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A conversation analytic study of co-working between a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities

Deborah Worrall

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law.

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Abstract

Co-working is a unique approach to addressing employment inequalities for people with learning disabilities. It involves a dyad comprising a person with and person without learning disabilities, with equal employment arrangements in terms of status and pay, working together, providing mutual support and skill sharing. Currently, co-working is mainly only seen in disabled people's organisations that champion the rights of people with learning disabilities. However, this employment set up has potential to increase the numbers of people with learning disabilities in paid work and also in positions of influence both inside and outside disabled people's organisations.

This study sets out to examine how the co-workers' interactions impact on equality in co-working and how they both contribute to decision making in the course of their work. Four pairs of co-workers from four different disabled people's organisations across the UK were videoed whilst undertaking their work and Conversation Analysis (CA) was used to perform a fine grained analysis of their interactions as they proceed, turn by turn.

The findings show that despite having a strong context for equal working, co-workers at times replicated asymmetries and inequalities seen in supporter-service user relationships. However, the co-workers without a learning disability largely displayed an orientation towards ensuring that the voice of their colleague was a central part of any work they produced. At different times, both co-workers exercised authority, but each were deferred to as having specific deontic domains. The co-worker without a learning disability largely had authority to decide upon the work task and the co-worker with a learning disability had authority about matters within their epistemic domain. Some of the approaches to promoting quality in co-working are each co-worker having access to all aspects of work, avoiding replicating established disempowering interactional practices, equal access to IT equipment and accessible information.

This thesis is dedicated to Graham.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE:.....

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Chapter One Introduction

The idea for this research came from my experience of working in the social care and charitable sectors with people with learning disabilities and those paid to support or provide services to them. It also follows on from my MSc dissertation which focussed on how a 'learning disability' identity was constructed in the talk between an individual with learning disabilities and their supervisor at work, and then between the same person and a support worker who supported them in their home. Likewise, this thesis also centres around talk between a person with learning disabilities and a colleague in the workplace. At a number of points throughout my working life I have been part of the process of facilitating service user involvement. This has happened, for example, through involving service users in staff interviews, delivering training with a service user as co-trainer, or working with a service user as a colleague. In the course of my career, the term 'service user involvement' has been substituted by 'co-production', and co-production has become a key concern for public sector organisations.

The research topic for this thesis centres around how co-production takes place in a working relationship between two people. It is hard to pin down a universally accepted definition of co-production and, given the variety of settings in which it is applied, subtle differences in meaning occur. Indeed, in the Social Care Institute for Excellence's (2015) guide to co-production in social care, the authors refrain from providing a concrete definition, instead offering a list of key features. These include defining those who use services as assets with capabilities, breaking down barriers between service users and professionals, mutuality and reciprocity, working with peer and support networks and helping organisations become agents for change and not just service providers. In essence, the aim of co-production is to involve people who use services in the design, delivery and evaluation of those services and to go beyond simply involving users in the ways described earlier. Practical examples of co-production include: lay assessors asking older people about their experience of home care and feeding this back to agencies and the council (National Development Team for Inclusion/Helen Sanderson Associates undated), people with learning disabilities redesigning a course on human rights that was written for them by professionals (Roberts et al 2012)

and Keyring, an organisation where people with learning disabilities have their own tenancy and are supported by volunteers and staff to recognise and share their skills (Social Care Institute for Excellence 2015).

Within my own work, I have felt that attempts at 'co-production' have risked being tokenistic gestures, rather than meaningful involvement. What I have largely experienced (more significantly, within the local authorities I've worked for) is the challenge of trying to fit an individual with learning disabilities into a process which is not set up to be accessible to them. Co-production within complex, institutional organisations requires a shift in culture and power, a move towards close, collaborative relationships and a relaxation of bureaucratic processes in order to be more responsive, all of which pose significant challenges (Roberts et al 2013, Boyle and Harris 2009). In practice, I have seen this translate to employees feeling the pressure of getting the process 'done' in line with institutional objectives, therefore not having adequate time and space to ensure the individual with learning disabilities is meaningfully involved. I have been involved in supporting a number of individuals to be part of interviewing panels with the intention of circumventing the barriers put up by institutional practices. However, it has rarely been enough to overcome the inaccessibility of the processes in place, resulting in some individuals becoming acquiescent and withholding their true opinions. At one panel, a staff member who seemed acutely aware of these issues stated that the individual with learning disability's opinion was the most important in the room, when their status in relation to other panel members did not match this comment. Although made with the best of intentions, this statement highlights how inequitable attempts at co-production can actually be when nothing changes other than a person with learning disabilities being present. In order to be meaningful co-production should aim to go 'well beyond service user involvement, to foster the principle of equal partnership' (Boyle and Harris 2009, p.12). I would argue that the activities I have witnessed or been part of do not constitute meaningful power sharing (Needham 2008).

What is also significant - and perhaps left out of the largely positive critique of co-production - is the substantial employment inequality experienced by people with learning

disabilities and how this can be perpetuated by not offering adequate remuneration for co-production activities. In my experience, individuals are offered expenses and vouchers for their work at best, or nothing at all at worst. The employment rate of people with learning disabilities is estimated to be around 5.1%, with as many as 65% wanting work but not being able to achieve it due to lack of support, fear of impact on benefits, discouragement from family and carers and discriminatory attitudes of employers (British Association for Supported Employment 2021, Emerson et al 2011, Tucker et al 2012). Whilst people with learning disabilities may choose to do co-productive activities on a voluntary basis, voluntary work does not necessarily have the same meaning as it does for a person without learning disabilities, who may have significantly fewer barriers to obtaining a paid job if they wanted to. People with learning disabilities are often encouraged to undertake voluntary work as a means to learning employment skills or as a substitute for paid work, due to the difficulties with obtaining a paid position (Tucker et al 2012). In addition, when someone chooses not to be paid, the Department for Work and Pensions considers this to be unpaid work not voluntary work, which is performed for a charity or charitable organisation (British Association for Supported Employment undated a). So, although accepting vouchers for co-productive work can circumvent any impact on benefits an individual with learning disabilities may experience, it sustains the massive employment inequalities they face.

Co-production is considered to improve trust between those who use services and those who deliver them and sharing or devolving power from professionals to service users is touted as a key advantage of this approach (Needham 2008, Fledderus et al 2014). The issue of power and lack of control is a pertinent one in the lives of people with learning disabilities and therefore co-production would appear to have the potential to impact upon this positively. The exercise of power in disabled people's lives through choice and control is a key part of government policy regarding health and social care, and is in contrast with 'protective and authoritative social care which rigidly controls the life of a disabled person' (Williams and Porter 2015a, p.97). People with learning disabilities are particularly susceptible to controlling and disabling practices from service providers, as the basis for which they receive these services is presumed incompetence. There is a significant threat to the potential for individuals to have choice and control in their lives, even in respect of basic

day to day decisions, due to the culture of care and dependency within social care services (Fine and Glendinning 2005). Not being listened to, not being considered to be competent enough to make choices and therefore having professionals or carers speak or act on their behalf has been a daily experience for many individuals with learning disabilities (Goodley and Ramcharan 2005; Antaki et al 2008). Disabled people's organisations (DPOs) such as self-advocacy groups champion the rights of people with learning disabilities on an individual and collective basis and are often requested to co-produce work with local authorities. However, this can be critiqued as shallow (Redley and Weinberg 2007) or risk being subverted by professionals (Finlay and Lyons 1998).

Co-production puts an emphasis on personal, rather than 'institutional' relationships between service users and 'professionals' and the quality of these relationships is a key factor for success (Social Care Institute for Excellence 2015). When an institution invites service users to co-produce work with them, there is an existing disparity in power, status and access to resources between them which inevitably hinders the possibility of building a successful relationship, despite the intention of evening out these inequalities. However, within DPOs where people with learning disabilities are already employed, an equitable and co-productive relationship between those with learning disabilities and those without seems much more achievable. Certainly, this has been my experience when working alongside colleagues with a learning disability in such an organisation. Yet, in my position of power, I still felt tripped up at times by the challenge of not replicating disempowering relationships. I was keen that we worked collaboratively to make decisions, and where relevant, the individuals with learning disabilities had the autonomy to do so on their own. However, despite my aim to enable independent choice and control to be a feature of our work together, I found myself being deferred to in almost all decision making. Independence and individualistic values are a part of Western culture and an autonomous, independent self who can think and choose for themselves free from influence is considered the highest ideal (Walter and Friedman Ross 2014). There is a link to traditional notions of independence for people with learning disabilities (which are similar to the autonomous ideal) and which emphasise living, working and having a social life either with very minimal or no assistance from workers, who remain in the background of the individual's life.

However, this suggests that it is both desirable and achievable for disabled individuals (as it is for non-disabled people) to aspire to a life in which they are entirely self-reliant. Morris (2004) emphasised that it is important to recognise that for disabled people, autonomy is about control over one's life and not isolated independence. Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000, pp.21-26) point out that autonomy is realised in relation to and with other people, echoing the concept of 'relational autonomy' put forward by feminist philosophers in the 1980s. Relational autonomy also recognises that whilst we make decisions and lead our lives with the support and involvement of others, this involvement has the potential to undermine our ability to be autonomous as well as enhance it. UK policy foregrounds choice and control for people with learning disabilities and warns against the controlling ways in which support staff can influence decision making. Indeed, Antaki et al (2008) found that the ways in which support staff offer choices and respond to decision making can impede an individual's confidence and autonomy. Similarly, Jepson (2011) found that support workers made it known when they disagreed with service users' decisions and offered alternatives even when they had already made their choice. In addition, the effect of a 'hands off' or 'it's over to you' approach to decision making can side-line the supportive relationship, making the supporter seem disinterested or dismissive of the choice and perhaps by extension of the person making the decision (Williams and Porter 2015a; Walter and Friedman Ross 2014). Whilst the intention may be to enable someone to develop into a more independent self and not to stifle them, this may inadvertently happen. It is clear that enabling an individual with learning disabilities to realise their agency is a joint process that requires skilful, attentive and responsible supporters who are mindful of the impact of their interactions and the quality of their relationship (Williams and Porter 2015a; Bekkema et al 2014).

A DPO I worked for sought to implement shared job roles, in order that people with learning disabilities could take up higher status office and managerial roles. The shared roles were structured so that a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities would undertake the same job with the same employment status and could mutually support each other. They would be for example, both fundraisers or office managers. This would provide an equal status role, ensure people with learning disabilities were more involved in all aspects of running the organisation and would be a small gesture

towards increasing their employment rate. This way of structuring jobs appears to have the potential to reveal the ways in which co-production can take place within a working relationship which sets out to be more equal. Although the individuals in these roles would not be equal in terms of identity and perceived power, as a person with learning disabilities and a person without, with genuine equality in employment status and role there is the potential for decision making to be more equitable. This is very much in contrast with the ways in which co-production takes place in other settings but may shed light on how to manage co-productive relationships.

This study is largely influenced by models of disability which have risen out of the disability rights movement (see Chapter 2.3 for more detail). In brief, these models draw attention to the ways that people are disabled by factors other than their impairments (Oliver 1990; Thomas 2004 a and b). One of the most significant ways in which people with learning disabilities are 'disabled' is through interactions with other people which perpetuate power imbalances and produce an identity of incompetence (see Chapter 4.2 and 4.4 for examples of this). This study aims to shed light on the realities of talk between an impaired individual and a colleague whose talk could, if unintentionally, prove somewhat disabling. This links perfectly with the methodological choice of Conversation Analysis (CA), a choice which is explained in more depth in Chapter 3. CA lends itself to revealing the ways in which power, identity and roles are played out in talk (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998).

CA is largely considered to be atheoretical and CA data should be approached without any a priori theoretical assumptions (Wooffitt 2005). However, the use of CA in empirical research has led to a growing body of theoretical knowledge about the structures of conversation (Perakyla 2004). The roots of CA lie in sociology and the influence of Goffman's interaction order and Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Heritage 2001, ten Have 2007). With the interaction order, Goffman maintained that social interaction was orderly and comprised 'a set of interactional rights and obligations' regarding identity and institutions (Heritage 2001, p.48). Garfinkel maintained that people make mutual sense of the world using socially shared methods, and he called the study of these methods ethnomethodology (Heritage

and Stivers 2013). Sacks, in association with Schegloff and Jefferson developed the ideas of Goffman (that interaction is orderly can be studied in its own right) and of Garfinkel (shared understanding contributes to interaction on a step-by-step basis) into the insights and methodology now known as Conversation Analysis (Heritage and Clayman 2010).

Perakyla (2004, p.154) draws attention to the fact that ‘in Conversation Analysis, *methods* of the study of social interaction and *theory* concerning social interaction are very closely intertwined’. He encapsulates the ways in which empirical studies have shown conversation to be organised with three basic assumptions – firstly, talk is action; secondly action is structurally organised; and lastly, that talk creates and maintains intersubjective reality. These assumptions about CA research can be called theory and show how talk achieves action, structure and intersubjectivity. Relating this back to my research, examining the talk between colleagues with and without learning disabilities with CA will reveal how the action of decision making is achieved. It will also reveal how shared, intersubjective reality is constructed and the impact this has upon the equity of decision making in this unique working relationship.

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter two reflects the experiences of disabled people in the UK and the history of the disability movement, with additional focus on the place of people with learning disabilities within the movement. Chapter three gives an overview of the chosen methodology as a starting point for those unfamiliar with CA. Chapter four reviews the CA literature as it relates to this study. Chapter five describes the methods used to conduct this study, before the following three chapters outline the findings. Chapter six provides an overview of the opening sequences of talk where the dyads start working together and discuss what they will work on together. Chapter seven concentrates on the pairs actually carrying out their work together and the way they approach working collaboratively. Chapter eight sees the co-workers negotiating when to take a break for lunch and reveals the strategies they use to upgrade their need to stop work. Finally, chapter nine is a discussion of the salient points arising from the findings, the chief contributions to CA, the practical implications for

disabled people's organisations, the disability movement and those wanting to implement or improve on co-working.

Chapter 2 Background

This chapter will give a chronological overview of the disability rights movement in the UK. It will detail how the movement gave rise to the social model of disability and to activism via the emergence of disabled people's organisations. Next I will describe the place of people with learning disabilities within the movement and how this led to them forming self advocacy groups. Following this will be an outline of key policies and legislation relating to disabled people and the rights and values underpinning them. The subsequent section will focus on the employment situation of people with learning disabilities and the ways models of employment have been used to reduce employment inequalities. Finally, I will define and describe the co-working model and detail its role in promoting employment opportunities for people with learning disabilities.

