don't give a shite'.*

Craig: What do you mean they don't care?

Hayley: *'Well I fink the teachers really fink that we can't learn. I mean, some of the course work is too easy, but some teachers still ask: "Do you understand this?"... I've been out of school since I got bullied, so I'm not stupid or nufink, I wanna' do betta. This is like doin' primary school stuff' (interview, 21/2/08).*

Some, but not all, participants share Hayley's complaint. Others express the fact that some tutors are somewhat patronising in comparison to school staff or in front of good students, often referring to them as 'they' or 'that lot'. *Bad boys* state in one focus group (23/10/07) that tutors had made these negative statements, 'I'm only here until you get someone who can handle you lot', or 'because I got told I'm good with you weak ones'. These demeaning statements suggest that some of the tutors have no relative experience of and little inclination to teach school age students, especially not disruptive students⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ This was a suggestion later confirmed by the Access manager who stated that some tutors are drafted in to fill contractual teaching requirements, regardless of desire or experience.

A lack of consistent and engaging pedagogies and the transitory nature of staff is another problematic barrier for many participants, not only in developing bonding social relationships (that nurture trust and reciprocity), but also for never really allowing the teaching role to go beyond a superficial level. In practical terms, many of the tutors said they did not possess the requisite ‘(down) time’ or ‘patience’ to overcome the distrust or detachment from learning that many participants entered FE with. This creates a sense of frustration and rejection which some express about different tutors. Here, Gaz uses the term *click* to describe those tutors who, he said, made no attempt to get to know him:

Gaz: *I don't click wiff most of 'em (tutors) in 'ere (Access)... 'yeah, they neva' just 'ang out wiff ya an' like, ave a larf...*

Craig: So, what do you think about that?

Gaz: *erm, it's like they don't care if they know ya or not' (interview 21/2/08).*

Some tutors did suggest that they do try to move beyond superficial relationships with students. Yet sustaining the foundations with which to oppose uneven opportunity structures in FE, as these tutors view them, means having their *down time* with students recognised. A tutor's position is, however, exacerbated by policy deafness toward their efforts and a failure of some students to engage. One assumption toward the end of the year is that many young people do not want to get-on in life. This is notable, as most students said to me that ‘doin’ well in college’ is vital to their career prospects. As Dave, said, ‘if yer don't stick in an get certificates yer not gonna get a job’ (interview 19/2/08).

From such conversations, I learn that there is a value interjection that guides the young people's views about FE, which may explain their sense of regret about not ‘doin’ betta’. It is clear that many also fear losing trust-based relations that enable them to be

embedded in peer networks and to develop a (powerful) sense of self. The *bad boys* are the antithesis of this. Their relations with the staff and site, and with each other, override any imperative to 'do good'. FE has been an experience that, until their work placement, is not really working out for *bad boys* such as Jimmy who said 'I'm not learnin anyfink.'

It seems from data, Jimmy does not engage with most tutors because of a normative and cultural incompatibility that suggests they are unlikely to create an opportunity to access social capital, whether it is to develop new skills or relations that lead to new openings. For Jimmy, there is a lack of trust arising from non-recognition of his localised cultural aspirations, and what he believes he can do with his body. Intriguingly, during his last interview (23/6/08), Jimmy contrasts Access to work placement at a mechanics garage, an experience which seems to provide him with a space in which different norms apply:

'I like mechanics, 'cos yeh just learn loads an' I'd rather be doin' this all week, I get on really well wiff lads over there' ...we piss about an' that, but I learn loads.'

Here, Jimmy does not fear reprisals for any mistake he might make, such as 'jokin about' or 'swearin'. Further, he is afforded a level of authority that is denied him at Access. A sense of masculine camaraderie among workers is reinforced by lunchtime activities that Jimmy is part of. For example, he and others: 'go to the chippy' or 'ave' games of footy.' Yet, what proves vital for obtaining resources from this network - in the main knowledge and information and the potential, Jimmy said, of colleagues 'maybe puttin' in a word for me' to become an apprentice - is the authenticity of his relations with workers. Indeed, he is confident enough to state that, 'they (workers) like me bein' about cos' they say I 'ave

the right kinda' attitude for 'ere'. Crucially, I think, the workers are obliged to support Jimmy not only because of shared interests, but because they trust in his attitude and his approach towards the work of other people, such as staying late to work on a project car.



Fig. 8.2: *The project car, which Jimmy proudly said he 'done a sick job paintin' up'.*

Some subtle phrases in Jimmy's last interview such as, 'they treat me like one of 'em', 'trust me to fix 'fings', and tell me to 'stick at school, 'cos cars are big computers now' are crucial. They emphasise that staff have protective and supportive approaches toward working with Jimmy. The actions allow him to trust the workers and to take risks with things that he said in his other interviews are his weaknesses. For example, a supportive approach provides Jimmy with a foundation on which to be communicative with adults.

'I chat about personal 'fings, like I read bad! I 'fink it's betta' to be honest 'cos, if I don't tell, they don't know, an they'd give me somefink' I can't do. I go to Jason (a young staff member). I just tell him an' he says, 'don't worry 'bout it'.

Jimmy's next statement is also interesting. In his first interview (7/9/07), he held a static view about the networks in which he was embedded. He said then, 'you don't ask mates for 'fings (e.g. emotional or academic support)'. But now he shoulders a responsibility to gain resources, such as information, from the garage network. Jimmy gives this example:

'I was havin' a word wiff this fella. I was askin' if he thought ya know 'bout gettin' a job 'ere 'cos ya know it's good to ask 'em, see how they went about it'.

The appealing case of Jimmy is not, however, representative of the vast majority of work placements. A lack of expectation, choice and thought around work placements are key themes in this regard. For example, most relate in their focus groups being left to do 'crap stuff, like lick letters' or 'stack shelf's...(when) I wanna' work as a hairdresser an' that'.



Fig. 8.1- The picture shows Jimmy working hard on a customer's car, while Atif looks on.

The best example of a lack of thought is of Atif, who attends the same work placement as Jimmy but struggles to relate to the values and norms of maleness, grafting and mutual

support that accompanies the placement. Atif said, ‘I just try to keep myself to myself’ (interview 4/6/08). This suggests he is a bit of a social isolate at the garage. Indeed, most of the placements end up being categorised as similar to their current networks in college. In other words, our discussions about any new relationships formed with workers seem to contain a similar level of care and attention that many already enjoy in the support room.

8.1.4 Summary

The voices reported in the Chapter afford some insights into the relationship between young disabled people and the building of supportive ties with Access tutors. The social capital lens placed onto these relationships, points out the ambiguities of cooperation and conflict, which characterise the tutors as institutional resources in constructing a sense of well-being, and *successful* sense of self, within Access. The key findings are as follows:

- Supportive ties with tutors are pivotal to develop a sense of well-being around *successes* in FE. Yet, support is conditional. A tight network of intensive support surrounds those young disabled people resisting a success-as-individual progress story. Therefore, tutor-based capital is not understood as useful support at all.
- There are consequences to the non-recognition that some participants experience both inside and outside of the provision (Taylor, 1992), such as a reduced mode of being that saddle the relations between tutors and *bad boys* with a lack of trust. Jimmy’s relations to garage staff give us some insight into how social capital can be obtained and mobilised so as to offer the *bad boys* new possibilities in college.

- The ILP is consistent with embedding the *right* social capital into learning. Some students harness this knowledge to situate a sense of success, but this does not *free* their bodies from deficit connotations that are linked to disability outside FE.

8.2 Concluding thoughts on data analysis

I have described how the particular configuration of networks and values of young disabled people, of faculty, of Access and of the College as a whole, combine to affect the social and situated learning of participants at Haven. This is exemplified by levels of additionality in relation to social capital, which are derived in Chapter 6; from young disabled people's identity work in Access and the production and consumption of certain types and forms of social capital; in Chapter 7, from their limited involvement with, and hence influence from, mainstream social networks; and within Chapter 8, from young disabled people's supportive ties with some Access tutors, and work placement staff.

Whilst each participant has his/her own configuration of impairment(s), and prior experiences and influences from school, individuals are identifiable by 'zones' of social energy and forms of cultural practice. There are *bad boys*, for example, whose referral to FE provides little compatibility with their informal networks of support, and where most of their connections to staff remain precarious given the lack of capital at all levels of analysis. *Good students* reveal that, on the face of it, an individualised supportive model underpinning Access works in a limited way. My data analysis suggests that the trust and obligation based relations that they establish with staff in the provision holds only limited value in accessing new social networks in the wider college community. I map the potential impact and consequences of the various responses in Table 1.7 (page 291).

In general terms, the data suggest that tutors might be more reflective about the socio-cultural life-worlds of young disabled people. In particular, they should consider how friendship networks and social resources produced and consumed in networks that make up those life-worlds, impact on the agency of participants. By understanding how and why social capital resources develop for and are denied to young disabled people and the different groups of young disabled people and how this enables a 'dark side' of bonding capital to be enhanced, Haven will be better placed to develop support systems that reflect the socio-cultural diversity of its youngest students. In chapter 9, I consider social capital literature and its relationship to data gathered in order to reflect upon what can be taken from the voices of young disabled people to enhance social capital theory.

CHAPTER NINE:

Life through a lens: social capital, disability and FE provision

AN INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

9.1 Introduction

The data presented in the last three chapters afford insights into the life experiences of young disabled people in FE. These insights reassess the positive assertions made by politicians, policymakers and others that lead young disabled people to understand that they make economic and social gains by *investing* energy in FE. In short, some people are persuaded by assertions that try to reconfigure the social and economic ambiguities which are inherent in the labour market. This makes the role of social capital at Haven distinctive. It boosts the benefits of investing in human capital (Putman, 1993b). This role is evident in the hallways of the College. Here, posters depict ex-students at work in their chosen vocation, and next to speech bubbles that convey to passers by that college is, in one poster, ‘a place where I built relationships with people who shaped my future.’

In this example, social capital reinforces a need to adopt economic performances, rather than placing a similar emphasis on well-being in Haven. My argument remains, however. For social inequalities in FE to diminish, recognition and respect - as sources of social energy binding people in shared spaces - is pivotal to the current and future life chances of young disabled people and must be present at all levels of analysis. My discussions with the participants show that their existences in FE are rarely as linear as integrative social capital theorists’ hope. So what are the relationships between young disabled people, the Access staff and college community in building social capital? This chapter will discuss the findings generated by my data analysis, so as to illuminate the complexity of such relations. It is vital to reiterate, here, that social capital is utilised as a tool, in order to cautiously consider the participants’ different responses to, attitudes towards and behaviours within, the successful college which Haven believes itself to be.

9.2 Social networks and sociability in the classroom

The challenges facing young disabled people as agents, consumers and recipients of social capital who document their experiences in their own voices is still a new research area (Helve *et al.*, 2007). This in mind, I explore the social relations and sociability of young disabled people, which I define here as an ability to sustain and utilise networks, in order to understand how they become embedded in the networks available to them, and how their friendship networks act as a resource in the provision and beyond. This discussion will emphasise and de-emphasise the optimistic vision that is often attached to social capital in regard to cooperation and network building as resource accumulation.

9.3 Social capital and friendship networks

From the outset, my findings support an optimistic vision of social capital. This is only because young disabled people demonstrate an ability to generate resources from each other in ways that enable their relatively successful transitions from school to college. The resources are cognitive, emotional and social, and include social support and feelings of compatibility. For example, friendship involves reciprocal exchanges, trust and a sense of belonging. Friends provide support during times of stress and facilitate forms of social learning. Thus, generating bonding capital allows students to get-on, despite 'borin' staff and despite the limited confines of Access. This has advantages for those who see FE as a chance to 'do somefink' different'. A second chance, for learners who are struggling to make the grade in school, is a potent strand in a person's learning career at Haven. Friends as a source of motivation, support and improved study habits, enable some to build up a foundation from which to become independent adult learners.

On many occasions, then, young disabled people are active in both producing and consuming social capital. This is a point of interest and importance. The resources gleaned from peer friendships are either ignored or viewed negatively by scholars who examine social capital. Coleman's work offers one such example. He views relationships among young people as undermining educational achievement. Further, recent social capital studies persist in investigating able-bodied people and the importance of the linkages they form (Holland, 2009). In so doing, they ignore the role of young disabled people as producers rather than exclusively as consumers of social capital and neglect the resources that friendship networks offer in supporting transitions to FE, and beyond.

Sustaining these supportive social networks outside of FE is difficult. This is due to dependency, related to the age, gender, ethnicity and disability of each participant and to their geographical dispersal across the inner-city borough. Mobility is also problematic, not just for allowing young disabled people to become independent but given Bourdieu's (1980, 2) emphasis on the "production of material or symbolic ends, social networks, such as friendship networks, should be sustained in order to become a solid investment."

For many FE students, friendship choice is a natural rite of passage. This is not a usual element for the participants, rather it is a privilege granted on a contingent basis, with access points to some networks being limited by ethnicity or prior relations, being peripheral to staff or student need, but always subject to withdrawal. In many cases, the nature of a young person's impairment, combined with pressure from support staff for these individuals to work at the front of the class, shapes their friendship networks on the basis of social similarity or status homophily (Allan, 1998). Indeed, despite their initial

high hopes of making new friends in FE, a transition to Access re-acquaints a participant with the lack of choice they experienced in school (Holt, 2010a), particularly in terms of accessing capital-like goods in similar settings. Some young people end up sitting with a support worker on the grounds of practicality or with ‘people like me’ in terms of gender or ethnicity. The initial essentialising of people in terms of their impairment or negative ontology (Baker, 2002) is something Justin, for example, works hard to overcome but is replaced by a more sophisticated Othering of peers, support staff and some table groups, as the participants sit together. The bond between each group of Access students or each ‘zone’ of ‘social energy’ plays a key role in how they experience FE, as I discuss below.

9.4 Student identity work within the provision

Findings in the last section note that young disabled people bring with them resources and prior experiences that are central to becoming used to FE. This section discusses the identity work of the participants as they engage with Access, which is legitimised in its existence by a web of human and education needs. For example, some young people are identifiable to staff as having ‘special needs’ and it is an act of professional benevolence and caring to manage the needs of those with apparently limited work skills (Baron *et al.*, 1998). That is, the participants are offered a subject position that is problematic from the outset, for in many ways, it is a position that carries with it images of *failure* such as their failure to make the grade at school, for example. While most refuse or resist seeing themselves as failures, they nevertheless have to position themselves in relation to the discursive practices that produce them, in specific sites, as young disabled students.

The *nice little girls* are particularly conscious of producing themselves as young disabled students, and illustrate the benefits of constructing themselves as needy with anecdotes (p.192). Whilst they inhabit the distinctions that mark out this position with creativity, if not exactly choice, for overtly disabled students such as Harry, his ascribed neediness is more a material reality. That, said, he too uses energies to seek out relations where his disability is given prominence and which allow him to transgress into a kind of disabled *star*. It is this use of time and energy in relation to doing disability that allow young people to create influence, security, supports and confidence within the provision.

This type of reflexivity and creative energy is rarely discussed in social capital or disability literature. Here a young person's disability can be understood as performance, and this performance has significance for the realities of making space and using time in places and maximising difference, in order to gain access to valuable, scarce resources. That is, they *work* to be accommodated, often deploying strategies to maintain their hyper-visibility and categorisation as both passive consumers and victims - an image of disability that now persists in much of the popular imagination (Swain and French, 2008).

My analysis indicates that some students use energies creatively to gain a central role in Access. This is crucial to understand bonding capital in relation to young disabled people. Advantage not only pivots on which capital's parents pass on, as Bourdieu (1986) argues, or the support prescribed by professionals, but on power contests between young people. They also perform a key role that is central to the dominant reading of success at Haven. If they *progress* then Haven claims success. There are, therefore, intense feelings about student success and staff work hard to confer the intense support they *need*. In this context, the distribution of bonding capital, in terms of its limited volume, is clear-cut.

However, the bonding capital being invoked amongst the *nice little girls, good students* and the support staff offer little knowledge about, for example, the latest hot gossip. As Tash said, ‘they (staff) talk about Miss (manager), it’s borin’! They rarely evaluate or create operant bonding capital, such as what is cool, or exchange information and ideas which develop aspects of social learning, such as forms of talk, demeanour and modes of interaction that are constructed by and also enable the participants to feel at ease and gain recognition from one another. Put simply, too close a bond to support staff does not offer some of the participants the type of youth-based activity and knowledge that are required to *read* or prove a mastery over the complex signs and symbols exhibited by their peers.

This inability to acquire and then to use knowledge effectively is perhaps best exemplified by Atif, who knows what music is cool but fails to mobilise information, or to prove knowledge of the rules to *bad boys* (Misztal, 1996). Atif’s inability to present a self in a bad way, and the boys’ knowledge that he requires help from a worker, carries a stigma of outsider-ness. If *bad boys* connect with Atif, this will mean de-constructing the distance built between themselves and staff. Such a close proximity to staff does not offer the freedom to discuss issues or ideas that are understood to be bonding features of the *bad boy* and *naughty girl* networks as well as for friendships generally (Pahl, 2000). Far from enabling everyone to benefit from support, a student’s link to support staff can constitute them as ‘propa’ disabled and demands that some peers remain at a distance. Thus, my findings suggest that a close tie to staff plays a role in the flow of crucial resources. That is, these ties inform a person’s sense of their own positioning within a ‘hierarchy of peers’ (Mac an Ghail, 1994) and have a bearing on their judgements about any potential that others may hold for trust and reciprocity. I go on to discuss this now.

9.5 Who's in? Who's out?

This in mind, young disabled people relate how membership classifications involving who is rejected and who is accepted at each table, around which groups sit during their classes, frequently informs the ways in which participants negotiate networks in Access. Speech, agility and intellect are assumed by the participants to be “part of the natural order” in Access and those failing to meet the “standards imposed on them by the culture inside the classroom are viewed as different or a class apart (Chouinard, 1997, 380).” However, disability is not a once and for all constitution. Most of the young people challenge the fixed identity and experiences that are constructed for them by the formal regimes in Access and by the informal regimes of their peers, through efforts described by Foucault (1988 11) as “technologies of the self”, and through other acts of resistance.

The acts of Bea and Justin, for example, involve transgressing the boundaries imposed on them by their disability. In each case, they practice their transgression under the threat of coercive markers of disability, such as the pressure to say the right things and act the *right* way in front of their peers. In Amjit's case, girls *stress* about talking to her, or in Justin's case, *bad boys* question his laddish masculinity. In an attempt to remove these markers, Amjit *works* to educate peers, whereas Justin asserts a masculine identity by incorporating the wheelchair as part of his body in ways that simulate the speed of an (more) athletic body. Amjit's ability to border the boundaries of various groups offers her moments of 'being in touch' with *good students*, interspersed with periods of 'free roaming' with *naughty girls* (Bauman, 2003). So, instead of closed off spaces, at points in the day she has ties to other networks, and this is a basis for creating new knowledge.

Justin's bodily performance, through a sort of sporting prowess, carries currency among boys (Wellard, 2009). Indeed, Justin's macho behaviour (gestures and posturings) gains access to a forceful form of social capital. For example, network support enables him to have a degree of power over the *good students*, and authenticates his attempts to 'ave a larf' in class. Differences therefore co-exist, but at a cost. For Justin, this cost was paid in the form of staff cautions when he rejects his assigned space at the *good student* table.

One danger, then, is that those who set limits, such as tutors, are often affronted by these acts. Many made this clear in their ILP reports in which they prophesy *failure* if such acts were continued. For many less confident participants, getting by in Access is a rational response to such pressure. However, many who repudiate their neediness by acting out or who connect with the 'wrong' network may be used as evidence of further neediness to be recuperated via interventions such as counselling. These require young people to perform disability and abandon a transgressive project if they are to be granted accommodations such as the trust of staff. Yet, as I discuss below, such performances are risky and wider influences in a young person's life are hard to ignore (Kanga, 2006).

9.6 Boys, bodies and masculinities

Some of the participants' problematic investment with Access appears to suggest that students, such as the *bad boys* and the *naughty girls*, do not want to be recognised as disabled, and that working to produce themselves as such will likely involve major changes for, as one boy said, 'a (tough, bad) lad like me'. As I now explore, those *bad boys* who are perhaps most differentially positioned in regard to the subject position that

Access staff make available, and the dominant discourses in popular culture, experience a degree of marginalisation that creates new, and reinforces existing, social inequalities.

Within Access, for example, multiple factors interact to constrain the *bad boy's* horizons of possibility and desirability. For instance, the realm of care and compassion in the support room is less sympathetic to the masculine ideals of the local area within which their 'real life' is grounded. The demands of a real identity not only weigh upon those career routes that are thinkable, but centre on the myth of the protest masculinity (Connell, 1995) around which they struggle over symbols of masculinity (Gilroy, 1993). The attitude and enactment of hyper-heterosexuality, which are concerns in their ways of 'doing' masculinity (Frosh *et al.*, 2002), are also viewed by the staff as hostile to middle-class civil conversation and smart dress code (Hey, 1997). This challenges the childlike, passive and perhaps feminine position that is available in Access, and the diligent and self-reliant traits that are expected both of successful students and of successful workers.

The understanding that there are multiple occasions for male students to perform different masculinities or 'do boy' takes on added significance in relation to debates on choosing masculinities and disability (Sparks *et al.*, 1999). This is because a kind of, 'hybridised masculinity' exists in British society that "is nothing less than the emergence of a more fluid, bricolage masculinity, the result of 'channel hopping' across versions of the masculine (Beynon, 2002, 6, cited in Jones 2002)." This represents the post-modern man, and illustrates that core elements of masculinity are difficult to identify. However, the ability to 'hop-channels' is closely linked to power itself. In order to choose, then, a young disabled person needs material and cultural assets. Such choice is not open to all.

For instance, it is apparent that boys, and in particular *bad boys*, are faced with unique conflicts around constructing a masculine identity. This is a result of a normative, and dominant, regime of masculinity and success that affirms and valorises many of the traits disability, age or class take away including sexual prowess or intelligence (Hughes 2002). The traits are given social significance, as with smart, sexy or 'ard, by the culture at Haven that positions success and the eradication of failure at its heart. Success and the pursuit of social success in FE embody qualities that a student must display. Successful students therefore embody assets, such as beauty and emotional control, which not only signify 'successification' on the current educational landscape (Bradford and Hey, 2007) but are also prerequisites of a successful participation in a service, dominated economy.

Such idealised qualities imply that the notion of success represents everything which is not abnormal, and everything a student may wish to symbolise their identity. Clearly, young disabled people cannot draw upon discourses of success in order to construct their identities at Haven, for a cool, 'ard, sexy or smart young disabled person is something of a contradiction in terms. Thus, the abnormal traits connected with their young bodies are in conflict with the socio-cultural, and physical landscape at Haven, and the network resources on offer by, and to older college students, seem unlikely to unite in agreement.

In the contemporary social spaces at Haven, then, a disabled person's *specialness* tends to subsume other constitutions, from ability to attractiveness, and is accompanied by anecdotes of bullying or social invisibility (Murphy *et al.*, 2002). While many accept the way disability has become their sole identity marker, the *bad boys* are keen to 'deal wiff it'. Their strategy for negotiating social space, and their occupation of it, is to seek

out protection from peers as a coping mechanism for wider processes of marginalisation (Macdowell, 2003). This, in turn, strengthens a trust that is reconciled by conformity and allegiance. While such qualities are to be admired, some *bad boys* relate being set into a pathway where trust acts as a ‘downward leveling pressure’ (Portes *et al.*, 1996) that, at key moments, overrides personal agency and any thoughts they once held about a move to college, from school, being a means to ‘do somefink’ different’ with their young lives.

There is, then, a debate to be had over the conditions in which FE will give rise to the type of relations in which bridging occurs. While social capitalists’ paint a positive picture of social interactions, and writers such as Attwood *et al.*, (2004; 2005) argue that young people’s lives will become more individualised by their introduction to learning in FE, my argument remains that the participants exist as a ‘social convoy’ who struggle to escape the deficit connotations which are linked to their multiple positions at Haven. That said, however, my findings also suggest that a young disabled student is not a once and for all identity. This discussion is taken further in the next section by exploring how practices, perceptions and policy at Haven often constitute young disabled people, and the extent to which their participations in the College might provide a small foothold from which to “win the confidence of clientele in high society (Bourdieu, 1984, 122).”

9.7 The nature of participation: crippled actors or active agents?

Both Putman and Coleman stress the importance of group associations and participation structures as key factors of bonding and bridging ties in *Bowling Alone*, (Putman, 2000) as well as being vital to Coleman’s view over social capital as “useful for the cognitive

or social development of a young person (1994, 300).” Away from these ‘warm notions’ which Haven College promotes, the section discusses findings which suggests young disabled people are not enabled to construct networks independent from Access, neither were they experiencing active participation, efficacy or individual agency through them.

This is clearly demonstrated through those supposedly participatory structures, such as the college council and surveys, that are in place so people can ‘find a voice’ and effect change to mechanisms and outcomes; fundamental to participation (Potts, 1992, 12). Given a lack of communication between learners and institutional agents, there is little or no evidence to indicate how (beyond a tutor or a parent, who often lack the authority, pursuing the *rights* of a student [Rogers, 2007]) young disabled people may challenge members of staff who control choice and organisational structures. If, as Christakis *et al.*, (2009, 21) notes, institutional changes are achieved through mutual involvements, such as collective movements of campaigning students, then, significant efforts must be given to opening dialogue between disabled students and institutional agents. However, given their marginal position as ‘indirect citizens’ (Lister, 1997) - that is, where adults mediate a young person’s political participation - this is unlikely to happen soon. In the meantime, limited participations leaves most lacking trust in political mechanisms and with little involvement in constructing the political system at the College (Nye, 1997, 5).

Choice is another vital aspect of the FE experience for college students. Indeed, for many, the reason for choosing or rather being referred to the College is related to the idea of ‘bein’ adults’. That is, of making their own plans and to practice applying choice in a way that would minimise the effects of social differences, which they experienced in

school (Rustemier, 2002). While these so-called *customers* do choose from a small range of optional curricular activities, the important decisions were always the privilege of the teaching staff or other key professionals. This situation is more school-like in the sense of a young disabled person's, "lack of involvement in the planning of their own futures (Tisdall, 1996, 17)." The lack of free time to 'chill' around Haven seems an exclusive, insufficient substitute to the spontaneity nurtured by the informal aspects of college life.

What is gained from participations in leisure activities, apart from anything else, is for students to *be* with those with similar interests or whose company they enjoy (Warde, 2008). However, the activities on offer to young disabled people are framed or used to fill in time. This does not reflect the way students' discuss leisure time, as this reveals a wider definition of fun and mutually sharing experiences. Crucially, I think, their positioning outside key social spaces and places ignores the rare experiences that have the potential to restore a valued sense of self in the face of their biographical disruptions. Simpson (1993) notes, for example, that sport is a rare arena where males (particularly those men from the working classes) can express their admiration for each other and talk about their bodies in specific ways. The frustration of some young disabled people not being able to actively participate in sport highlights access to special social capitals and also limited links to the social supports which may help them cope with their differences. The relationships that young disabled people have to special bonding capitals are strong and unequal: these are bound up with specific network resources, which consist of "non-reciprocal endeavours (Strawn, 2002, 12)," with students who exist on the margins of FE life. Such capital is linked to a pattern of participation, which supports stability rather

than change, solidity rather than flexibility. Findings here refer to the kind of knowledge exchanges which are good at allowing people to cope with specific life events, without exposing them to the events that may occur in the mainstream. This type of learning is, therefore, low on precisely the qualities and social skills that appear as vital to sustaining work and to an existence in a fluid, open and separating British society (Field, 2008).

9.8 Scanning the risk landscapes of young disabled people

Thus far, my findings are reasonably consistent with an unproductive association between social capital and participation. This impression is strengthened by findings which raise concerns about a young disabled person's inability to access networks that mark a break with a school-like status, but also possess the means to make sense of the changing nature of friendships in contemporary British society, which is characterised by risk, fluidity and close communication (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000; Pahl, 2000). This section discusses the implication of this for young disabled people, for FE policy and for practice in Haven.

In exploring various accounts of risk, I borrow again from Giddens (1991, 127), and his use of Goffman's (1971, 385) notion of *Umwelt* to assess the degrees to which young disabled people are dispossessed of occasions to obtain first-hand experiences of, and then to practice dealing with, the mainstream college culture. In particular, to become open to mainstream environments in order to cope better with and respond to risks which depict contemporary network relations that weaken *Umwelt*. What my findings show is that some staff are pre-occupied with a vigilance over young disabled people, lacing a protective bubble around them, of time and effort, that insulates them from the new social interactions that allow people to set apart signs of danger from their own fears. A young

person's interactions in new networks forge what Goffman (1971) depicts as a mobile bubble of trust, recoiling and increasing wherever a person is. For young disabled people, whose looks or behaviours are frequently read by others as signs of untrustworthiness, entry into networks that are valuable for obtaining bridging capital, are often limited, are met with hostilities, and are often regulated by the presence of their support worker. Risk thus reinforces boundaries. One example of such boundary management may be linked to the prospect of sexual relationships with men, for which there is a commitment among staff to reducing risks. However, risks to the girls from men seem never to be discussed - it is implicit in different warnings offered to girls about men, but is rendered unspeakable.

Given the assumed role of staff as carers for and protectors of young disabled people, this reaction is rational. The SEN discourse is also where a notion of child-as-danger - violent boys and promiscuous girls who present a threat to their communities (Boyden, 1990) - meets with a notion of child-in-danger, or what schools' define as 'learning as a primary cause for concern.' Thus, girls are identifiable as *victims* of a risk society, and are also *at risk* of a litany of social problems, such as teenage pregnancy, that supposedly arise from under-achievement in school (Coffield, 1999). A political pre-occupation with risk and reflexive modernisation in relation to such concerns has led to low expectations about the ability of young people to face risk and to the creation of FE provision, as safety nets, to address this (Furedi, 2002). My findings suggest it is images of participants as subjects of pity and concern that shape staff mindsets, legitimising an unequal resource distribution.

It seems that pitying concerns about girls who need to be protected from older boys, but included in safe environments that offer the right skills and bonding capital with staff to help them find work (Ecclestone and Field, 2002), blur the lines amid dependency and risk. For example, low expectations of Amy's agency in the face of risk suggests that the support on offer to her does not offer analytical tools that can help her tackle a world that she now finds herself in. While the *naughty girls* are creative in their reactions to and understandings of any threat in FE, energetically analysing any threats from their limited pool of knowledge, there are genuine efforts made by staff to limit the experiential foundation from which they may be supported to expand on this knowledge.

This in mind, there is a *sea* of information, knowledge and social skills, as a form of social literacy (Field, 2005) that is refined from a routine access to new social networks. This may enable some, but not all, to gain approval in work situations (Hanson, 2002). It is obvious that for Rob or Atif, the interactive process of 'knowledge osmosis' (Alheit *et al.*, 2002) will be a barrier to attaining recognition in many work sites, while an inability to do the body work required of service jobs may, unfortunately, assign them to junk jobs (Lash and Urry, 1994) such as cleaning work. In the absence of trust, the average student who is capable of performing such a valued social role, as looking for employment (Hall, 1997), remains at a distance from moments of exchange that develop the required skills to make sense of fluid and transient ties in FE. Far from having the freedom to choose when, how and with who to form a friendship (assumptions that underpin notions of a pure relationship) then, access to new experiences is curtailed by policy, perceptions and practices at Haven. Yet, as I move on to discuss now, my findings illuminate some new communities of belonging, and forms of engagement, which indicate pointers for change.

9.9 Mining the landscape for resources: technology and cultural intermediaries

If a FE college is to be used as a platform where young disabled people can benefit in economic and social terms, it may seem apt to escape the plethora of social interventions associated with the inclusion agenda. This has placed an emphasis on bonding capital and communitarian ideals, which appears to have done little to address the issue of social transformation for the large majority of participants in this research. The key aim of the section is, therefore, to attempt to reweave the threads of the social capitals present in the young people's lives into patterns of agency that can articulate some pointers for change.

In the first instance, there has been debate about the impact of new technologies, in particular of the Internet, for identity formation and for enabling disabled people to access and make connections in new social spaces. For Castells (1996), a culture of 'real virtuality' is eroding rigid identities, based on class or gender, so that individuals in a network can draw on a variety of online environments in building up valued resources. Others take a more sceptical view over the power of the Internet. Putman (2000, 172), for example, is guarded in his judgement, not least because, as he sees it, the Internet is in its infancy, but he remains sceptical of any claims that online relationships can create reciprocity, or usefully build trust in the material world. There is still more speculation on this subject than evidence, especially for young disabled people (Chambers, 2006).

My findings suggest that for *good students*, who have limited access to spaces in which to become mates with peers, on-line gaming is a strong assertion of their identity. What is striking about Guildwars is the opportunity it provides for those who cannot easily mobilise resources of impression to distinguish self to 'yield profits of distinction'

(Bourdieu 1986, 245). For example, Rob offers virtual gifts to peers and, in return, they increase their commitment to him. Thus, the creation of supportive ties initiated on-line points to energies in new communities of belonging as fostering a connectedness amongst some participants that challenges Putman's thesis of the decline of voluntary associations. That said, the paucity of this network in relation to encouraging new ties in Haven's public spaces remain weak and does not herald a shift to a new style of identity-creating behaviour based on friendship choice out-with the provision (Pahl *et al.*, 2006).

What seems to be missing in much of the participants' lives, then, is a sense of affinity, familiarity and empathy with other people, which can encourage a platform for voluntary engagements. What is central to the Muslim women's group, for instance, is not the distribution of capital via bridging mechanisms, but the nature of the bridge that is built. Here, the 'bridge' is used in a literal sense, not just a transcendent mechanism to bring together two parts into one, as many social capitalists espouse, but also a means by which the participants have a willingness and capacity to travel between cultural places. (Arneil, 2006, 181) This willingness is of importance for, in the context of Putman's distinctions between bonding and bridging capitals, the capacity to access new networks resources is to be provided by a willing engagement. Taken together, then, a shared ethnic identity affirms the cultural assets of ethnic minority young people to gain their trust, and to be an access point for new activities. That is, the support they received from the group enables them to be sustained through difficult social processes, and to access previously closed-off sites where diversified bonding capital is generated and converted.

That, said, some young disabled people stay outside the many profits of membership that others gain from new associations. Their lives remain immersed with contingent social relations, which encourage professionals to determine what is right for them, despite the socially inclusive and consumerist rhetoric of the College. At this point, I make use of Sennett's (2003) criticism of a decline in the mutual respect in Western societies arising, in this case, from the unwelcome but compulsory support given to Access students who are obliged to respect such close ties to staff. Sennett's debate is about a performativity of respect, where creating bonds with challenging students, such as *bad boys*, is not just calculated by the actions of staff, rather it is their engaging performances which helps to generate bonds among people who may not wish to gain much insight into each other's subjectivities. By sustaining a cool distance, bonds are founded on understandings of the ineffectiveness of gaining respect through a staff member's institutional authority. Thus, acquiring a level of respect from *bad boys* is about being acknowledged by them as cool.

“Cool, at its most basic, is a way of living and surviving in an inhospitable environment, a rational reaction to an irrational situation, a way of fitting in while standing out, of gaining respect while instilling fear (Connor, 2003, 1).”

Whilst the word cool is frequently connected with *respect*, using the word 'safe' functions, here, to bridge a divide based on rules and rituals that acknowledge the *bad boys*, to the extent that safe takes on a sense of propriety in that it can enable or prevent the development of new social bonds. What is significant about the efforts of Satnam, Raj and Jo to engage Access students, for example, is a respect for the cultural contexts in which young disabled people exist, coupled with the distance they either have or they

put between themselves and a common-sense construction of Access staff, as boring, white and middle class. It seems these are the keys to being safe. For example, Satnam relates (speaks, acts, empathises) in ways that enable him to be seen differently from other staff associated with FE. He then acts as a “cultural intermediary (Featherstone, 1991, 10)” by encouraging the *bad boys* to experience authority figures at Haven on their terms, without being seen to break rank. As I have shown, many take a chance to do this.

Notwithstanding these progressive possibilities, identifying some staff members with the requisite capacities and time, or inclination to act as cultural interpreters or go-betweens (Bourdieu, 1984) does not sit well with quantifiable interactions and exchanges that are associated with integrative social capital perspectives. That is, identifying learning from a range of contexts does not reflect the rationalisation of time and the transmission of the ‘right’ skills and capital that are seen as necessary at a political and individual level for the young people to find paid employment. This alerts us to some tensions between the orthodoxy of normalisation surrounding Access, the level of support required from staff to this end (Deeley, 2002) and the potential for progressive ideas for capital formation, particularly for those who may be restricted in the extent to which they can participate in community life (Shakespeare, 2006). Thus, new questions appear about a tutor’s part in the manufacturing of social capitals and, more broadly, the normative dimensions of this.

9.10 The restricted role of the ‘special needs’ tutor

In the course of the analysis, performed in different dimensions, the supportive role of the special needs tutors as agents of cultural change (McGonigal *et al.*, 2009) can be a precursor to some students achieving the skills required to negotiate FE. Yet, far from

being agents who consider patterns of social disadvantage inherent in the participation of young disabled people (Ayers, *et al.*, 1998), the tutors are constrained by a managerially discursive environment that leaves their relationships with learners flat and deficient (Ball, 1994). My findings show that these relationships can operate at a superficial level, which has consequences for a student's adjustment to FE and future career development.

In the first instance, a pressure to work to SMART targets, linked to a 'lack of slack' and redistribution of their teaching time, shapes a basis for engagement and norms of working between young disabled people and subject tutors. Indeed, the implication for tutors' wishing to depart from prescribed professional support is often fraught with risk. They have to balance the energy required to build trusting relations with students, against the constraints place on tutors from other departments and against any targets set externally for the student, which are often incongruent to the time required to build trust.

While tracking student progress every 6 weeks via documents, such as the ILP, is a rational response to such pressure (Ecclestone, 2002), it avoids engaging with physical or attitudinal limitations that may be out of sync with the milieu of expectations in FE. For example, to neglect sports in assisting boys to cope with their bodily difference is due to a lack of ways to locate young disabled people's bodies that are not imagined as flawed (Hughes, 2002). Therefore, recognition of what challenges arise, and what social capital is useful to bodies marked by their own particularity, is vital. If tutors believe that disability is fixable, so long a disabled student works hard enough on manipulating their looks, emotions and personalities, the interventions that aim to support them will remain misguided, particularly when these generate a level of discomfort (Shakespeare, 2006).

This revivalist tone, of a success-as-individual-progress-story, is linked at many levels, both formal and informal, to the construction of Access as successful and what counts as success in FE. Indeed, the discursive space that ILP documents create to make success thinkable, visible and desirable, combined with no incentives for subject tutors to ‘rock the boat,’ reduces the scope for generating opportunities to develop bridging capital. For example, uncritical social support and mutual understanding, or channeling tasks which contribute to a more convivial relationship in the classroom. This is in contrast to the cosy, secure social networks which tend to constrict any expectation from relationships. Young people (or faculty) wishing to take risks, or refusing to be seduced by the ‘story’, quickly became outsiders within Access. This did not mean that these young people are trusted to develop their own social capital. Rather, deviance from set targets and a lack of ways to think about young disabled people’s informal networks as a source of support and form of learning, undermine any such occasions and social events, especially where these are considered to be risky and to put young people and staff at-risk (Ferudi, 2002).

Where *bad boys* are concerned, any informal (mis)-recognition of them as child-as-danger tends to interact negatively with their formal identification as child-in-danger in ways that create new foundations for mistrusting the existence of informal networks. For example, non-participation in learning is not only perceived as a risk to their futures, but their presence in hallways is, I observed, not well tolerated by staff who see this as a threat to the social cohesion on which the College depends. A mistrust of their intentions compels one Access tutor to ask security to ‘keep an eye on them’ (Field-note 23/09/09). The boys’ awareness of being monitored exacerbates their negative views of the College.

The result of this surveillance reduces the public and private spaces into which the boys can retreat for refuge and for self-definition (Whittaker, 1999). For example, where an appropriate sanction such as counselling is applied, this led to engineered social relations (Furedi, 2004) rather than to new network opportunities. These relationships do little to redefine the levels of support and concomitant social capital that had been developed in a context facilitated by limited mobility. Appropriateness, like normality, is a key theme; staff must do things appropriately - that is, according to norms. The ILP is a vehicle in this process, as it socialises tutors into their regressive role as 'card carrying designators of disability (Slee, 2001, 8)' or to recognise deviant actions, to make expert judgements about disabled people, and to implement an appropriate or the best way to support them.

To use the ILP as a normative standard for a student's behaviour and learning is, by default, to embrace their use in celebrating scripts that are both dominant and restrictive (Ollerton, 2001). If, as key agents of social control (Slee, 1996), the many new, and often inexperienced subject tutors continue to mis-read the participants' transgressive actions as forms of deviance, it would be safe to say that the current levels of support within Access and the social goods (care or surveillance, for example) which these generate will continue to weaken more creative support for those who need it most.

Of course, such goods follow logically from Coleman's view of social capital as social control, a hidden hand that depends on closure for its effects. While there is merit in this argument in so far as it concerns the behaviour of school children (Runyan, 1998) this may well continue to have a negative influence on young disabled people in FE. This is because communities, such as schools whose social services are frequently

compulsory, tend not to invest as much in heterogeneous information as do colleges or workplaces, which have more fluid pastoral services and voluntary links. To challenge the participants' existing habits and views about the value of networks, these students need access to wider network experiences that nurture access to divergent social skills. The current levels of support and surveillance do not, as a rule, offer young disabled people a platform from which to hunt and gather the type of information that hold potential to gain support from and participate between the boundaries of social networks.

9.11 Student identity work, changing networks and the impact on social capital

The last section shows that closed loops of bonding capital inevitably lead to complex responses and outcomes for those involved. Yet the shifting composition and erosion of social relations and structures in FE also affect access to the skills knowledge needed for a more proactive engagement with college life. It is important to ask, then, whether fluid relationships and an atomisation of learning in FE provides a robust basis for reciprocity and belonging, particularly among young disabled people who by the age of 14 rely on or have grown to expect relations with tutors to have a degree of continuity. The nature, risks and requirements of new forms of literacy are among several issues discussed in the section, and are also areas which remain neglected in current literature.

In the first instance, the advent of alternative provision means that many young disabled people now exist in FE communities, just as the concept of solidarity is eroding. This is problematic for, as Lave and Wenger (1991) note, young people cannot learn the norms and values of a community without first belonging. My findings show that those staff members who spend a large amount of time with young disabled people

seem to lack a strong attachment toward either students or the site. Reduced working conditions, for example, left classes to be run by ‘novices’ to the special needs field (Randle and Brady, 1997). Staff drafted in to fill classes, are also ill prepared to handle the many ways in which young disabled people are oppressed. Without a prior level of competence or experience, my research suggests that there are inevitable tensions, such as the lack of time, patience or resources, which labour against the type of constant productive pedagogies that act to build the beginnings of bridging/resourceful relations.

Those relationships with support staff (which are bound up with care, assistance and an element of motherly pride) are also unlikely to enable young people to develop or to actively engage with new forms of learning which occur in a range of social settings and are inherently characterised by complexity. The building of new knowledge and skills goes beyond Access staff in a number of ways, not least in highlighting a tendency for over-simplification. The networks in which new ideas are exchanged and information passed around, entail young disabled people taking risks with self, and with other people to access and then to accept any new experiences, and for others to take account of them.

My findings here suggest that this last point is, perhaps, unrealistic where models of learning are individualistic and in a college community where little power exists for young people, that vital ingredient in contemporary relationships which Putman ignores. Often a chance just to watch, listen or talk to older peers so as to nurture new capacities is tricky. These areas of influence in a participant’s life are missing in the data. As such, it is hard for me to be optimistic about them achieving a better quality of life through either being placed in, or protected from the flow of social capital, as assumed in much of the

social capital and disability literature. My point is not to debunk a social model or social capital but to suggest that the circumstances of some young disabled people are complex and solutions not as complete, as some suggest. This is certainly the case in Haven, which fails to place emphasis on interdependency, reciprocity and on skills that students such as Darren or Jimmy, for example, brought to FE. Such skills, competencies and qualities not only help to accumulate forms of bridging and bonding capital, but were also found by Shah (2004) to be crucial to the lives of those disabled people who are high achievers. Jimmy's case is particularly instructive, here, in that it underlines some key facets of an existing work site that still has a bearing on some of the participants' lives. In his case, influential bonding capital is mobilised with greater ease in spaces where there is a closer cultural compatibility amidst his own value interjections and that of the garage. The fact that working-class masculine activity systems still exist then, should be a reminder of the vitality of such networks in offering a chain of bodily possibilities (Freund, 2001) that are denied to the *bad boys* at Haven College, if not to working class young people in general.

There is a limit to agency, however. Some participants are limited in the ability to make sense of a changing world - to acquire and apply new ideas - while all are positioned by influences and pressures over which they have little or no control. The normative regime of success in Haven, for example, which consigns young disabled people to peripheral status, cannot be ignored. They must harness *energies* - produce and mobilise capital - to accommodate to the fact that such influences and pressures exist. However, the various impacts and consequences of such pressures upon young disabled people are not equally distributed. In order to map the terrain, a simple table (1.9, below) may have some value.

Groups	Type of connection with:	Impact	Consequences
<i>Good students</i>	Staff: Strong, continuous cognitive, social and emotional ties with the <i>good students</i> . Staff tended to invest in personal care, protection, time, as well as some additional academic advice, and information.	The <i>good students</i> can construct a sense of confidence, security and well being around themselves. Staff also had a good degree of influence over key professional decisions.	Given the <i>good students</i> limited independence in FE and given the high degree of support received from staff, there is little scope for new experiences
	Peers: Some loose ties with other groups. New affiliations gained via the exchange of virtual capital	Affiliation with staff tends to overshadow the formation of new solidarities with peers.	Low trust of peer networks and peer influences. No <i>hot</i> or new knowledge.
<i>Nice little girls</i>	Staff: Strong, transcendent cognitive, social and also emotional ties. As above, but trusted with key tasks in the classroom, such as a student representative post.	Motivation to study hard. Sense of success and enterprise around self: confident, secure trusting attachments in several social networks	A sense of purpose about confronting barriers (emotional social, cognitive) Freedom to extend social boundaries.
	Peers: strong bonds based on ethnicity and religious belief; shared norms and dialogue with one faith based (exclusive) group.	Broadening of learning opportunities exchange of new ideas, skills and supportive knowledge. Improved study habits.	Optimism about negotiating work; Family constraint restricts relations outside of Haven.
<i>Naughty girls</i>	Staff: strong non-intrusive cognitive and emotional support. Trusted in class, but concerns over older boys meant this support became overly intrusive.	Construct some sense of optimism about the future, but increased surveillance did cause some conflict in class and a desire to escape.	Lack of trust openly problematises the support that was on offer, and produces 'real' ambivalence toward the future.
	Peers: Close, concomitant bonding ties. Some contact with older boys offers new forms of social learning.	Internal support does bolsters solidarities, but this also closes off new forms of support.	Improves study habits, but attitude toward risky sexual attitudes unchanged
<i>Bad boys</i>	Staff: fragile and highly contingent ties with staff often meant the emotional, social, cognitive support was highly superficial.	Indigent ties with staff led to a lack of mutual understanding, and low motivation to invest or work hard in classes.	Animosity, distrust, detachment in FE The sense of being confined, <i>hassled</i> or at times demonised.
	Peers: limited inter-action with peers in Access, tight ties with each other, and homogeneity of the group members led to thick trust.	Sense of belonging and power. Concomitant bonding capital draws attention to and clashes with, ethos of success.	Hostile responses to FE restricts support oppose relations or openings to loosen fatalistic attitudes.

The table shows that the *bad boys* are invariably constructed as Other and are subject to insult and isolation at Haven. This is largely because they appear to challenge the image of young disabled students as passive and needy. One consequence of this is negative relations with some staff who state openly, that they have ‘no time for them’ because of their behaviour in their class. An image of unruly working class lads connects to wider discourses that position the boys as social pariahs. The fact that *bad boys* are subject to ‘assle’ in the College, which provoke violent physical responses, reinforces this image.

In their rejection of FE, the boys' claim to obtain little guidance, encouragement or support from staff and relate being treated more harshly than peers when they break class-rules. I think the resulting supportive interventions that many of the boys receive, are more severe because of their exclusivity. The exclusiveness is exemplified by thick trust, mediated by conformity and loyalty, which is misunderstood by staff as a threat to the efforts of students who they see as hard-workers. Not only do tutors treat *bad boys* unfavourably, in terms of capital distribution, but also boys struggle to gain acceptance, and, thus, do not contribute to and draw upon stocks of social capital. In the long term, the economic realities of the recession and lack of social capital at all levels of analysis may exclude them from vital opportunities, such as those presented to Jimmy. Further, they may not be exposed to the types of bonding capital inhering at the garage, which unties his fatalistic view of the future: change is not always wanted or, indeed, possible.

In comparison to the *bad boys*, *naughty girls* define their experiences of FE in ambivalent terms. They sometimes access support, and are less visible than the boys by avoiding confrontation with staff, preferring instead to chat. This won support of some

of the staff who refer to the girls as naughty, applying the term to describe concern over the girls' departures, from learning and involvement in romantic relations, in pursuit of enjoyment. Girls are encouraged by staff to succeed academically, which raises some thoughts of success, but in trying to police their sexuality, the girls' act defiantly, albeit covertly. A consequence of this is the production of concomitant social capital, which transforms some of the *naughty girls'* social conditions. However, by rejecting aspects of the provision's protective cocoon or tutor support and advice, the girls strengthen the bonding capital into which they retreat. This has the result of further intensifying the concerns of staff whose gendered support and guidance does little to convince the girls of anything other than the inevitability of their future roles as wives or young mums.

The *good students* conform to the stereotype of a young disabled student rather than challenge it. This made them acceptable to staff, but distances them from perhaps more exotic and interesting experiences with their peers, who refer to them as 'propa' disabled'. One consequence of this is in the resource surplus they glean from the staff, which makes them confident in Access and, perhaps, about gaining work. The trust and reciprocity generated in Access makes them disassociate from normal FE life, and this space lacks the means to offer the skills required to make sense of the changing social structures and relations they will encounter (and must create) in order to sustain work. They are, however, creating positive identities for themselves through their interactions with each other, and within new communities of belonging, such as in Guildwars. Here, for example, Rob drew upon virtual capitals and reworks these in the material world so that they operate in his favour. The longer-term impact of this remains questionable.

The category of young people to whom the staff refer as *nice little girls* conform in shy, passive and deferential ways to a young disabled student subject position. They work hard to achieve success and other behaviours that ran parallel to the vocational ethos of Haven. Their accounts reveal that their strategy ensures maximum support from staff. Although the girls' spoke mainly in positive terms about their experiences of FE, this does not mean that they deny the existence of racism or sexism. A consequence of adopting their strategy is the support of Raj, who links girls to supportive ties within the Muslim women's support group. Here, they are offered insights into how to cope with racism, as well as exposure to social resources that may aid change. However, the *nice little girl* position may not withstand the impact of the expectations of their families or impact of racial and gender discrimination in an increasingly competitive labour market.

9.12 Summary

By exploring the different responses to the Access provision, I try to show some of the complexities of the social capital debate for young disabled people. Although Table 1.9 is simplified, because it does not take into account all of my findings - for example, the influence of the safe tutors - it illustrates that social capital is not equally distributed. If I articulate the table with other chapters, I can display the ways that elements of Access, of special clubs, of the inexperienced staff and hostile environments, interact to shape both the nature and also the quality of social capital, in spite of inclinations and abilities of young disabled people. This has consequences for the life chances of participants. For example, it makes it difficult for many of them to be involved in normal life and to establish independent social networks based on reciprocity. Having considered the lived experiences of young disabled people in a college, I will now pull together conclusions.

CHAPTER TEN:

CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to examine the significance of social capital in relation to young disabled people's lived experiences of alternative provision. I, therefore, sought a critical understanding of the complexity of young disabled people's social capital to counter its potential to serve neo-liberal ends. In this chapter, I pull together the primary themes explored in the study; social capital, disability and alternative FE provision. In so doing, I attend to the three research questions outlined at the outset of this thesis and, thus, the plausibility of social capital for ameliorating issues related to social inequality and well-being that exist for young disabled people in Haven, and those which will only be made apparent when they seek employment in a competitive and now troubled labour market.

10.2 Reaching for conclusions: 'scratching below the surface'

At the end of my last day at Haven, the Access manager approached me to see if I could speak with her. As we sat talking, she reminded me of the obligation that I made about confidentiality, before asking me what I 'found out'. With one eye on staff nearby, and feeling a bit under pressure, I informed her that I had lots of good data to analyse. With an enquiring look, she remarked, 'you don't need to scratch too far below the surface to see how successful we are here'? I nodded vaguely, not knowing how to respond. For about a second, there was an opportunity to be candid in my response and, perhaps, to say something that may make an impression on her. And yet, here I sat - about to leave young people who stand to benefit if I defied her claims to success - agreeing with her. Such compliance was due to staff nearby but also because critical discourse seems out of place in a college that resonates with the 'noise' of social capital. What should I have said to her? Given as much time as I would have wanted, and given the lasting interest of

an individual who can, potentially, exert considerable influence upon the lives of Access students, what account of my study could I embed in her memory. The conversation I might have had, in ideal circumstances, could have led toward the telling of a story about the way social capital and young disabled people can be thought about at Haven College.

The first part of the story would be that the inclusion of young disabled people in college has positive and contradictory affects on their personal, social and cultural development, which need to be written back into the success stories Haven tells itself of itself. One effect of this has been to complicate, rather than to ameliorate access to effective, high volume social capital, which is realised in social networks that provide direct support and valuable resources. This is not to suggest that prior to FE provision a young disabled student's inclusion in school was faultless: on the contrary, change was needed (Lloyd, 2000). But a regime that seeks to make normative levels of work related performance desirable, including to young disabled people, works in a contradictory way as proof that the dominant and legitimising discourses of success in FE are fictions. In other words, young disabled student's inclusions in the College does bring about some new knowledge and skills, in spaces that are *cosy*, but it is having some deleterious consequences as well.

This is good, fertile ground for a critical social capital theory to cultivate. Currently FE provision is predicated on developing the *right* social capital, ultimately to find work. Such provision is assembled around the assumptions of Coleman, in order to reduce the deviance of a student by establishing a shared identity and expectations. Bea and Justin depict the tensions of such assumptions in Chapter 6; their transgressive acts worry staff, who found such projects unpleasant, indicating a need for change. However,

a little way behind these projects were concerns about the positioning of young disabled students, and the social capital that was denied them. I am not implying that basic skills are irrelevant, society can benefit from literate young disabled people, but policymakers need to re-evaluate literacy for what⁴⁶? Coleman's analysis of closure, as appealing as it may be to policymakers, does not apply to every student in Haven equally. Currently, young disabled people have discrete routines away from other students, with no occasion for reciprocities. They are isolated from the sorts of solidarities that exist in clubs, for example. This creates bonding social resources that are frequently at risk of devaluation. What FE student wants to hang around in learner support? Limited to bonding ties, many young people cannot develop the critical capabilities that enable them to better tackle the circumstances in which they find themselves. Such disparities in bridging capital risks aggravating the potential that these resources might hold to work against the vagaries, complexities and slippages that sustain social inequality in Haven and the world of work.

Returning to my imaginary conversation with the manager, then, a key conclusion that I would illuminate in relation to or for young disabled people concerns the distribution of social capitals, in relation to volume and type. The social capital invoked by the Access students was almost exclusively bonding and rarely involved regular interactions with older peers. Such disparity in capital has value to enhance awareness of privilege and inequality. Yet, it was also found that any simplistic division between different forms of social networks was problematic because it rejects the complex nature of social relations which exists in contemporary college setting. I elaborate more on this conclusion below.

⁴⁶ The New Labour government suggested that 'the basics' are a self-evident and neutral concept.

10.3 Disability, identity and social capital

To elucidate the first part of the story, I would tell it in tandem with how the subject position *young disabled student* of policy was produced by and produces student micro-cultures. This entails a story about how students variously took up the subject, their lived experiences as disabled and the many micro-cultural complexities of those experiences in Access and the wider college. It demonstrated to them the impossibility of becoming successful students and held limited value in relation to gaining work. Such positioning uncovered layers of subordination, and drew attention to the possession of social capital by individuals, groups and institutional systems. The knowledge that was fashioned by understanding the experiences of bodies made distinct by their particularity, and which appear at the sharp edge of social difference, within a successful milieu such as Haven College, was vital in moving the social capital debate on from its positive underpinnings.