2.1 Early Experiences of Disabled People

Before the disability rights movement emerged in the UK, disabled people had been experiencing oppression, poverty and segregation from society for decades. Finkelstein (1981) attributed this to the impact of industrialisation and capitalism. He claimed that prior to industrialisation, families who relied on agriculture and handicraft for their income were able to adapt tasks to the abilities of disabled family members. When industrialisation meant that work was standardised such as within factories, adaptations that would allow disabled people to work and contribute to their families no longer existed (Richardson 2005; Hunt 2019). This resulted in many disabled people becoming dependent on other people or charitable organisations to look after their needs. The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 detailed how 'welfare' would provide for disabled people either through the workhouse or through charity and legitimised begging; however, by the late 19th century charities were set up to address the horrific conditions that people were subjected to through either of these types of 'welfare' (Hunt 2019).

The 1913 Mental Deficiency Act required that people who fell under its auspices be certified and detained in institutions if they could not be suitably cared for or supervised at home. The act classified such people as 'idiots', 'imbeciles' or 'feeble minded', with the former two categories relating to people we would nowadays refer to as having an intellectual or learning disability. People with some forms of mental ill health would have also likely been covered by the Act. Although it could be argued that the Act was altruistic, in that one aim was to ensure people were cared for adequately, the institutions people were detained in kept them separate from the public. Eugenacists lobbied the government to safeguard the 'quality' of the population by ensuring that 'mentally defective' people did not reproduce, and the Mental Deficiency Act was the result of this (Richardson 2005, Johnson and Walmsley 2010). The Act led to many people being housed within institutions called 'colonies' which were often in rural settings and provided a self-sufficient environment where the individuals who lived there contributed to the running of the service (Historic England 2021). The self-sufficient nature of these settings meant that people did not routinely leave and had to ask special permission from staff to do so.

Post World War Two, the introduction of the welfare state and a national health service led to a focus on the medical rehabilitation of people involved in the war in order to get them back to work. At first, this did not include disabled people; however, with time, the notion of rehabilitation was promoted as a way to enable physically disabled people to have a more normalised existence and hence, a better life. However, the focus on rehabilitating the disabled individual fell short, as outside of hospital settings the world was inaccessible and there was a lack of community support and suitable housing (Hunt 2019). In parallel with this, people with learning disabilities remained isolated from the wider world, as responsibility for the 'colonies' was transferred to the NHS, and the services were renamed long stay hospitals (Jarrett 2020, Atherton 2003). From the 1960s onwards, a number of specialist services for physically disabled people were created such as residential homes, special schools and day centres. Similar to those for people with learning disabilities, these services were set apart from mainstream society and kept disabled people and their needs hidden away (Hunt 2019). There was an enthusiastic move towards the creation of residential care services for physically disabled people, but little attention was given to the possibility of alternative models of

support. The creation of these services brought together many people, including those who only required a minimum amount of daily support, and over time it became apparent that the expectations of the disabled residents did not match those of the managers of the services. The restrictions and loss of rights that disabled people faced provided a context within which they formed ideas about the oppression of disabled people and the services that would support them best. Hunt (2019) emphasised how the impact of the institutionalisation of disabled people was an important factor in the development of the disability rights movement:

“Some of these institutions created unusual communities where disabled people started the struggle for more control of their lives and gained insights that were of benefit to a social movement that emerged many years later”

(Hunt 2019)

The people living in long stay hospitals and residential homes shared an experience of a loss of their rights, lack of privacy due to dormitory living, isolation due to being in remote areas, controlling attitudes from staff, loss of employment opportunities and a regimented way of living. It is arguable that people with learning disabilities were subjected to the most inhumane treatment in these settings. Those living and working in long stay hospitals recall that people were expected to share clothes, they were under constant staff surveillance even in the bathroom and that punishments such as withholding privileges and being confined to bed were commonplace when people did not conform to hospital rules (Jarrett 2020, Cooper 1997, Atherton 2003). Incidences of cruelty, abuse and dehumanising treatment were rife, and those considered the worst offenders were tranquilised and locked in a ‘punishment villa’ for up to a month (Jarrett 2020). While the care of physically disabled people had moved from hospital into residential homes, long stay hospitals for people with a learning disability were still being built in the 1970s (Richardson 2005). The degrading experiences that people had in these settings resulted in many becoming withdrawn (Hunt 2019) and people with a learning

disability were ostensibly prevented from voicing their experiences by the inhumanity of their treatment (Atkinson 2005). However, a few people set out to make their experiences known and to effect change.

2.2 The emergence of the disabled people's movement

It has been suggested that disabled people had been self-organising for some time before the first known disabled persons' group was set up in the UK in the 1960s (Goodley 2000). However, the origins of the disability movement in the UK can be traced to 1965, when the Disablement Income Group (DIG) was formed by two disabled women, Megan Du Boisson and Berit Moore (Barnes and Mercer 2006). The focus of the group was to 'promote the economic and general welfare of disabled people' (DIG 1987), by raising awareness that many disabled people lived in poverty and campaigning for improvements in benefit payments. At the time, the rate of disability benefits depended on the cause of impairment. Those who were injured at war or in the workplace received a premium and 'housewives' were not entitled to any disability relief (UK Disability History Month 2019). DIG established the Attendance Allowance, and their campaigning was part of events that led to the creation of social security benefits in the 1970s (UK Disability History Month 2019).

Despite the DIG's aim to improve the 'general welfare' of disabled people, burgeoning disability activists became frustrated about the lack of focus on other aspects of inequality and due to the infiltration of non-disabled 'experts' into the group (Shakespeare 2013; Barnes and Mercer 2006). This is said to have ultimately led to the formation of the Union for The Physically Impaired against Segregation (UPIAS). In 1974, Paul Hunt, a disabled man living in a Leonard Cheshire residential home, wrote a letter to the Guardian newspaper calling for disabled people to set up a campaigning group. His letter referred to residential homes as 'latter day workhouses' and invited people to join him in creating a consumer group to represent the views of people in residential homes regarding their care, and to formulate alternative models of support (UK Disability History Month 2019). He was joined by Vic Finkelstein to create UPIAS which, as its name suggests, only recruited members who were physically impaired people. The most significant and enduring contribution of UPIAS is the

distinction they made between impairment and disability, and their definition of disability. Initially in their manifesto they used the terms impairment and disability interchangeably. However, in their 1976 Fundamental Principles of Disability paper (UPIAS 1976) they put forward a position which distinguished impairment from disability, and emphasised that disability is caused by societal conditions:

' In our view, it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society.'

(UPIAS 1976)

This principle powered the disabled people's movement forward and the drive to remove barriers to disabled people's inclusion in society. It was the principle which underpinned the social model of disability that Oliver (1996) went on to develop and which is discussed below. In the 1970s and 1980s other groups such as the Liberation Network, Sisters Against Disability (SAD) and the British Council of Disabled People (BCODP) were formed with the aim of bringing disabled people together to provide mutual support and create a strong voice to challenge oppression and discrimination (Barnes and Mercer 2006, Greater Manchester Coalition of Disabled People 2010). With the emergence of a number of disabled people's organisations (DPOs), it was necessary to pin down a definition of a DPO to ensure that control remained with disabled people. The BCODP stipulated that the majority of the management committee in a DPO should comprise of disabled people (Blackmore and Hodgkins 2012). One of the fundamental principles was - and still is - 'Nothing About Us Without Us'. Deeply rooted in disabled people's collective voice, the whole approach to disability was undergoing a profound shift.

2.3 The Social Model of Disability

The social model of disability is a system for understanding disability which was developed by Mike Oliver, a disabled academic using the ideas originally put forward by UPIAS. Within this framework the traditional view that disability arises from an individual's impairments is turned on its head to focus on the ways in which society enacts disablement upon individuals by excluding them and preventing their full participation in society (UPIAS 1976, Oliver 1996). Oliver created this model to provide a framework for his social work students to make sense of the experience of disability. He contrasted the social model with the individual model of disability in which disability is viewed as a personal tragedy, located within the individual, and arising from limitations or losses caused by their impairment (Oliver 1990). The individual model is widely referred to today as the 'medical model', although Oliver argued that medicalisation of disabled people was only one aspect of the individual model (Oliver 2013; Oliver and Barnes 2012).

The reach of the social model in the UK cannot be overstated and it has been the driving force behind, and the cornerstone of the disability rights movement (Shakespeare 2013). As the social model has been so widely accepted and in some respects accepted uncritically, it has risked becoming seen as an ideology, and this is something that Oliver (2013) warned against. Criticisms of the social model relate to the dualism of the impairment and disability distinction (Shakespeare and Watson 2001) which overemphasises the social and political aspects of disability (Shakespeare 2013; Morris 1991) and ignores the disabling aspects of impairments (Thomas 2004 a&b). Thomas (2004 a&b) offers a counterpoint to these arguments with the social-relational model of disability which acknowledges that living with impairments can disable individuals partly (or more), but that further disablement occurs when society restricts the activities of those living with impairments. She goes on to argue that this was the original understanding of disability as set out by Finkelstein and Hunt but that the social model has been interpreted in a simplistic way, leading to assertions that: 'impairment does not cause restrictions of activity, because the social model tells us that ALL restrictions of activity are caused by social barriers' (Thomas 2004a). The social model of

disability was disseminated within services through disability equality training delivered by DPOs and it was considered to be a key part of the disabled people's movement (Campbell 1997).

2.4 People with Learning Disabilities within the Disabled People's Movement

It is argued that DPOs are not necessarily an homogeneous group who share the same values (Callus 2014) and whilst organisations of physically impaired people were getting off the ground, the movement for people with a learning disability in the UK came about in a slightly different way. Archived documents from long stay hospitals in the 1940s make reference to a person with learning disabilities stating it was necessary to 'stick up for yourself' there (Buchanan and Walsmley 2006). Although such documents exist, there is little recorded history of people with learning disabilities self organising to challenge their treatment prior to the 1980s (Goodley 2000, Buchanan and Walsmley 2006). A catalyst for people with learning disabilities' activism can be traced to a conference, 'Our Life', set up in 1972 by the Campaign for Mentally Handicapped people (CMH), an organisation run by professionals and academics. In the previous year, a government white paper 'Better Services for the Mentally Handicapped' advocated a 50% reduction in long-stay hospital placements and an increase in community based services over the next 20 years (Gates and Mafuba 2016). The 'Our Life' conference was attended by people from long stay hospitals and provided a forum where they could discuss where they would like to live in the future, given the proposed changes. Conferences held by CMH in subsequent years enabled delegates to come together and discuss their experience of and hopes for relationships, choices, independence and employment (Goodley and Ramcharan 2005). Although people expressed aspirations for the future, many felt that they would be held back from achieving them by the controlling nature of the services they lived in and the staff that ran them. People were also keen to continue meeting and discussing their situation, and wanted to do so more frequently than just once a year (Goodley 2000). In 1984 two international events took place which delegates from the UK attended, The First International Self Advocacy Leadership Conference and The First International People First Conference. Attendance at

the latter inspired the advent of the first People First self advocacy group in the UK, People First London and Thames. The name 'People First' came about when an attendee at one of the first self advocacy conferences in the US expressed frustration with the labels given to him and stated 'I want to be treated like a person first' (People First 2021). The term self advocacy has been used to define a number of styles of activism over the years and is arguably not one which individuals with a learning disability chose, preferring instead to describe what a self advocacy group does as 'speaking up' (Sutcliffe and Simons 1993). The purpose of self advocacy groups is to 'speak up and campaign for the rights of people with learning difficulties' (People First 2021) and many today see People First as being synonymous with self advocacy, although other types of advocacy organisations existed and remain today. 'Speaking Up' groups were seen in hospitals, training centres, group homes and other services for people with a learning disability (Goodley 2000). It is notable, however, that groups campaigning for the rights of people with other impairments didn't define themselves as self advocacy groups. It is likely that this distinction is due to the fact that people with learning disabilities have historically been denied a voice in a way that people with other impairments have not.

Whilst in the wider disabled people's movement the disability-impairment distinction was the dominant ideology, at the time the movement was getting off the ground for people with learning disabilities, principles of normalisation and social role valorisation (SRV) were influential in the development of services (Johnson and Walmsley 2010). Normalisation was underpinned by the idea that there should be 'an existence for the mentally retarded as close to normal living conditions as possible' (Bank-Mikkleson 1969, p.181). This idea was a counterpoint to the way in which services had isolated and restricted the lives of people with learning disabilities thus far. Nirje (1985) later emphasised that people with a learning disability had the right to the same ordinary life as other people but that this could not be achieved within the institutions and long stay hospitals that they currently lived in. Wolf Wolfensberger developed the ideas of normalisation into an explicit statement of what would constitute a normal, ordinary life and called this Social Role Valorisation (SRV). SRV became a benchmark for establishing the quality of services, and a programme of training was set out for professionals so they could implement its principles. Wolfensberger's ideas

were based on the assumption that changing wider society's perception of people with learning disabilities would improve their social standing (Jarrett 2020). This approach entailed changing the way people acted, for example by discouraging behaviours which were not age-appropriate and could risk perpetuating infantilisation, and ensuring people were smartly dressed to encourage positive associations. Another key aspect of the principle of SRV was enabling people to take up roles which have high social value and which demonstrate competence, for example being a paid worker (Connaughton and Cline 2021). This aspect of SRV linked neatly with the formation of self advocacy groups, as they provided roles which gave people the opportunity to develop skills and demonstrate their abilities. These self advocacy groups defined themselves as being organisations run by people with learning disabilities, for people with learning disabilities, and this was an important distinction from groups (such as the aforementioned CMH) run by professionals or family carers. This meant that individuals were able to take on roles in the advocacy groups such as chairperson, secretary, treasurer etc, whilst people without a learning disability working in these organisations were in principle effectively silent supporters.

2.5 The Disabled People's Movement, Policy and Legislation

DPOs set out to challenge the traditional, medicalised discourse regarding disability, and demonstrated that disabled people can and should define their own needs and aspirations (Blackmore and Hodgkins 2012). At the time that the disabled people's movement began in the UK there was no anti-discrimination legislation that made treating disabled people less favourably than others an offence. The influence of DPOs can be seen in their impact upon definitions of independent living and social care, on UK and international social policy regarding disabled people's rights (Pearson et al 2020). The following paragraphs will detail some of the key policies and legislation in the 21st century which have impacted upon the lives of disabled people and then, more specifically, people with learning disabilities in the UK.