To explore failure and the production and consumption of social capital at Haven, it was first necessary to look back at the discursive frame that pointed to success in FE, en route to explicating the barriers young people met in trying to acquire and utilise social capital in their lives. I suggested that many discourses of success co-existed at Haven, but all versions of success existed in relation to its dominant vocational and economic concerns. Such concerns reflected the priorities and projects of older, non-disabled students and gave impetus to particular actions and commitments, and inhibited and de-legitimised others. Students are encouraged to display semiotic and aesthetic work performances, and to erase those qualities that are not allied with consumerist desire, such as dependency or frailty. These same qualities were conferred on young disabled people as a result of their inclusions in FE. In conclusion, older students and staff can not promote ways of being at

Haven, and not realise, purposely or otherwise, new forms of closure along the fault lines which symbolise the consumerist culture in FE, as well as the traits which represent them.

Having considered the experiences of young disabled people in relation to this culture, I can conclude that there exist processes that excluded young disabled people from FE. Many of its social spaces remained strange to the constitution of young disabled people. The participants' relationships to older students was, for example, under strain from their desire for mutual recognition and the prevailing symbolism evoked by the idealised adult worker, which tended to locate the social capital connected to disability negatively in FE. Although there was broad support in the College for Access students to become socially included, acquiring, producing and consuming social capital, most young disabled people recognised the ways in which disability reinforced their marginalisation in Haven and the ways in which their own differences and their social capital, was not noted as positive forms of diversity, but was utilised to cast them as something Other than college students.

Contrary to both Putman's and Fukuyama's analysis of a common 'civic culture', participation in and of itself does not build bridging capital with older students, as young disabled people cannot gain access to key symbolic territories in Haven. For example, my data reveal few attempts by older students to provide *bridges* for young disabled people so they learn "to negotiate and participate in multiple and simultaneously existing social worlds' (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 21)." Important here is the separate and discrete spaces in which young disabled people were positioned in Haven. Yet there were many incidents in the data that Access students, in particular the *bad boys*, were habitually stigmatised from social capital. This cannot be accidental. Re-enabling this context is characterised

by ambiguities. Young disabled people are trapped by a myriad of structural factors that attract rather than repel forms of attention from older peers, especially when ‘cool’ is at stake. A young disabled student and cool symbolise two identities which collide, and also retreat away from one another. Consequently, they are caught in a subject position that is underpinned by many types of discrimination, and remain on the bottom rung of FE life. For social resource inequalities to lessen, recognition must be at the top of other student’s minds. That is, young disabled people must participate in FE in the same fashion as other people. But for this to happen older students must accept Access students and be patient in open social spaces. For this not to happen means a disabled person’s continued social invisibility in FE and in some workplaces. Yet, eliminating inequalities not only relates to redistribution. Inequality must be about sowing the seeds for reciprocities and trust, by granting occasions to share in the social wealth of, and contribute to, successes at college.

College success also depends upon the availability of supportive bonds in the classroom. Yet, the actions of staff that realised social closure in Access are based on the symbols and expectations that make up a young disabled subject. For example, the allocation of tutor-based capitals was evident in the closing off of certain support, which were based upon aspects of self (e.g. shy smile, appearance, and gabbin’ to staff), as well as elements of gender, race and ethnicity. Together, these acted “like trumps in a game of cards, which define the chances of profit in a given field (Bourdieu, 1986, 33).” This highlights the sobering realisation that tutor-based social capitals can restore but also be a source of social disadvantage in FE. Certain dispositions, prior experiences and skills or ‘energies’ therefore underpinned powerful performances in Access, especially in their more material forms - modes of presentation that coded self as needy, timid, deferential and vulnerable.

This is a point of interest. Bourdieu, Putman and Coleman are guilty of seeing children and teenagers as future beings, and not seeing them as able to manage circumstances in the present, or able to cultivate their own resources and to offer support for one another (Weller, 2006, 2). All of this is evident within the study. However, the notion of young disabled people being capable of action and generating their own capital does not go far enough. Social capital always existed in one aspect or another as some Access students and some staff found ways to work together. But its ability to support lifestyle changes, or for young disabled people to gain a chance to move with the flow of social capital in wider college settings, was shortened by the actions of other students or staff. The reality is, young disabled people have mostly contingent relationships to staff, that rarely offered the necessary social resources that many require to “do (or become) something different.”

The study therefore confirms the value of distinguishing between different modes of participation for young disabled people and to identify their socio-cultural bases. On one hand, their participations were increased in new spaces of belonging; constructing network exchanges led to enhanced opportunities for transgressing the limits imposed by a disabled identity and, for some, to gain a new sense of well-being. On the other hand, it was not so significant; peers and staff obstruct new exchanges that made it difficult for some young disabled people in FE to take up a different identity to the one bestowed by disability. Yet the extent that young disabled people manage or are marginalised from FE settings has little or no root in the social capital literature. Throughout this study, young disabled people have made a key contribution to this endeavour by alerting myself and, given the chance to be heard, the Access manager to the different ways in which they can enhance an understanding of diversity in the College and how to respond effectively to it.

This thesis started by noting concerns about a lack of understanding about the complex relations between individuals, peers, faculty and a college environment, and its possible effects on social capital. Understanding this relationship from the perspective of young disabled people has contributed to updating of our current conceptions of social capital production and consumption. At present, young disabled people are regularly positioned differently in this discussion as the focus on peer-group interactions and the idea of a reflexive identity in contemporary settings has been largely restricted to ethnicity, gender, and class (Griffin, 1997, 16). The common belief exists that the place to understand the relationship between disability and social networks and to discuss disability remains in therapeutic literature. The development of social capital is not, however, a simple matter of accepting the notion as relevant to young disabled people lives but, if the notion is to flourish, to identify that social capital has its limits as well. I move on to discuss this now.

10.4 Social capital and young disabled people in FE

In terms of the acquisition and utilisation of social capital in Haven College, young disabled people presented me with a theoretical problem. They demonstrated the limits of social capital theory in explaining the subjectivity of people who do not easily make sense of the world in ways that make sense to me. Despite (or perhaps in addition to) this theoretical limitation, a critical social capital analysis with a strong commitment to egalitarian change enabled the kinds of nuanced understandings of young disabled people's experiences of education often missing in social capital literature, and ignored in the writings of Putman, Coleman, and Bourdieu. Thus, it is perhaps time to develop theoretical perspectives on social capital that encompass the lived experiences of young

disabled people and ways in which they develop, value and utilise the social capital gained via peers, staff and other network influences. The section therefore outlines the limits to social capitals, which are found in this study, before offering useful responses.

First, it is clear that Haven lacks the social infrastructure to encourage key forms of learning. When support was made available from professionals it encouraged vertical relations rather than horizontal, thus, undermining rather than underpinning bridging capital. Second, young disabled people are excluded in FE, to various degrees, because they are read by older peers and staff as lacking (and in some cases do lack) resources to return in equal measure resources that may be offered to them. Third, sanctions, such as counselling, applied to some students who deviate from norms are at times, hurtful and misguided. This increased isolation and strong ties, by locating some young people as social pariahs. These experiences of education and community reinforced a negative sense of social identity and undermined the growth of soft skills, such as interpersonal communications, which increase the prospect of recognition in the workplace (Hanson, 2002). Finally, positioned as failures, the participants attempt to establish a presence in certain spaces, but this seems to strengthen successful students' sense of belonging, and to serve as a warning of the consequences of social deviance to other students at Haven.

The policy response to hand in the current economic climate, to abolish FE provision, or 'redesign special schools so young disabled people feel safe' (Independent, 11/02/10, 18) is simplistic. Cut off from effective bonding capital built up in response to risk, but then expected to enter normal and not always welcoming social networks, makes young disabled people more susceptible to further social disadvantage. I believe this offers

several strategies for colleges. The first strategy is fortifying the social capital of young disabled people. In other words, active discussions around the development and the productive utilisation of this crucial space, and time to reflect upon the current status of 'possessing disability', an understanding of this subjugation in FE, and approaches to counteract the many concerns of young disabled people. Two strategies in particular are voiced regularly throughout the study: the threat of violence from some older students and the sense of isolation experienced by some participants in the College and beyond.

Young disabled people identify processes and mechanisms that overcome some of these concerns. Almost any student can utilise these, as they are learnable (Hill *et al.*, 2006). For example, sharing first-hand knowledge about places to avoid in the College increases the capacity of participants to counter some of the risks to their well-being. They are, of course, not infallible and some strategies end in negative consequences. Nevertheless, bonding capital is relevant to participants, particularly as social change in contemporary settings continues to disrupt the quality of the relations amongst young disabled people and others (Hughes *et al.*, 2005). Whilst it is crucial not to overstate the case in terms of the difference that tutors are able to make to these strategies - they do, after all, occupy an unenviable position in the chain of surveillance and regulation that connects policy with student experience - I do not want to fall into a trap of positioning them as totally without agency in supporting knowledge exchange in the classroom.

Thus, whilst many social capitalists see a need to multiply the number of ties, in order to develop social supports and solidarity, part of my conclusion is that it is not just the quantity of ties but their quality that must be highlighted. The challenge posed by the strategy outlined above, therefore, is in gauging the extent to which young disabled

people's social capital can meet the demands of diverse communities. To this end, the past and present experiences of young disabled people provide absolutely vital insights.

On the basis of a strong social capital of disability, the second strategy is young people's engagement with bridging capital to counter any devaluing tendency in such capital. This in mind, it is vital to ask who has access to valued resources and on whose terms? Further, what counts as valuable in a successful college which Haven believes itself to be? Further still, what does success count for in a wider social-cultural context? Such questions are problematic. Yet questions of this kind pre-empt a redistribution of different kinds, from the capital *rich* to the capital *poor* (Bauman, 1998). Redistribution might be painful, but the consequences of leaving social capital inequality to intensify, which at times in this study have shown to be stark, are worse. The question arising for me, then, is not about how colleges can produce even greater numbers of individuals who attain normative levels, but how the policies, practices and perceptions that exist within college are complicit in widening the social capital resource inequality of young disabled people, contrary to the good intentions of the many staff who work hard there.

The role of social capital as a mechanism for creating and transmitting valuable skills, information and knowledge is, therefore, integral to future policy and research into the relations between FE and young disabled people. In turn, this must be part of a wider acceptance on the part of policymakers of how social arrangements and milieu affect the ways in which knowledge is produced and consumed in contemporary FE settings. In order to acknowledge the complexity of social capital in this context, policymakers cannot afford to write the voices of participants in this study out of the bigger picture.

These voices, although personal, are relevant and are revealed through existences in a college that is a successful player in a market of inputs, measurable outputs and, above all, managing young disabled people toward what Wald calls “*future perfect* (2000, 1).”

For me, introducing the voices of young people who negotiated their inclusions in a college that is politically situated was never intended to draw neat conclusions about social capital in one space or time. Rather, the social capital that was possessed and produced by young people is the start of a vibrant conversation. I am not proposing that my study be a platform for generalisations to be made of all educational settings, but suggesting instead it forms part of a critical reflexivity that offers ways of thinking about social capital that might, perhaps, alter the life chances and career prospects of some young disabled people. As this discussion suggests, my research has only started to explore theoretical issues which were identified as its focus in the introduction. Of course, a study of this kind has limitations. Deriving from my initial research interest, there are numerous paths that will add depth and richness to the data already gathered.

First, the study investigated a range of issues including young disabled people actively using their networks to negotiate their inclusions in FE. Friend networks, which held their own values and norms, were highlighted in the findings as a significant factor in educational success. The influential role of young disabled people’s social capital was of particular significance, and has received little attention elsewhere. For now, whilst naturally engaging as a notion, a challenge that awaits social capital theory is how far young disabled people may proceed using their own network resources, how they might become more socially mobile and ‘hop’ between various social networks of their own

peers and connections in ways that help them to embrace the pace of contemporary life. As a researcher, I am interested in how I might better understand these vital processes.

Second, the study focused on operationalising social resources and recognising how such resources work. Because the most common means of measuring social capital tends to be quantitative, this was crucial; see Levi's (1996) analysis of Robert Putman's indicators of social capital. The guiding principle in this study's use of interviews, for example, was that these methods should be utilised to better understand the processes underlining the meaning which agents give to their own acts and situations. However, other data sources might be used to better understand other aspects of social capital. For example, in connection with qualitative data it would be appropriate to survey those emergent participation patterns that were not easily captured in the time I had available.

This survey data is particularly important for the *naughty girls* and *bad boys*. Ironically, these students were the 'hardest to track down' because they were able to access new (and informal) social ties. These ties were temporary and extensive in many cases. As more time was devoted to activities outside Access, these ties often became a source of social support and may be positively and negatively associated with increased well-being or points of closure, where the limits of membership were marked out and others excluded. This is perhaps where the power (and danger) of social capital lies. Its bonding capacity is matched by its ability to encourage a platform for voluntary actions in wider networks. In short, it is ideal to monitor the relationships between students and college life, their degree of embeddedness, for example, represented by such events as attendance at hub activities. This would balance what I learned through the analysis of qualitative data with different community characteristics and student success within FE.

Third, it would be beneficial to undertake more research into changes in the expectations of the participation of a young disabled person in contemporary British society. There is much of interest here. Under postmodernity, as Bauman reminds us, (1995, 12) responsibility for the Other is saturated in ambiguities because contemporary college life offers few guidelines on how to manage this relationship. In relation to this critique, it is crucial to note that young disabled people experience the College 'terrain' in terms of numerous exclusions. This depicts a partial affiliation with space and time that was not reassured by occasions to produce and utilise the social capital of their own choice. How/do the stark austerity measures planned by the new Coalition government for Further Education embody repressive processes which make justifiable individual self-centredness, or are such measures capable of developing a *good society* which minimises immobility by offering bridging capital to the Other within FE communities?

How/do politicians, policymakers and others connect personal independence with equality of access to social capital, which helps govern contemporary life, is the important question facing researchers who study resource disadvantages. Work on this question might focus on official material, that is, on government reports about the key objectives and justifications for FE. Do policymakers pay attention to the way young disabled people learn how to learn and thereby acquire social capital, or leave FE to the free-market so that social capital is unequally distributed, which reinforces inequality?

The main purpose of my research was to understand young disabled people's social capital in FE. The study reveals the dynamic nature of social capital in this setting. Yet there remains little imperative to encourage peer relations or the valued social resources

that wider social network associations provide. FE not only shares this challenge but also has potential to offer groundbreaking responses to it. I go on to discuss this below.

10.5 Concluding comments and recommendations

If young disabled people are to be increasingly introduced into FE (Murray, 2010), colleges must refrain from implementing routines and rituals that have the appearance of effectiveness but provide a distraction from those who fail to acquire normative levels of success. However, for these stories to ebb into policy development, emphasis on FE provision needs to shift away from the educational dispositions associated with human capital and include an awareness of how individual behaviours are embedded in social relations shaped by social capital. Colleges would, therefore, need to recognise a young person's other incentives for enrolling in FE, and, enhance the social skills and attitudes that are appropriate to a more fluid and networked world. This is very much dependent on those different social capitals in my definition – networks, trust and social support.

Social capital theory is not, however, an alternative to human capital theory. In my view, attention to social networks and trust in FE communities are prerequisites for realising new dynamic understandings of the 'capabilities' of young disabled people. This counters the current emphasis on the personal rather than the impersonal standpoint in FE - that is, a sense of the general good over and above a person's own best interests. The appeal of critical social capital theory based on equality and mutual recognition is that it signifies a desire for a future with a new sense of belonging. It also signifies the need for a new ethical understanding in order to recover the self as a social project so as to realign the social norms, rules and resources required for inclusive FE structures.

That said, social capital promises no ‘magic bullet’ for solving such problems as social justice, for the theory is an analytical lens, not a package of policies. It is, therefore, particularly important that the implications of learning in FE as a social encounter are recognised in policy debates and initiatives surrounding a student’s inclusion in college. Their inclusions in FE, affords increased autonomy for young disabled students and offers opportunities to generate their own and other social capitals, to learn social rules, make friends and to expand social networks. In light of this, I outline some proposals for change which are both specific to college communities and operate at different levels:

1. *Whole-college approach:* there needs to be a whole-college approach to address identities that are developed within the context of an understanding of the role social networks, and those social goods produced, play in the lives of the young people and faculty. This must also be informed by a critical understanding of the social and cultural influences of disability and youth, and how they impact on the social and educational dimensions of learning, which I believe are intertwined.
2. *Relevant curriculum:* basic skills play a key role in gaining work (Simpson *et al.*, 2007) but skills are not neutral competencies and a critical stance to social capital helps to conceptualise these more broadly; as individual and communal resources with differing exchange values in different circumstances. Developing the skills which are necessary to make sense of the fluid and transient ties that exist in FE and beyond must be a learning priority for young disabled people within college.

3. *Student voice as pedagogical text*: using the voices of young disabled people is a way of initiating and planning for discussions about issues, such as the affects of disability on their lives, so they become “critical readers of their own life-worlds (Kenway *et al.*, 1994, 201).” Young disabled people say they are more involved if they exchange information about what matters to them. As I have illustrated in Chapter 6, there is a necessity to engage students in more realistic and respectful ways as opposed to denying, trivialising or ignoring their concerns (Singh, 1995).

4. *Student involvement*: From my findings, I show that restricted access to shared social/leisure opportunities, coupled with little control over their own decisions and a perceived weakened capacity for reciprocity, all affect a student’s capacity for change. It is vital to recognise the extent to which un-coerced sports clubs, support networks and *safe* staff can enable or prevent the development of social relationships. This means recognising the potential of ‘cultural intermediaries’ (Bourdieu, 1984) or those faculty who understand young disabled people on their terms, and realise social capital that provides new practical forms of guidance, enjoyment and competencies, as well as a valued sense of self within a college.

In terms of both the practical and theoretical implications of the study, I see it as providing an opportunity to re-visit social capital for young disabled people in FE and to move to a critical understanding of the negotiation of power relations in their lives. This is pertinent, given that the voices of young disabled people are rarely heard in discussion over social capital. At this time, the positivist ideas which frame the FE landscape make it easy for politicians, policymakers and others to remain distant from the consequences

of policy and how social capital is operationalised. I have shown here, it is by listening to the young people that those in power can understand the issues with their existences in FE. The points and positions young disabled people voice in the research have not been measured crucial before. Thus, politicians may learn from hearing those voices, as I did.

As I noted earlier, the motivation for doing the research was founded upon my experience as an educator of young people and as an academic, even though I exist far from the inhospitable-looking council tenements where I grew up. This touches on what Wacquant (1996) depicts as a primary *habitus*, which continues to shape the way I think about the world. These experiences ebb and flow and retain an ambivalent quality. The experiences I gained from doing this research were, therefore, important ones. The study changed and I changed. This part of the conclusion is my reflection on such experiences.

Many times during this study, I considered the experience of being a part-time PhD student both as a source of pride and one that made me brim with anger and sense of wrongness; even the aspects that most PhD students consider positive. It is not a feeling of having been hard done by (or is it?). It is about what it meant to be positioned by a status which prevents me from talking about my PhD to the friends I grew up with, whilst feeling a definite distance from many full-time PhD students whose “vision of the social world goes without noticing because of their class origin (Wacquant, 1996, 45).” Yet understanding my position in this world was accompanied by the recognition that, in a context where I learn about young people’s meaning making alongside them, I am part of the social world, its traditions, cultures and hierarchies, not an objective hop from it. The study started as an effort to better understand social capital, disability and FE “but theory, like everything else, starts with self and the circumstances of experience and then

moves outwards (Oakley, 2007, 33).” I now understand a *little* more about my position and habitus. My relations with disabled people (if not everyone outside my own social networks) were defined in relational terms by difference and distance (Wacquant, 1996). In many ways these relations remain durable. Yet, this study uncovered commonalities in the human experience of embodiment. It was about patterns of human relationships, how relationships ebb and flow in life as successes and failures, and how these instances invade the body and the self. This study may enrich theory but understanding how social capital, FE and axes of identity, punctuated by social difference, operate to constrain and enrich the lives of young disabled people was, for me, a lesson in what it is to be human.

In summary, then, this thesis is about social capital, disability and FE provision: it is a story in which young disabled people’s acts and experiences have many meanings, but in which the availability of those meanings was bounded by the social capital in play, and by the power relations in which they were constructed. It is also a story of young people making sense of themselves as FE college students in ways that were extraordinarily nuanced and complex, and that were personalised at the same time as being politically situated and implicated. The story also shows that the processes of social inequality and social disadvantage are located in discourses and discursive practices at different levels. Both the challenge and the pleasure of the research lay with its indication that these processes are amenable to a variety of casual explanations, but not always to simple and reductive prescriptions for change. Alternative provision is, and is likely to always be, a complex and contested social practice. A sustained and practical engagement with social capital and with the politics of difference should be central to its continued development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abberley, P. (1987) The Concept of Oppression and the Development of a Social Theory of Disability *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 2, No. 1, p.5-21
- Adler P. and Kwon S.W. (2000) 'Social capital: The good, the Bad and the Ugly', in *Knowledge and Social Capital: Foundations and Applications*, (eds), by E.L. Lesser, p.89-115 Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Ainley, P. and Bailey, B. (1997) *The Business of Learning: staff and student Experiences of Further Education in the 1990s* London: Cassell
- Ainscow, M. Farrell, P. and Tweddle, D. (2000) 'Developing Policies for Inclusive Education: a Study of the Role of Local Education Authorities', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, Vol. 4, No.3 p. 211-229
- Albrow, M (1997) Travelling Beyond Local Cultures: Socio-scapes in a Global City. In Eade, J. (ed.), *Living the Global City: Globalization as Local Process* Routledge
- Aldridge, S. Halpern, D. and Fitzpatrick, S. (2002) *Social Capital: A Discussion Paper*, Performance and Innovation Unit, London, (Accessed May, 2007) available at: www.strategy.gov.uk/downloads/seminars/socialcapital.pdf
- Alheit, P. and Dausein, B. (2002) 'the Double Face of lifelong learning: Two Analytical Perspectives on a Silent Revolution' *Studies, in the Education of Adults* Vol. 34, No. 1, p. 2-22
- Allan, J. (1996) 'Foucault and Special Educational Needs: a 'box of tools' for Analysing Children's Experiences of Mainstreaming', *Disability and Society* Vol. 11, No. 2, p 219-233
- Allan, J. (1999) *Actively Seeking Inclusion: Pupils with Special Needs in Mainstream Schools*, Falmer press. London.

- Allan, J. (2003) Productive pedagogies and the Challenge of Inclusion
British Journal of Special Education Vol. 30, No. 4, p. 175-179
- Allan, J, Smyth, G, l'Anson, J and Mott, J. (2009) 'Understanding Disability with Children's Social Capital' *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs* Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 115-121
- Allan, J. and Slee, R. (2008) *Doing Inclusive Education Research* Sense Publishers
- Allan, G. (1998) 'Friendship and the private sphere', in R Adams and G Allan (eds) *Placing Friendship in Context*, Cambridge: CUP, 71-91
- Allatt, P. (1993) 'Becoming Privileged', in Bates, I. and Riseborough (eds), *Youth and Inequality*, Buckingham, Open University Press
- Alheit, P. and Dausein, B. (2002) 'The Double-Face of Lifelong Learning: Two Analytical Perspectives on a Silent Revolution',
Studies in the Education of Adults, Vol. 34, No. 1 p. 2-22
- Antle, B., Gert, M. and Stapleford, C. (2009) The Many Layers of Social Support: Capturing the Voices of Young People with Spina Bifida and Their Parents
Health and Social Work, Vol. 34, No. 2, p. 97-106
- AoC, (2004) Guidance for FE Colleges Providing for Young Learners Available Online:
readingroom.lsc.gov.uk/.../guidance-document-fe-colleges.pdf
- Archer, L. and Yamashita, H. (2002) 'That ain't gonna happen to me': Identities, Inequalities and Inner city school leavers 'Post-16'
Paper at the British Educational Research Association - Sept
- Arneil, B. (2006) *Diverse Communities: The problem with social capital*
 Cambridge University Press

- Arthur, J. (1998) Communitarianism: What are the Implications for Education?
Education Studies, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 353-68
- Ash, A. Bellow, J., Davies, T. Newman, P. and Richardson, L. (1997)
 'Everybody in': the experience of disabled students in further education'
Disability and Society, Vol. 12, p. 605-621
- Association of Colleges (2004) Guidance for FE Colleges providing for young learners
[Available online: readingroom/lsc.gov.uk/pre2005/goodpractice-fe-colleges.pdf](http://readingroom/lsc.gov.uk/pre2005/goodpractice-fe-colleges.pdf)
- Atkinson P and Coffey A (2004) Analysing documentary realities, in D Silverman (ed)
Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice London: Sage p. 56-57
- Attwood, G. Croll, P. and Hamilton, J. (2004) Challenging Students in Further
 Education: Themes Arising from a Study of Innovative FE Provision for
 Excluded and Disaffected Young People'
Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol. 28, No. 1, February, p. 107-119
- Attwood, G., Croll, P. and Hamilton, J. (2005) 'Recovering potential: factors associated
 with success in engaging challenging students with alternative pre-16 provision'
Educational Research Vol. 47, No. 3 p. 149 - 162
- Avis, J. (2000) 'Policing the Subject: Learning Outcomes, Managerialism and Research
 in PCET', *British Journal of Educational Studies* Vol. 48, No. 1 p. 38-57
- Avis, J. (2003). Re-thinking Trust in a Performative Culture: the Case of Education
Journal of Education Policy, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 315-332
- Ayers, W. Hunt, J and Quinn, T (1998) *Teaching for Social Justice: A Democracy and
 Education Reader* New York: Teachers College Press
- Allen, C. (2004) 'Bourdieu's Habitus, Social Class and the Spatial Worlds

- of Visually Impaired Children' *Urban Studies*, Vol. 41 No. 3 p. 487 - 506
- Bagley, C. Woods, P. and Glatter, R. (2001) Rejecting schools: towards a Fuller Understanding of the Process of Parental Choice.
School Leadership and Management, Vol. 21, No. 3, p. 309-325.
- Baker, B. (2002) 'The Hunt for Disability: the New Eugenics and the Normalisation of School Children' *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 104, No. 4 p. 663-703
- Ball, S. (1991) Power, Conflict, Micro-politics and all that!' in Walford, G. (ed.) *Doing Educational Research*, 166-192, Routledge, London
- Ball, S. (1992) *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* (eds) Routledge: London
- Ball, S (1993) 'Self-doubt and soft-data' In Hammersley, M, (ed), *Educational Research* London: Routledge
- Ball, S. (1994) *Education reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach*, Open University
- Ball, S. (2003) *Class Strategies and the Education Market: the Middle Classes and Social Advantage*, RoutledgeFalmer
- Ball, S. (2004a) *Education for Sale! The Commodification of Everything* King's Annual Education Lecture, November
- Ball, S. (2004b) Performativities and Fabrications in the Education Economy, in *Sociology of Education* (eds) London: Routledge Falmer
- Ball, S. (2008) *The Education Debate*, Policy Press
- Ball, S. Maguire, M. and Macrae, S. (2000) *Choice, Pathways and Transitions post-16: New Youth and New Economies in the Global City*

- Barbour, R. (2005). 'Making sense of focus groups' *Medical Education*
Vol. 39, No. 7, p.742-50
- Barbour R. and Kitzinger, J. (1999) *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, theory and practice* Sage
- Barnett, R. (1998) 'In' or 'For' the Learning Society, *Higher Education Quarterly*, Vol. 52, p. 7–21.
- Barnes, C. (1996) 'Disability and the myth of the independent researcher'
Disability and Society, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 107–10
- Barnes, C. and Mercer, C. (Eds) (1997a) *Doing Disability Research*
Leeds, Disability Press)
- Barnes, C. and Mercer, G. (1997b) Breaking the mould? An introduction to doing
Disability research, in: C. Barnes G. Mercer (eds) *Doing Disability Research*, p. 1-14 Leeds, University of Leeds, Disability Press
- Barnes, C. and G. Mercer (2003) *Disability: Key Concepts* Cambridge: Polity p. 88 -109
- Baron, S. Riddell, S. and Wilson, A. (1998) 'The Best Burgers? The Person
with Learning Difficulties as Worker', in T. Shakespeare (ed.).
The disability Reader London: Cassell, p. 94-109
- Baron, S, Riddell, S. and Wilson, A. (1999) The secret of eternal youth: identity Risk
and the learning disabled, *British Journal of the Sociology of Education* Vol. 20,
No. 4, p. 483-499
- Baron, S. Field, J and Schuller, T. (2000) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives* Oxford: Oxford University Press (ed)
- Baron, S. and Dumbleton, P. (2001) *The Politics of Learning Disability*

Basingstoke, Macmillan

Barton, L. (1990) *Disability and Dependency* (ed): The Falmer Press

Barton, L. (1997) 'Inclusive education: Romantic, subversive or realistic?'

International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 231-242

Barton, L. (1998) *The Politics of Special Educational Needs*: Falmer Press

Barton, L. and Corbett, J. (1993) 'Special Needs in Further Education: The Challenge of

Inclusive Provision' *European Journal of Special Needs Education*

Vol. 8, No. 1 p. 14-23

Barton, L. and Clough, P (1995) Conclusion: many urgent voices, in P. Clough and L.

Barton (eds) *Making Difficulties: Research and the Construction of Special*

Educational Needs London: Paul Chapman

Barnes, C. (1997) 'Disability and the myth of the Independent Researcher' In Barton, L.

and Oliver, M. (eds), *Disability Studies: Past, Present and Future* The Disability

Press: Leeds, p. 239-243

Barnes, C., and Mercer, G. (2003) *Disability*, Cambridge: Polity.

Barnes, C. and Mercer, G. (1997) *Doing Disability Research*

Leeds: The Disability Press Disability Press

Barnes, C. (1990) '*Cabbage Syndrome*': *the social construction of dependence*

Falmer Press, London

Bassani, C. (2003) 'Social Capital Theory in the Context of Japanese Children'

Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies,

<http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/Bassani.html>

Bassani, C. (2007) 'Five Dimensions of Social Capital Theory as They Pertain to

- Youth Studies', *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 17-34
- Bates, P. and Davis, F. (2004) Social Capital, Social Inclusion and Services for people with learning disabilities. *Disability and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 195-207
- Bauman, Z. (2001) *The Individualised Society* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bauman, Z. (1998) *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor* Open University
- Bauman, Z. (2003) *Liquid love* Polity Press, Cambridge
- Bauman, Z. (2006) *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty* Cambridge: Polity
- Blaxter, L. Hughes, C., and Tight, M. (1996) *How to Research* (3rd edition)
Buckingham: Open University Press
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* Oxford: Polity
- Beckett, A. (2009) 'Challenging Disabling Attitudes, Building an Inclusive Society: Considering the role of Education in Encouraging non-disabled Children to Develop Positive Attitudes towards Disabled People'
British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 317-29
- Becker, G. (1964) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education* Princeton: University Press
- Becker, G. (1967) *Human Capital and Personal Distribution of Income: An Analytical Approach* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Becker, H. (1986) *Writing for Social Scientists*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
- Bell, J (1999) (3rd ed) *Doing your Research Project* Open University Press
- Benjamin, S. (2002) *The Micro-politics of Inclusive Education: an Ethnography*: Open University Press
- Bentley, T. (1998) *Learning Beyond the Classroom: Education*

For a Changing World, Routledge-Falmer

BERA (2004) *British Educational Research Association Guidelines*, Online:

<http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/ETHICA1.PDF>

Beresford, B. (1997). *Personal Accounts: Involving Disabled Children in Research*. Norwich: Social Policy Research Unit.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann (1966): *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin

Bernard, R. (2006) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*
Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Bernstein, B (1977) *Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, Toward a Theory of Educational Transmission*, 2nd ed. Boston and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Best, J. W. and Kahn, J. V. (1998) *Research in Education* (8th ed.).
Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Beynon, J. (2002) *Masculinities and Culture*: Buckingham Open University Press

Biklen, H. and Moseley, C. (1988) "Are you retarded"? "No, I'm Catholic".
Qualitative methods in the study of people with severe handicaps'
Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps,
Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 155-162

Bhabba, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture* London, Routledge

Bines, H. (1995) 'Risk, routine and reward: confronting personal and social constructs in research on special educational needs', In P. Clough and L. Barton (eds) *Making Difficulties: Research and the Construction of Special Educational Needs*,

London: Paul Chapman

Blaikie, 1991 N. (1991) 'A critique of the use of triangulation in social research'

Quality and Quantity Vol. 25 p. 115–136

Bloomer, M. (1998) 'They tell you what to do and then they let you get on with it':

Illusions of progressivism in GNVQ,

Journal of Education and Work, Vol. 11, No. 2, 167-187

Bloomer, M. and Hodkinson, P. (1997) '*Moving into FE: The Voice of the Learner*'

London: Further Education Development Agency

Bloomer, M. and Hodkinson, P. (2000) 'Learning Careers: Continuity and Change in

Young People's dispositions to Learning'

British Educational Research Journal Vol. 26, No. 5, p. 528-597

Booth, T. and Booth, W. (1996) 'Sounds of silence: narratives research with

Inarticulate subjects' *Disability and Society* Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 55-69

Bottero, W. (2005) *Stratification: Social Division and Inequality* London: Routledge

Bourdieu, P. (1977) 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in J. Karabel and

A. H. Halsey (eds) *Power and Ideology in Education*, New York Oxford Press.

Bourdieu, P. ([1980] 1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press;

Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital in Richardson J. (eds) *Handbook of Theory of*

Research for the Sociology of Education, p. 241-58. New York Greenwood Press

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1994) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*

- Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boyne, R. (2000) Post-panopticism *Economy and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 2, p. 285-307
- Bradford, S. and Hey, V. (2007) 'Successful subjectivities? The Successification of Class, Ethnic and Gender positions' *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 22 No. 6 p. 595 - 614
- Bradley, J. Dee, L. and Wilenius, F. (1994) *Students with disabilities and/or learning Difficulties in Further Education: A Review of Research carried out by the National Foundation for Research* Slough: NFER
- Bradley, H. Erickson, M. Stephenson, C and Williams, S (2000) *Myths at Work* Cambridge: Polity
- Bratlinger, E. (1993) *The politics of Social Class in Secondary Schools: Views of affluent and Impoverished Youth*: New York: Teachers College Press
- Bratlinger, E. (2001) Poverty, Class, and Disability: a Historical, Social, and Political Perspective, *Focus on Exceptional Children* March, Vol. 3, p. 1-22
- Brewer, J. and Hunter, A. (1989) *Multimethod research: A synthesis of styles*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Brooks, R. (2007) 'Friends, peers and higher education' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 28, No. 6, Nov. p. 693–707
- Brown, J. and Dutton, K. (1995) Truth and consequences: The costs and benefits of Accurate self-knowledge *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, Vol. 21
- Brown, P. (1990) 'The Third Wave: education and the ideology of Parentocracy', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11, 1, 65-85
- Brown, T. (1999) *Theoretical Perspectives on Social Capital*, available online:

<http://jhunix.hcfjhu.edu/~tombrown/Econsoc/soccap.html>

- Bruner, J. (1996) *The Culture of Education* Cambridge MA: Harvard Press.
- Bryk, S. and Schneider, B. (2002) *Trust in schools: a core resource for improvement*
Russell Sage Publications
- Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research* London: Unwin Hyman.
- Boyden, J. (1990) Childhood and the Policy makers: a Comparative Perspective on the
Globalization of Childhood, In James, A. and Prout, A, (eds) *Constructing and
Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of
Childhood* Basingstoke: Falmer
- Burchardt, T. (2005) *The Education and Employment of Disabled Young People:
Frustrated Ambition* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Burt, R. (1997) 'The Contingent Value of Social Capital '
Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 42, p. 339-365.
- Burt, R. (1992) *Structural Holes: the Social Structure of Competition*,
Cambridge: Rowntree Foundation Harvard University Press
- Bury, M. (1982) Chronic Illness as Biographical Disruption, *Sociology of Health and
Illness*, Vol. 4 No. 2, p. 167-182
- Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender* New York: Routledge
- Byrne, G. (1999) *Social Exclusion*, Bucks: Open University Press
- Cahill, C. (2000) Street literacy: Urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their
Neighbourhood *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 251-277
- Campbell, C. Catts, R. Gallagher, M. Livingston, K. and Smyth, G. (2005) *Social
Capital Research Literature: A Preliminary Review* AERS Uni. of Stirling

- Carbonaro, W.J. (1998) 'A little help from my friends' parents:
Intergenerational closure educational outcomes' *Sociology of Education* Vol. 71
- Castells, M. (1996) *The information Age: Vol. 1 The Rise of the Network Society*,
Oxford, Basil Blackwell
- Castells, M. (2000) Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society *British
Journal of Sociology* Vol. 51, p. 5-22
- Chamber, D. (2006) *New Social Ties: Contemporary Connections in a Fragmented
Society* London: Palgrave
- Charmaz, K. (1994) Identity Dilemmas of Chronically Ill Men
The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 269-288
- Charmaz, K. (2000) Grounded Theory in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln
Handbook of Qualitative Research London: Sage
- Chhibber, (2000) Social Capital, the State, and Development Outcomes, in Dasgupta. P.
and Serageldin, I. (eds) *Social Capital a Multifaceted Perspective: World Bank*
- Chisholm, L. (2000) *The Educational and Social implications of the transition
to knowledge societies* London: Sage
- Chouinard, V. 1997, Making Space for Disabling Differences: Challenging Ableist
Geographies, In *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, Vol. 15 p. 379-86
- Christakis, N. and Fowler, J. (2009) *Connected: The Amazing Power of Social
Networks and how they Shape Our Lives* Harper Press
- Cockburn, L. (2002) 'Children and young people living in changing worlds'
School Psychology International, Vol. 23, No. 4, p. 475-485
- Coffey, A. (1996) 'Concepts and Coding', in Coffey A and Atkinson P (1996) *Making*

- Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Strategies* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage
- Coffey A and Atkinson P (1996) *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Strategies* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage
- Coffield, F. (1999) *Speaking Truth to Power Research and Policy on Lifelong Learning* Bristol: Polity Press
- Coffield, F. (2000a) 'The Structure Below the Surface: Reassuring the significance of informal learning', in F. Coffield (ed), *The necessity of Informal learning* Bristol: Policy Press
- Coffield, F. (2000b) *Differing Versions of the Learning Society* (ed) The Policy Press: Vol. 2
- Cohen, P. and Ainley, P. (2000) 'In the country of the blind?: Youth studies and cultural studies in Britain' *Journal of Youth studies*: Vol. 3, No. 1
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) *Research Methods in Education Fourth Edition* London, Routledge
- Connor, M. (2003) *What is Cool?: Understanding Black Manhood in America* New York: Crown Publishers
- Converse, J and Schuman, H. (1974) *Conversations at Random: Survey Research as Interviewers See It* New York: John Wiley
- Cook, K. (2005) 'Networks, Norms, and Trust: The Social Psychology of Social Capital' *Social Psychology Quarterly* Vol. 68, Vol. 1, p. 4–14
- Coleman, J. (1961) *The Adolescent Society: The social life of a teenager and its impact on education* New York: Press of Glencoe
- Coleman, J. (1989) Social Capital and the creation of Human Capital',

American Journal of Sociology Vol. 94, Supplement: S95-S120

- Coleman, J. (1990a) 'James S. Coleman', in R. Swedberg (ed), *Economics And Sociology redefining the boundaries: Conversations with Economists and Sociologists* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Coleman, J. (1990b) *Equality and Achievement in Education* Westview
- Coleman, J. (1993) 'Adolescence in a changing world', in Jackson, S. and Rodriguez-Tome H (eds) *Adolescence and its Social Worlds*: Hillsdale Lawrence Erlbaum
- Coleman, J. (1994) *Foundations of Social Theory* Cambridge, MA Belknap Press
- Coleman, P. (1997) 'The Forms of Capital' in A Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, and A. Wells (eds), *Education, Culture, Economy, Society*, Oxford: oxford University Press, p. 46-58
- Connell, R. (1994) *Poverty and Education*
Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 64, No. 2 p. 125-150
- Connell, R. (1995) *Masculinities* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Cothran, D. and Ennis, C (1997) 'Students' and teachers' perceptions of conflict and Power' *Teaching and Teacher Education* Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 541-553
- Cox, E. (1995) *A Truly Civil Society*, Sydney, ABC Books
- Corbett, J. (1998) "Voice" in Emancipatory Research: Imaginative Listening' in Clough, P. and Barton, L. (Eds) *Articulating with difficult research Voices in Inclusive Education*, London, Sage
- Cotterell, J. (1996) *Social Networks and Social Influences in Adolescence*, Routledge
- Cote, J. (2007) Youth and the Provision of Resources, in Helve, H. and Bynner, J. (eds) (2007) *Youth and Social Capital* The Tufnell Press

- Cicourel, A. (1964) *Method and Measurement in Sociology* New York: Free Press
- Clarke, J. (2004) *Consumerism and the Remaking of State-Citizen Relationships*,
Paper prepared for ESPAnet conference, Oxford, September.
- Clarke, J. Newman, J. Smith, N, Vidler, E. and Westmarland, L. (2007) *Creating
 Citizen- Consumers: changing identities in the remaking of public services.*
 London, Sage
- Clark, C., Dyson, A. and Millward, A (1998) *Theorising Special Education: Time to
 Move on?* In C. Clark, A. Dyson and A. Millward (eds) *Theorising Special
 Education* London, Routledge
- Clough, P. and Barton, L. (1998) *Articulating with Difficult Research: Voices
 Inclusive Education* London: Sage
- Cripps, (2002) *Further Education, Government's Discourse Policy and Practice*
 Aldershot: Ashgate
- Croninger, R. and Lee, V. (2001) 'Social capital and dropping out of high school:
 benefits to at-risk students of teachers' support and guidance'
Teachers College Record Vol. 103, No. 4, p. 548-581
- Cullen, M. Campbell, F., Bowen, E., Odgood, J and Kelleher, S. (2000)
Alternative Education Provision at Key Stage 4 Research for the
 National Foundation for Educational Research Slough: NFER
- Culham, A. (2003) 'Including' Permanently Excluded Students from Pupil Referral
 Units in Further Education', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*
 Vol. 27, No. 4, p. 300 - 409
- Dahl, R. (1992): *The Problem of Civic Competence*,

Journal of Democracy 3, No. 4, 45 - 59

- Das, R. (2006) Putting Social Capital in its Place *Capital and Class: Value Capital and Beyond* Vol. 90, Autumn Edition
- Davis, L. (1995) *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness and the Body* London: Verso
- Davies, B. (1994) *Poststructuralist Theory and Classroom Practice* Geelong: Deakin
- Davies, J. (2004) *Coming to College: The Experience of Vocational Learning of Two Cohorts of 14-16 Year-olds in a Further Education College*
A paper presented at the Annual Conference of the British Educational Research Association, Manchester, September
- Deal, M. (2003) 'Disabled People's Attitudes Toward Other Impairment Groups: Hierarchy of Impairments' *Disability and Society* Vol. 18 No. 7 p.897 - 910
- Deakin, N. (1995) *The Politics of Welfare, Continuities and Change*
Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Dee, L. (2003) The vocational/academic divide and students with special educational Needs, in: B. Norwich (ed) *Re-thinking the 14-19 Curriculum: SEN perspectives and implications* Tamworth: NASEN
- Dee, L. (2006) *Improving Transition Planning: for young people with special Educational needs* Open University Press, McGraw Hill, Maidenhead
- Deeley, S. (2002) 'Professional Ideology and Learning Disability: an analysis of internal Conflict' *Disability and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 1 p. 19 - 33
- Denzin, M. (1970) *The Research Act in Sociology* London: Butterworth
- Denzin, N (1978) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological methods*
New York: McGraw Hill (2nd Ed.)

- Denzin, N. (1989) *Interpretative Biography* New York: Sage
- Denzin, N and Lincoln, Y (1994) *Handbook of qualitative research*
 Thousand Oaks: CA. Sage (eds)
- Denzin, N and Lincoln, Y. (2000) 'The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research',
 in *Handbook of qualitative research* Thousand Oaks: CA. Sage (2nd edition)
- Dempsey, I and Foreman P. (1997) Toward a Clarification of Empowerment as an
 Outcome of Disability Service Provision *Journal of Intellectual Disability
 Research*, Vol. 4 No. 4, P. 287 - 302
- DfEE (1996) *Learning to Compete: Education and Training for 14-19 year olds.*
 London: HMSO
- DfEE (1998) *The Learning Age: Further Education for the New Millennium:*
 Response to the Kennedy Report: London: DfEE
- DfEE (1998) *Meeting Special Educational Needs: a Programme of Action.* London
- DfEE (1999) *Learning to Succeed: A New Framework for post-16 learning*
DfEE Strategic Framework London: DfEE
- DfES (2002) *Success for All: Reforming Further Education and Training:* London
 Department for Education and Skills: Discussion Document-June
- DfES (2003) 14–19: Opportunity and Excellence Proposal outlined in the 2002 Green
 Paper, *14–19: extending opportunities, raising standards* DfES: London
- DfES (2004) *Five year Strategy for Children and Learners* London: DfES
- DfES (2005a) *Education and Skills, White Paper* London: DfES
- DfES (2005b) *Collaborative Arrangements to 14-19 provision* London: DfES
- DfES (2005c) *Youth Matters* London: TSO.

- DfES (2006) *Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances*
- DFCS (2008) *Back on Track: White Paper on Alternative Provision*
- Diamond, J. (1996) The Roots of Radicalism *New York Review of Books* Nov. p. 4-6
- Disability rights commission DRC (1995) *Disability Discrimination Act* (extended 2005)
- Available online: <http://www.drc-gb.org>
- Disability rights commission DRC (1995) The Disability Discrimination Act 1995
- (Amended: *Code of Practice Post 16* (2002)) Online: <http://www.drc-gb.org>
- Dika, S. and Singh, K. (2002) 'Applications of Social Capital in Educational Literature: Critical Synthesis', *Review of Educational Research* Vol. 72 No.1 p.31-60
- Doughty, H. and Allan J. (2008) 'Social Capital and the Evaluation of Inclusiveness in Scottish Further Education Colleges' *Journal of Further and Higher Education* Vol. 32, No. 3 p. 275-284
- DRC (2003) *Young Disabled People: a survey of the views and experiences of young Disabled people in Great Britain: Conducted by NOP on behalf of the Disability Rights Commission. London: Disability Rights Commission.*
- Dyson, A. (1999) Inclusion and Inclusions: Theories and Discourses in Inclusive Education, in H. Daniels and P. Garner (eds) *World Yearbook of Education 1999: Inclusive Education* London: Kogan Page
- Dyson, A. (2001) '*Special Education: an Alternative Approach*'
- Support for Learning*, Vol. 16, No.3
- Durlauf, S. (2002) *On the empirics of social capital*, Mimeo, University of Wisconsin
- Eaude, T. (2006) *Children's Spiritual, Moral, Social, and Cultural Development*
- Exeter: Learning Matters

- Ecclestone, K. (2000) Care or Control? Defining Learners' Needs for Lifelong Learning, in J. Field and Leicester, M. *Lifelong learning Across the Lifespan* Routledge
- Ecclestone, K. (2001) *Learning in a Comfort Zone: Cultural and Social Capital In Outcome-Based Assessment Regimes* British Educational Research Assoc. Conference, Leeds, 13-15 September. 2001.
- Ecclestone, K. (2002) *Learning Autonomy in Post-16 Education: the Politics and Practice of Formative Assessment* Routledge: London
- Ecclestone, K. and Field, J. (2003) 'Promoting Social Capital in a Risk Society: a New Approach to Emancipatory Learning or a New Moral Authoritarianism?' *British Journal of Education* Vol. 24, No. 3 p. 267- 282
- Edwards, B. and Foley, M (1997) Social Capital and the Political Economy of our Discontent' *American Behavioural Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. 5 p. 669-78
- Eisner, E. and Peshkin, A. (1990) *Qualitative enquiry in Education* (eds) New York, Teachers Press
- Erlandson, D. Harris, E. Skipper, B. and Allen, S. (1993) *Doing Naturalistic Enquiry: A Guide to Methods*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Emerson, R. Fretz, R and Shaw, L. (1995) 'In the field, participating, observing and Jotting notes, Chp. 2 of *Writing Ethnographic Field notes* Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
- Emmison, M (2004) 'The Conceptualisation and Analysis of Visual Data', in Silverman, D. (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* 2nd Ed. Sage
- Epstein, J. (1989) Introduction: Generation X, youth culture, identity, in Epstein, J. (ed.), *Youth culture: Identity in a post-modern world.*: Blackwell

- Etzioni, A. (1993) *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda*, New York: Crown
- Etzioni, A. (1995) *The Spirit of Community*, London: Fontana
- Evans, P. (1997) 'Introduction: Development Strategies across the Public-Private divide'
In P. Evans, (ed) *State-Society Synergy* University of California Press
- Evans, P. (2002) *Social exclusion and students with special educational needs OECD*
- Fairclough, N. (2000) *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge
- Falk, C. (2006) A Theory of Reciprocity: *Games and Economic Behaviour*,
Vol. 54, No. 2 February, p. 293-315
- Farmakopoulou, N. and Watson, N. (2003) 'Motivations for entering and pathways of progression of disabled students in further education'
International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 223-239
- Featherstone, M (1991) *Consumer Culture and Post-modernism* London: Sage
- Feldman M. and Pentland B. (2003) Reconceptualizing Organizational Routines as a Source of Flexibility and Change *Administrative Science Quarterly* p. 94–118
- Ferguson, P. and Taylor, S. (1992) *Interpreting Disability: A Qualitative Reader*
Teachers College Press: New York
- Ferudi, F. (2002) *The Culture of Fear: Risk Taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*
3rd Edition. London: Continuum
- Ferudi, F. (2004) *Therapy Culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age*,
London, Routledge.
- Felske, A. W. (1994) Knowing about Knowing: Margin notes on disability research, in M. Rioux and M. Bach (Eds.), *Disability is not measles* p. 181–199. Ontario:

L'Institute Roeher

- Fevre, R. (1996) *'Some Sociological Alternatives to Human Capital Theory and their Implications for Research on Post-compulsory Education and Training'*, Paper presented – Educational Research, Seville, September
- Field, J. (1998) *Informal Learning and Social Capital* Paper presented Educational Research Conference - Informal learning, Bristol. 3rd June.
- Field, J. (2000) *'Social inclusion and learning'*, *Lifelong Learning, Equity, Inclusion*, 1999 UACE Annual Conference, Cambridge: p. 206-211
- Field, J. (2003) *Social Capital*: Sage
- Field, J. (2005) *Social Capital and Lifelong Learning*: Policy Press
- Field, J. (2008) *Social Capital*: Sage (2nd Edition)
- Field, J., Schuller, T. and Baron, S. (2000) in Baron, S. Field, J and Schuller, T (2000) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives* Oxford University Press
- Finkelstein, V. (1980) *Attitudes and Disabled People*, World Rehabilitation Fund.
- Finkelstein, V. (1993) *Disability: A social challenge or an Administrative responsibility?* in Swain, J. Finkelstein, V French, S and Oliver, M. (eds) *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments* London: Sage/Open University
- Fine, B. (2001) *Social Capital vs. Social Theory*: Routledge
- Fine, B. (2010) *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly*, Pluto press
- Fine, M., and Asch A. (2000) *'Disability Beyond Stigma: Social Interaction, Discrimination, and Activism.'* In, M. Adams (eds.), *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice* New York: Routledge
- Fish, J. (1999) *'Comprehensive Further Education: An Inclusive Educational*

- Framework for Colleges', in Maudslay, E. and Dee, L. (eds) (1999),
*Redefining the future: Perspectives on students with learning difficulties
and disabilities in further education* London education Institute p.45-58
- Fisher, B. and Galler, R. (1988) Friendship and Fairness: how Disability affects
Friendship between women, in M. Fine and A. Asch (eds) *Women with
Disabilities: essays in Psychology, Culture and Politics* Philadelphia: Temple
- Fletcher, M. and Munoz, S. (2005) *Review of Further Education: Disability and the
Role of FE* London: LSDA.
- Florian L., Dee L. Byers R. and Maudslay L (2000) 'What happens after the Age of 14,
Mapping Transitions for Pupils with Profound and Complex Learning
Difficulties' *British Journal of Special education* Sept., vol. 27, no. 3, p. 124-128
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How
It Can Succeed again*, Cambridge University Press
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings about Case Study Research,
Qualitative Inquiry, Vol. 12, No. 2 p. 219-245
- Fontana, A. (1994) Interviewing the Art of Science, in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds)
Handbook of Qualitative Research, p. 361-376
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish* London: Penguin
- Foucault, M. (1988) 'Technologies of the Self' in Martin, L. Gutman, H. and Hutton, P.
(eds) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with M. Foucault*, London Tavistock
- Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. (1999) *Joined-up Places? Social Cohesion and
Neighbourhood Regeneration* (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation)
- Foster Review (2005) *Realising the Potential: a Review of the role of Further*

Education in Colleges

- Freebody, P. (1995) *Everyday Literacy Practices in and out of Schools in low Socio-Economic Urban Economies* Vol.1 Melbourne Curriculum Corporation
- Freund, P. (2001) Bodies, disabilities and spaces: the social model and disabling spatial Organizations *Disability and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 689–706
- Frey, J. and Fontana, A. (1993) The group interview in social research, in D. Morgan (Ed.), *Successful Focus Groups: Advancing the State of the Art* p. 20-34.
Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Frosh, S. Pheonix, A. and Partman, R. (2002) *Young Masculinities: Understanding Boys in Contemporary Societies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Fuller, B. and Hannum, E. (2002), Scaffolds for Achievement? Institutional Foundations of social capital *Research in Sociology of Education* Vol. 13 p. 1-12
- Fuller, B and Hannum, E. (2007) ‘Schooling and Social Capital in Diverse Cultures’ *Research in Sociology of Education* Vol. 13 Emerald Group
- Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press, 1992.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995) *Trust: The social virtues and the source of prosperity*:
London: Hamish Hamilton
- Fukuyama, F. (1999) *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order* Free Press
- Furlong, A. (2004) *Cultural dimensions of decisions about educational participation among 14-19 year-olds* Nuffield Review Working Paper 26
- Fuss, D. (1989) *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference* Routledge
- Gamarnikov, E. and Green, A (1999) ‘Developing Social Capital: Dilemmas,

- Possibilities and Limitations in Education in Hayton, A. (eds), *Tackling Disaffection and Social Exclusion Kogan page Ltd*
- Gallacher, J, Crossan, B, Field, J. and Merrill, B. (2002) Learning careers and the Social Space: Exploring the Fragile Identities of Adult Returners in the new Further Education
International Journal of Lifelong Education Vol. 21, No. 6 p.493 - 509
- Galliher, J.F. (1973) 'The protection of Human Subjects: A re-examination of the Professional Code of Ethics' *American Sociologist* Vol, 8, p. 93-100
- Galliers, B. (1995) *Re-orienting information systems strategy: integrating information Systems into the business*, in Stowell, F. (ed.) [1995] *Information Systems Provision: the contribution of soft systems methodology* London, McGraw-Hill
- Gambetta, D. (1988) 'Can We Trust Trust', in *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, Diego Gambetta, ed., New York: Basil Blackwell Ltd., p. 213-38
- Gerschick, T. and Miler, A. (1994) Gender Identities at the Crossroads of Masculinity and Disability *Masculinities*, Vol.2, No. 1 P.34-55
- Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity* Cambridge, Polity Press
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*: Stamford University Press
- Giddens, A. (1994), 'Living in a Post-traditional Society', in Beck, U. *et al.* (eds), *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gibb, A. (1998) 'Educating Tomorrow's Entrepreneurs', *Economic Reform Today* Vol. 4

- Gilbert, N. (2003) 2nd (ed) *Researching Social Life: Second edition* Sage
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* London: Verso
- Giroux, H. (2009) *Youth in a Suspect Society: Democracy and Disposability* Palgrave
- Gittell, R. and Vidal, A. (1998) *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* Thousand Oaks: CA, Sage
- Glaser, B. (1978) *Theoretical Sensitivity* Sociology Press, California
- Goffman, E. (1961) *Asylums*, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*,
Hamondsworth, Penguin
- Goffman, E. (1971) *Relations in Public*, Harmondsworth, Penguin
- Goffman, E. (1972), *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*,
London: Penguin Books
- Gomoluch, K. Humphreys, M., Hyland, T and Whittaker, G. (2001)
*Research and Development Work in the FE Sector: Under Researcher
or Undervalued?* Paper presented at the JVET Conference July
- Gorard, S. and Rees, G. (2002) *Creating a Learning Society? Learning
Careers and Policies for Lifelong Learning* The Policy Press
- Gordon, T. Holland, J. and Lahelma, E. (2000) *Making Spaces: Citizenship and
Difference in Schools* London: MacMillan
- Goyette, K, and Conchas, G (2002) 'Family and non-family roots of social
capital among Vietnamese and Mexican American children'
Schooling and Social Capital in Diverse Cultures Vol. 13, p. 41-72
- Granovetter, M. (1973) 'The Strength of Weak Ties'