The UNCRPD 2006:

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) is the first international treaty created to protect the human rights of disabled people and put them on an equal footing with other people (House of Lords and House of Commons Human Rights Joint Committee 2008; Harpur 2012). It is notable that this was the first time that disabled people were involved in the committee which brought the Convention about, and that DPOs continue to monitor and hold the UK government to account (Levesque and Langford 2016). The UK is the first country to face an inquiry into disability rights violations due to whistle-blowing by prominent UK DPOs (Levesque and Langford 2016, Crowther and Sayce 2020).

The Convention does not bestow any new rights on disabled people, but it ensures the accountability of those countries who sign up to it. The Convention was passed in 2006, came into force in 2008 and the UK government ratified it in 2009. It comprises of 50 articles with the intention 'to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities and to promote respect for their inherent dignity' (UNCRPD 2006, p.3)

The Convention is seen by many to embody the principles of the social model of disability, particularly in the way that it defines disability (Fraser Butlin 2011, Levesque and Langford 2016). The preamble acknowledges that disability is:

“An evolving concept and that disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others”

(UNCRPD 2006, p.1)

However, others assert that this is not in fact a social model definition, as it acknowledges the limitations people experience due to their impairments and argue that more countries may be convinced to ratify the Convention if claims of a social model approach were dropped (Kazou 2017). This may well be a moot point, as the social model of disability was in fact never intended to be an ideology which ignored the impact of impairments on individuals, although it has been adopted as such by disability activists (Oliver 1996).

The Convention has been recognised as contributing to a paradigm shift with regards to disability in the UK; however, due to the investigation by the UN it is clear that the UK government is falling short in implementing changes. In 2017 the UN published a number of recommendations, following their investigation into the UK's violations of the Convention. Their report outlined failings with regards to independent living, work and employment, living standards and social protection, and made recommendations for improvement in these areas (United Nations 2017).

The Equality Act 2010:

The Equality Act 2010 is legislation aimed at protecting people with a 'protected characteristic' from discrimination in the workplace and wider society. It replaces a raft of previous anti discrimination legislation and replaces earlier acts such as the Disability Discrimination Act 2005 (DDA), the Race Relations Act 1976 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975.

The Act covers people who may be susceptible to discrimination and unfavourable treatment on the grounds of characteristics such as race, age, disability, sex, gender reassignment, sexuality, pregnancy and maternity, religion or belief, being married or in a civil partnership. Disability is defined in the Act as 'a physical or mental impairment that has a 'substantial' and 'long-term' negative effect on your ability to do normal daily activities.' (Equality Act Part 2, Section 6). It is notable that this preserves the definition of disability in the DDA and is aligned to a medical model understanding of disability, as it specifies that

impairments are what impact on a person's ability to carry out 'daily activities' (Lawson 2011). Critics of the Act state that it does not meet the criteria of the UNCRPD due to the definition of disability and by not taking a rights based approach, for example only granting a reasonable adjustment when it significantly disadvantages a disabled person (Fraser Butlin 2011). Others claim that the Act has had a significant impact, by recognising indirect discrimination of disabled people and by preventing pre-employment health checks for example (Lawson 2011), and credit the Act with transforming conditions for disabled people in the UK (Shakespeare 2013).

Valuing People 2001:

Valuing People: A New Strategy for Learning Disability for the 21st Century was the first white paper regarding services for people with a learning disability in the UK for 30 years. It arose in response to the context described earlier, where the lives of people with learning disabilities were defined by exclusion and segregation. Many people at that point were living in community settings, and few long-stay hospitals remained; however people's physical presence in society hadn't had the desired effect on their social exclusion (Department of Health 2001). Valuing People was an ambitious strategy to address the needs of individuals with learning disabilities across their lifetime, from childhood onwards, and to take a wide-reaching approach to tackling exclusion and inequalities. The credibility of the White Paper was raised by the inclusion of people with learning disabilities and their carers during the consultation phase (Fyson and Simons 2003). Their contributions are noted in the paper as being of 'central importance' (Department of Health 2001).

The White Paper was underpinned by 'four key principles of rights, independence, choice and inclusion' (Department of Health 2001) which were at the heart of many of its proposals. The aims of Valuing People encompass all aspects of a fulfilled 'ordinary life', including better transitions between children's and adult's services, more choice and control, services taking a person-centred approach, more support for carers, improved access to mainstream health services, support with friendships and relationships, employment targets, housing choices and raising quality within services. The means to

achieve these aims were provided via the Learning Disability Development Fund (LDDF), £1.3 million allocated to advocacy services, and through the promotion of partnership working in and across services. Learning Disability Partnership Boards and a task force were set up to ensure implementation of the White Paper.

Despite initial enthusiasm, critiques of Valuing People arose. Attention was drawn to the fact that no new legal and civil rights were afforded to people with learning disabilities and that few changes to public services were proposed (Cumella 2008), instead attributing proposed changes to individuals being afforded more choices (Burton and Kagan 2006, Cumella 2008). Some authors highlighted the fact that the experiences of those with higher support needs were glossed over and as a result, a requirement for a 'substantial additional investment' in their care and support is missing (Burton and Kagan 2006, Lyle 2015). In the implementation of the White Paper, it was found that partnership boards had only superficial impact on how services and policies were delivered in local areas (Riddington et al 2008).

Valuing People Now 2009 and Valuing Employment Now 2009 :

Following an Equality Impact Assessment which revealed inadequate progress, a new three year, cross government strategy called Valuing People Now was released in 2009 (Department of Health 2009a). This strategy was written from a human rights perspective, but maintained the core principles of Valuing People: rights, independence, choice and inclusion. It specified that certain groups of people with learning disabilities, such as those with complex needs, those from black and minority ethnic groups and newly arrived communities, those with autistic spectrum conditions and offenders in custody or the community were the most excluded, and that there should be a specific emphasis on their needs (Department of Health 2009a). The key priority areas in the strategy were health, housing and employment. Six months later in the same year, another policy document called Valuing Employment Now: Real Jobs for People with Learning Disabilities (Department of Health 2009b) was also produced. At the time the document was released, only 10% of people with learning disabilities who were known to social services were in paid

employment, and people had not benefited from progress towards employment in the way other disabled people had. The aspiration was for paid employment of 16 hours or more to be considered an option for all people with a learning disability, and for individuals to not be left in potentially exploitative work experience or voluntary work for years on end (Department of Health 2009b). One of the main philosophies that Valuing Employment Now promoted was the presumption of employability. When a child is born with a learning disability, parents, medical professionals and others are unlikely to have the same expectation that they will be able to work when they grow up as they would for a non-disabled child. The policy aimed to change this by creating a presumption of employability through campaigns, training and employment projects. Amongst the aims for the policy were better work preparation, increased joint working, improved job coaching, clarifying the benefits system and selling the business case to employers.

The Care Act 2014:

The Care Act 2014 brought together a number of laws from the past 60 years pertaining to social care. The act sets out the legal responsibilities local authorities have regarding the support provided to adults with care and support needs, those transitioning from children's to adult services, carers, including those caring for a disabled child and young carers. It is underpinned by the principle of wellbeing and local authorities' have a duty to contribute to people's wellbeing, not just provide services. One way in which the act recognises wellbeing can be increased is through participation in employment. Whilst it is hard to oppose the idea that keeping busy, making a contribution and earning a wage through employment would promote an individual's wellbeing, the act situates work as part of people's social care and support needs, rather than the right of an equal citizen who can contribute to society as the wider population does. As the following section shows, historically, when employment opportunities for people with a learning disability are subsumed within social care services, opportunities for work on an equal basis with non-disabled people are limited.

2.6 Supported Employment for People with Learning Disabilities

As already described, people with learning disabilities are amongst the most excluded from the labour market (Bates et al 2017; Beyer et al 2016; Office for National Statistics 2020) and despite policy to rectify this their employment rate remains very low, at only 5.1% in 2020/21 (British Association for Supported Employment 2021). What follows is a brief description of the ways people with learning disabilities have been supported to take up employment from the early 20th century until today.

The priority of social policy from the early 1900s was the care and containment of people with a learning disability, in order to preserve the welfare of society (Jarrett 2020). Employment on the same terms as non-disabled people was not a possibility, and the only opportunities for work available to people were in the institutions or long stay hospitals that they lived in. People undertook domestic roles such as doing the laundry and looking after children or those with greater support needs (Johnson and Walmsley 2010). With the move towards community-based services from the 1970s onwards, some attended adult training centres where pre-employment training was provided (Humber 2014). As well as training, people were able to undertake sheltered employment in these centres, performing basic tasks such as stuffing envelopes or laundry, in return for a minimal wage (Powell and Flynn 2005). The sheltered workshop model of employment was intended to provide a protected and safe environment for people to learn work-related skills, although the approach received much criticism (Kings Fund 1984). Sheltered employment was essentially a 'train to place' model which had little success in enabling people to move on into open employment, resulting in people being eternal trainees. Despite the inherent exploitation involved in this model of employment, some individuals valued the work they did; however, the introduction of the minimum wage saw this approach being phased out (Johnson and Walmsley 2010). The fundamental theories influencing services for people with learning disabilities at the time were normalisation and SRV (Wolfensberger et al, 1972), and the move towards promoting culturally normative roles influenced a move towards a new type of employment support.

Supported employment is the method adopted by most services to enable people with learning disabilities to enter the labour market today (Bates et al 2017, Gosling and Cotterill 2000). One of the key principles is that the terms, conditions, and salary of supported employees are the same as that of non-disabled employees (British Association for Supported Employment, undated b). Unlike practices in sheltered employment, individuals are not required to be 'work ready' before they take up employment. Instead, individualised support is provided to both the employee and employer for as long as needed to maintain the job (Wilson 2003). The approach advocates that the best place for someone to learn about work is in the workplace, and job coaches provide the role of supporting individuals to do so (Bryan et al 2000). Supported employment services use a range of methods to find a suitable job such as employer engagement, job carving, working interviews and matching people to jobs following a detailed profiling of their work-related skills and experience (British Association for Supported Employment, undated b). Support is also provided to employers or potential employers regarding reasonable adjustments to recruitment and working practices, and to supported employees with potential barriers to taking up or maintaining a job such as support with benefits, transport to work and understanding work policies and procedures. Alternatively, supported employment services can provide assistance for individuals to become self-employed.

Reflecting the values outlined in *Valuing People*, today employment is seen as a right for people with learning disabilities as much as it is for everyone else (Department of Health 2001). As described above, the provision of work opportunities and work-related support has changed alongside policy development, and employment is seen as crucial to people with learning disabilities being independent and included citizens (Johnson and Walmsley 2010). It is difficult to oppose the idea that people should be afforded equal access to employment. However, barriers remain, and some studies have found that where there is inadequate support or insufficiently adapted jobs, people report dissatisfaction and even unemployment (Tucker 2012, Wilson 2003). It is questionable whether employment is a defence against social exclusion, if support services do not enable people to successfully sustain their work and manage relationships with colleagues (Redley 2009).

2.7 Co-working

Despite the developments within the advocacy movement, policy directives and employment opportunities, people with learning disabilities remain significantly disadvantaged in the labour market (Beyer et al. 2010). A more recent and less commonly used approach to address this is the co-working arrangement, which is the focus of this study. The rarity of this working arrangement is reflected in the lack of empirical research and literature describing the approach, its purpose and impact. One organisation which is known for using this approach in the UK, is 'Change', a human rights organisation led by disabled people with the aim of ensuring people with learning disabilities are treated equally in an inclusive society. Their website gives a brief description of how they implement co-working, 'CHANGE operates on a co-working model which means employees with learning disabilities work alongside non learning disabled colleagues with equal job responsibility and on equal pay' (Change 2021).

This approach, where people with a learning disability have equal working arrangements and equal pay to colleagues who don't have a learning disability, is different from self-advocacy organisations where employees with a learning disability usually have different responsibilities and pay arrangements to other colleagues. Self-advocacy organisations in the UK commonly employ workers without a learning disability in a paid capacity as advisors, supporters or operational managers, and employees with a learning disability may have executive control in higher level positions, or decision-making roles (such as trustee or director) and may or may not be paid a salary. The decision to be paid or work in a voluntary capacity is attributed to a complicated and punitive benefits system which can restrict the amount of paid work those who rely on benefits can do, rather than on a reflection of how people are valued by the organisation (Goodley and Norouzi 2005).

The NHS England (NHS England 2016) website goes into more detail about how they implemented a co-working model within their NHS England Learning Disability Engagement

Team. Their definition of co-working is essentially the same as Change's; however, they also describe the set up as a job share, where colleagues with and without a learning disability work concurrently and collaboratively as Learning Disability Network Managers. They maintain that the goal of this model is to enable people with a learning disability to jointly lead projects, share skills within their team, and be visible with the NHS as an employee. For the individual with a learning disability, they describe the benefits of co-working as removing the focus on their disability, acknowledging their abilities and not being paid or valued less than their colleagues. Clearly, there is a strong moral argument for employing people with a learning disability in this way. However, they also point to challenges they have experienced in implementing the model when employment practices are already well established in the NHS, such as deciding on a pay band, adapting their existing recruitment and selection processes and training materials. They also indicate that the role has thrown up difficulties in practice between co-workers when the 'boundary between co-worker and support worker can get a bit blurred'. This suggests something which had not been made explicit in this grey literature, namely that support for the co-worker with a learning disability is to some extent subsumed within the responsibilities of the co-worker who doesn't have a learning disability. The implication is that in practice there may be a subtle difference in the roles that the co-workers actually undertake. This is not to imply the inevitability of support being required for a co-worker with a learning disability, as this cannot be presumed. What is also implicit within this working arrangement is that the co-worker with a learning disability has specific experiences and expertise different from their colleague. In essence, the co-worker with a learning disability is operating as an 'expert by experience' within this role.