American Journal of Sociology Vol. 78, p. 1360-1380

- Gray, P. (2002) Disability discrimination in education: A review of the literature on
Discrimination across the 0-19 age range undertaken on behalf of the Disability
Rights Commission. London: Disability Rights Commission. HMSO (1995)
Disability Discrimination Act 1995 London: HMSO.
- Great Britain. Statutes (1996) *The Education Act, Chapter 56* London: HMSO
- Green, A and Lucas, N (1999) *FE and Lifelong Learning: Re-aligning the Sector for the
Twenty First Century*, University of London: Institute of Education.
- Griffin, C. (1997) 'Representations of the Young, in J. Roche and S. Tucker (Eds)
Youth in Contemporary Society: Theory, Policy and Practice London: Sage
- Gross, J. (1996) The weight of evidence: parental advocacy and resource allocation to
Children with statements of special educational need,
Support for Learning, Vol. 11, No.1, p. 3-8
- Guillemin, R. (2009) Rapport and Respect: Negotiating Ethical Relations Between
Researcher and Participant
Journal of Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy, Vol. 12 No. 3 p. 291-299
- Hall, D. and Raffo, C. (1999) 'Urban Youth in the Post-Industrial city Navigating their
Transition from Education and Training to the Labour Market, ' Paper presented
at The British Educational Research Association Annual Conference,
University of Sussex at Brighton, September 2-5
- Haines, S. (2006) *14-19 Education and Training and Young Disabled People : Working
Draft of Ideas* Disability Rights Commission, Working Paper 37

- Hall, J. (1997) *Social Devaluation and Special Education: The Right to Full Mainstream Inclusion and an Honest Statement* London: Kingsley
- Hall, P. (1999) 'Social Capital in Britain' *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 29, No. 3 p. 417- 61
- Halpern, A.S. (1995) 'Predicting participation in postsecondary education for school leavers with disabilities' *Exceptional Children* Vol. 62, No.2, p.151-64
- Hanson, N. (2002) On Approval: The Geography of Disabled Women and Work Paper given at the *New Directions in Disability* seminar series, Centre for Disability Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds, April 10
- Hammersley, M. (2003) 'Recent Radical Criticism of Interview Studies: Any Implications for the Sociology of Education?' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 24, p.119–126
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* New York: Tavistock
- Hammersley, M. Gomm, R. and Woods, P. Guide (1994) *Educational Research Methods: Study* Milton Keynes: The Open University
- Hanley, L (2007) *Estates: an Intimate History* London: Granta Books
- Harkin, J. (2005) '14-to-16-year-olds in further education', ALC Discussion paper 16 Available online at: www.nuffield14-19review.org.uk
- Harkin, J., Clow, R. and Hillier, Y. (2003) *Recollected in Tranquillity? FE Teachers' Perceptions of their initial Teacher training* London: Learning and skills Agency
- Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* New York: Routledge

- Hart, S. (1996) *Beyond Special Needs: Enhancing children's Learning Through Innovative Thinking* Paul Chapman Publishing
- Hassard, J. (1993) *Sociology and Organisation Theory: Positivism, Paradigms and Post-modernity* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hays, S. Murphy, G. and Sinclair, N. (2003) 'Gaining ethical approval for research into sensitive topics: 'two strikes and you're out?''
British Journal of Learning Disabilities Vol. 31, p. 181-189
- Heal, L. and Sigelman, L. (1995) Response bias in interviews with individuals with limited mental ability' *Journal of intellectual disability research* Vol. 39, p. 331-340
- Healy T (2001) *The Well Being of Nations The role of human and social Capital*, Organisation for economic Co-operation and Development, Paris.
- Helve, H. and Bynner, J. (2007) *Youth and Social Capital* The Tufnell Press
- Hey, V. (1997) *The Company she Keeps: an Ethnography of Girls' Friendship* Buckingham: Open University Press
- Hey, V. (2000) Troubling the Autobiography of the Questions: Re/thinking Rapport and the Politics of Social Class in Feminist Participant Observation. In G. Walford and Hudson, C. (eds) *Studies in Educational Ethnography, Vol. 3: Genders and Sexualities in Educational Ethnography* Jai Elsevier Science
- Heward, W.L. (2003). 'Ten faulty notions about teaching and learning that hinder the Effectiveness of special education'
*Journal of Special Education*_Vol. 36, p. 186-205.
- Hickey, D. Fitzclarence, L. and Matthews, R. (1998) (eds) *Where the Boys Are*

Deakin: Deakin University Press

Highman, J and Yeomans, D. (2005) *Collaborative Approaches to 14-19 Provision:*

An Evaluation of the 14-19 Pathfinder Initiative: University of Leeds

Hill, (1995) *Entering the Unknown: Case Study analysis in Special Schools*, in P.

Clough and L. Barton (eds) *Making Difficulties: Research and the Construction of Special Education Needs*. London, Paul Chapman

Hill, M. Turner, K. Walker, M. Stafford, A. and Seaman, P. (2006), 'Children's

Perspectives on Social Exclusion and Resilience in Disadvantaged Urban

Communities', in Kay, M., Tisdall, J. Davis, M. and Prout, A. (2006), *Children,*

Young People and Social Inclusion: Participation for What? The Policy Press

Hillier, Y. and Jameson, J (2003) *Empowering Researchers in Further*

Education Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books

Hirschman, A (1984) *Getting Ahead Collectively: Grassroots Experiences in Latin*

America, New York: Pergamon Press

Hodder, I. (1994) *The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture*, in Denzin, N.

And Lincoln, Y. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage p. 393-402

Hodgson, A. 'Keyskills for all? The key skills qualification and Curriculum 2000'

Journal of Education Policy Vol. 17 No.1 Feb. 2002, p. 29 - 47

Hodkinson, P. (2000) *The Reversal of Structure and Agency in Policy: Approaches to*

Social Exclusion: Annual Conference of the British Educational Research

Association, Cardiff, 2000.

Hodkinson, P. and Bloomer, M. (2001) 'Dropping out of further education:

complex causes and simplistic policy assumptions'.

Research papers in Education, Vol.16, No.2, p. 117-140

Hodkinson, P. (2008) *Understanding career decision-making and Progression:*

Careership revisited. John Killeen Memorial Lecture Online: www.crac.org.uk

Holland, K. (2006) 'Fragmented Youth: Social Capital in Biographical Context in

Young People's Lives', in Edwards, R., Franklin, J. and Holland, J. (eds)

Assessing Social Capital: Concept, Policy and Practice p. 163-77

Cambridge Scholars press

Holland, J. (2009) Young people and social capital: Uses and abuses?

Nordic Journal of Youth Research, Vol. 17, p.331

Holland, J. Reynolds, T and Weller, S. (2007) 'Transitions, Networks and

Communities: The Significance of Social Capital in the lives of Children

and Young People' *Journal of Youth studies* Vol. 10. No. 1, p. 97-116

Holt, L. (2008) Embodied social capital and geographic perspectives: performing the

habitus *Progress in Human Geography* Vol. 32, No. 2 p. 227-246

Holt, L. (2010a) Young People's Embodied Social Capital and Performing Disability

Children's Geographies, Vol. 8, No. 1 February.

Holt, L. (2010b) 'Embodying and Destabilising (Dis)-ability and Childhood', in

Horschelmann, K. and Colls, R (2010) (eds) *Contested Bodies of Childhood*

and Youth Palgrave: Macmillan

Hoppe, M. Wells E. Morrison, M. Gillmore, Wilsdon, A. (1995) Using Focus Groups to

Discuss Sensitive Topics with Children *Evaluation Review* Vol. 19 No. 1 p.102-14

Hornby, G. Atkinson, M and Howard, J. (1997) *Controversial Issues in Special*

Education London: David Fulton Press

- Horschelmann, K. and Colls, R. (2010) *Contested Bodies of Childhood and Youth*
Palgrave Macmillan
- Hyland, T. and Merrill, B. (2003) *The Changing Face of FE: Lifelong Learning, inclusion and Community Values in FE* Routledge, London
- Hughes, B. (1999) 'The Constitution of Impairment: Modernity and the Aesthetic of Oppression', *Disability and Society*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 155-172
- Hughes, B. (2002) 'Invalidated Strangers: Impairment and the Cultures of Modernity and Post-modernity' *Disability and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 5 p. 571 584
- Hughes, B., Russell, R and Paterson, K. (2005) 'Nothing to be had 'off the peg': Consumption, identity and immobilization of young disabled people' *Disability and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 1 p. 3-17.
- Independent Newspaper, (2010) 'Redesign Special Schools so Young Disabled People Feel Safe, *Education Section*, p.18, article written by R. Garner (11/02/10)
- Jenkinson J. (1993) Who Shall Decide? The Relevance of Theory and Research To Decision-making by People with an Intellectual Disability
Disability and Society Vol. 8, No 4, p. 361-375
- Jones, D. (2002) 'The Right Kind of Man' The Ambiguities of Regendering the Key Stage One Environment Unpublished Thesis
- Johnson, C.A. (2004) 'Choosing People: The Role of Social Capital in Information Seeking Behaviour' *Information Research* Vol. 10 No. 1
- Johnson, K. (2005) *Deinstitutionalisation and People with Intellectual Disabilities: in and out of institutions* London: Jessica Kingsley
- Kao, C. (2007) 'Social Capital and Ethnic Minorities'

- Sociological Perspectives* Spring, Vol. 50, No. 1, p 27-52
- Karl, M. (1995) *Women and Empowerment* London: Zed Books
- Kay, M., Tisdall, J. Davis, M. and Prout, A. (2006), *Children, Young People and Social Inclusion: Participation for What?* The Policy Press
- Kamuf, P. (1991) *A Derrida Reader: between the Blinds*, (ed) New York Columbia Press
- Kanga, N. (2006) How does it feel to be a problem: Race, Disability and Exclusion in Educational Policy, in Bratlinger, E. (ed) *Who Benefits From Special Education: Remediating [fixing] other People's Children* Lawrence Publishers: London
- Keep, E. (2004) *Reflections on a curious absence: The role of employers, labour Market incentives and Labour Market regulation* Nuffield Review Working Paper 22 Available online: www.nuffield14-19review.org.uk/files/documents28-1.pdf
- Kennedy, H. (1997) *Learning Works: Widening Participation in Further Education* Coventry: FEFC
- Kenway, J. Willis, S, Blackmore, J. and Rennie, L (1994) 'Making hope Practical rather than Despair Convincing: Feminist Post-Structuralism, Gender Reform and Educational Change' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 187-210
- Khodyakov, D. (2007) Trust as a process: a three-dimensional approach *Sociology* Vol. 41, No. 1 p. 115–132
- Kitchner, D. (2008) Inclusion or Selection? The 14-19 Education and Training Reforms *Forum*, Vol. 50 No. 3 p. 397 - 408
- Kilpatrick, S Field, J, Falk, I. (2003) 'Social Capital: An Analytical Tool for Exploring Lifelong Learning and Community Development'

British Educational Research Journal Vol. 29 No. 3, p. 417-33

Kinder, K., Halsey, K. and Kendall, S., Wikin, H., Rigby, B & White, B. (2000)

Working out well: Effective Provision for Excluded Pupils Slough NFER

Kitwood, T.M. 1977. *Values in Adolescent Life: Towards a Critical Description*.

PhD Thesis, University of Bradford

Koetke, C. (1999) 'One Size Doesn't Fit All: alternative education'

Technos: Quarterly for Education and Technology, Summer 1999.

Kreager, D. (2004) Strangers in the Halls: Isolation and Delinquency in School

Networks_Social Forces Vol. 83, No. 1 (Sep.), p. 351-390

Kroger, J. (1989) *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance between Self and Other*

London: Routledge

Krueger, R. and Casey, M. (2000) *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research*

(3rd ed) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research*

Interviewing, London: Sage Publications.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1993) *Economies of Signs and Space* London: Sage

Latane, B. Williams, K. and Harkins, S. (1979) Many Hands Make Light Work: The

Causes and Consequences of Social Loafing, *JPSP*, June Vol. 37, p. 822-32

Lather, P. (1991) *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the*

Postmodern New York: Routledge.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral*

Participation Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawson, A. (2008) *Disability and Equality Law in Britain: The Role of Reasonable*

Adjustment, Aldershot: Ashgate

- Lawson, H. Waite, S. and Robertson C., (2005) Distinctiveness of Curriculum Provision at 14-16 for Students with Learning Difficulties Opportunities and Challenges *British Journal of Special Education*_Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 12-21
- Leonard, M. (2005) Children, Childhood and Social Capital: Exploring the Links, *Sociology* Vol. 39, No. 4 p. 605- 622
- Lee, R. and Renzetti, C. (1993) The Problems of Researching Sensitive Topics: An Overview and Introduction, in C. Renzetti and R. Lee (eds.) *Researching sensitive topics* (p. 3-13) Newbury Park CA: Sage.
- Lee, V. (2001) Social Capital and Dropping out of High School: Benefits to At-Risk Students of Teacher's Support and Guidance *Teachers College Record* Vol. 103
- Leidner, R. (1991) Selling Hamburgers, Selling Insurance: Gender, Work and Identity *Gender and Society*, Vol. 5 p.154-77
- Leidner, R. (1993) *Fast Food: Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinisation of Everyday Life* Berkley: University of California Press
- Lemert, E. (1967) *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*, Prentice Hall Englewood Cliffs, in Slee, R. (1997) 'Imported or important theory: sociological interrogations of disablement and special education' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 18, (3), 407-19
- Levi, M. (1996) 'Social and unsocial capital: A review essay of Robert Putnam's 'Making Democracy Work' *Politics and Society*, Vol. 24, P. 45-55.
- Levitas, R. (1998) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and the New Labour*, Macmillan, London.

- Lewis, A. (2004) 'And when did you last see your Father?' Exploring the Views of Children with Learning Difficulties/Disabilities'
British Journal of Special Education, Vol. 31 No. 1 p. 3-9
- Li, Yaojun, Savage, M. and Pickles, A. (2003) 'Social capital and social exclusion In England and Wales (1972–1999)',
British Journal of Sociology Vol. 54, No. 4, p. 497–526.
- Lin, N. (2001) *Social Capital: a Theory of Social Structure and Action*,
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lipsky, M. (1980) *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemma of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lister, R. (1997) *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. New York: University Press.
- Livingstone, D. (2006) Contradictory Class Relations in Work and Learning: Some Resources for Hope, in Sawchuck, P. Duarte, W and Elhammoumi, M (eds)
Critical Perspectives on Activity Explorations across Education, Work and Everyday Life, Cambridge University Press
- Lloyd, (2000) 'Excellence for all children – false promises! The failure of current policy for inclusive education and implications for schooling in the 21st century *The international Journal of Inclusive Education* Vol. 4, No, 2, p. 133-151
- Lofland, J and Lofland, L. (1984) 'Analysing social settings' Belmont, Wadsworth
- Lonsdale, S. (1990) *Women and Disability: the Experience of Physical Disability Among Women*, Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Luhmann, N. (1993) *Risk: A Sociological Theory* (translated by Rhodes Barrett)
Aldine, De Gruyter

- Lumby, J. (2007) '14 to 16-year-olds in Further Education Colleges: Lessons and Leadership', *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*
Vol. 59, No. 1 March, p. 1-18
- Lyotard, J. (1984) *The Postmodern Condition*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Mac An Ghail, M. (1991) 'Young gifted and black': Methodological reflections of a Teacher/researcher, in Walford, G. (ed.) (1991, p. 109)
Doing Educational Research, London: Routledge
- Mac An Ghail, M. (1994) *The Making of Men: Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling*, Open University Press, Buckingham
- Mac An Ghail, M. (1996) *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas* Buckingham: Open University Press
- Macdowell, L. (2003) *Redundant Masculinities and Employment Change and White Working Class Youth*, Oxford: Blackwell
- McKernan, J. (1991) 'Curriculum Action Research: a Handbook of Methods and Resources for the Reflective Practitioner' London: Kogan Page
- Maguire, M. (2005) 'Textures of Class in the Context of Schooling: The Perceptions of a 'Class-Crossing' Teacher', in *Sociology* 39 (3), 427-443
- Markusen, A.R. (1999) Fuzzy Concepts, Scanty Evidence, Policy Distance: The Case for Rigor and Policy Relevance in Critical Regional Studies
Regional Studies, Vol. 33, No. 9, p. 869-884
- Marsden, P.V. (1990) 'Network Data and Measurement'
Annual Review of Sociology No.16, P. 435-63
- MacInnes, J. (2000) *The Crisis of Masculinity and the Politics of Identity*, Polity

- Marten, K. (2006) *Sex Life and Sexuality of Individuals with developmental Disabilities Review* online: <http://www.uwstout.edu/lib/thesis/2006/martenk.pdf>.
- Marvasti, A. (2004) *Qualitative Research in Sociology* London: Sage
- Massey, A. and Walford, G. (Eds) (1999) *Explorations in Methodology Studies in Educational Ethnography*, Vol. 2 Online: www.voicewisdon.co.uk
- May, T. (2001) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*, Open University Press
- McLeod, C. (1990) Socio-economic Status in Vulnerability to Undesirable Life Events
Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, Vol. 31 June p. 162-172
- McGlenaghan, P. (2000) 'Social capital: exploring the theoretical foundations of community development education'
British Educational Research Journal, Vol. 26, p. 565-582
- McGonigal J. Doherty, R. Allan, J. Mills, S. Catts, R. Redford, M. McDonald, A. Mott, J. Buckley, C. (2007) 'Social Capital, Social Inclusion and Changing School Contexts: A Scottish Perspective *British Journal of Educational Studies* Vol. 55, No. 1 March, p. 77-94
- McGonigal J. Hulme, M. and McDonald A (2009) *Teachers' Lives and Work: Social Capital, Professional Knowledge and Teacher Formation* Available Online: <http://www.aers.org.uk/access/content/group/ssc/AUG%20Inter%20tranrt.doc>
- McGregor, S. (2003) *Postmodernism, Consumerism, and a Culture of Peace* Mount Saint Vincent University Available online: www.kon.org/archives
- Meager, N. (2003) "Disability Discrimination Act: Winners and Losers", paper presented to the Working Futures seminar, Sunderland, 3-5 Dec. 2003
- Mesor, L. (1985) Interviewing: A strategy in qualitative research In Burgess, R. (Ed).

- Strategies of educational research: Qualitative methods.* London: Falmer Press.
- Mehan H. (1986) Beneath the skin and between the ears: A case study in the politics of Representation. I. Chaiklin and J. Lave (eds) *Understanding Practice Perspective on activity and context.* p. 241-269. Cambridge, MA Cambridge University Press
- Mehan, H. Lee, J. Meihls J. and Alma J. (1986) Hertweck. *Handicapping the Handicapped: Decision Making in Students' Educational Careers.* Stanford: Stanford University Press
- MENCAP (2007) *Annual Report* - available online: <http://www.mencap.org.uk>
- Merrill (2000) *The Further Education College and it's Communities* London: FEDA
- Miller, A., and Keys, C. (1996) Awareness, action, and collaboration: How the self-advocacy movement is empowering for persons with developmental disabilities *Mental Retardation*, Vol. 34, p. 312-319.
- Milbourne, L. (2002) 'Continued marginalisation from education'
British Journal of Special Education Vol 23, No. 2, Dec., p. 287-302
- Milbourne, L. Macrae, S. and Maguire, M. (2003) Collaborative solutions or new Policy Problems: Exploring Multi-Agency Partnerships in Education and Health work. *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 1 p, 19-25
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Source Book of New Methods*, Sage
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mills, C.W. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination* Harmondsworth; Penguin
- Mingers, J. (2001) *Rational Analysis for a Problematic World Revisited* Wiley and Sons.

- Misztal, B. (1996) *Trust in Modern Societies* Polity Press, Cambridge MA
- Misztal, B. (2000) *Informality: Social Theory and Contemporary practice*, Routledge
- Monteith, M. (2004) Marking progress: the transition to adulthood for Disabled Young People in Northern Ireland, in V. Lewis, M. Kellett, C. Robison, S. Fraser and S. Ding (eds) *The Reality of Research With Children and Young People*, Sage/Open University Press
- Morgan D. (1997) *Focus groups as qualitative research* (2nd ed) London: Sage.
- Morley, L., and Rassool, N. (1999) *School effectiveness: Fracturing the discourse* London: Falmer.
- Morrow, V. (1999) Conceptualising social capital in relation to children and young people: A critical review, *Sociological review* Vol. 47, No. 4 p. 744-765
- Morrow, V (2001a) 'Young people's explanation and experiences of social exclusion: retrieving Bourdieu's concept of social capital' *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 21, Vol. 4 p. 37-63
- Morrow, V. (2001b) An appropriate Capital-isation: *Questioning social capital*, London: Gender Institute, London School of Economics
- Morrow, V. (2002) 'They don't ask us: Taking Account of Children's Views in Improving Local Environments.' In white, K. (ed.) Conference for Voluntary Child Care Organisations *Review Journal* 3, p. 51-66
- Mortimore, P. (1999) *Understanding Pedagogy and impact on learning*: Sage
- Murphy, R. Scheer, J. Murphy, Y. and Mack, R. (2002) *Physical Disability and Social Liminality: A study in the rituals of adversity*, NY: Columbia University,
- Murray, J. (2010) 'Non-academic 14-to16- year olds to go to college',

In the *Guardian Newspaper* (12/02/2010)

- Myers, M. (2002) *Qualitative Research in Information Systems*, *isworld.org*
- NATFHE (2004) *Activity in Colleges with Students under 16*, London: NATFHE
- Newman, J. and Vidler, E (2006) Discriminating Customers, Responsible Patients,
Empowered Users: Consumerism and the Modernisation of Health Care
Journal of Social Policy, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 193-209
- Newton, K. (1999) 'Social Capital and Democracy in Modern Europe' in: Dept, J.
and Maraffi, M. Newton, K. and Whiteley, P. (eds):
Social Capital and European Democracy London: Routledge (p. 3-24)
- Nicholson, M. and Hoye, R. (2008) *Sport and Social Capital* (eds) Butterworth
- Nind, M. (2009) *Conducting qualitative research with people with learning,
Communication and other disabilities: methodological challenges*,
National Centre for Research Methods
- Nind, M. Sheehy, K. and Simmons, K (2003) *Contexts Inclusive Education:
Learners and Learning* David Fulton Publishers
- Noam, R. (2008) 'When Identities Collide: Masculinity, Disability and Race',
Disability and Society, Vol. 23, No. 6, p. 585-597
- Nuffield Review (2005), *Nuffield Review Annual Report 2004-05*. Oxford:
University of Oxford Department of Educational Studies
- Nye, J.S. (1997) 'In Government We Don't Trust' *Foreign Policy*,
Vol. 108, (fall), p. 99-111
- Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms, in H. Roberts (ed)
Doing Feminist Research London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

- Oakley, A. (2000) *Experiments in Knowing: Gender and method in the social sciences* Cambridge: Polity Press New York: The New Press
- Oakley, A. (2007) *Fracture, Adventures of a Broken Body* Bristol: Policy Press
- Odom, S. (2005) Peer Related Social Competence for Young Children with Disabilities
January, available online: [www.child-encyclopedia .com](http://www.child-encyclopedia.com)
- Offe, C. 1996: *Varieties of Transition*, Cambridge: Polity
- Office for Disability Issues (2010) Accessed March, 2010. Statistics Available online:
<http://www.officefordisability.gov.uk/research/facts-and-figures.php>
- Ogbu, J. (1992) Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning
Educational Researcher, Vol. 21, No. 8, p. 5-14
- Oliver, M. (1990) *The Politics of Disablement* Basingstoke, MacMillan
- Oliver, M. (1992) ‘Changing the social relations of research production?’
Disability Handicap and Society No. 7, Vol. 2, p. 101-114
- Ollerton, M. (2001) ‘Inclusion and entitlement, equality of opportunity and
Quality of curriculum provision’ *Support for Learning* Vol. 16, No. 1
- Ollman, B. (1971) *Alienation Marx’s conception of man in Capitalist society* Cambridge
- Olsen W. (2004) *Introduction to Qualitative Modelling* Paper presented as part of the
Focusing on the Case Workshop series, December 2004
- O’Keeffe, D. (1994) *Truancy in English Secondary Schools* London: HMSO
- Open Society Institute (2005) *Rights of People with Intellectual Disabilities: Access
To Education and Employment: United Kingdom* Open Society Institute/
Foundation for People with Learning Disabilities
- Oppenheim, A. (1992) *Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude*

Measurement London: Pinter

Ormerod, P. (1994) *The Death of Economics* London: Faber and Faber

Pahl, R. (2000) *On Friendship* Cambridge, Polity press

Pahl, R. and Spencer, L. (1997) 'The politics of Friendship' *Renewal* 5/3/4: p.107

Pahl, R. and Spencer, L. (2006) *Rethinking Friendship: hidden solidarities today*,
Princeton University Press

Parsons, C and Howlett, K. (1996) 'Permanent exclusions from school: a
case where society is failing it's children',

Support for Learning Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 109-112

Patton, M. (1988) Paradigms and pragmatism, In Fetterman, D. (ed.) *Qualitative
approaches to evaluation in education: the silent scientific revolution*
p. 116-137 London: Praeger

Paugam, S. (1996) The Spiral of precariousness: A Multidimensional Approach to the
Process of Social Disqualification in France, in *Beyond the Threshold: The
Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Bath.G. Room, ed., Policy Press

Pavey, B. (2006) 'Human Capital, Social Capital, Entrepreneurship and Disability: An
Examination of Some Current Educational Trends in the UK', *Disability and
Society*, Vol. 21, No. 3, p. 217-229

Pawar, M. (2006) "'Social" and "Capital"'? *Social Science Journal*
Vol. 43, No. 2 p. 211-26

Pearson, S. (2005) 'SEN – a Politically Correct Phrase to replace terms such as
Disabled? A study of the Views of Students Entering a Secondary PGCE course'
Support for Learning 20 (1), 17-21.

- Percy-Smith, B. (1999) Multiple childhood geographies: giving voice to young people's experience of place, *PhD Thesis*, University College Northampton.
- Pink, S. (2004) Introduction: situating visual research, in S. Pink, L. Kurti and A. Afonso (eds) *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography* London: Routledge
- Pinker, S. (2002) *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human nature* Penguin
- Plummer, K. (2001) *Documents in Life 2* London: Sage
- Pollard, A. (1999) *Reflective Teaching in the School* London: Routledge
- Popper, K. (1934[1997]) *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* London: Routledge
- Popper, K. (1963) *Conjectures and Refutations*, London: Routledge and Keagan Paul
1963, p. 33-39; from Theodore Schick, ed., *Readings in the Philosophy of Science*, Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 2000, p. 9-13
- Portes, A. (1998) 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology' *Annual review of Sociology*, Vol. 24, p. 1-24
- Portes, A. and Landolt, A. (1996) 'The downside of social capital' *The American Prospect* May-June
- Powney, J. and Watts, M. (1987) *Interviewing in educational research*
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Priestley, M. (1999) 'Discourse and Identity: Disabled children in Mainstream High Schools.' In M. Corker and S. French *Disability Discourse* Open University
- Priestley, M. (2003) *Disability: A Life Course Approach* Oxford: Polity,
- Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2005) *Improving the Life Chances of Disabled People* London: Cabinet Office.

- Prior, L. (1997) Following in Foucault's Footsteps: in Silverman, D. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* Sage
- Prior, L. (2004) 'Doing things with Documents', in Silverman, D. (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* 2nd Ed. Sage
- Pring, R. (2005) 'Labour government policy 14-19'
Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 31, No. 1, p. 71-85
- Prout, A. (1999), 'Children-a suitable case for Inclusion?' King's College
London CPPR Annual Lecture
- Preston G (ed). 2006. *A route out of poverty? Disabled people, work and Welfare reform* London: CPAG. Chapter 4, 'Living with disability:
- Puchta, C. and Potter, J. (2004) *Focus group practice* London: SAGE Publications
- Putman, R.D. (1993a) *Making Democracy Work: Civic traditions in modern Italy* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Putman, R.D. (1993b) 'The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life,' *American Prospect*, Vol. 4, p.11-18
- Putnam, R. D. (1995) *Bowling Alone*, New York: Simon and Schuster:
- Putnam, R. D. (1998) 'The distribution of Social Capital in Contemporary America', *MSU international Conference on Social Capital* 20-2 April
- Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community*: New York, Simon Schuster
- Putman, R. D. (2007) Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006
Johan Skytte Prize Lecture *Scandinavian Political Studies*
Volume 30, Issue 2, pages 137-174, June 2007

- Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (2004) *Inclusive learning 2002/3: Annual report on curriculum and assessment*
- Raby, (2005) 'What is Resistance?' *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 8, No. 2 p. 151-71
- Radcliffe, S. (2005) Neo-liberalism as we know it, but not in Conditions of its Own Choosing: A Commentary *Environment and Planning*, Vol. 37, p. 323-339
- Raffo, C. and Hall, D. (2000) 'Disaffected Young People and the Work- Related Curriculum at KS4-issues of Social Capital Development and Learning as a Cultural Practice' Paper presented at the *British Educational research Association* 7-10 Sep. 2000
- Raffo, C. and Reeves, M. (2000) 'Youth Transitions and Social Exclusion: Developments in Social Capital Theory', *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 3 No. 2, p. 147-66
- Raffo, C. (2006) Disadvantaged Young People Accessing the New Urban Economies of the Post-industrial city *Journal of Educational Policy* Vol. 21, No. 1 p.75-94
- Randle, K. and Brady, N. (1997) 'Managerialism and professionalism in the Cinderella service' *Vocational Education and Training* Vol. 49, No.1, p.121-139
- Rasky, C. (2009) Dynamics of Parent Involvement at a Multicultural School *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 331 - 344
- Reay, D (1998) "Always knowing" and "never being sure": familial and institutional habituses and higher education *Journal of Educational Policy* No.13 Vol.4 516-29
- Reay, D. (2004) *Class, Self, Culture* London: Routledge

- Reay, D. (2006) 'The Zombie Stalking English Schools: Social Class and Educational Inequality' *British Journal of Educational Studies* Vol. 54, No. 3, p. 288-312
- Rees, G., Gorard, S., Ferve, R. and Furlong, J. (2000) 'Participating in the Learning Society: history, place and biography', in Coffield, F. (2000) (ed) *Differing Versions of the Learning Society* The Policy Press: Vol. 2
- Reid, K. (1985) *Truancy and School Absenteeism* London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Reid, K. (1987) *Combating School Absenteeism* London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Reinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research* London: Open University
- Renshaw, P. (1990) Self-esteem Research and Equity Programs for Girls: a Reassessment, in J. Kenway and S. Willis (eds) *Hearts and Minds: Self-Esteem and the Schooling of Girls* London: Falmer
- Reynolds, T. (2006) 'Caribbean Young People, Family Relationships and Social Capital', Special Issue: Ethnicity and Social Capital: *Journal of Community, Work and Family*, Vol. 9, No. 3 p. 1087-1103
- Riddell, S. Baron, S. and Wilkinson, H. (1998) 'Training from the cradle to the grave? Social Justice and training for people with learning difficulties' *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 13, p. 445-461
- Riddell, S. Baron, S. and Wilson, A (1999a) 'Social Capital and people with learning difficulties' *Studies in the Education of Adults* 31, (1), p. 49-66
- Riddell, S. Baron, S and Wilson, A. (1999b) 'Captured Customers: people with Learning difficulties in the social market' *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 25, p. 445-461
- Riddell, S. Wilson, A. and Baron, S. (2001) 'Gender, social capital and lifelong

- learning for people with learning difficulties’
International Journal of Sociology of Education Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 3-22
- Riddell, S., Tinklin, T and Wilson, A. (2005) ‘ New Labour, Social Justice and Disabled Students in Higher Education’ *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 31, No. 5, Oct. p. 623-643
- Rikowski, G. (2001) Education for Industry: A Complex Technicism,
Journal of Education and Work Vol.14 No.1, p. 29-49
- Roberts, K. (2007) ‘Youth Transitions and Generations: a Response to Wynn and Woodman,’ *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 10, No. 2, P. 263-69
- Robison, L. Schmid, A., Siles, M (2002) Is Social Capital Really Capital?
Review of Social Economy, Vol. LX No. 1 March, p. 1-21
- Robinson, C. and Stalker, K. (1998) (eds) *Growing up with Disability* London: Kingsley
- Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research* (2nd Edition) Blackwell Publishing
- Rogers, C. (2007) *Parenting and Inclusive Education: Discovering Difference, Experiencing Difficulty*, New York: Palgrave Macmillian
- Ross, L. Amabile T. and Steinmetz, J. (1977) ‘Social Roles, Social Control and Biases in Social Perception Processes’ *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 35, p. 485-494
- Roth, W. and Breuer, F. (2003) Reflexivity and Subjectivity: A Possible Road Map for Reading the Special Issues Forum *Qualitative Social Research* Vol. 4 No. 2
- Rudd, P. and Evans, K. (1998) ‘Structure and agency in youth transitions: student experiences of vocational further education’
Journal of Youth Studies Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 39-62

- Runyan, D. K (1998) Children Who Prosper in Unfavourable Environments:
The Relationship to Social Capital *Pediatrics*, Vol. 101 No, 1 p. 12 – 17
- Rustemier, S. (1998) The Further Education Scene: Student Choice and Participation in
Cropdot College, *Paper Presented as the British Educational Research Assoc.
Annual Conference*, The Queen's University of Belfast August 27th - 30th
- Rustemier, S. (1999) *Cultures of Inclusion in Further Education*
Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association, University
of Sussex September 2-5
- Saegert, S., Thompson, P. and Warren, M. (2001) *Social Capital and Poor Communities*
r(ed) New York: Sage
- Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and Social Science* London: Sage
- Schattschneider, E.E. (1960). *The semisovereign people: A realist's view
of democracy in America* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A.L. (1973) *Field Research: Strategies for a Natural
Sociology*. Prentice Hall, New Jersey
- Schlager, M., Poirier, C. and Means, B (1996) 'Mentors in the Classroom:
Bringing the world outside in', in Hall, D and Raffo, C, *Urban Youth in
the Post-Industrial city Navigating their Transition from Education and
Training to the labour market*, BERC: Annual Conference. (1999)
- Schuller, T. (2000) *Thinking about Social capital*, paper presented at the Global
Colloquium of Lifelong Learning, online: www.oecd.org/dataoecd/5/48.pdf
- Schuller, T. and Field, J. (1998) 'Social Capital, Human Capital and the
Learning Society' *International Journal of Lifelong Education*

Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 226-235

Schuller, T. Baron, S, and Field, J (2000) Social Capital: a Review and Critique, in

Baron, S. Field, J and Schuller, T. (ed) (2000) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Schlossberg, N. (1984) *Counseling Adults in Transition* New York: Springer.

Schudson, M. (1996) *Unsolved Mysteries: The Tocqueville Files*

March *The American prospect*

Schutz, A. (1944) *The Stranger: An essay in social psychology*

American Journal of Sociology Vol. 49, p. 499-507

Scott, A. (2000) *Recasting Risk Culture: Risk Society or Angst Society? Two Views of*

Risk, Consciousness and Community in, Adam, B., Beck, U. and Loon, J.V.

(eds) *The Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Issues for Social Theory*: Routledge

Sen, A. (1999) *Reason before Identity*, the Romanes Lecture: Oxford University Press

Sennett, R. (2003) *Respect: The Formulation of Character in an Age of Inequality*

London: Allen Lane

Shah, S. (2004) *Disabled and Successful: Education in the life stories of Disabled High*

Achievers Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs

Vol. 4 No. 3 p.122-32

Shah, S. (2008) *Young Disabled People: Aspirations, Choices and Constraints*

Aldershot: Ashgate

Shain, F. (2003) *The Schooling and Identity of Asian Girls* Stoke: Trentham Books

Shakespeare, T. (1993) 'Disabled People's self-organisation: a new social movement?'

Disability, Handicap and Society Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 249-254

- Shakespeare, T. (1999) The Sexual Politics of Disabled Masculinity, *Sexuality and Disability*, Vol. 17, No. 1 p.53-64
- Shakespeare, T. (2006) *Disability Rights and Wrongs* London: Routledge
- Shilling, C. (2003) *The Body and Social Theory* (2nd edn) London, Sage
- Shildrick, M. (2009) *Dangerous Discourses: Subjectivity, Sexuality and Disability*
Palgrave Macmillan
- Shilling, C. (2003) *The Body and Social Theory*, (2nd Edition) London: Sage
- Sheehy, K. (2005) (ed) *Ethics and Research in Inclusive Education: values in Practice*, London Routledge-Falmer
- Siisiainen, M. (2000) 'Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putman' ISTR 4th Int. Conference at Trinity College, Dublin, July
- Sikes, P. (2000) 'Truth' and 'Lies' Revisited', *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 26, p. 257–70
- Silverman, D (1985) *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology* Aldershot: Gower
- Silverman, D. (1999), in *Qualitative Sociology as Everyday Life* Glassner, B and Hertz, R. (eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication
- Silverman, D. (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* 2nd Ed. Sage
- Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data* 3rd Ed. Sage
- Simpson, M. (1993) *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity* London: Cassell
- Simpson, D. and Cieslik, M. (2007) Basic Skills and Transitions to Adulthood
Young Vol. 15, p. 395-412
- Simons, K. (1998) *Home, work and inclusion: the social policy implications of supported living and employment for people with learning disabilities* York, Rowntree

- Singh, P. (1995) Voicing the Other, Speaking for the Self, Disrupting the metanarratives of educational theorising with post-structural feminism, in Smith, K and Wexler, P. (eds) *After Postmodernism* London: Falmer Press
- Skeggs, B. (1992) 'Doing Feminist Research' *Sociology Review* Vol. 2 No. 2: p. 14-18
- Skeggs, B. (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable* *Theory, Culture and Society series* London: Sage
- Skeggs, B. (2004a) *Feminism after Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Skeggs, B. (2004b) *Class, Self, Culture* Routledge
- Skeggs, B. (2007) *The Problem with Identity. In: Problematizing Identity: Everyday Struggles in Language, Culture and Education* Routledge
- Skrtic, T.M. (1991) The Special Education Paradox: Equity as the Way to Excellence *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 61, No. 2, p. 148-206
- Slater, D. and Tonkiss, F. (2001) *Market society: markets and modern social theory* Polity Press: Cambridge
- Slee, R. (1996) 'Disability, Class and Poverty': School Structures and Policing Identities' in Christensen, C. and Rizvi, F. (eds) *Disability and the Dilemmas of Education and Justice* Buckingham: Open University Press
- Slee, R. (1998) 'The politics of theorising special education', in C. Clark, A. Dyson and A. Millward (eds) *Theorising Special Education*, London Routledge
- Slee, R. (2001) Driven to the margins: disabled students, inclusive schooling and the politics of disability *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 31 No.3, p.385-97
- Small, M. *Unanticipated Gain: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life*, Oxford
- Smyth, J. (2004) 'Social Capital and the 'socially just school'

- British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 1, February
- Social Exclusion Unit (1999) *Bridging the Gap*: London - HMSO
- Solomon, Y. and Rogers, C. (2001) 'Motivational Patterns in Disaffected School Students: insights from pupil referral unit clients'
British Educational Research Journal Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 331-345
- Sparkes, A. and Silvennoinen (1999) *Talking Bodies: Men's Narratives of the Body and Sport* SoPhi, University of Jyväskylä
- Stack, C. (1974) *All our kin* New York: Harper and Row
- Stanton-Salzar, R. (1997) A social capital framework for understanding the socialisation of racial minority children and youths
Harvard Educational Review Vol. 67, No. 1, p. 1-40
- Stephens, M. (1990) *Adult Education* London: Cassell:
- Stewart, D. and Shamadasani, P. (1990) *Focus Group: Theory and Practice* CA: Sage
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (2nd eds) Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Stronach, I and Allan, J (2000) 'Joking with Disability' What's the Difference Between the Comic and the Tragic in Disability Discourses?'
Body and Society Vol. 12, No. 3 p. 32-54
- Strum, S. and Latour, B. (1999) Redefining the Social Link: from Baboons to Humans
In D. Mackenzie and J. Wajcman (eds) *The social shaping of technology*
2nd ed. p. 116 – 25 Open University Press
- Strathdee, R. (2001) 'Changes in Social Capital and the School-to-work Transitions',
Work, Employment and Society Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 311-26

- Strawn, C. (2002) 'Social Capital Influences on Lifelong Learning among adults who didn't finish High School', *Adult Education Research Conference*, 24-26, May
North Carolina State University
- Suarez-Orozco, C. (2000) *Children Of Immigration* Harvard University Press
- Swain, J. and French, S. (2008) *Disability on Equal Terms* London: Sage
- Swain, J, French, S. Barnes, C. and Thomas, C (2004) (eds) *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments*, London: Sage
- Swartz, D. (1997) *Culture and power: the sociology of Bourdieu* Chicago: Chicago Press
- Taylor, I. (1990) 'Introduction: The concept of 'social cost' in free market theory and the social effects of free market policies', in Taylor (ed). *The Social Effects of Free Market Policies; An International Text* Harvester
- Taylor, C. (1992) *Multiculturalism and The Politics of Recognition* NJ: Princeton Press
- Taylor, G., Ballard, B., Beasley, V., Bock, H.K., Clanchy, J. and Nightingale, P. (1988) *Literacy by Degrees* Open University Press Milton Keynes
- Tett, L., Munn, P., Blair, A., Kay, H., Martin, J. and Ranson, S., (2005) 'Collaboration between schools and community agencies in tackling social exclusion' *Research Papers in Education* Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 3-21.
- Tichy, N. M. (1981) 'Networks in organizations,' in Nystrom and Starbuck (Eds) *Handbook Of Organizational Design*, Vol. 2, OUP, New York, p. 225-249
- Tight, M. (1998) 'Lifelong learning: Opportunity of Compulsion?' *British Journal of Educational Studies* Vol. 46, No. 3 p. 251-263
- The Learning and Skills Act (2000) London: DFEE www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000
- Thomas, C. (2006) *Disability and Gender: Some Reflections on Theory and Research*

- Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* Vol. 8 No, 2-3, p. 177-85.
- Thomas, G. and Loxley, A. (2001) *Deconstructing Special Education and Constructing Inclusion*, Open University Press
- Thomson R.G. (2001) 'Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory'
NWSA Journal Vol. 14, No. 1
- Thomson, C. (2003) *The Heart of the Matter Agenda* Vol. 56, p. 74-77
- Tisdall, E.K.M (1996) 'Are young disabled people being sufficiently involved in their Post-school planning? Case studies of Scotland's Future Needs Assessment and Ontario's Educational-Vocational Meetings', *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 17-32
- Tomlinson, J. (1996) *Inclusive Learning: Report of the Learning Difficulties and/or Disabilities Committee* London: HMSO
- Trinh, M. (1991) *When the Moon Waxes Red* New York: Routledge
- Truss, L. (2004) *Eats, shoots, and Leaves* London, Palgrave
- Tsai, W. and S. Ghoshal. (1998) Social Capital and Value Creation: The Role of Intrafirm Networks' *Academy of Management Journal* Vol. 41, No. 4, p. 464-478
- Turney B and Robb G (1971) *Research in Education - an Introduction*
Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden
- Tyler, I (2008) 'Chav Mum, Chav Scum': Class Disgust in Contemporary Britain
Feminist Media Studies Vol. 8, No. 2
- Tyne, A. (1994) Taking responsibility and giving power
Disability and Society Vol. 9 No. 2 p. 249 - 254
- Urry, J. (2000a) 'Mobile Sociology' *British Journal of Sociology*,

Vol. 51, No. 1, p. 185-203

Urry, (2000b) *Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty First Century*, Routledge

Uslaner, E. (2002) *The Moral Foundations of Trust* New York: Cambridge Uni. Press

Valentine, G, (2000) Exploring childhood and young people's narrative of identity

Geoforum, Vol. 31, p. 257-268

Valentine, G. (2004) *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood* Ashgate: Aldershot

Vidler, E., and Clarke, J. (2005) 'Creating Citizen-Consumers: New Labour and the
Remaking of Public Services'

Public Policy and Administration, Vol. 20 No.2, p. 19-37

Vincent, C. (2000) *Including Parents? Education, Citizenship and Parental Agency*

Buckingham: Open University Press

Vryonides, M (2007) 'Social and Cultural Capital in Educational Research: issues
of Operationalisation and Measurement'

*British Educational Research Journal*_Vol.33, no. 6, p. 867-886

Waite, S. Lawson, H. and Robertson, C. (2006) Work-related Learning for Students with
Significant Learning Difficulties *Cambridge Journal of Education*

Vol. 36 No. 4, p. 579-595

Wald, P. (2000) 'Future Perfect: Grammar, Genes and Geography',

New Literary History, Vol. 31, No. 4 p. 681-708

Walford, G. (1991) 'Reflexive Accounts of Doing Educational Research', in G.

Walford (eds) *Doing Educational Research* London: Routledge.

Walkerdine, V. Lucey, H. and Meldoy, J (2001) *Growing up Girl:*

Psychosocial explorations of Gender and Class Hampshire: Palgrave

- Wall, E. Ferrazzi, G. and Schryer, F. (1998) 'Getting the Goods on Social Capital'
Rural Sociology, Vol. 63, No. 2 p. 300-322
- Walmsley, A. (2004) 'Inclusive learning disability research: the (non-disabled
 Researchers role *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, No. 32, p. 65-71
- Ward, K. and Thomson, G. (1997) *Provision and Progression: School Leavers with
 Special Educational Needs in Further Education*.
 Report to Leverhume Trust: University of Edinburgh
- Warde, A. Tampubolon, G. and Savage, M. (2008) Recreation, informal social networks
 and social capital *ESRC Research Methods Programme Working Paper No 17*
- Warren, M.R. (2001), *Dry Bones Rattling. Community Building to Revitalize American
 Democracy* Princeton University Press: Princeton
- Waterhouse, S. (2004) Deviant and non-deviant Identities in the Classroom:
 Patrolling the Boundaries of the Normal Social World *European Journal of
 Special Needs Education* Vol. 19, No. 1, p. 69-84
- Wacquant, L. (1996) Toward a Social Praxeology: the Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's
 Sociology, in P. Bourdieu and L. Wacquant (eds.) *An Invitation to Reflexive
 Sociology* Chicago: University of Chicago Press p. 61-215
- Webster, C. (2004) *Poor Transitions: Social Exclusion and Young Adults*, Policy Press
- Wedell, K. (1995) 'Making inclusive Education ordinary',
British Journal of Special Education, Vol. 22 No. 3, p.100-104
- Wellard, I. (2009) *Sports, and masculinities* Routledge
- Weller, S. (2006a) 'Sticking with your Mates?' Children's Friendship Trajectories
 During the Transition form Primary to Secondary School, *Children and Society*

Online, Vol. 6 Sept.

- Weller, S. (2006b) 'Skateboarding Alone? Making Social Capital Discourse Relevant to Teenagers' Lives', *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 557-574
- Weller, S. (2007) 'Managing the Move to Secondary School: the Significance of Children's Social Capital', in Helve, H. (2007) *Youth and Social Capital*, Tufnell
- Wellman, B. (1999) *Networks in the global village* Boulder CO: Westview
- Westphalen, S. (1999) 'Reporting on human capital at enterprise; interests and conflicts' Education and training Conference. Boston
- Whitaker, R. (1999) *The End of Privacy*, New York: The New Press.
- Whyte, W. F. (1984) *Learning from the Field A guide from experience*. London: Sage.
- Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour* Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Willow, C. (2002) *Participation in Practice: Children and young people as partners in Change*, London: The Children Society
- Wilson, J. (2000) 'Doing justice to inclusion' *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 297-304
- Winch, P. (1990) *The Idea of Social Science and its Relation to Philosophy* Routledge
- Winch, C. (1995) Education needs Training, *Oxford Review of Education* Vol. 21, No. 3 p. 315-25
- Wolfe, D.A., (2002) Social Capital and Cluster Development in Learning Regions, in Holbrook, A., J., and Wolfe, D. A. (eds.), *Knowledge, Clusters and Regional Innovation*, Montreal: McGill- University Press
- Wolfensberger, W. (1972) *The Principle of Normalization in Human Services* Toronto: National Institute on Mental Retardation.

- Wollebæk, D. (2000) *Participation in Voluntary Associations and the Formation of Social Capital*, dissertation, Bergen: Dept. of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen
- Woolcock, M. (1999) 'Managing Risks, Shocks and Opportunity in Developing Economies: The Role of Social Capital' World Bank Group
- Woolfson, R., Harker, M., Lowe, M., Shields, M & Mackintosh, H. (2007) 'Consulting with Young People who have Disabilities: views of Accessibility to Education' *British Journal of Special Education* Vol. 34, No.1, Mar. p. 40 - 50
- Working Group on 14-19 Reform (2004) 14-19 Curriculum and Qualifications reform Electronic: *interim report of the working group on 14-19 reform*, London: DfES
- Wyn, J. and White, R. (1997) *Rethinking Youth* Sage: London
- Wyn, J. and Woodman, D. (2007) 'Researching Youth in a Context of Social Change: a Reply to Roberts,' *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 373-81
- Ypinazar, V and Pagliano, P. (2004) 'Seeking inclusive education: disrupting the Boundaries of 'special' and 'regular' education', *International Journal of Inclusive education* Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 423-442
- Youdell, D. (2006) *Impossible Bodies, Impossible Selves: Exclusions and Student Subjectivities*, Springer Press
- Young, M. (1998) *The Curriculum of the Future* London: Palmer
- Ypinazar, V., and Pagliano P. (2004) Seeking inclusive education: disrupting Boundaries of 'special' and 'regular education', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 423-442
- Zarb, G. (1997) Researching Disabling Barriers,' in C. Barnes and G. Mercer (eds.), *Doing Disability Research* p. 49-66 Leeds: Disability Press

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Student Interview Transcript

Name:	Hayley G.	Date:	Sep. 07
Class:	1D -EY	Yr. group:	10

Name: Hayley G.

Learning Disability

Class: 1D -EY

Year:

Group: 1

Date: 14/09/07 – 10:15

Place: Library Study room

Interview Start:

Craig: Hi Hayley, right can I start by asking why did you choose to come to college?

Um...dunno (long pause) I 'fink mostly cos' I'd wanna get a good job...yeah...

Craig: Oh...yeah, what job did you want to get when you leave college?

Dunno sir....

Craig: Nothing at all?

Well, eh I suppose I'd work wiff kids, yeh know, little kids...in a nursery of somefink'

Craig: Em...and why would you like to do that?

Dunno...cos' I like kids and I suppose I'm good wiff kids...

Craig: Ok, have you worked with kids before?

Yeah...my mum an' her boyfriend just 'ad my brother...he's like one now?

Craig: And do you look after the baby sometimes?

Yeah

Craig: Em...ok...and how is it looking after the baby?

...I don't mind him, but, like it's really, really hard. Sometimes I've gotta get up wiff him at night, then get up early for school. My mum watches the baby during the day, but she work's nights... At night I sometimes feed him, give him a bath an' get him to sleep too.

Craig: So do you baby-sit at nights?

Yeah...sometimes...

Craig: Ok, so you wouldn't mind working with babies, which is a good job so how do you think the course will help you with that?

Eh...dunno...suppose like, gettin' good exams will get you a good job, dunno...

Craig: What else do you think is important to get a good job when you leave college?

Dunno...em, yeh, got to word 'ard an' do like lots of homework an' stuff I suppose...yeah...just workin' 'ard an'that?

Craig: Em...and do you know anyone who works with babies at the moment?

Eh, well no, just like round ours an' that.

Craig: Ok, I hope all goes well with your babysitting...Ok, right, a wee bit off that subject let me ask you, do you remember speaking to anyone about the course before coming to college?

Eh, I dunno couple of my mates an' that an' ...eh...the teacher in school I 'fink...yeah

Craig: Ok, can you remember what person in the school talked to you about it?

Eh...like...it was my teacher Ms. Harper she said that if I wanted to go to college I could cos' she thought I'd do good 'ere an' that...cos' she didn't know if I'd do my best if I stayed in school...yeah...she said I could get a job, with kids easy in like college.

Craig: And what did you say?

Eh...dunno... like, my friend Sammie was gonna' do it (the course) right, she didn't though an' then I didn't wanna' do it right, but my mum said I 'ad to cos' that is what they'd agreed at school an' that. That I would come 'ere cos' it's best.

Craig: Right, ok...so...so you mentioned that they agreed at school that you would come here, who are they?

Eh...like my teachers an' that, an' they 'ad a meeting or somefink' wiff my mum an' said I'd do good in college, like I said. Yeah...

Craig: And were you at the meetin'?

No...no I don't like to go to meetings no...

Craig: Em...do you get asked if you wanted to go?

No...no...that's ok...cos' I don't wanna go...

Craig: Ok, did you get a chance to look around college before you started to see if you liked it or not?

No.... no...eh, some people I know done like a hair and beauty course 'ere an' they said it was alright like...a larf.

Craig: Did you or your mum look around and other colleges?

Dunno... don't 'fink so... my mum's not bothered cos' she thought it's good, 'cos' she just wanna me to get a job instead of like, um, wasting time at school wiff my mates.

Craig: Did you get a choice of classes...like did you get to choice your classes?

'No, I neva' got asked what I wanna' do 'ere. I just got told that I 'ad to do Maths an' that... erm, that's ok, cos' you need that to get a good job right? But other stuff like money skills is rubbish I save all my money'

Craig: so do you like most of your classes then?

It's alright...we don't do much yet...like we just mostly do silly stuff...like kinda easy and borin' stuff erm...we like we just cut fings out an' stick em on the wall an' that...

Craig: Really...ok, so given a choice would you have liked to stay in school or come to college?

Dunno ...suppose I'm betta' 'ere if it gets me a good job

Craig: Em...Ok, so what did you think about school?

It's ok....I liked being wiff my mates, walkin' to school an' that, doin stuff, fun stuff like chattin' to some boys ...I'd lots of mates in school...!

Craig: ok, ok...right...so you like having lots of friends?

Yeah...

Craig: Have you had a chance to make new friends in class yet?

Yeah...well I like sit an' talk with Zoe an' Harriet... they are my mates...like nice...I not really talked to the people on other tables yet... cos' there some rude boys in my classes, not so nice like in my classes in school, um, the girls...are like well a bit loud' an' like not people I 'ang about in school wiff...(pause)... don't tell 'em sir...don't tell 'em that.

Craig: No...not at all...anything you see to me is between us, ok, unless you are going to rob a bank or somethin'! (laughter) So, right you sit with Harriet and Zoe at a table. Did you get to choose your table?

Kinda...we just all started talkin' an' like decided to sit near the front away from the loud boys...yeah the loud boys just sit near the back...we are 'appy at our table....

Craig: So you sit on those tables most of the day?

Yeah...like we mostly just like sit in one class....'cpet in like IT an' that...but we all sit togetha' there, too...

Craig: eh...ok, you said you wouldn't hang out with the other girls that are in your class with at school, can I ask why not?

Um, well sir yeah...I would right but like there all like loud mostly too..an' like never gab to us....yeah.

Craig: Em...can you tell me what is different about the other girls in your class and your friends in school?

Well...em, um..they are like a bit, well, um loud', an' um, they can be a little retarded some times, an' say stupid fings ...

Craig: What do they say?

Well, like stupid stuff, like act like they're in like primary school...like my little sister...larfink' at silly kiddy stuff, yeh, about kissin boys an' that...

Craig Ok, so how what do you think of that?

Dunno...um...like eh...just like out of it...yeah...like I don't get it...what yer larfin about sometimes...

Craig: Ok so do you not feel that you belong in class sometimes?

Yeah...I suppose...it's alright sir...honest, it's just like I feel weird, like I'm scared sometimes...it's like too loud an' that

Craig: I am sorry to hear that (pause), but it seems like you are getting along with Zoe and Harriet pretty well...?

Yeah...they're nice...yeah.

Craig: Did you know them before at all before starting college?

No...em...well...(long pause) I was kinda' scared that I'd be 'ere an' no-one know me cos' Sammie didn't come. I'm glad Zoe and Harriet are nice to 'ang wiff...(pause)

Craig: Ah, well done, you beat me to the next question were you nervous starting on your first day at college?