The term 'expert by experience' (Beresford and Campbell 1994) is one which came about in response to an over medicalized view of disability which framed health and/or social care professionals as the only people with specialist knowledge about disability and therefore the power to determine what support people needed. Disabled people fought back against this idea and the lack of agency it afforded them to assert the specialist knowledge they have, rooted in their lived experience of disabling environments, services, and attitudes. To redress the balance of power, 'expert by experience' roles were created where people often worked alongside health and social care professionals to provide a lived experience

perspective, for instance in social work education (Preston-Shoot, 2007) and in social care inspections (Care Quality Commission 2021). In the co-working arrangement, the person with learning disabilities brings their unique lived experience to the role, which is something the co-worker without learning disabilities does not have.

The co-working role is a unique one which offers an opportunity for people with learning disabilities to have more than 'just' a paid job, but one with equal status and financial compensation with their direct colleagues who don't have a learning disability. This study aims to examine the co-working approach to determine whether equity in employment arrangements translates to equity in decision making and influence at the micro-level of interaction.

Review of Literature

In light of the foregoing, this study aims to examine how employment equality is achieved for people with a learning disability who co-work with a person without a learning disability in a disabled people's organisation. The study will focus specifically on how, through talk, the co-workers make joint decisions in the course of their work together, and how equitable these decisions are. The overarching research questions are:

- What interactional work promotes and impedes equality in co-working?
- How does each co-worker contribute to decision making?
- How do the negotiations of small, everyday decisions get done as compared with those regarding significant job related decisions?

A preliminary review of literature in a number of databases and online searches pertaining to this type of co-working arrangement revealed that the term 'co-working' (and its synonyms) is used widely, in numerous contexts and produced too many results to

effectively screen for suitable literature. A very small amount of grey literature was sourced through online searches. It is likely that as this type of working arrangement is rare and a relatively new approach, that empirical research has not yet been undertaken on it. In light of this, the following literature details studies using the chosen methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA), that pertain to working relationships, joint decision making and/or relational matters between disabled people and those who provide support to them or work with them.

Before turning to the results of that literature review, the basic principles and tenets of CA will be considered in the following chapter. Although a relatively new and specialised methodology, it has been applied in the field of learning disability to good effect. Since that literature is key to the current study, those unfamiliar with CA might find the following chapter a useful preamble.

Chapter Three Methodology: An exploration of Conversation Analysis

As in my MSc dissertation, Conversation Analysis (CA) will be used in this study. CA involves a meticulous analysis of talk, which aims to uncover the mechanics of conversation and focuses on what talk achieves for its participants (ten Have 2007). It is concerned with 'what words do in social life' (Williams 2011), how an utterance relates to what was said before and how it impacts on what comes next. This relates closely to the aim of this study to see how co-workers' interactions contribute to or hinder equal decision making. ten Have (2007) sets out four 'contrastive differences', or perhaps advantages of CA over other qualitative approaches:

- Ability to get closer to the phenomena and analyse the complexities of interaction, rather than use coded or other representations of data
- Data is naturally occurring and not otherwise set up or manipulated for the purposes of study
- Interaction is seen as collectively organised and analysis focuses on how interaction occurs, not why
- CA focuses on spoken language used in naturally occurring situations, not on linguistic systems.

These factors make CA a good fit for this study, as the focus is ultimately on a relationship, how it is played out in interaction and the impact this has on the co-productive activity of decision making. There is an established precedent for CA being used to illuminate how talk in work takes place (see Drew and Heritage 1992) and demonstrating how power is played out in talk, especially with regard to people with learning disabilities as explored in Chapter four (see Williams 2011, Williams and Porter 2015a, Antaki et al 2007c, Finlay et al 2008a). Furthermore, the significant body of work on institutional CA determines how institutional interaction differs from everyday interaction, and how identities and institutional tasks are played out in talk (Arminen 2000).

3.1 Institutional Talk

Studies of institutional talk emerged from the 1970s, and one of the first institutional CA studies was in 1979 with Atkinson and Drew's 'Order in Court', which examined how court business is managed through interaction. In CA today, interaction is often examined for how identities and institutional tasks are played out in talk. The study of institutional interaction is to essentially determine how it differs from ordinary conversation (Arminen 2000).

Ordinary conversation remains largely unchanged over time, however, institutional interaction is impacted upon by organisational and societal practices which have changed significantly over time (Heritage and Clayman, 2010). Ordinary conversation is oriented to achieving a range of social outcomes and varies significantly in the means of achieving this, whereas institutional conversation is notable by the reduction of - and specialisation in - practices used, and the restriction in how they are used (Drew and Heritage, 1992). Within institutions, the players have specific identities for example, doctor and patient, teacher and pupil, and institutional actions are produced and understood in relation to these specific identities and how the players live up to them. For example, Heritage and Clayman (2010, pp.24-28) examined the sequential organisation of questions and answers in institutional settings and note the difference between a third turn 'oh' (question-answer-oh) and a third turn evaluation (question-answer-evaluation). The 'oh' response after answering a question signifies that the previous question was valid and asked by an uninformed person. The response in which the question asker evaluates the answer (as with a teacher in a classroom) demonstrates the status and knowledge of the questioner. They go on to describe how an interviewer-interviewee interaction on a TV news programme demonstrates no third turns; the interviewer does not respond to the natural breaks in interviewees' conversation with 'oh', 'uh huh' or other expected interjections. They conclude that this happens as the interview is taking place for the benefit of a third party – the TV audience - and the interviewer has an obligation to remain impartial and neutral, allowing the audience to evaluate the interviewees responses without influence. Lastly, they give the example of a doctor-patient interaction, where the doctor's response to the patient's description of symptoms is met with 'ok'. 'Ok' signifies that the doctor potentially doubts their response, which the authors believe would inspire greater confidence in the

patient. An 'oh' response here may signify that they believe the patient, and that therefore the doctor's superior knowledge is not so relevant – threatening their institutional identity. Talk in these ways can bring identity into being, and is part of being an interviewer, teacher or doctor, and not using these institutionally relevant resources can lead to difficulties in these roles being realised.

It is important to note that it is hard to define exactly what institutional interaction is, as institutions are so varied and diverse. Although it is important to distinguish institutional interaction from ordinary conversation, the same patterns of talk are present in each situation, and Schegloff (1991) warns against generalising that conversation analytic findings are characteristic of the specific context, without exploring their generic relevance. Researchers should aim to have an understanding of the tasks and goals of the establishment in order to be able to demonstrate how talk contributes to the institutional context, as without it, analysis risks being superficial (Arminen 2005). Institutional activity often occurs whenever the parameters of talk such as turn size, order, content, and participation rights are constrained (Arminen 2000). Heritage (1998b, p.5) set out six dimensions of difference in institutional talk, to make this distinction apparent:

1, Turn taking organisation

Turns at talk are made up of 'building blocks' called turn constructional units (TCUs) (Schegloff 2007). These turns can be lexical, as in a single word such as 'okay'; phrasal or clausal such as, 'sort of' or they can be complete sentences. Recipients monitor the grammar, prosody and action of turns to determine when they are possibly complete. A transition relevance place (TRP) is a point where a turn is complete, and speakership could move to the next person (ten Have 2007). The ways in which people take turns to speak in institutional settings is often the same as in ordinary conversation, apart from when there are specific, formalised rules such as within a meeting, a ceremony or a debate. Special turn taking organisation is found in smaller contexts as well, such as within counselling sessions

and in mediation. These special turn taking procedures fall into 3 types: 1, action or turn type pre allocation e.g., courtrooms and news interviews; 2, mediated turn allocation procedures e.g., business and chaired meetings; 3, those that use both processes e.g., counselling and mediation. Turn type pre allocation occurs when one person is restricted to asking the questions and the other person to answering them, for example, in an interview. There are rules about when people can speak and sanctions if these rules are not adhered to. The institutional representative is someone who elicits a response, but does not overly evaluate other's responses and maintains a neutral stance. This type of turn taking organisation is present when talk is managed for large groups of people and others present are the 'overhearers'. O'Halloran (2005) found, in an analysis of an Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) convention in Southeast Asia, that this procedure was largely followed within the meeting, as it was opened by a pre elected group member who chose a discussion topic, and there were notable rules and restrictions, and sanctions for not following them. One such feature that has become an institutionalised part of AA meetings is the acceptance of extended, uninterrupted turns at talk for story telling purposes.

In mediated turn taking organisation there are fewer restrictions on talk, as the mediator allocates the next turn at the end of each speaker's contribution – the mediator is the addressee and initiator of talk. This approach is used in large meetings, where a significant amount of turn taking requires management. Lastly, the mixed pre-allocation/mediated organisation is often found in counselling or dispute mediation where sensitive management of opposition or confrontation is required. In order to identify where there is a distinctive turn allocation system within interaction, it is necessary to see where there are explicit sanctions for not adhering to this turn taking organisation e.g., a pupil in a classroom shouting out or talking when the teacher is talking. Similarly, when a person asks to speak out of turn or indicates that their talk will defer an answer to a question (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). This tells us about the rules that the participants recognise they must follow in this particular interaction.

In an examination of talk in a Greek school's second grade philological lessons, Kapellidi (2013) found evidence of turn type pre allocation and turn mediation. Turn mediation was demonstrated by the fact that disagreement is not normally permitted until invited by the teacher, for example 'do you agree with what Apostolos says?' (p.192). Turn type pre allocation could be seen when the teacher directly asked a question of a pupil, thereby giving them a chance to express their opinion and make clear their agreement with fellow pupils. Kapellidi (ibid, p.191) emphasises that a consequence of these methods of turn taking organisation is that pupils are only allowed to 'express their opinion, agree, disagree, evaluate etc.... after a teacher's question or request'. This is evidence of the institutional goal of school interaction, which is to impart knowledge and monitor understanding.

2, Overall structural organisation

All interactions have different phases of activity regardless of the content and context of the interaction; for example, opening and closing sequences. Ordinary conversation 'embodies an exceptionally open, fluid and diverse set of activities and practices' in line with the participants' objectives for the talk' (Heritage and Clayman, 2010, p.40). Outside of the openings and closings, ordinary conversation, therefore, does not have any more discernible phases. Institutional interaction, however, demonstrates recurrent sets of phases. Heritage and Clayman (2010, p.41) give the example of a telephone interaction between a school truancy officer and the mother of a pupil she is ringing to enquire about his attendance at school that day. They identified four phases to the interaction: 1, an opening where interaction is initiated and identities are established; 2, problem initiation where they are getting to the business of the call; 3, disposal where the action to be taken is detailed and 4, closing where both parties coordinate an exit to the call. Detailing these phases enabled other features to be made apparent, which further distinguish the interaction from ordinary conversations or other types of institutional interactions. The phone call was based around a single topic of conversation, whereas other interactions may have more than one focus. It makes clear how both parties co-construct the conversation and work towards its

completion, it shows how they develop a joint sense of talk and the roles they play in this, and we can see if they agree about where the boundaries lie.

The type of structural organisation above is not going to be present in all institutional talk but may be a feature of highly structured interactions such as requests for help and service encounters. This approach is not a framework for fitting institutional interaction data into, but it is a means for examining how parties orient to it in organising their talk. For example, Martinez (2003, p.289) investigated how talk show hosts bring interviews to a close, in comparison with news interviews. She found that talk show interviewers used an exclamation of the interviewee's name as a device for closing the interview, and utilised a falling tone of voice and increased volume as the name was said, often with the presence of sweeping arm gesture towards the guest to focus attention and applause on the interviewee. Stating the interviewee's name is a device also found in news interviews, but with a different intonation and quieter volume.

3, Sequence Organisation

Schegloff (2007, p.2) succinctly describes a sequence as 'the vehicle for getting some activity done', and sequence organisation as 'the organisation of courses of action enacted through turns at talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions of sequences of actions or moves'. It is the means through which our interactional, social, and institutional identities and roles are worked out. The basic processes of sequence organisation can be seen in adjacency pairs, sequence expansion and storytelling (Stivers 2013).

In the interaction between the truancy officer and the mother (Heritage and Clayman 2010, p.41 mentioned above), after the initial identification of each other and the reason for the officer calling, the mother goes into a long sequence within which she does not give space for the officer to respond, as she explains that her son is ill and why she hasn't called. It appears that she does so, so as to allow space to complete her explanations without

interruption. There is one space that the officer could take up, but she does not and so the mother continues, respecifying the time (which seems unnecessary), and the officer replies 'uh huh' – a response which indicates that they are aware she has not yet finished speaking. This extended turn shows how the mother responds to the truancy officer's question as an indirect criticism of her parenting, a criticism which is implicitly endorsed by the officer's institutional role, and which she defends herself from at some length. The authors state (ibid, p.44) that the mother's turn is the 'product of a complex sequential negotiation'.

In Kapellidi's (2013, p.197-198) study of talk within a Greek school, she found varied examples of the sequence: teacher - first pair part (FPP), student – second pair part (SPP), teacher – evaluation, including where the teacher's FPP is reworked and then a new student is selected to respond or the first student offers an alternative SPP, for example:

11. (2nd hour. Literature)

111 Teacher Who gives us the dialogue? Who is the

112 writer of the dialogue

113 (1.2)

114 Teacher Charoula?

115 (.)

116 Charoula A:h (.) it is (.) Vanopoulous's translation

117 (.)

118 Teacher yeah okay, but (.) whose

119 writer is this work?

120 Charoula Oh (you mean) Xenophon?

121 (.)

122 Teacher It is from Xenophon, right?

123 from Xeonphon's economic work.

Further examples detail where the teacher initiates repair of the student's SPP, and where the teacher's FPP requests an answer from the floor and then selects a student to respond until the correct answer is given. Kapellidi notes that within the classroom, the teacher's institutional right to evaluate student's responses is routine, as demonstrated above in the prevalence of the teacher taking a third position evaluation.

In a study of audio recordings of social care workers' visits to clients, Bolger (2014, p.423) found that a third of clients used the device of storytelling to shift the topic of conversation, in response to questions or proposals from the social care worker, in order to gain some control of the process, to 'account for their moral adequacy' and to emphasise their needs. The following extract can be seen as a short biographic storytelling and the start of a justification of needing a stair lift:

(B=Bernice, OT; D=Mrs Dove; K=her son)

B How long have you lived here?

K About=fifty=

D =Just over=fifty years . . .

B Yeah, yeah . . . okay . . .

D See I was a widow at thirty-four . . . I were left with four children to bring up
[two lines omitted]

D I've not had an easy . . . life . . . I've worked hard all me life

Bolger (ibid) also found that workers interrupted clients' storytelling to bring the topic of conversation back to their agenda for the meeting, but they also used the stories to pick up on significant meanings, and as a device to guide their questioning to develop a care plan, although they did not make explicit links between needs expressed within the stories and present day service requirements. It is clear here that the institutional identities and agendas of both parties are played out in the organisation of talk.