Eh...suppose...

Craig: Ok, Zoe and Harriet how were they to you in the first few days?

Eh...like really nice an' that, yeah...just 'angin' out wiff 'em was best... yeh know just 'anging around...gabbin' to 'em 'elped me relax an' like be like myself an' that

Craig: Now that you know Zoe and Harriet, how do you feel about coming to Haven now?

Yeah...I mean...alright... I still feel like, well...not really like they are my real friends an' that. Not like Sammie or nufink'. Yeh know,

Craig: Ok, so what is the difference between Zoe and Harriet and your other friends at school you mentioned?

Sammie!

Craig: yeah Sammie?

...Eh, well, we do like everyfink' togetha'. Um...we 'ang out togetha' after school an' g. gab just talk about stuff, yeh know, boys an' that. Just like anythink'. Stuff at school, like we'd got problems at school an' stuff a' 'avin a larf. Eh...we go to the youth club

togetha an' that after school. Over the summer we're in this drama club togetha an' like put on a show for old people. That was fun. Un...yeah...we 'eard 'bout it from a youth worker who came to school an' like asked us if we wanted to join in. We said yes, and it was fun...Um, I like Zoe an' Harriet sir...I miss 'anging out with Sammie an' that at school though, cos' they just know yeh betta, yeh know...just betta

Craig: Can you give me an example of that?

...erm (long pause) Dunno...like, well, they stuck up for me against some stupid boys, stopped me crying an' that... yeah like muckin' about an' jokin'. Yeh know. Sammie is good like that. I like goin' round to Sammie's mum's house an' just 'angin' out.

Craig: Ok, can you give me an example of how they supported you in school?

Erm.... Dunno sir...(very long pause)... Mr Barker (geography teacher) was picking on another girl like friend making fun of her, we all just told on him an' that...

Craig: What was he doing that made you all do that?

He called her names, an' that, yeh know, like stupid names, and he said that he was going to get her kicked out of class.

Craig: That's not nice at all!

Craig: Do you still see Sammie and your other friends after school?

Yeah...yeah...we meet after school sometimes an' that...yeah.

Craig: would you normally hang out with Sammie during school as well?

Yeah...yeah... like all the time...yeah

Craig: So what do you normally do on breaks in college?

Me an' Zoe an' Harriet...sit in the learnin' support room Just like 'ang out an that e-mail in there, an' I text my friends at school,

Craig: Is that where you spend your lunchtime as well?

Yeah...

Craig: so why do you like it in Learning support?

Erm...dunno..it's just like quiet down there..nice yeh know cosy...the tutors are nice down there too...like, gab to us an' that.

Craig: Maybe I should come down an' see it...

Hayley: I will take pictures sir...with yer camera

Craig: Sure, what ever you do on breaks would be great to take pictures off...

Craig: Ok, so what do you think of college from what you've seen so far?

It's alright (laugh)...there are tons of older people...yeh know...more than I thought... some really fit guys too...(laughter)

Craig: What, there are no good-looking lads at school (laughter)

Yeah, well...one or two...the guys are like so much olda' 'ere.

Craig: Ok, so apart from all the good-looking older lads (I laugh)

It's like bigga' than school, well...yeh know, looks propa' nice an' that. My school was not nice...like...there ain't nothink' to do there. It's boring.

Craig: Anything else?

Erm, it's just like cleaner an' more like adult. We getta wear outside clothes most of the time, not school ties an' that, an' like nobody shouts at you much 'ere...like at school

Craig: How does getting' to ear your own clothes make you feel?

Erm...like ...olda' more like an' adult an' that

Craig: Do you hang out with older people, maybe people, who are not in your class?

No...not really, no.

Craig: What is that?

Dunno...they just kinda' ignore us most of the time...just ignore us,

Craig: Ok, would you like to get involved in any social activities that college may be running? Like a Disco or a trip, for example, to meet other people?

Yeah...

Craig: Would you do that on your own?

Dunno...probably not...no

Craig: Em...ok, can you tell me a bit more about why you wouldn't?

Em...dunno (long pause)...like there is no one there that I know an' I would be scared that I'd get just be lonely an' that, yeh know 'cos I don't know no one an' that!

Craig: Can you tell me about any college activities you have done since starting?

Em...we watched a video in class, one of the boys brought in and like we done some cookin' across in the main building wiff old people. I 'hink we do that every week now?

Craig: Is that with young people from other courses in college?

No...from like year 11

Craig: Do you know what your classes are every week.

Eh, no we have some classes, but not all they have not got teachers for all out classes yet, I don't fink.

Craig: Ok, so has any tutors taken you round college yet, to show you the facilities, you know, like the student services, and like other students areas like the hub?

No, not really...one man came to see us an' tell us about the football club an' trips an' that. He told us that they go to Thorpe Park. I might go to Thorpe Park like wiff Zoe an' that

Craig...That's sounds fun...have you been there before?

Yeah...well like in school...but they like wouldn't like let us on the big rides or nufink'

Craig: Really...do you 'hink they would let you do that here?

Yeah...I hope so...have you been Sir...

Craig: Yeah...but I get too scared to go on some of them rides...(laughter)

Craig: Ok. Right...is he the only person that came to class, other than your tutors?

(long pause)...*em, no....*

Craig: Who else? Did you meet the Access manager, Janet (Long pause...)

Craig: ...or, Ms. Williams?

Oh, yeah, we didn't really like her?

Craig: Why was that do you think?

Well...erm, the some of the teachers we sometimes sit wiff said she was not very nice an' well like she came in and just said that we're not to get into trouble or that they'd tell our school

Craig: Really...what do you think of that?

Erm... dunno... It's not really fair 'cos we're not at school no more...

Craig: Ok, so overall would you say you like college

Erm...yeah. It's alright...some 'finks is betta' than school...

Craig: And do you feel safer here?

Well...like, Some girls were eyeing us outside, (in the hallways) um...that was scary and on the bus an' some rude boys cause trouble sometimes...I don't like that, yeh know

Craig: Do the boys pick on you?

Well...like at the start, um...they said a few finks to Zoe ... But...yeah...we do kinda get picked on, yeh know...sometimes in class...

Craig: How did you deal with that?

Well...we just tell a teacher..an' like she just gives 'em into trouble... maybe...they were just being boys. I don't say nufink' to teachers like Zoe and Harriet said stuff...

Craig: Is that how you dealt with boys in school and at the shops on the way to school?

well like Sammie's not scared of nufink' she goes up to 'em an' flirts wiff 'em...she's well not scared, ...just goes right up to him...it's funny...(she laughs)...

(We then joke a little about my own experience in school...)

Craig: Ok, so talking about school again, Can you describe how you thought you were doing in school?

It was borin' an' I don't understand a lot of 'finks, cos' I can't read good an' that, um... I guess like it's a good idea to come her an' learn to read good, um, yeh know to get a good exams and a job... um, 'cos school is like just for those who are, um smart an' that.

Craig: That's interesting, why do you say that?

Well...I... dunno...um...cos', um, well teachers treat yeh different than the smart kids...just being nice to them an' that...wiff like us they are just ignoring us init and tell us to shut up, stop it, do this, do that... ...

Craig: Did you not like that about school then?

Yeah...the teachers like me in PE though, 'cos I was good at netball.

Craig: Do you play for a team?

I played for my school team. That was fun.

Craig: Did you played quite a lot then?

Yeah, we used to play other schools an' that.

Craig: Good. Do you want to play Netball at college?

Yeah, yeah

Craig: good, maybe you should ask the tutor about that!

Yeah!

Craig: So were you a member of any other team or club at school.

Em...I'm not sure.

Craig: Well, for example, did you do stuff at lunchtimes or after school?

Oh yeah, we had like art classes an' that em... not good at Art, my teacher told us to come along an' tried it. I like her so did Sammie...it was cool we got to paint whateva

we liked. Yeah, yeah, and we went into like this big art place (Art Gallery in the City centre) as well last year, un, that was cool, yeh know...we went on this slide...

Craig: yeah...I went there too so I could try the slide.

Did your sir?

Craig: I got stuck in it...No (laughs), but it was pretty small though...

Yeah...

Craig: Ok, so let's talk a bit about the support in college from your classmates do people help each other in class a lot?

Yeah...

Craig: Can you give me an example of when you have been supported by your friends in class? *Um...well...(pause)...like I didn't understand all the work in IT today! Darren helped me cos' he is proper clever wiff that stuff.*

Craig: Would you try and help Darren too.

Em. Yeah, you should I 'fink help each otha' out an' that. 'elping people is nice I 'fink

Craig: Ok can you give me another example of how you've support each other?

Well like...um... we get to talk in class, yeh know, which is good for me I 'fink cos' I've a hard time readin' stuff an' others can explain it to me I sit with Zoe and Harriet in class, um, an' Zoe can read really good and she helps me fill in some papers yeh know cos' I'm a thicko with reading well an' that.

Craig: Can you tell me more about how they helped you?

Erm...like...(pause), with some of my portfolio work, em, an like wiff thingy erm...like in English an that yeah...like, what to put down in my portfolio what I dunno an' that...an erm...I dunno Erm...like stuff school stuff yeah an' where we want work-placement ...

Craig: And what did you put?

I said workin' wiff kids an' that, an' maybe do like, a beauty therapist... yeh know, do makeup for old people.

Craig: So where did you get that idea?

My cousin does that in Boots. She does my hair and that too...an' my mum's

Craig: Do you think she would do mine, make me look like Brad Pitt?

(Hayley, laughs)...

Craig: What's so funny about that? (laughs...)

Craig: Ok, so you hope to be a beauty therapist on work placement. Do you know who might arrange that for you?

No...

Craig: Did the tutor who handed out the questionnaire not explain it to you at all? Like, for example, what would happen next to help you get a work placement

No...she said that we'd to do it in class...like put our first choice down an' that.

Craig: Did you ask for help from the teacher?

No?

Craig: Why was that do you think?

Em... I get all nervous like, yeh know scared bout askin' for stuff...cos' she's not nice

Craig: Were you able to ask in school?

Erm...dunno one teacher was nice. Miss Harper (support teacher) was really nice

Craig: Could you tell me more about what do you mean by good teacher?

Em, (long pause)... suppose if they like listen an' show like respect an' that, like how to do things yeh know sit wiff us ...um...an' go over and over work until I get it into my head until I understand it, erm... go over it (the class work).

Craig: Ok right...can you perhaps tell me a bit about the tutors that you have had in college so far and if they have helped you in your classes?

Em...dunno...(long pause) we've only a few teachers. Um...they're ok suppose. They just sit there mostly. Um...yeah, they sit there an' watch us do work an' give the boys into trouble if they are talkin' too loud or mucking 'bout on the computers...um...some teachers tell me I talk too much in class an' that I should be quiet.

Craig: Em...ok, so try and think of a tutor that you have in college that you get along with so far and try and tell me why that is?

...em...just nice...speaks to you a lot, nice like...helps you an' sits down wiff you an' class...yeah...yeah just sits down and smiles an's nice...

Craig: Ok...right so you like tutors just to be more relaxed?

Yeah...

Craig: Ok, so why do you think tutors are not relaxed...

Cos' well like I fink they are stressed all the time...yeah...stressed out?

Craig: Em...why do you think that is then?

...em...like the teachers said like do to much work an' that, yeah teachers in school was always maoning about working an' don't be a teacher it's not good or nufink'

Craig: So you don't want to be a teacher then?

No!

Craig: Ok (I laugh) right try and think of a tutor in college that you don't get along with or don't think you are going to get along with and tell me why you think that is?

Dunno...em...I don't like bad teachers...yeh know like...nasty teachers

Craig: em...ok, can you give me one example in college when you thought a teacher was doing something you didn't like and tell me why?

.....em...like...last week we had one teacher who done nufink' but like shout at us an' said he wasn't supposed to be there anyway an' was only there 'cos he was told. The boys mostly just told him to go away if he didn't wanna be there...I fink ... yeah....so he complained an' got us in trouble.

Craig: Right ok, what happened...em...did you get into trouble?

Yeah...like Henrietta gave us in trouble...

Craig: did you not get a chance to explain why you thought the teacher was wrong?

No...

Craig: Do you think that is right?

No...

Craig: ok, so are you going to speak with her or say something if it happens again...

Dunno ...

Craig: right. ok...em...thinking a wee bit back a bit, you know about your friends. Can you tell me a bit more about how you and your friends help each other in the class with your work?

Yeah ...Em...(long pause) Well we sometimes talk 'bout 'finks in class, but that's only if we're allowed to talk, some teachers let us talk others just shout an' tell us to stop an' that. Most are ok...but others just write stuff on the board...

Craig: What other kinds of problems do you have in class?

Em...we had no teachers for some classes last week. We just sat there I 'cos they had no teachers to teach us or somefink'

Craig: And what did you do about that?

Em...well some girls I 'fink told Henrietta once how we did not have any classes, she said she'd do somefink 'bout it but we still 'ad no teachers for cookin' on Monday, so what's the point?

Craig: What about some of the issues you mentioned earlier, the teachers who shout in your class how would you go about dealing with that?

Dunno...maybe speak with teachers

Craig: what teachers would you ask?

Dunno... the teachers in learnin' support are really nice to us an' said to ask them if we had trouble in college...yeah...learnin' support?

Craig: That's nice of them...what about if anyone was bulling you, who would you tell?

Dunno...teachers at our table...(pause) yeah, 'em?

Craig: so they really help you then?

Yeah...like with everythink' really

Craig: Ok, before we finish? Can you tell me why you like to come college?

Dunno sir...(long pause) to meet people...yeh know...nice people an' like well get a job, like my sister. Maybe...dunno!

Craig: So the big question is, do you think you are going to pass this year?

I dunno, I hope so...maybe

Craig:Ok so what do you think you need to do to pass the course this year?

Eh, work 'ard than I did most times at school...! (laughter)...

Craig: Finally then Hayley, is there anything else that you like or dislike about college or something you think I have missed out that you would like to discuss?

No sir. Dunno...I like college, yeah avin' a larf wiff Zoe and Harriet an' that. That's good...an' some classes are good, betta' than school...

Craig: Ok, well thanks for your time Hayley...

End of recorded interview

Appendix 2

Focus Group Transcript

Names	Carla, Laura, Tash and Amy	Date:	(04/02/08)
Class:	1D -EY	Yr. group:	11

Session: 4/A

Year: Year 10

Group: 4 (Carla, Laura, Tash, and Amy)

Date: 04/02/08 – 9:45

Place: Block G Rm. G - 16

Focus Group Interview: Start

Craig: Ok, right girls, let me just start by asking you all about when you started college a couple of weeks ago, is that Ok? Ok, firstly, then, I would like to ask you about starting college because a lot of people mentioned to me in the interviews about 'settling in' to college. For example, if it was easy or not so easy, what helped you or made it difficult for you. Do you remember your first few days?

(A low) yeah!

Craig: Such enthusiasm, (I laugh). Ok, right, let's talk about when you first started college, and as I said I have one wee activity for you to get us going. Can you write down on the pieces of paper I gave you two or three things that helped you settle in to college, I mean, were you welcomed, like, things that made you want to come back ok? (some scribbles- a few minutes later)

Craig: Ok, who wants to tell me one thing they have written?

Carla: *My mates!*

Craig: Ok good, thanks Carla,

Craig: Did anyone else put friends down on their paper?

[A few yelps go up?]

Craig: Ok, good...Thanks, and remember you don't to put your hand up, if you want to say something just wait until a person has stopped speaking and then start talking...Ok

Craig Right, em... does anyone want to tell me how friends helped you settle in to the College

(Long pause...) eh...(some girls mumble)

Carla: *Cos' we didn't feel scared sir...*

Craig: Ok, Carla why was that?

Carla: *cos' me, Laura, and Tash stuck togetha'...Yeah...stuck togetha, cos' we's knows each other...init...sir*

Craig: Ok, em so Laura and Tash and yourself knew each other from school. So Laura was your friend in school too?

Laura: *Eh...kinda' ...eh...we weren't like best friends or nufink, just a bit 'matey'...*

Craig: Ok, right, you all 'kind of' knew each other in school, right, ok, so Laura when did you find out that Tash and Carla were both going to college?

Laura: Eh...I never knew nufink' till like I saw in class last week...yeah...I never knew they're comin' too.

Craig: Em...and how did you all feel when you saw each other?

Carla: I was like...great...great...I's just happy I knew somebody, init.

Laura: yeah...I went ova' and sat next to 'em...I's 'appy to know somebody too. I went... 'phew'...like... 'I know somebody, I know somebody'

Tash: yeah...good ...

Craig: Ok, right, so you would say that it would of being harder for you all if you didn't have any friends? Can you tell me a bit more about that?

Carla: yeah...yeah...cos' you can do things togetha'...init...go to class togetha' an' that...an' take the bus home togetha' ...

Laura: yeah

Craig: Ok, good.

Craig: Ok, Amy, what have you written down on your paper?

Amy: Eh...Carla

Craig: Right, and how did Carla help you to settle in?

Amy: ...eh...we be wiff each other togetha' in the canteen

Craig: And, Amy you never knew each other before college?

Amy: No!

Craig: Ok, Tash what did you put?

Tash: I put my mates too, an' like my cousin...

Craig: Em...and how did your cousin help you?

Tash: I ask her 'bout college an' she told me where to go ... so I didn't get lost, init

Craig: Ok...did anyone put anything else down on their papers?

(They all rustle the paper) a muted ...no, except Carla-)

Carla: em...why do I's wanna know what we's fink, Sir? I mean, cos' we's don't know 'nufink, we's just stupid, we's don't know 'nufink to say, there's lots of people, they know what to fink, you should talk to 'em

Craig: I'm very interested...em...I'm asking you guys cos' I think you've got lots of, eh, things to say.

Tash: Why did we's get choosed then Sir...Yeah why?

Craig: Em...well...remember when I told you that I used to work here. Well I used to get a chance to speak to a lot of students on Access programmes about what they thought about college and I always found it very interesting. Well, I wanted to come back and speak to you guys and hear what you had to say about how you are getting along?

Carla: What's Access?

Tash: It's for the dense kids ain't it...all the kids who don't do well in school...like us...thickos'

Craig: Why do you think it's just for the thicko's?

Laura: Well there ain't any no brainy people in 'ere is ... there...sir...no...see

Craig: Well, I think you are giving some pretty clever answers, and I done a course in FE like this when I was well may be a wee bit older than you, maybe I am stupid too then...?Em, ok...what do you think?

Carla: Yeah!

(The girls Laugh...)

Carla: ... that makes 5 of us ...(I laugh)...

Craig: I think that is some really interesting and honest stuff you have all said to me over the last week and I am really glad now that I got you guys together...I mean it...keep it going....Ok... Yeah?

Craig: Ok, so let's go back a wee bit, is that ok?

(A more positive Yeah!)

Craig: Em...Ok, we were talking about starting college and making friends, so, eh, why do you think it is important to have or make friends in college?

(Pause)...

Carla: cos' I'd stand out...yeah...I'd stand out, not fit... in it

Craig: Not fit, that's interesting can you tell me what would happen if you didn't fit in?

Amy: you's might get bullied...yeah...like called names...

Carla: yeah...yeah...

Craig:...what do you think Laura or Tash? Why is it important to have friends in college?

Tash: Eh...cos' you can help each otha'...yeah...support each otha' like when we's get bullied...to talk an' be nicer to each otha'.

Craig: Has anyone been bullied or called names here?

Carla: Yeah...the boys 'n class is calling us names...yeah...like stupid stuff

Laura: yeah...say we ain't ever going to get a boyfriend an' that...an' we all ugly

Craig: Em...can you tell me how would you support each other with that?

Amy: I just tell 'em to 'shut up'

Laura: yeah.

Carla: ...yeah... an' Trish (a support teacher) sticks up for us sometimes to...she tells the boys to stop it...grow up...yeah... she sticks for us!

Craig: So tell me, is it just the boys who are not nice to you in class?

Carla: we's get along good...yeah...girls get along good in class. It's the rude boys init.

Craig: Ok, Laura and Tash, have you been bullied in class?

Tash: Yeah...yeah... boys are loud an' shout

Craig: And , Laura, what about outside of class, have you been bullied in Haven?

Amy: Eh...eh...no...no...(pause) sometimes people aren't nice in halls... push you... they're not nice...

Tash: yeah, people push you out of the way an' don't say 'nufink.

Craig: Ok, Laura sticks up for you? In the interviews a lot of people said that Laura 'hung out' with some of you outside classes too. Can you tell me more about this, like do you spend break times with her?

Carla: (suddenly becomes loud) yeah...she's nice init, ...we's all go to the canteen an' talk, like wiff you, talkin', init. An' we's talkin' an' talkin' 'cos it's fun, you not 'ave to go outside, you not 'ave to be, 'ave to be like where me, Laura an' Trish we's stand, init, standin' outside in the halls, an' is betta' in the canteen wiff Trish, you can be with Trish and you can be talkin' and no one pushes you, init. Is lots of people, and they make noise, and they be rude, we's not have to worry about people or anyfink' wiff Trish, init.

Craig: Ok, thanks for that.

Craig: So Can I ask Tash and Laura, what do you guys talk about with Trish.

Tash: Eh...dunno...like stuff about our families and clothes an' pop idol an' that

Craig: Can you give me one or two example of what stuff you talk about?

Laura: Um...just what's appenink' in class, um boys an' like the manager, how she is such a bitch an' that....we don't like talkin' bout that...yeah

Craig: Ok, and what does Trish say when you talked about the teachers you don't like?

Carla: *'nufink she sits an' listens when we's talk...she's nice...*

Craig: So Amy and Tash, do you go with Trish to the Canteen to?

Tash: *Yeah...yeah...she's nice*

Amy: *we're go in the teacher's rooms too...on the computers. We like it in there 'cos it's more private...nobody bothers you*

Craig: Ok, and what sorts of things do you girls talk about in the Computer rooms?

Tash: *...(laughs) nufink'...just boys...lol...*

Craig: Boys, eh...Boys in class...

(laughter)..

Carla: *eh, well we's meet olda' boys and talked to them outside learnin' support.*

Tash: *yeah...and Amy says she's like wiff one of 'em.*

Laura: *do not, you likes Paul*

Tash: (grabs a picture off the table an' shows me's Amy's picture of Paul on the stairs)

Here, sir, 'ere is Paul...

Craig: who is this?

Amy: *...that's Paul he's fit is it' ...He dumped us 'cos I wasn't gonna' do it (have sex) wiff 'im 'cos he says the olda' girls do it in 'ere' (in College). S'alright Sir, we's back now ...He's ma' boy (laughter).*

Carla: (Pause) *I 'fink ya gotta' do it, don't ya? Like, if the olda' girl's doin' it....*

Tash: *...yeah, yeh gotta', ya don't wanna' get dumped if yeh really like 'em*

Amy: *...he likes me, I 'fink, he's says he'd don't mind if I get all pregnant, we'd get married like my (her seventeen year old) cousin did, she got a baby! Yeah my aunt's well 'appy bein' a nan is it. (Tash interrupts): I 'fink that's nice!*

Amy: *yeah, he (Paul) said we'd look at a big diamond ring next Christmas time.*

(A loud round of 'Aaah's' follows Amy's last statement.)

(long pause)

Craig: Ok, Laura how often do you guys meet these boys?

Laura: *eh... we met them at lunchtimes, um sometimes in breaks in the hall. We meet up on the stairs an' that init. Dunno if they'd like us though...Dunno*

Carla: Yeah, remember, yeah...like last week they left us an' went' to speak to the pretty girl, older girl, um, remember, that older girl an' all the boys, 'cept Paul an Amy...they'r pretty tight...Yeah...

Laura: yeah, pretty girl's gets the boys, that girl, um, I bet

Carla: we's were listenin', an' you hear them they say how hot she's, um, she's so pretty, not like just pretty, just so pretty, I'm not pretty, um, she's so pretty, I bet she get's all the boy's

Laura: yeah...I wanna be pretty like her, not just pretty, like really pretty. An' if I was like her an' not like me, I'd be really pretty, then I'd have loads of boyfriends?

Carla: yeah...if I'd that pretty then all the boys would like me an' talk to me...

Amy: I think you're pretty!

Laura...Thanks Amy...

Carla...Yeah...thanks Amy

(Rather uncomfortable silence, I felt the need to say they were pretty also to reassure them in some way but, for obvious reasons, I did not)

Craig: How much older are most of the boys than you?

Laura: dunno...like 18 we 'fink...Yeah...but they're fit.

Craig: Ok, so if they are 18 and you are 14 do you think that is a big age gap?

Carla: No...no...so what?

Laura: I ain't got no problem wiff that (laughs)

Craig: Just a thought, I just wondered if any of you guys had dated any boy that old? Have any of you ever dated a boy that old before?

(silence)..

Ok, do any of you think the age difference might be a problem in any way?

Carla: No...

Laura: No... no!

Craig: What about you Farz and Cam do you think about the age difference?

Tash: it's ok...suppose...

Craig: Ok, and Amy what do you think?

Amy: um...dunno...but like the teachers tell it's weird olda' boys wanna' go wiff girls like us.

Craig: And what do you think of that?

Tash...*that's not right...it's up to us Sir, init*

Carla...Yeah, yeah that's why we meet olda' boys on the stairs...way over there...where the teachers don't see. Don't tell on us sir...don't (a loud yeah from the girls)

Craig... Don't worry...as I said at the start...no-one will hear this tape unless you want them too...an' like unless you tell me your all gonna' rob a bank (laughter)...

Craig: em...ok, so you speak to older boys on the stairs, have you been involved in any activities outside of class with other students since you started?

(Several No's)

Craig: Would you like too...

(Several Dunno's)...

Craig: so apart, from the stairs...where else do you guys hang out?

Carla...*well, like sometimes in the learnin' support*

Craig. Ok..and what do you do there?

Tash: *nufink' really...maybe some homework an' that?*

Craig: So you do homework in that room? Amy what about the library would you not consider going there to study?

Amy: *No...no*

Craig: Can you tell me why not?

Cam: *I dunno...*

Craig: Ok do you think studying is important?

Carla: *cos' yeah, to pass exams, do good, init*

Craig: Em...ok, has the teachers sat with you and told you what you need to do to pass?

Carla: *no...we's got told that we's need to do homework just like school, an' to make sure to 'and in work on time or we's all fail?*

Craig: Ok, can anybody else tell me more about your course?

Tash: *eh, well dunno...get good grade's. I fink yeh need to get a C or a D to pass...yeah...a C or a D?*

Craig: Right, what about you Laura and Amy can you tell me a bit more about the course?

Laura: *I 'fink you do need to get a C, yeah...a C, cos' in school if yeh get a C's that means I's pass. An' that I'S can do another course or get a good job when I's leave school.*

Amy: *...yeah... I 'fink you need to get C's in the classes to pass.*

Craig: Ok, what about exams do you take any exams this year or next year?

Laura: *I 'fink you do them next year cos we come to college next year too...eh...Dunno...*

Craig: Ok, has anybody sat with you and talked about where to get for support if you need help with your homework?

(Muted) – no

Craig: Ok, right. Ok, another theme that I thought came out of the interviews was social inclusion or participation. Can any of you girls tell me what you think that is?

Carla: *eh...being with other people sir?*

Craig: Ok, Carla, yes good... being with lots of other students and people who are not just like yourself, different colour, religion and that, a bit like this focus group, or when you play sports or other activities in college, like a fashion group some girls talk about.

Craig: Ok...good...so my first question is about if you guys get to meet new people and how often you get to speak with students other than you class mates outside of class? So, can anyone tell me have you made many new friends outside of class, for example, I remember someone told me about a lady who was maybe having a fashion show? Have you guys met anyone like that?

Tash: *No.....*

Laura: *no...(shakes her head)*

Craig: What about anyone else?

(Muted..no)

Craig: Ok, I came to college last year because it was induction week. Do any of you guys take part in any of the induction activities?

Laura: *What's induction.*

Amy: *That's when all the students go to disco's an' parties an' that I 'fink.*

That's right Amy, where did you here about that?

Amy: *My mate, Sally, told me that he's going to a party in the student union last week?*

Craig: And did she invite you?

Amy: No...no I'm not allowed?

Craig: Em... Did you guys get asked to join in any of these activities?

(One or two say no)

Craig: Would you have liked to?

Carla: yeah

Laura: Yeah...yeah would be cool

Craig: Yeah...maybe, maybe we can go down to the student union and ask Trish if there is any free stuff for you and the class? Would you like to do that? You don't have to, but free stuff is always nice if they have any? What do you think?