4, Turn design

Here we can see how institutional contexts are implicated in the design of turns in talk. The ways in which turns are designed are obviously affected by the fact that institutional talk involves interaction between a 'highly practised institutional representative and a much less practised lay person' (Heritage and Clayman 2010, p.45). The authors (*ibid*) go back to the interaction between the truancy officer and the mother of a potentially truant son to demonstrate this point. The truancy officer asks the question 'was Martin home from school ill today?'. This turn design manages the delicacy of the situation in the following ways: it implies Martin was not at school, but does not explicitly say he wasn't and does not mention truancy, although the possibility is implied. She also avoids making an accusation of his absence, offers the most legitimate possibility for it, and she does not foreground his mother's responsibility for informing the school of his whereabouts but leaves it to her to assume. This turn design is clearly highly considered and perhaps well practised as it is likely that the truancy officer has to ask this question of many parents on a daily basis.

A further example of turns designed by an institutional expert and lay person can be seen in Toerien and Kitinger's (2007) examination of the emotional labour a beauty therapist performs when negotiating the method for shaping the client's eyebrows. The client, anticipating that it is standard practice to wax eyebrows, starts her turn with 'thing is um I normally get them just plucked cause sometimes when I get em waxed they stay red for ages' (*ibid*, p.164). The authors note this poses a problem for the beauty therapist's position as an expert, because if she plucks, it could imply that waxing is problematic, but the customer may complain if she waxes (*ibid*, p.166). The ways in which the beauty therapist manages this is to carefully work towards a solution tailored to the client, and not to insist that the usual or expected procedure should be followed. The ways in which she does this are asking if she is sensitive to the wax, suggesting a trial on a small patch of skin, initiating self-repair when suggesting the trial and stating that the wax is not really hot, reformulating her statements and offering a way out if the wax feels too hot. Toerien and Kitinger (2007) note that this approach does not position the beauty therapist as either an expert who

decides on the course of treatment nor does she completely defer to the client's request. Instead 'she produces herself as *both* knowledgeable...and as a caring service provider' (ibid, p.170).

Drew and Heritage (1992, p.32) note that turn design involves two elements. Firstly, the action the talk is designed to perform, and secondly the means used to perform the action. The authors illustrate this with the example of a health visitor stating to a baby's parents that 'he's enjoying that isn't he?' (sucking on something) (ibid, p.33-34). The father responds affirmatively as if the question simply requires an answer, however the mother appears to perceive the question as a judgement and replies that he has already had a bottle, and so can't be hungry right now. The parents construct their responses with different actions, possibly based on a reflection of how parental roles and responsibilities are traditionally divided. To demonstrate the different means used to perform an action, the health visitor interaction is used again in a later snippet of talk, where she states that the parents will be surprised at what their baby can do as he grows. The parents both respond in the affirmative (and at the exact same time); however, the father states how he has already noticed this, and the mother makes a general statement about all children. The ways in which they have designed their turns can be seen within the wider context at play here. The father has foregrounded his attentiveness to his child perhaps to challenge his ostensibly junior position as a caregiver, and the mother appears to be rejecting the expert-novice identities implied by the health visitor's statement and her associated licence to offer judgement on the mothers parenting abilities.

Lerner (1995, p.115) also emphasises that the way in which a turn is designed impacts upon what it is designed to do, and that even the placement of one word within that turn is significant. He gives the example within a classroom where a teacher is defining the word innocent:

Teacher: . . . not guilty of some crime. =Your focus needs to be up here. CATHERINE,

By not addressing Catherine directly at the start of the turn, the teacher makes her utterance relevant for anyone who it might apply to; it puts off addressing a single student directly and it allows Catherine the chance to redirect her attention before the turn is completed.

Patrona (2012) found that Greek journalists taking part in a structured panel discussion had fairly uniquely designed turns (in comparison to traditional news panels or interviews). A structured panel comprises of journalists with specialist knowledge in political issues and an anchor-person, and takes the following format: the anchor-person makes a comment, cues the next speaker who then takes a long turn at expressing their viewpoint before the next person is invited to speak. At times there may be spontaneous argument/debate between parties. The purpose of the panel is to present varied points of view on current political and news stories to the viewing audience (at home, not in the studio). The design of the journalist's turns positioned them as current affairs experts, and they did much to emphasise their intellectual position and their personalities. Personal pronouns were used to emphasise ownership of views and authorship of the unfolding arguments, poetic and highly expressive styles added weight to their monologues and to build a credible argument, and informal or colloquial terms were used to enable viewers to feel an affinity with their political position and with them as a journalist.

5, Lexical choice

Having lexical choice implies that there are other words which can be used to convey the same meaning but are chosen specific to the circumstances at the time. 'We' can be used to signify speaking on behalf of an institution. Burdelski (2016, p.161) found that Japanese American docents told we-focused stories to position themselves as people 'who were incarcerated during World War 2 and relatively powerless but largely endured their circumstances'. In addition, they used I-focused stories to position themselves as active in attempting to shape the course of their lives during this challenging time, although implying

that they had little power to do so. Heritage and Clayman (2010, pp.47-49) also give an example in relation to the use of the word 'notice'. In the first example, a call is made to 911 by a woman who explains that she returned to her house and noticed the door was open. Noticing is used as a term when mentioning something is unmotivated and not something they were looking for (Hallowski 2006). The second example is of a mother with her child at the paediatrician. When asked about when the symptoms started, the mother asks the child when she first noticed them. This conveys that her symptoms were not looked for and it differentiates between when she first mentioned them to her mother and when she first became aware of them. The purpose of this seems to be legitimising the severity of her symptoms, (and perhaps the relevance of antibiotic treatment) especially as she is visiting the doctor on a Monday morning, which could be construed as the child wanting time off school. Examining the word choices of participants can highlight how oriented they are to the institutional circumstances they are in and how they are navigating them.

6, Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry

Asymmetry is apparent in most institutional talk, due to the discrepancy in experience, technical knowledge, institutional know how and rights to express knowledge between the institutional representative and lay person. There may also be a difference in the emotional experience of the interaction; for example, a call to emergency services may be routine for the call handler, but a matter of life or death for the call maker. The interactional processes found in institutional talk reflect the access the conversational players have to resources and power. As will be explored in Chapter four, Antaki (2013) noted the epistemic asymmetries in talk where staff members encouraged people with intellectual disabilities to reflect upon activities they had been part of. Differing styles were used such as hints and elaboration of inadequate answers and test questions, alternative answers or yes/no questions. Offering hints and elaboration suggests that the staff member knows as much about the individual's activities as they do. However, an individual's life is their own epistemic property, and using hints and elaborations frames them as having less epistemic rights over their own experience. Weiste et al (2016) examined the epistemic asymmetries

in talk in psychotherapeutic interactions, focusing on the epistemic access to client's experience. They found evidence of formulations, where the therapist co-described the client's experience with them mostly in the psychotherapeutic setting and interpretation, where they offered their own views of the client's experience mostly in the psychoanalytic setting. The interpretation approach demonstrated fewer epistemic claims, and showed that the therapists oriented to their lack of access to the client's experience.

As can be seen above, institutional talk is characterised by different rules and entitlements to talk than are present in everyday conversation (Drew and Heritage 1992). The focus for this study is on a specific type of co-productive working relationship that I have experienced as unequal and less than effective when working within public bodies. Examining the talk between individuals when their employment arrangements and status are more equal may reveal the impact of this set up on rights to talk, and their institutional identities and agendas. In addition, by focusing on how these individuals make decisions together there is the potential to reveal how access to power, institutional know how and knowledge are played out in their talk.

3.2 Other features of CA

Institutional CA is useful, as it has a practical application and can 'uncover the patterns of talk that typify and construct a range of work-related activities' (Williams 2011, p.26). This approach is of interest to me, because there is the potential for CA to draw out concrete suggestions for how decision making, and co-production can be achieved equitably by shedding light on the patterns of talk which impact upon it. This study draws on other recent trends within CA which reveal how the participants make visible the ways they manage knowledge, power and push back against the institutionality of their working relationships.

3.3 Affiliation

The first we will turn to is affiliation. Affiliation is a concept in CA relating to responses that are cooperative with the prior turn and are 'supportive of social solidarity' (Heritage 1984). It is closely linked with affect and emotion and affiliative responses can demonstrate a willingness to share the emotional experience of the other speaker. In the case of storytelling, Stivers (2008) showed that affiliative responses are those that are supportive of the storyteller's affective stance, and that the crucial place to convey affiliation is at story completion. Lindstrom and Sorjonen (2013) proposed that there are a number of resources that recipients can use to display affiliation, for example, responses that are seen as affiliative to specific activities such as laughter in response to a joke. Verbal resources such as demonstrating a strong agreement by responding with the same 'syntactic format and evaluative term...but adding an intensifier' (Lindstrom and Sorjonen 2013, p.354), or response cries like 'oh wow' which convey empathy but do not distinguish the recipient's feelings. Head nods, gaze and other types of embodied actions can also convey affiliation, as can features such as matching and upgrading the prosody of the teller. Despite the resources available to interactants, affiliation may be treated as not relevant in some contexts, such as in troubles telling sequences in institutional encounters (Lee and Tanaka 2016). Affiliation is a relevant phenomenon in this study, as a co-working arrangement is one that requires the maintenance of a positive, close working relationship between colleagues, and it may be harnessed to assist colleagues with differing skills and expertise to work closely and achieve joint decision making.

3.4 Epistemics and Deontics

As this study focuses on a working relationship where people bring together their specific knowledge sets and expertise related to their identities as a person with and a person without learning disabilities, the concept of epistemics would appear to be useful. Epistemics relate to the knowledge that a person has or is treated as having in interactions.

Generally, people are treated as having greater rights to know more about things that are personal to them within their own epistemic territory, such as their thoughts, feelings, relatives, friends or their job (Heritage 2012b). The epistemic access that interactants have to other territories of knowledge is considered to sit along a gradient of less to more knowledgeable (K- to K+). Therefore, the epistemic status that individuals have in relation to other people can be dependent on the context, negotiated within an interaction, or change over time (Heritage 2012b, Mondada 2011). Heritage (2013, p.377) states that epistemic status relates not just to what is known but 'how it is known (through what method, with what degree of definiteness, certainty, recency, etc) and persons' rights, responsibilities and obligations to know it.'

In interactions speakers routinely make claims about how knowledgeable they are in relation to others present, and can take an epistemic stance which positions them as more or less knowledgeable than they actually are (Heritage 2012a, Stevanovic and Svennevig 2015). Whilst epistemic issues focus on knowledge and knowledge claims, deontics centres on power and authority. Speakers orient to their own and other's deontic rights and responsibilities relating to what should and should not be done and who can tell whom what to do (Stevanovic and Svennevig 2015; Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012). Deontic status and deontic stance denote the authority that someone has and the way that this is displayed in interaction. The deontic claims that speakers make can be seen in the way that they may dominate or control an interaction by initiating, maintaining and closing a sequence, and by making requests or announcements (Curl and Drew 2008, Stevanovic 2013). An individual's deontic rights are not fixed but are contextually dependent; therefore, they may have more rights in one domain than another; for example, a supervisor may have the authority to decide the work tasks of their subordinates, but not the authority to decide how they travel to work. However, an individual's epistemic and deontic authority is also dependent upon the extent to which other speakers accept and support it in interaction (Stevanovic 2018).

3.5 Multi-modality

Early CA research was only able to make use of audio recordings to analyse interactions and could only analyse embodied actions if they were hearable - for example, shuffling of papers - or made explicit in the talk - for example, 'please sit down' (Nevile 2015). However, the CA analyst today is more likely to use video to collect data if ethically appropriate to do so and is able to attend to noticeable, analytically relevant actions. The ability to analyse visible conduct has meant that CA studies can benefit from a multimodal approach which encompasses an analysis of 'language, gesture, gaze, body postures, movements and embodied manipulation of objects' (Mondada 2019b, p.47). Gaze is one such area that has benefited from a multimodal approach revealing that it can mobilise a response when focused on the recipient (Stivers and Rossano 2010) or support stance taking in relation to assessments (Haddington 2006), for example. Rossano (2013, p.323) summarises research on gaze, stating that 'each type of gaze implicates a distinct social action with different responses relevant on its occurrence'. An embodied action such as repetition of another participant's gestures during collaborative idea construction can help to mitigate the impact of a dispreferred response (Yasui 2013) or mark what the gesture represents as having become shared knowledge (LeBaron and Streeck 2000). Moving from bodily actions to the use of objects, artefacts or technology in interaction, materiality refers to the way in which such objects are used moment by moment as part of achieving some action (Goodwin 2000). Heath and Luff (2013) provide an example of this in their analysis of a doctor patient interaction where the patient delays their response to the doctor's question whilst he is handling and looking at the patient's notes. Once the doctor has reoriented to him, the patient takes his turn at talk. Therefore, the participants make the material resources (i.e., the medical notes) relevant to the action developing in the interaction.

Analysis of multimodalities requires an additional level of transcription so that the timing and interplay of talk with embodied actions and use of objects can be examined. Mondada's (2019a) conventions for multimodal transcription allow for representation of visible actions alongside the traditional Jeffersonian transcription used in CA (Hepburn and Bolden 2013). Key to an accurate recording is a clear description of the action, and denoting when it starts

and when it stops. Screen shots from the video data can provide useful clarity, but must be matched up with the precise line of talk that it refers to in the transcription.

The next chapter will critically review existing literature which has used CA to examine interactions between disabled people (more specifically, people with learning disabilities and people with mental health problems) and health and social care professionals.

Chapter Four Review of Conversation Analytic literature about learning and intellectual disabilities

4.1 Method of literature review

In line with the chosen methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA), which was discussed in the previous chapter, the literature review which follows focuses exclusively on research using CA which is about people with learning disabilities and other disabled people such as those with mental health problems. A literature search was carried out using 5 databases, Web of Science, ASSIA, Psycinfo, Scopus and Social Care Online using the following search terms:

1. “learning disabil*” or “intellectual disabil*” or “developmental disabil*” or “learning difficult*” or “mental health” or impair* or disabil*
2. “conversation analysis”
3. decision* or decid* or joint* or share*
4. relation* or rapport or friend* or support*
5. advoca* or “self advoca*” or “speak* up”

After a search using combinations of the above terms, a title and an abstract screen narrowed down the results to 67 papers. One additional article was removed following the application of the inclusion/exclusion criteria below.