(a positive yelped reaction from the group).

Craig: Ok, remind me if I forget, but whilst we are talking about the student union have any of you had a chance to go across to the hub yet?

(muted no)

Craig: Why is that do you think?

Laura: Dunno...but

Carla: (Interrupts) Ms Williams told us not to go across to there cos' we's wouldn't like it down there.. I dunno...I dunno we's wanna play pool, too.

Craig: Ok, remember and let people finish what they are saying before you speak.

Carla: Sorry...sir

Craig: don't worry I like to hear everybody, just be careful to let other people answer to!

Craig: Em...right... so why do you think that Ms. Williams said that to you?

Laura: She said that we'd not like it there, not to go, it's not for the school kids like us!

Craig: Not for school kids, what do you think she mean's by that?

Laura: Dunno...maybe cos' we are not like the other students, yeh know, we's are from G block, we's the school kids who need help... That is why we's 'ere right... cos' we need help to get a job?

Craig: Well I think we all need help sometimes, but do you agree with Ms. Williams?

Carla: no...but we's stupider than otha' kids that's why we's 'ere init, un, yeah, um , but, yeah, we's like to play pool, I'm good at pool, um, my brother let's me play pool with his friends at home an', um I beat him, yeah I beat him...

Craig: Why do you think you are stupid Carla?

Carla: *cos' we's weren't going to pass school...No GCSE' or 'nufink, but it's ok we 's going to get a job, um, after college.*

Craig: Ok, does anyone else think they are stupid?

(muted) yeah...

Laura: *well...eh, if we were brainier, um, we wouldn't be here we'd be still in school and that...doing normal stuff...yeah...*

Craig: That's interesting, what is normal stuff?

Laura: *Like, um, GSCE's in school, an' that...*

Craig: Em...that's interesting I thought you wanted to come to college?

Laura: *yeah...yeah...it's ok, yeah, better than school...we ain't going to pass 'nufink in school so, um, what's the point!*

Craig: Ok, I see you thought you would give college a try because there was no point in staying in school and doing nothing. Ok, so is that the same for everyone, that you didn't see the point in staying in school?

Carla: *yeah*

Laura: *yeah, school sucks*

Craig: And what about you Tash and Amy, did you want to leave school to?

Tash: *eh... I said I wanna stay, but, but, my parents say that Ms. Harris (Head of year 9) say that college was betta' cos' I get a qualification and do my GCSE's at school too. I told 'em that I wanna' work 'ard an' do my best in school 'cos I wanna' stay in school, eh, but my brother got his stuff 'ere, so they say that'd be best for me.*

Ok, so a lot of people have said that that they did not have much a choice. So can I ask if you were ever shown around any other colleges or even shown around this one before you came here?

(muted no)

Craig: emm...do you think havin' a choice is always a good thing?

Laura...*yeah, cos' like what if you don't like it 'ere...?*

Craig: Good point, anyone else like to add to Laura's comment?

Craig: No...ok, right, thanks guys, so what about getting to college. Amy, how do you get to college everyday

Amy: *eh... I take the bus sir*

Craig: How long does it take to get here on the bus?

Amy: Eh...it takes long...

Craig: Does it take longer than it took to get to school?

Amy... yeah!

Craig: Ok, Laura, how long is the bus journey to college?

Laura: Eh, yeah the bus takes to long... yeah!

Craig: Ok, does it take longer than to school?

Laura: I used to walk to school!

Craig: Ok, who did you used to walk to school with?

Laura: I walked to school wiff my best mates from my street!

Craig: What about the rest, how did you used to get to school in the morning?

Carla: my mum taked me, um, my sisters, and we's would get the bus if it rained, um, on cold days...

Craig: And you Tash?

Tash: I used to walk wiff my best friends!

Craig: Ok, do you prefer to walk or to take the bus?

Carla: walk...

Craig: Ok, and Tash and Amy do you prefer to walk or take the bus?

Tash: I like to walk cos' I can be wiff boys

Amy: yeah...wiff my boyfriend

(Carla interrupts)

Carla: I don't like takin' the bus, cos' they don't turned up, init an' it gets like cold, um, an' I's stand an' get colder an' that...an' sometimes the bus, don't stop, um, an' I's just 'ave to wait an' wait, and one time I's late for classes an' teachers say, why I's late' and I's say the bus miss, the bus was late, she say that she took the bus and she got 'ere...and I's just get bored cos' bus takes too long?

Craig: Thank-you Carla, but remember Amy was still talking!

Carla: yeah...yeah...sorry

Craig: Ok, Amy what were you saying?

Amy: dunno

Craig: Are you sure?

Amy: yeah

Craig: Ok what about anyone else,

Tash: *I like to walk cos' we'd meet people by the shops on the way to school an' 'ave a larf an' that...*

Craig: So you would know a lot of people from the shops?

Tash: *Yeah, we'd get to know 'em all*

Craig: Ok, so Laura you don't meet many people on the bus

Laura: *people 'ere* (from Access)

Craig: You mean people from your class?

Laura: yeah..I hate takin' the bus...it's borin (loud 'yeah' from the girls)

(Long pause)

Craig: Ok, you are all doing brilliantly. We have a wee while left to answer some more questions and then we can listen to what you have said ok? Em...ok...some things which everyone in the interviews talked about was getting along with other people in class, and outside of class. Yeah?

Wakey, wakey (I laugh)

Craig: Ok, let me start again a wee bit...do you see each other out of college?

Carla: *eh...me an' Laura lives near init...the other side of my estate...*

Craig: Have you met each other out of class?

Laura: *Yeah...yeah...last night we's 'hung out'*

Craig: Ok, who was that with?

Laura: *Me and Carla, we's 'hung out'*

Craig: And, what did you do?

Laura: *we went down the park ...just 'hung out', talked to boys on the phone...they wanna meet up* (laughs)...

Craig: Ok, what about you Cam and Farz do you guys 'hang out'?

Amy: *no...Tash lives far away from me...*

Craig: And Tash couldn't take the bus over to Amy's?

Tash: *No...no my mum wouldn't like that, to far at night!*

Craig: Ok, what about MSN, Tash, do you talk to Amy or any of the other girls on the computer at home...

Tash: ...no my brother has a computer, it's broke he says,

Craig: Ok, and you girls, do you speak to each other on MSN?

Carla: no, we's don't have a computer at home...we's might be getting one though

Craig: Ok Amy, do you and Laura talk?

Amy: yeah....

Craig: Ok, do any of you guys see anyone else from class, or talk to anyone else from class on the computer?

Laura: Me and Amy is friends wiff Laura an' Tash on my Facebook page...Laura has a big site wiff lots of funny stuff pictures, of her 'olidays an' that.

Laura: the teacher?

Laura...yeah...

Craig: Em...Ok, have you guys asked anyone else in the class if they are on Facebook?
(muted *no*)

Craig: Ok, why do you think that would be a good idea?

Carla: ...yeah...cos' we's could do stuff like, funny stuff, an' put pictures up of the class

Laura: Yeah...we could take pictures an' that...yeah.

Craig: Ok, Tash and Amy do you think that would be a good idea?

Tash: yeah...I 'fink that it'd be good

Craig: Em...why do you think that?

Tash: Cos' we's talk to each otha' an' leave messages?

Craig: Ok and why would leaving messages for each other be a good idea do you think?

Tash: Dunno...I like getting messages from people an' checkin' people out...it's fun.

Amy: do you fink it would be a good idea?

Amy...eh...Yeah.....I'd like that...I don't 'ave 'nufink like 'at

[Carla, Laura, Tash and Amy all approached me shortly after the focus group to inform me that they we unable to access the Face-book site at college. I checked this with the College's IT department and they informed there that all social networking sites, including any sites deemed unsuitable for people below the age of 11, are web-sensed (or banned). This ban extends to all staff and students]

Craig: Ok, maybe you could think about that, but who would you not be friends with?

Carla: ...the boys!

Laura and Tash togetha' ...yeah!

Craig: Why not the boys?

Laura: Cos' they'd just be rude an' leave bad messages I 'fink

Craig: Ok, so you don't trust the boys, anyone else in the class that you don't feel you can trust to be your friend?

Carla and Laura: No!

Craig: Em...ok, so let's talk some more about what is happening in your classes with the boys? You mentioned that the boys in the class are rude to you sometimes, are they rude to you all the time?

Carla: we's get picked on...yeah...not all the time...sometimes

Craig: Ok, Laura can you tell me when do you mostly get picked on?

Laura, Um...in like some classes, when teacher is not there an' that

Craig: Which classes are they?

Laura: ...we ain't had nobody for some classes like cooking an' that.

Craig: Ok, Can you tell me what do the boys do when the teachers don't turn up?

Laura: They makes noise an' carry on an' shout an' throw fings an' that?

Carla...an' last time a teacher came in from next door an' told 'em to stop an' said she was going to tell our teacher, an' said 'who's our teacher', we's said Henrietta?

Craig: Ok, and what happened then?

Carla: some of the otha' girl's went to see Henrietta...They said she was not there in her office.

Craig: Ok, and what did you do then?

Carla: Nufink', we's just talked in the hall an' stairs

Craig: Does she know about the boys making noise?

Carla: Um, yeah...I 'fink cos' she gives the boys into trouble, an' said be quiet until teacher turn up, and we's to speak to her if teacher don't turn up.

Craig: Amy, have you had any classes without teachers since Henrietta spoke to the boys?

Amy: Yeah...we's got cooking an' no one's there... the class is always locked?

Craig: Em...ok, so you still do not have any teachers for some classes, are you going to tell Henrietta about this again?

Amy: dunno...

Craig: Why did you not speak to Henrietta?

Amy: Dunno...she won't say nufink''

Craig: Ok, and what do you want the teachers to do about that?

Carla: they's just says tell Henrietta

Craig: So how did you guys feel about all of this, you know, no teachers for classes?

Laura: Dunno...what can we's do sir?

Craig: Ok, what do you all think you can do about it?

(Silence)

Carla: Dunno...can you say somethink sir?

(I'm a little startled by this, as I do not want to suggest anything that may cause trouble for myself or for teachers to turn against me).

Craig: Em...well...I am not a teacher, but maybe you should say something to Henrietta together when you see her and ask her for advice, or maybe see Ms Williams about it. Would you speak with Mrs. Williams if you had a problem?

Carla: Dunno...(Pause) can you not do it sir...please can you?

Craig: em...I think you should keep trying to speak with Henrietta together, maybe...

Carla: ok...Yeah...

Craig: Ok, so Laura does most of the teachers turn up?

Laura: Yeah?

Craig: So is Henrietta the only person that you could speak to in the college about teachers not turning up?

Carla: Eh, we's talk to Satnam sometimes he's nice we's talks to all the security people.

Laura, yeah...they're real nice to us, we speak to them at the front door all the time.

Well that sounds interesting can you tell me more about what you talk about?

Laura: We's just talk about everythink', they's funny, everyfink yeah, talk an' talk about stuff.

Craig: Ok, do you think you could speak to them about teachers not turning up to class.

Laura, I dunno know, I don't 'fink they know about stuff...no

Craig: Tash and Amy do you speak to the security guards at all?

Tash: no...they's downstairs?

Craig: Em...where about is this?

Tash: eh...at the doors...near the canteen,

Craig: Alright, so do you guys speak to them on the way up from the Canteen on breaks?

Laura: Yeah, Yeah

Craig: Right...ok Amy you are sitting nice and quietly. Can you think of another way to deal with some of the class issues, like late teachers?

Amy: I dunno... ..I dunno...um, dunno sir

Carla (interrupting) I could say somefink, yeah...I'd be good.

Laura: no you'd not Carla, you can't shut up (Laura laughs)

Carla mumbles

Craig: erm...I think that most classes in college normally gets to vote for a class leader and they get to speak for the class. Has anyone discussed that with you?

(muted) *No!*

Craig: Ok, what do you think Amy, would it be a good idea to ask Henrietta about that?

Amy: yeah...

Why is that?

Amy:...um...Cos' then we's could tell that person about our problems an' they would speak to teacher and get 'em fixed.

Carla: It ain't right Sir, Sir (the IT tutor) not turnin' up.

Tash: Yeah, like he ain't 'ere for two weeks, like yesterday neifa'.

Craig: Really, can you tell me what you think you might do about that?

The girls mumble 'dunno', before Carla asks: *Can you help us Sir, can yeh?*

Craig: I think this is an issue that you guys need to raise with a tutor,

Tash: I told Henrietta, (a class tutor) she said, "he'd be 'ere, but he ain't

Amy: ...yeah, like teachers always sayin, "it's not their job to complain"

Carla: [Interjecting] 'You see sir, see no-one 'ere ain't gonna listen' to us...'

(long pause)

Craig: Right, ok...I have some questions now about some of the interviews. This theme is about support that you get from teachers and the other staff in the college that is in class but out of it too. Know we talked a bit about Trish (support teacher), which is enjoyed hearing about. Ok...right... I'll start with what Trish said about teachers earlier,

that some teachers have rules, and this helps everyone behave in class ...em...so my first question is what are the rules in the classes?

Carla: Henrietta gives us rules in class...yeah...she gives us rules about not bein' late an' not swearin' at teachers?

Ok, any other rules?

Carla: we's be nice to your class and teachers I 'fink.

Craig: Did you guys discuss rules with any other teachers or just Henrietta?

Laura: Henrietta

Craig: Just Henrietta, ok, and she talked about the rules with you, did you guys talk about what rules you would like at all?

Laura: Yeah...yeah...she asked us what rules we fought we's wanna 'ave in class...yeah

Craig: And what rules did you all come up with?

Carla: no shouting an' teasin'.

Craig: Ok, anything else,

Tash: not bein' late,

Ok, Amy, did you have a say in the rules?

Amy: eh, un... yeah...yeah... I said they's good

Craig: Ok, do you think it is good to have a say in the class rules?

Amy:...yeah...yeah cos' eh you know 'em...yeah...you know them.

Craig: What about anyone else?

Carla: Yeah... it's good

Laura: yeah...

Can you tell me a bit more about why you think it is important?

(Long pause)

Laura: cos' they not just telling us...

Carla: cos' they are our rules not there's...

(long pause)

Craig: Ok, that's interesting cos' one thing that a few people talked about in their interviews was about signing a code of conduct? Can you remember talking about that in class with anyone?

Carla: yeah...yeah I remember, I remember?

Craig: Ok good can you tell me a bit more about it?

Carla: if we's don't behave then we's can get kicked out, um, we's 'ad to sign it wiff Ms Williams

Craig: Well I hope not, what about the rest of you do you remember signing or talking about the code of conduct with Ms Williams?

Laura: No...

Carla: Remember, remember, Ms. Williams class, remember...

Laura: No

Craig: Can anyone explain to Laura what the code of conduct is?

Carla: it said we's 'ave to behave an' go to classes an' do work on time...yeah...dunno!

Craig: Ok thanks Carla, yes that's it, do you remember now Laura?

Laura: no!

Craig: My question is did Ms Williams talk a bit about it and discuss what it mean?

Craig: Amy, you described it very well, do you remember?

Amy: ...eh...Ms. Williams said that we'd need to behave an' go to classes, an', um, listen to teachers, an', eh, um, be to class on time or we'd not be allowed to go to class and 'ave to go back to school.

Tash: yeah...she said that she speaks to 'ead teachers in our schools 'an that she'd tell 'em if we's not that good in class?

Laura: Did she, did she...I don't wanna my school to know 'nufink',

Tash: no...

Carla: yeah...an' she said that any trouble an' we's 'ave to go to her office ...she's scary...like real scary...

Craig: Ok, so you disagree with the school not knowing Laura, why is that?

Laura: I don't go to that school no more...I don't want em knowing 'nufink, why? why? why?...So they all could get me in trouble an' get mum in an' tell em I've been bad? ...yeah...yeah...Blah, blah, blah, Laura's been bad..., she always bad...Blah, blah

Craig: Ok, anyone else not think that the school should know about you?

Laura: No...no...cos' they don't care, they don't care...do they?

Carla: Yeah...yeah...we's not there anymore, we's ain't want nufink to do with stupid school...(laughs)

Craig: em...ok, so if you did get in trouble would you rather that the school told your mum or dad?

Tash, no, no she'd not be happy...no...no

Amy: ...no...no I don't want that...no.

Tash: but they would tell my mum an' that cos' Henrietta said that they'd call 'em if we got into trouble...yeah...yeah...

Laura: yeah...yeah...Henrietta got's my mum's mobile numba too.

Craig: Ok, so if you were bad in college they would call your mum or dad and the school. What would happen then?

Carla: we's be kicked out...yeah...yeah...we's be back in school...back to shite school.

Tash: no...I don't care, I don't care if I go back to school

Laura: you would leave us Carla, you'd leave us.

Carla: no...no!

Craig: Ok, right...other than sending you back to school or telling your mum, did Ms Williams explain what would happen if you did get into trouble?

(muted - no...)

Craig: Ok, um, do you know where you can see the code of conduct?

(muted - no)

Craig: em...it is in the Student handbook, does anyone have a student handbook with them, like one of these? – (I raise a student handbook from my coat pocket and show it to the group)

(muted- no)

Craig: You guys have one of these?

Carla: no...no

Laura: don't 'fink so...

Craig: Ok, I'm sure you will but in there is the code of conduct, but there is lot's of other stuff too like how to speak to someone if you feel stressed or your rights, and a nice wee map of college? Do you think it would be useful to have a handbook like this?

Laura: Dunno...

Tash: cos' we could know where to do for 'elp an' that...right?

Craig: Ok, did you get your student card?

Carla: yeah, we's got's it downstairs, we's had to get our picture taken...(laughs)

Craig: Ok, Carla did you all go together?

Tash...yeah... we went down wiff Henrietta to get a picture taken...yeah...

Laura: yeah...to the computer room...

Craig: Ok, lets me ask you a quick question, then, what if you had a problem with your student card, like it didn't work who would you speak to?

Carla: dunno...Satnam (the security guard) he's 'elp us

Laura: Yeah

Craig: Why would you go to Satnam?

Carla: Cos' he said if we's had a problem to speak with 'im

Tash: Yeah...

Amy...yeah

Craig: OK, so who's going to let me see their student card pictures then...?

Tash: No...way... no I am so ugly in mine...

Carla...No...no...we's all look so ugly in our's cards

Laura: No...way ...never, no...

(the girls all grab their cards and put them away... in fits of giggles)

Craig: Ok. Let me get back to talking about support from the teachers? So you all mentioned that you 'get along' with some teachers better than others and that in some classes there is a good atmosphere, or that everyone seems to like being there. One thing that most people said in the interviews was that they liked teachers to not to talk so much, but listen more. Can you tell me more about why listening is important?

Craig: Carla: ...cos' some teachers talk an' talk an' talk. It's boring

Laura: yeah ...like teachers just talks, an' talk, blah, blah, blah an' I don't understand what he say all the time, he's talking all fast...blah, blah

Laura: yeah...and he shouts at us we he asks us a question an' we don't know it...we don't know it cos' he is blah, blah, blah (laughs)

Craig: Ok, do you ask him to slow down?

Carla: No...no way they'll just shout at us...no

Craig: Ok, so Tash an' Amy why do you think it is important for teachers to listen?

Tash: dunno, we...cos' like Laura said he's do mufink', talkin', talkin', talkin'

Craig: Oh dear.

Amy, yeah...we don't understand all the time...he don't 'elp us...readin', writin', sums...he just talks an' talk.

Carla...yeah...(she stands up and moves her hips from side to side) like blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah (laughter and a little song breaks out)...

Tash, Laura and Carla...blah, blah, blah...you don't do this...you do this, you don't do this...you don't do this...blah, blah, blah...yeah..

Craig: em...ok, guys...ok, I like it, but maybe save the wee song for the X factor....sit down sit down...

(Laughter)

(Roughly) 30 seconds later...

(I look toward Tash and Amy as the other girls congratulate each other)

Craig: Ok...right...do you like the teachers Tash?

Tash: some are alright, need some more betta' teachers I 'fink

Craig: Why would happen if there were better staff?

Tash: ...maybe workin' 'arda, working, readin', writin' sums an' that ...be betta behaved an' that ini ...not be sittin' doin' 'nufink' all day.

Carla: yeah...betta cos' we don't do 'nufink sometimes.

Craig: Ok, so a few things that people liked about the teachers was that they talked and listened to you, and asked you questions about what you wanted to do in class? Why do you think that's important?

Carla: cos' then it's not blah, blah, blah. (laughter from Tash and Laura)

Craig: Ok, Carla (who was clearly losing concentration now)...before I call Simon Cowell, can you tell me what you like about getting a chance to talk in class?

Carla: Cos' we's don't get bored an/ that, init.

Craig: Ok, thanks and Tash and Laura and Amy what do you think?

Laura: Yeah...yeah...it's good teachers ask us stuff an' joke about stuff

Laura: yeah...we like Jo cause she's funny an' just chills wiff us

Craig: Ok, that's interesting, can you tell me why it is important to chill?

Laura: just is...init. cos' it is like they don't care about us, they just wanna' come in an' then leave...

Carla: yeah...they don't care.

Craig: Ok, so you feel it is important to 'ang out'

Laura: Yeah, yeah...just chill...like Jo she's cool, she like respects us betta than some teachers, yeh know, just treats us betta...like propa' respectful an' that.

Carla: yeah...she's cool, we's like her class cos' we can sit an' gab to her an' gab about normal stuff not just class work...

Laura...yeah we's get to gab 'bout stuff...an' she says to us...talk...talk...if yer stuck, she comes round an' says, ok, she helps, init...

Craig: Ok, do you like his class Tash and Amy?

Tash: she helps us an' let's us do it...an' doesn't stop us all the time an' say 'we's doin' it all wrong'...

Craig: And what do you like about Jo's class Amy?

Cam: yeah...she's nice...I like her to. She's just cool, yeh know nice an' that

Craig: Ok, right ok, I am going to finish now, but what I thought I would do before we listen to some of the recording, just like in the interviews, is get you all to write down on your piece of paper your favourite things about college and the things you don't like so much? I then want you to come together and agree on your top three best and not so good things about college (I explain what to do and then ask them to go away and come back to discuss it in 10 minutes).

They return on time with the following list:

<u>Best</u>	<u>Not so good</u>
<i>Meeting new people</i>	<i>Loud</i>
<i>Friends</i>	<i>Some teachers</i>
<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Rude Boys</i>

Craig: Ok, so before we finish, you said that you like meeting new people, having friends and the teachers? Is that all the teachers?

Carla: we say some teachers is good? (Who seems to be the spokes-person for the group as the other girls get a little more than restless)

Craig: Would you all agree girls?

(the girls all say) *Yeah sir!*

Craig: Em Ok, so by the time we next meet you would like to meet more new people and have tons of new friends eh...?

Carla: yeah...yeah...meet tons of fit boys

Tash and Laura (laughter)

Laura: We's all say's we's like to meet new people...yeah!

Craig: Ok, very good girls, well done...I will stop it there, Ok, good...

Recorded session ends

Appendix III

Contact Summary Sheet (shortened to fit page)

1. Student Information

Name:		Date:	
Class:		Group:	

2. Interview Analysis

Salient points of Interview	Emerging Patterns

Principal data identified:

Peer Relationships

Participation

Relationships with staff

Appendix III

Reflective Journal

Included: Two lengthy extracts taken from the reflective journal

Event/Quote	Reflection/Questions
Professional support and masculinity	
<p><i>'I fink mostly girls than boys chat to teachers in like class an' learnin' support an' that...If yer a lad like me yeh just don't do girly shite like that.'</i></p> <p>Interview extract - Jimmy: 25/02/08</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - His hard lad standing in the class seems to compound suspicion of teaching staff? Frictions are often like tectonic plates. - This feeling of distance from staff may also be compounded by his construction of learning support as a girly domain. - Do all boys think that learning support is a place frequented mostly by girls? - Where does he fit-in/belong in college?
<p>(Follow up) The boys reclaim some of the college space as their own. They congregate outside of G' Block or at the Cage to socialise, smoke, and sometimes to play football. Some of the boys suggested that the College failed to provide activities that everyone could do, and so they failed to see a role for themselves in the wider college community.</p>	
Trust and mistrust	
<p>Question: Do you trust your classmates?</p> <p><i>No! I trust my old mates more than mates ere'. Sometimes I fink, I'll not say anyfink to this guy cos' I know he'll stir shite up.</i></p> <p>Interview extract – Jimmy 25/02/08</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To know someone as a 'mate' was not necessarily to trust them. - Conflicts with Putman (Bowling Alone, 2000) and his notion of generalised trust? - He characterises Access and his mates in terms of generalised suspicion. - What affect will this have on Jimmy?
<p>(Follow up) This generalised suspicion seems to have limited the input Jimmy offered in the focus group, and may have started to affect his recent, poor attendance at the College.</p>	

Appendix V

Coding protocol

Bonding social capital

A. Sociability and Social Networks

1. 'Strange at first': friends as resources
2. A 'cosy place': hanging out in learner support
3. Social Life: making known

B. Trust and Dependence

1. Views of people 'out there' and their effects
2. *Bad boys*, bodies and dominant masculinities: 'a room of our own'
3. Immobility

Bridging social capital: the nature of young people's participation in FE

C. Participation and Control

1. Special clubs
2. Choice
3. Risk: 'escaping the bubble'

D. Collective Action and Agency

1. Civic Engagement: involving young people
2. Empowerment and social control
3. 'On our side': social capital and engagement

Tutor-based social capital: the role of the special needs tutor

E. The role of the special needs tutor

1. Constructing the successful learner: reciprocal relations
2. Individualised learning
3. A sense of belonging

Appendix VI Consent form for college student participant

This study into *Social Capital in Further Education* is conducted by: Craig Johnston, a postgraduate student within the Sport and Education Department of Brunel University in West London. You are invited to be a possible participant in this study because, as a young person recently enrolled in an alternative Further Education provision, it is important to find out from you, about any new people, opportunities or experiences that may have helped you feel welcome in college. It is important for you look at the consent form and, then, to ask questions about the study, before you agree to be a participant.

Background Information:

The aim of my research is to help get a better understanding of any new experiences, especially new relationships that you may have formed with say tutors, support staff or even friends in clubs on or around campus that have helped you feel more part of the College. I feel that it is important as a young student on a campus, which may be bigger or stranger than school, that you may join in and/or be accepted as a valuable student of this college, because it is often then that you feel more confident and tend to do better.

Procedure:

If you agree to participate in my study, I need to meet with you on at least two or even three times for about 30 minutes or so once a week, so I can ask you about your why you chose to come here instead of at school, what experiences have you had with staff since you have been here, what new friends have you made, or even what can you do here that you like that you couldn't at school. This may take only a couple of interviews, but I

have found it is best to take your time because often you can go away and think about things, or even think of things to ask me next time. The interviews will be taped though as I want to make sure that everything you say is noted, but you can stop the tape any time you want, even rewind it at the end to make sure I understand what you have said.

The benefits and the risks of participating in this study

This study holds no anticipated risks to participants, however the researcher has and will take reasonable steps to minimize any potential or unknown risks to participants. There is unlikely to be any direct benefits from participating in this research, although your participation may help others and yourself better understand some aspects of college life.

Confidentiality:

Any notes or files used within this study are to be kept secure and private. Also, any article I may publish in the future will never include information which could identify either yourself, the College staff, or indeed, anybody else you may discuss. My files or notes of our discussions are secure and only researchers can access them. *Any interviews and/or focus groups that are recorded on to tape will only ever be listened to by myself (and yourself if you wish) and only made use of in this research, before being destroyed.*

Voluntary nature of this research:

Participation within this research is voluntary. If you decide not to participate, this decision will never, in any way, affect any future or current relationships to people at the College or at Brunel University. However, if you make a decision to participate in this

study you can also withdraw from this research at any stage, or you can choose not to answer questions in an interview, and your circumstances in college will not be affected.

Further questions and contacts:

The researcher facilitating the study is Craig Johnston. Please feel free to ask questions about the research in the future, or if you want to ask questions later, you are encouraged to call on: 07795061953 - c.johnston@fsmail.net or if you need clarification of the study please contact my supervisor at Brunel on simon.bradford@brunel.ac.uk -01895 274000.

Statement of consent:

In consenting to participate within this study, I acknowledge having read through the consent form, and asked questions and gained answers.

(Print): Full Name _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Parent or guardian's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Date: _____