The inclusion criteria for articles were:

- Published since 2005, except seminal
- Published in English
- In peer reviewed journals

- Studies relating to disability broadly, not just learning disabilities
- Studies which focus on working relationships/relational matters/decision making
- Studies involving adults

The exclusion criteria were the opposite of the above.

Duplicate articles were accounted for, and then an additional 11 articles were included following a screen of key authors bibliographies and a citation search. After a full text screen, a review was completed of 31 articles. The flow chart below (figure 1) details the search.

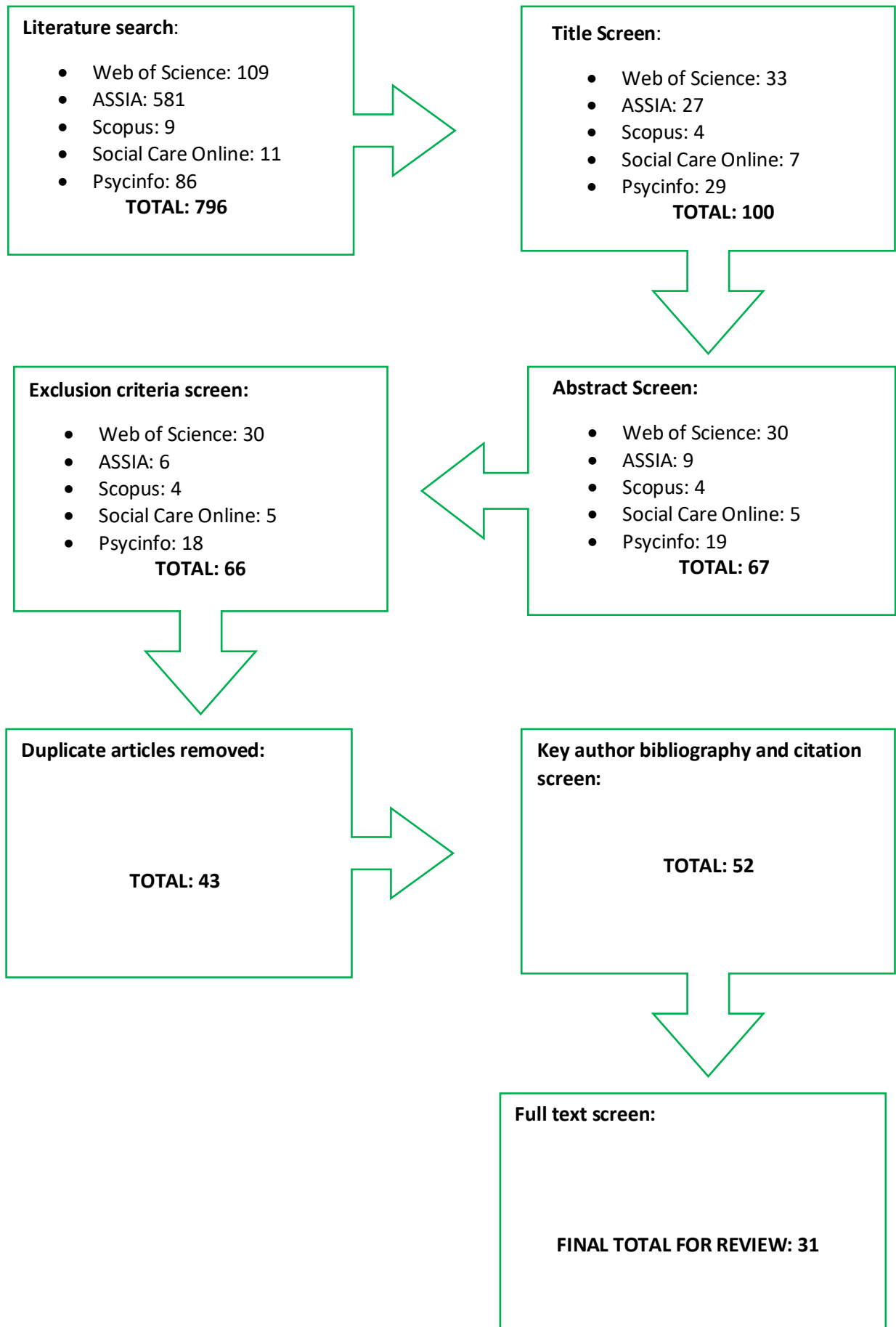


Figure 1: Literature review flow chart

4.1.1 Review of findings

The findings of the literature review are considered below. A framework was developed through an iterative inductive process whilst reading the selected papers, allowing a perspective on the use of CA in work with people receiving health or social care support to be drawn out. The themes resonate with the purpose of the present study and help to further the discussion around CA with those who receive support and the people that support them. These themes are institutional asymmetry, institutional objectives, incompetence talk, enabling choice, preventing or limiting choice, service users as active agents, epistemic and deontic rights and joint talk. This body of work, largely led by Antaki and his colleagues, was significant in switching attention away from communication deficits of people with ID. Instead, the focus throughout the CA literature, which is reviewed here has followed Antaki in pursuing an analysis of the interaction as a joint accomplishment. In fact, most of the literature, as we shall see, has an explicit focus on the language used by non-disabled interactants, and avoids the medically based 'deficiency' notion associated with previous communication studies. The majority of literature regarding people with learning disabilities and communication still focuses on what are perceived as their communicative deficits or impairments (see Marrus and Hall 2017; Koizumi et al 2019).

A description of the papers in this literature review, including a summary of the findings can be found in appendix A.

4.2 Institutional Asymmetry

Institutional asymmetry in conversation analytic studies refers to a disproportionality in interaction between people in institutionally defined roles, such as doctors and patients, teachers and pupils – or, within the literature here, service user and staff member (Heritage, 2004). Institutional representatives' talk can be tied to their role and their interactions are directed by the obligations associated with that role. The types of asymmetry seen in institutional interactions can relate to:

- Participation. Institutional representatives can often direct the conversation, for example by asking questions.
- Institutional 'know-how'. Interactions may follow a routine format for the institutional representative; however, a lay person may not be party to their usual practices.
- Rights to knowledge. Recipients may suspend their rights to certain knowledge in an institutional interaction where the representative is considered the expert in the matter at hand.

(Heritage 2004, pp.236-239)

The literature reviewed here largely details interactions within social or health care settings where people with a learning disability (or other disabled people) are receiving support, such as within a residential home. In these types of institutional settings, particular forms of asymmetry have been highlighted, such as supporters determining the agenda, deciding whether a response is adequate, infantilising talk, not trusting what people say, being spoken for, or being pushed to speak when they don't want to (Rapley 2004; Williams 2011).

The literature reveals many incidences of institutional asymmetry in the interactions between support staff and service users (Antaki and Crompton 2015; Antaki et al 2002; Antaki et al 2007a; Antaki and Kent 2012; Antaki and Webb 2019; Jingree et al 2006; Kaminsky and Finlay 2018; Nicholson et al 2021). For instance, in a study of 50 hours of videotaped interactions between support staff and people with intellectual disabilities over two years in a residential home and four years in a horticultural activity group, Antaki and Crompton (2015) aimed to reveal the practices staff use to promote or limit the service user's personal agency. Using three pairs of comparisons, the authors highlighted practices staff used that had a negative impact on people's agency (positive practices are detailed elsewhere in this chapter). These included not providing a context for activities, thus framing people as unable to understand their actions, and using imperatives to make requests, therefore implying that staff are entitled to do so without the need for negotiation

or completing the task together. These actions position staff as 'being in charge' in relation to the service users, and support and build on Rapley (2004) and Williams' (2011) findings in relation to staff determining the agenda. As the authors suggest, the two service settings have different constraints, and staff receive different types and levels of training, which could influence the way staff design their interactions with people. Like other work by Antaki and colleagues, this paper offers an analysis which could be useful and practical for staff training. However, data collection over similar periods of time in each setting may give rise to a wider variety of interactional styles for analysis. All service users in the study were male, therefore further studies with all genders may reveal subtle differences in interactional style.

With respect of staff members assuming entitlement to make requests, similarities were found in Antaki and Kent's (2012) study of videotaped interactions in a residential home of five men with intellectual disabilities. Within five episodes representative of staff-service user interaction totalling three hours and 27 minutes, they discovered 234 tokens of requests made by staff. The staff were found to overwhelmingly issue requests in a pattern of high entitlement/low contingency and often used bald imperatives. The authors note that motivating factors for this style of interaction were the immediacy of the request, whether it followed a perceived error on the part of the service user and their institutional obligation to guide service users' actions or behaviour. Antaki and Webb (2019) also found evidence of service users orienting to their lack of entitlement in relation to staff members in a study of interactions between people with cognitive impairments and their support staff. Data were taken from seven different settings where people with dementia received support, a pottery group for people with intellectual disabilities (ID), five different interactions between people with ID and their personal assistants (PA), and one interaction between a person with ID and staff at a gardening group. Support staff's higher epistemic status and deontic authority enabled them to interact in ways which effectively ignored or dismissed service users, or to not engage with them when their interactions did not correspond to meeting institutional objectives.

As Rapley (2004) and Williams (2011) identified, asymmetry can also be seen when staff decide whether a service user's response is adequate. Jingree et al (2006) audio recorded two residents' meetings at a residential home for people with learning disabilities, with 6 female and 8 male service users, and 1 male and 4 female staff members in attendance. Staff were in charge of leading the meetings, and guided people towards giving responses to questions which were in line with the service's values. During the meeting staff also ignored a service user's complaint - later reframing their concern as something positive - and determined what constituted a legitimate choice about their Christmas party, overruling those who had objected to certain options. The purpose of the meeting was to enable people to have a voice and make choices, but the staff members' interactive style undermined this objective. The authors attributed this to the conflicting responsibilities required of a support worker, such as empowering and teaching service users whilst acting as a representative of the service and maintaining its values. With this in mind, a limitation of this study is the possibility that the impact of being recorded for the research led staff to over perform as service representatives, and this data may not be illustrative of their usual practices. However, again the analysis here clearly shows what CA can achieve, in attending to the fine detail of talk, and the precise way in which one party's turn is taken up by the next speaker. Instead of being framed as deficient choice-makers, the people with ID in this study are shown to be very sensitive communicators, reacting to the implications of their staff members' remarks.

Antaki et al (2002) found similar results in a study of interviews between staff and users of a supported living scheme whilst completing an annual audit of the service. Five audio recordings were made of the interviews, with four men and one woman between the ages of 28 and 58 taking part. When service users gave positive responses to questions about service quality, the staff celebrated this; however, they also steered people towards giving acceptable answers, and offered candidate answers or concrete examples when a question was unclear. Rather than serving to evaluate the support people received in a neutral manner, the staff members' style of questioning was reflective of their caring responsibilities and obligations towards the service.

In an ethnographic study of three residential services for people with intellectual disabilities in England, Antaki et al (2007a) found evidence of institutional asymmetry in respect of the initiation of talk between service users and staff. Ethnographic notes were taken over nine months, along with 30 hours of video and audio-recorded data of staff-service user interactions, and findings showed that staff used six practices to solicit interactions with the people they support. These six practices involved asking and pursuing a question, articulating what the resident has just said unclearly, disattending ill formatted material, asking a blunt yes-no formulation, using a test question to which the answer is already known and teasing the resident. Staff initiated talk with the residents more frequently than the residents did with them, or with each other; however, interactions were largely regarding institutionally led activities (such as household chores) than for purely social purposes. Despite the thoroughness of the ethnographic approach here, the authors draw attention to the fact that the study does not provide a 'survey of the distribution of practices'. Instead, it provides a description of practices and the functions they serve in this institutional setting. An interesting contrast to the findings of this study would be to analyse the times the service users initiated talk, how this was responded to by staff and whether the topics were also institutionally led.

In an analysis of 30 hours of video data collected from two group homes housing 15 men with intellectual disabilities aged 43 to 65, Antaki et al (2009) found that staff also controlled the agenda with regards to choices that were presented to people. The authors emphasise the difficulties that staff face in implementing choice as it is set out in policy and the complexity of doing this within the limits of a residential service. However, they identified five types of choice that were offered to people and daily activities: 1, choice about matters important to the organisation; 2, choice as a format for a running commentary; 3, choice as reactive to misfires; 4, choice as a format for refusing an expressed preference; 5, choice about abstract, unfamiliar or underspecified alternatives. The choices offered were framed around things that people didn't appear to have an interest in, to provide a record of choices made about things such as meals, or to gloss over a staff error when making dessert. Although staff did struggle with the challenge of implementing choice, another possibility as to why this would be is with regards to their ability to offer choices in a format that is

accessible and understandable, and to recognise how the individuals communicate their choices. For example, meal choices may be easier for a person with cognitive impairment to understand if shown a photograph of a meal rather than individual ingredients. The choice of an individual ingredient in the study prompted the staff member to pursue further - perhaps avoidable - questioning.

As well as staff members' actions having some bearing on asymmetries seen in these interactions, service users' actions also had a part to play. Researchers spent 40 days in a gardening project designed to promote the well-being and confidence of people with ID (Antaki 2018). They filmed 12 end of day meetings which service users have the opportunity to chair in turn. Each meeting lasted between 20 and 50 minutes. The aim of the study was to identify how staff supported service users chairing the meeting to nominate the next speaker, articulate questions, evaluate answers and initiate a round robin of reports from the other service users. Overall results were that the staff supported people in varying ways along a gradient from least respectful of their entitlements as chair to most respectful. A point of note is that no service users objected to staff even when their actions amounted to completely taking over the chairing of the meeting.

In a stark example of staff controlling the agenda Nicholson et al (2021) found that staff were not usually responsive to service users' resistance, and disregarded people's refusal to engage with activities. Video data was collected of five individuals with severe and profound intellectual disabilities (four men and one woman) during their everyday activities in a residential home and day centre whilst being supported by twelve different members of staff. In addition to the video data, ethnographic notes were taken, and ad hoc interviews conducted with staff. The data examined in the paper was related specifically to active and passive resistance behaviours exhibited by the service users. The ways that individuals demonstrated resistance were largely non-verbal or behavioural, and included: averting their eyes, feigning sleep, pushing staff away and removing an apron during an art session. The interactional strategies staff used to encourage people to engage or to disregard their resistance largely constituted repeated verbal encouragements and repeatedly offering the

activity. One member of staff physically moved an individual who was using a mobility aid back into a room they kept leaving and even used their leg to block them leaving.

However, the literature also showed that service users do show resistance to inequalities of power, particularly with regards to decision making, and can work to rebalance asymmetries in these settings. Kaminsky and Finlay (2019) presented three case studies of audio-recorded meetings between a female psychiatrist and three female service users discussing medication. They were interested in discovering what shared decision making looks like in practice and how the service user can influence this. One of the service users actively claimed her right to speak, for example, when speaking in overlap with the psychiatrist to modify their suggestion regarding her symptoms. The fact that this individual claimed her speaker's rights along with the psychiatrist's subsequent responses led to a shared decision being made about medication. Another service user made a request to change her medication but did so with attention to the delicacy of making such a request, and thus it was treated as a proposal by the psychiatrist, to which she agrees. As this study focuses on interactions with only one psychiatrist it would be improved if the authors had the chance to examine shared decision making sequences between service users and other practitioners.

A counterpoint to the imbalance of rights seen in the literature so far is found in three studies by Williams et al (2009 a & b) and Williams et al (2010). In these studies, the institutional representatives and service users work to create more symmetrical and equal interactions. In 'A bit of common ground' (Williams et al 2009b) 20.5 hours of videotaped interactions between 14 dyads made up of people with learning disabilities and their personal assistants (PA) were analysed to determine how personalisation is achieved, with a focus on references made to joint experiences or knowledge. A PA is employed by the individual with learning disabilities, often using a personal social care budget, to provide support to them in their own home. This relationship differs slightly from those in the prior literature, as the individual with a learning disability is the employer or boss of the PA, even though that was a relationship which had to be worked up interactionally. The findings

showed that the PAs could on occasions downplay their professional identity, thus allowing the service user to highlight their professional role as employer. The dyads relied on shared knowledge or experiences to foreground the friendly aspect of their relationship, and when jokes were made, either party started or finished them. Both individuals were sensitive to each other, and constructed their relationship as a friendly, less institutional one than their roles might dictate. One way in which this happened was when the PAs were seen to reveal something of their own personal lives at a point in the interaction where their professional identity had been foregrounded. The dyads sometimes challenged or reversed the usual ways in which institutional asymmetry is seen; for example, when the individual with learning disabilities enquired with their PA about the shifts they could work.

In a further analysis of the PA–employer relationship with data from the same study, Williams et al (2009a) aimed to explore how people with learning difficulties and their PAs could manage their interactions, and how they could work to make the relationship an empowering one. As before, the study videotaped 14 dyads as they worked together in their usual way, but this article focuses on a detailed analysis of two particularly illuminating examples which show what strategies are possible for PAs and their employers to use. The authors found that within the chosen extracts, the individuals actively resisted the institutional relationship of employer–employee and ‘co-constructed something which comes over as an ordinary relationship between equals’ (Williams et al 2009a). They identified some of the practices that achieved this as being the PA speaking in second position in relation to their employer’s openings, the person with a learning difficulty initiating sequences, finishing each other’s sentences, the person with a learning difficulty calling their PA ‘mate’ and the talk having a ‘fluency and flow’ (ibid p.824) They specified that for the friendly and jokey interactions to work well it was necessary for the PA to be attentive and follow the lead of their employer.

In a third paper regarding the same study, Williams et al (2010) specify that the data is taken from the final stage of the study which involved - as already mentioned - videotaped interactions between 14 people with learning disabilities and their PAs. Of these 14

individuals, 11 were men and 3 were women. This group of papers are from an inclusive study where people with LD were co-researchers. Thus, the selection of data explicitly followed a pattern set by the co-researchers, and concentrates only on the aspects which they found to be positive skills. Although all these papers by Williams and colleagues could be criticised for failing to highlight the pervasive asymmetries in some of the dyads, nevertheless they are able to highlight 'positive' good support in ways that could more easily be fed back into practice and shared with participants.

The focus of this paper was the communication skills that PAs employ to show respect, support choices and give advice. The researchers identified five core themes of good support from the video data: respect, choices, friendliness, giving advice and support to speak up. This article uses examples of three of these themes (respect, choices and giving advice) to demonstrate their findings. The authors summarise the findings into six strategies that the PAs used: stepping back, listening and observing, body language, taking time, teamwork and personal knowledge. Within these strategies they draw attention to some of the physical ways in which institutional asymmetries are challenged; for example, the PA giving opportunities for eye contact, observing and responding to the body language of the individual (especially when they have higher support needs), the PA standing back whilst the individual completes a task and only offering support when needed or asked to. Some of the interactional practices involved in the aforementioned strategies included using adult language and styles of talk as opposed to childlike ones, the PA ending jokes which were not taken up by their employer and giving the individual equal turns in the conversation.

This literature reveals the pervasiveness of differences in rights to speak, rights to dictate what people should be doing or the treatment they should have, and the choices that can be offered and honoured within these types of health and social care institutions. It also demonstrates that service users can resist controlling measures and advocate for themselves; however, the success of this depends on the responsiveness of staff members. Staff members also have a part to play in challenging institutional asymmetries, but so far,

the literature has only shown this taking place in the context of an inclusive study, and when an individual is supported by a PA.

4.3 Prioritising Institutional Objectives

One of the most predominant themes in the literature relates to the foregrounding and prioritisation of the institutional objectives incumbent upon staff members. CA analysis, however, does not stop at simply listing those objectives, but has always taken painstaking care to demonstrate how they are played out in naturally occurring interaction. The majority of literature is from the UK, where health or social care workers are obliged to adhere to minimum industry standards such as the General Social Care Council Code of Conduct (Skills for Care and Skills for Health, 2013) or the Health and Care Professions Council Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics (HCPC 2018). In addition, policy directives such as those within the aforementioned Valuing People (Department of Health 2001) and The Care Act 2014 guide the delivery of the types of services seen in the literature, and inform the day to day practices of workers. In a broad sense, health and social care services in the UK require that staff implement values such as person-centredness, respect, dignity, choice and control, and independence in their work with service users. Implementing these values can be seen as an institutional imperative for workers within these types of service. However, the literature shows the various ways that these values can be difficult to implement in practice, and that they may conflict with other institutional objectives such as a duty of care, adhering to health and safety, completing work tasks on time and being accountable for having applied the aforementioned values.

These values also permeate European policy more generally. In Pino's (2016) study of twelve audio and video recorded reviewing meetings between staff and service users in two therapeutic communities (one for people with mental illness and one for people with drug addictions) in Italy, they highlighted how staff solicited people to reveal information about themselves, thus enabling them to monitor medication compliance or adherence to other

institutional rules. The study was concerned with exploring the times when staff use 'knowledge displays' (things that they know about the service user's circumstances) to treat their responses as inadequate. 7 to 12 service users and 2 staff attended the meetings in the mental health setting, and 3-5 service users with 2 staff in the drug addiction setting. 18 incidences of knowledge displays were identified which appeared to be designed to make it harder for service users to withhold information they had been reluctant to share, thus prioritising the staff's obligation to scrutinise their behaviour.

In further UK-based studies, staff were seen to be unresponsive to service users' resistance or refusal of activities or tasks (Finlay et al 2008b, Nicholson et al 2021). Service users with severe and profound intellectual disabilities repeatedly demonstrated behavioural and verbal resistance to scheduled activities (Nicholson et al 2021). One individual dragged their feet whilst being pushed by staff in a gait trainer and another person attempted to avoid joining a music session, then made numerous attempts to leave. Staff interviews revealed that the need to adhere to institutional objectives - that is, for people to attend scheduled activities - was the reason for not responding to their resistance. Staff were also seen to override a resident's refusal to be weighed over seven times (Finlay et al 2008b). Audio and video recording and ethnographic notes from three residential homes for people with intellectual disabilities enabled the authors to examine people's right to refuse. However, the findings revealed that despite staff acknowledging individuals' refusals to be weighed, they persisted with verbal encouragement, escalating to insistence and physical persuasion when not successful. Getting the job done of recording residents' weights took precedence over a respect for their right to refuse this activity.

Services are mandated to prioritise choice and control for service users; however, the literature showed that in doing so, choices can be offered about things which are not relevant to service users, the offers can be made in such a way that it is difficult to refuse, choices people make can be rejected or implied to be wrong by staff, and having a recordable and acceptable working answer is prioritised over meaningful choice (Jingree et al 2006; Antaki et al 2008; Dowling et al 2019; Antaki et al 2009). Antaki et al's (2008) paper

used video and audio data in an ethnographic study of five men with intellectual disabilities living in a residential home. The study focuses on the approach staff use in offering choices and issuing proposals, and the unwanted consequences of their approaches. As mentioned above, they identified 120 instances of choices being offered and six different practices that staff used to offer choices. There were five alternative options: open question plus understanding check, open question plus multiple options, open question plus single option, open question then repaired to options offered one at a time, and closed questions. These approaches could be effective if offered sensitively, but were seen to result in extended and confusing sequences of talk before a choice was made. The strategies the authors found to be effective were an open question with no options, or, if a small number of options has been mentioned, asking the individual to choose one. Staff responsibilities such as completing jobs before the shift ends, being accountable for health and safety and so on compete with the ability to offer and action choices. It appears that the main requirement of staff is to make residents' choices accountable.

Staff were seen to overlook service users with profound intellectual disabilities' right to remain passive and not engage with games that they initiated (Finlay et al 2008a). Ten hours of video data and ethnographic records were collected during a nine-month study of a residential home for 10 people between 34 and 53 years of age. The paper examines how a staff member manages playing games with a service user and persisting or abandoning the game in the face of their resistance or reluctance to join in. The staff member pursued a game that the service user did not enthusiastically engage with, thereby treating their actions as reluctance or a 'temporary failure to understand'. By doing so, the authors state that the member of staff is making it evident that they have an institutional imperative to encourage individuals to interact and be seen to enjoy themselves.

Dowling et al (2019) collected just over 9 hours of video data of 2 men and 7 women aged between 18 and 49 with intellectual disabilities working with their PAs and working in a craft workshop. The analysis of data benefited from the insights of additional people with intellectual disabilities who had experience of receiving support. The authors found 84

instances in the data where autonomy or choices were made visible. They found that it was routine for PAs to offer choices but to then imply that the individual's choice was the wrong one by rejecting it or correcting them; notably here, they drew on Antaki et al's (2008) analytical insight about the interactional effect of re-asking a 'choice' question. Other studies found that choices were offered which appeared to be more about facilitating the smooth day to day running of the institution and enabling staff accountability, rather than achieving policy goals of enabling people to take control of their lives. For example, choices were offered about using the toilet, being weighed or meal planning (Antaki et al 2009). In Jingree et al's (2006) study of residents' meetings, staff members conversational practices were contrary to the institutional objective of enabling empowerment, choice and control. Whilst leading the meetings they did not attend to service user complaints, used rhetorical questions or yes/no questions, and steered people towards making statements in support of service philosophies. The authors state that these practices were representative of a power imbalance between staff and service users, and prioritised staff's obligation to reflect the service in a positive light.

Some of the literature looked at situations where people were being asked questions and to express an opinion about significant matters; for example in a transition meeting to plan a move into adult services and in a review of service quality (Pilnick et al 2010, Antaki et al 2002). In Pilnick et al's (2010) study, eight young people (aged 18-19) who were leaving special school in 2004/5 took part in multi-party meetings to plan their future after school. The focus of the paper was how the young people were treated as active participants in the meeting, barriers associated with the questioning style used, and the consequences of the young person not taking part in an appropriate way. In respect of prioritising institutional objectives, the authors found that the requirement to empower the young person to treat them as unproblematically competent actually undermined their ability to have choice and control. If the young person cannot live up to the expectation of self-determination in this meeting, decisions were made for them in their absence; in addition, if they failed to understand a question, it can cast doubt on other choices they have made and mandate people to override their wishes. In something of a contrast to this, where the answers to questions impact upon the service rather than the service user, Antaki et al (2002) found

that staff provided a lot of support to people so that the questions were understandable and reflected what was required of the quality review. However, in doing so, staff were acting more in line with their duty to support people to understand complex information rather than enabling a neutral evaluation of their support provider.

At times, staff found themselves having to make a decision about engaging with something a service user said which was either unclear or unrelated to the task at hand, and if doing so would interrupt the institutional objective underway (Antaki and Webb 2019, Antaki et al 2020). Staff faced this challenge when supporting people with intellectual disabilities in the therapeutic gardening services, supported living services and health checks studied in Antaki et al (2020) paper about repair. The study was concerned with examining what happens if a practitioner in these settings encounters 'linguistically problematic or troublesome' talk whilst attempting to achieve an institutional goal such as obtaining information about someone's diet during a health check, for example. The authors found that sensitive use of other initiated repair of unclear utterances was an approach most respectful of the service user, and enabled them to have more influence in the conversation. However, other practices were also in use which enabled the practitioner to complete the task at hand in an efficient manner. Practices such as offering candidate understandings, responding minimally to a repairable utterance and not taking up the next speaker slot were seen when utterances were indecipherable, or perhaps not relevant. The authors posit that the approach a practitioner uses may be a result of balancing the need to support people whilst getting the job done efficiently. Antaki and Webb (2019) similarly found that staff wrestled with the dilemma of engaging with service users with intellectual or other impairments at the expense of other institutional aims, such as teaching or completing a quiz. They found that staff often did use their power to ensure institutional objectives were met, and at times that involved not attending to things service users said. Staff also used imperatives when requesting that service users complete an action that benefited the running of the home but used a low entitlement/high contingency format when requesting something that was only for their benefit (Antaki and Kent 2012). Again, the authors stated that the staff used directives when playing out their obligation to instruct or socialise service users.

4.4 Incompetence Talk

We have seen so far that the talk in the literature examined here is influenced by the institutions that people are part of and their roles in relation to these institutions, and the inequalities that can result from this. There is also a strong thread through the literature, with each study drawing on previous ones, so that a coherent body of knowledge is created. In addition, some of the literature draws attention to the ways that an 'incompetence identity' for service users is talked into being through interactions with staff members (Mortari and Pino 2014; Antaki et al 2007b; Williams et al 2009a; Antaki et al 2007c; Finlay et al 2008a; Moore 2016). The approach to identity in conversation analytical studies is such that:

“for a person to ‘have an identity’ – whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about – is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features.”

(Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, p.3)

In relation to people with a learning disability, it has been shown that staff members routinely draw attention to people's incompetence, treat people like children, or use infantilising talk (Rapley 2004; Williams 2011). The literature supports this perspective, and Mortari and Pino (2014) add to this by revealing how incompetence talk is also present in a setting for people with mental health conditions. The interactional practices that staff used prevented the service users' concerns about medication side effects being acknowledged, and constructed them as incompetent and lacking in self-awareness. When staff in a residential home for individuals with profound intellectual disabilities instigated a game, there was a risk of an incompetent identity being produced if the game went beyond their abilities (Finlay et al 2008a). The authors saw that when the game was changed by the staff

member to include complex speech they were unlikely to use or understand, the service user moved from being a competent actor to an incompetent one.

The literature also revealed how framing individuals with intellectual disabilities as over-invested in social relationships, ascribes them an incompetent and dependent identity. Antaki et al (2007c) revealed the ways that staff directed people in a residents' meeting towards giving approved answers to questions by using candidate answers and leading sentences, for example. In addition, they coached people to categorise non-present staff members as friends, thus treating them as unable to determine different types of relationship. In a similar vein, Antaki et al (2007b) found that staff can exert subtle pressure on people to agree to attend social gatherings by making reference to a known person who will be attending. In doing so, they cast the service user as rejecting that individual as well as the invitation to a social event and this orients to them having a primarily social identity. Williams et al (2009a) picked up on this theme and found that individuals and their PAs both produced a 'learning disability' identity through their interactions, but also sometimes engaged in employer-employee talk which countered this. In a similar vein, Moore's (2016) study of calls to a MIND infoline for people with mental health problems demonstrated that empowerment and an identity of competence could be constructed by call takers. The paper details a singular case study chosen from 165 calls taken by 33 members of staff over a two week period. The purpose of the case study was to demonstrate how individual and shared knowledge can be used to empower callers. The findings show how the call taker used positively framed yes/no interrogatives to foreground the knowledge that the caller already had prior to contacting them. This prioritises the caller's knowledge over the call taker's and positions them as already knowledgeable and competent. However, Williams et al (2009a) also demonstrated that individuals with a learning disability on occasions apologised to their PAs and sought praise from them, framing themselves in a disempowered way as a learner and someone who is accountable to the PA. The PAs were also seen to give praise, and this was treated by both parties as natural and expected. Thus, none of this stream of CA studies makes exclusive claims that interactions are always empowering or disempowering. Taken together, however, they show how important it is to

attend to the precise interactional context, and its effect on identity. These principles will also inform my own study.

4.5 Enabling or Limiting Choice

As mentioned above, choice and control are key principles of both international (The UNCRPD 2006) and national law (The Care Act 2014). They advocate that people should be able to make choices about their day to day lives, and that those who support them should ensure people are aware of their right to make choices and what options are available to them (In Control 2015). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, people with learning disabilities have a long history of being prevented from making choices, or having decisions overruled by staff members. For a historical overview on this happening within institutions see Welshman and Walmsey (2006), and in the community see Forrester-Jones et al (2006). By contrast, CA studies have enabled us to unpack what is meant by the action of 'making choices' and 'offering choices'. These practices can be quite complex and contradictory in the to-and-fro of real life interactions. For instance, Antaki et al (2008) found that staff in residential homes had opportunities to offer choice in day to day activities such as meal prep and in formal meetings; for example, when menu planning for the week ahead. They used different practices to offer choices (described above) which had the potential to encourage decision making if offered in a thoughtful manner. What actually happened was the choices were offered confusingly, resulting in service users changing their initial decision. For example, when staff checked the choice someone made regarding which peeler to use, they chose a different one; when they listed alternative options for food, they changed their choice from beef to lamb, and then to chicken. And when the staff member engaged in a long sequence of checks to test that the individual understood and could name their choice, they only accepted the last of four choices he made. Successful practices for offering choice when there is a list of options to choose from were to use an open question (with no options) or to name the options that the individual has already mentioned from the list. Thus, the common-sense assumption is overturned by this insightful study: repeatedly offering the same choice feels as though it must give service users a better chance at making

their own choice however, interactionally, that turns out not to be true, and subsequent CA studies (e.g., Dowling et al. 2019) have also drawn on this insight.

Finlay and Antaki (2012) focused on the question design staff used during institutional activities with people with intellectual disabilities. These individuals were service users within one of two residential homes or attending a gardening activity project, and data was obtained at these settings as part of an ethnographic study. The aim of the study was to gain 'front line' evidence of the practices that staff use to obtain a satisfactory response to questions they ask of service users. Additionally, the authors aim was to improve the quality of interactions between service users and staff by identifying the 'ways of talking that encourage'. They identified seven question pursuit practices that staff used: question repetition, expansion, questions about desire versus intention, making a question more specific, changing the question format, providing a visible realisation of the question, and using preliminary questions. One of the situations in which staff would ask questions was to determine an individual's choice or preference. In instances when the service user gave no response, staff asked questions about the individual's desire (do you want to?) and intention (are you going to?). Staff also changed the format of the question when it didn't result in the desired outcome. For example, 'what would you like to do now?' becomes 'would you like to go to the toilet?', then 'yes or no?', and then 'coming to the toilet?', finally 'shall we go to the toilet?'. The repeated questions here (and the other question formats) indicate the importance that staff put on the service user deciding and then communicating their choice. The authors conclude that it is hard to determine what constitutes successful questioning practices, as staff's imperative to complete an action may contradict a service user's preference. However, the shortest question pursuit occurred when an embodied response was appropriate; for example, getting up to go to the dinner table.

Stevanovic et al (2020) also found evidence of staff practices which had success in enabling service users with mental health problems to make choices and take part in joint decision making. Their study took place in a Finnish Clubhouse mental house rehabilitation

community, where 29 weekly meetings were video recorded between September 2016 and August 2017. At each meeting between 2 and 10 service users were present along with 1 to 2 staff members. Of the total 29 service users who attended meetings, 15 were male and 14 were female, and their ages ranged from late twenties to mid-fifties. The seven staff members who attended the meetings were between 30 and 50 years old, 7 were male and 1 was female. The study took a mixed methods approach, comprising the following five stages:

1, CA analysis of video data

2, Creation of a coding scheme of the linguistic and other features of the support worker's proposals. The categories were open questions, quasi open, alternative options, modal polar questions, non-modal polar questions, non-modal declarative, modal declarative and complex with two or more of the above features. Data were also coded for gaze and explicit client address.

3, Rating level of client responsiveness on a 9 point Likert scale

4, Multiple linear regression analysis to examine the relationship between support worker proposals and client responsiveness

5 Illustrating the quantitative findings with CA data examples

The findings indicate some similarity with Antaki et al's (2008) study, in that the most successful proposal form for client responsiveness was a quasi-open question form, with explicit client address terms used, which make it clear that a response is expected from a particular person. Modal declarative proposals were found to be the least successful approach for joint decision making, as they invite only minimal responses. The authors underline the limitations of the study in relation to its lack of applicability to other settings, the influence of video, and those who rated client responsiveness having maybe been influenced by listening to other data. Coding did not account for the content of the conversations. Using coding systems based on interactional features of a conversation is

always fraught with difficulties of interpretation, which can go against the grain of CA analysis.

Irvine et al (2021) also studied patient choice in mental health care and how it is enabled or constrained in interaction when service users' access IAPT (improving access to psychological therapies) assessments on the phone. The study took place within five IAPT providers in the north and east of England between November 2018 and February 2019. The data were taken from 66 phone assessments conducted by 7 psychological wellbeing practitioners (PWP) (6 female, 1 male) aged between 24 and 72 years of age. Of the 66 patients involved, 45 were female and 21 were male. During the assessment, PWPs offered treatment options using one of three patterns:

1. Presenting a single delivery mode
2. Incrementally presenting alternative delivery modes, in response to patient resistance
3. Parallel presentation of multiple delivery mode options

When PWPs presented one option for treatment, they often promoted its benefits along the lines of 'I think it'll be really good for you'. If a patient was resistant to the treatment options offered to them, the PWP would offer alternatives one by one until an approach was agreed. At times the PWP would present two or three treatment options up front before the patient expressed a preference. By offering only one treatment option and not explicitly mentioning other possibilities, the PWPs were considered to be directing the patient toward that one option. When the patient refused an initial offer, both their perspective and the professional's (PWP) perspective were part of decision making. Being offered all possibilities up front was the most patient-centred option. The authors state that shared decision making requires that all options are on the table for patients to consider, and that PWP choice of words could give the appearance of choice even if limited options for treatment were given. They note that institutional objectives such as money saving may lead PWPs to limit the treatment options they offer.

Another study that focused on shared decision making between mental health professionals and service users was Kaminsky and Finlay (2018). In this study however, the authors give consideration of the service user's actions in creating an interactional environment for decision making alongside the psychiatrist. They note that the service user assertively claims their right to express an opinion, but does so with respect for 'face', and frames her request delicately. In turn, the psychiatrist seeks out the service user's experiential knowledge regarding medication use so far, thus treating the decision as one where both parties bring their own expertise. The findings reveal that there were times when the psychiatrist missed an opportunity to involve a less assertive service user when they did not follow up an unanswered question, and, at times, she directed the decision making, or did not offer adequate information about the medication options.

A further two studies reveal how staff members can reject proposals that service users make by making jokes about them, overruling or dismissing them, or talking over them (Antaki and Webb 2019; Jingree et al 2006). Whilst respecting a service user's meal choice, their PA overruled their choice of ingredients with which to make the meal, using her greater knowledge about cooking as licence to do so (Antaki and Webb 2019). When an individual with intellectual disability made a half-serious proposal about riding a motorbike home, their PAs used a direct imperative to dismiss their suggestion and continue with a serious conversation about the route home. In a forum specifically created to enable choice such as a residents' meeting, staff initially talked in overlap and ignored contributions from people who disagreed with a suggestion they made about a Christmas party. Further objections were acknowledged; however, they were met with jokey suggestions about 'dirty dancing' and cajoling to take part, which the authors state only happens when someone's right to make decisions is not respected.

Some literature revealed how those individuals who relied upon non-verbal means to communicate their decisions were subject to staff using bodily movement to achieve their institutional responsibility to complete the tasks that service users were objecting to for example, being weighed and attending scheduled activities (Finlay et al 2008b, Nicholson et

al 2021). Individuals with intellectual disabilities described as having ‘high support needs’ in Finlay et al’s (2008b) study displayed many bodily and verbal forms of resistance to staff encouragement to complete the weekly activity of being weighed. Some of the strategies service users used were moving away from staff, standing in the doorway, turning their head away, facing away from staff, standing still when encouraged to move, making distressed sounding vocalisations and stating ‘no’. Staff did not accept the service users’ refusals, and made repeated attempts to encourage and persuade them to move towards the room with the scales or to stand on the scales. An indication that the staff saw their imperative as ‘getting people weighed’ rather than acknowledging their expression of choice could be seen when one person stated, ‘that’s as far as I got him’. Nicholson et al’s (2021) study showed how individuals with severe and profound intellectual disabilities also resisted staff proposals by not engaging with an activity, actively resisting an activity or resisting or disengaging from an activity already started. Individuals employed strategies such as pretending to be asleep, leaving the room an activity was taking place in, not physically complying with a physical activity, and pulling off an apron during an art session. People used mobility aids, such as a scooter and gait trainer to physically enact their resistance and move away from an activity. Staff members’ responses to people differed, with some responding immediately to signs of resistance, perhaps without checking out if they were objecting to the activity overall or a specific part of it. Other staff repeatedly overruled signs of resistance and physically moved individuals back to the activity, or carried on with it despite objections.

4.6 Service Users as Active Agents

Consideration has been given so far to the asymmetrical relationship between service user and staff member, and the inequalities in interactional power and control that arise from this. However, the literature also reveals the ways that service users take an active role in challenging inequalities and in building collaborative and more equalised relationships with people who support them. This is an important issue to bring attention to, as it challenges

the idea that disabled people are passive recipients of services, victim to the actions of staff and the institutions they serve.

One study which challenges the established notion that individuals with intellectual disabilities have a tendency to be acquiescent is Hutcheon et al (2017). They use a case study to examine the idea of acquiescence (Sigelman et al 1981b). The case study is a subset of data taken from a larger study of 21 individuals with developmental disabilities or mental health diagnoses and 123 of their paid or unpaid carers, regarding challenges of giving and receiving care and decision making. The case study centres around a 2.5 hour interview that was conducted for the larger study, with an individual with both developmental disabilities and a mental health diagnosis and her parents who are her carers. CA was applied to the interview transcript and the findings revealed how the individual, 'Suzanne' was able to get her voice heard whilst maintaining her parents' approval. The authors illustrate their findings with the following action-response sequences speaking over/capping it off, speaking for/giving it over and correcting/redirecting. When her parents answer a question directed at her, Suzanne attempts to interject at a couple of points as her mother speaks in overlap with her; however, she comes in at the end of the sequence to 'cap off' what her parents have said. At another point, she nominates her mother to answer a question on her behalf and adds her own contributions to expand upon her mother's answers. Suzanne also redirects the conversation towards her own account of being on a particular medication when her mother corrects her. The authors argue that these interactional strategies give Suzanne some agency in the conversation and allow her to thoughtfully express her perspective on her own experiences. They claim that this is evidence of a person with developmental disabilities' agency which has previously escaped notice. Although this study takes a CA approach, the use of existing interview data is not standard in CA studies. CA is undertaken on 'naturally occurring conversations' or interactions which would have taken place even if the study did not happen;; for example, as in doctor patient consultation. The interview which took place was conducted to provide data for the author's study, and therefore could not be considered naturally occurring. This places limitations on the applicability of the findings. However, it could also be argued that the context here is very

significant, as Seligman's acquiescence concept is still prevalent amongst researchers not familiar with CA, who rely largely on interviews.

Other literature took a similar approach in revealing the ways that individuals were active agents. People with an intellectual disability were found to instruct and evaluate the performance of their PAs (Williams et al 2010; Williams et al 2009a) and exert their executive control to direct PAs to perform tasks for them (Dowling et al 2019). Instead of being in second position, some individuals initiated sequences of talk (Williams 2009a) and used their PA for advice to make wise decisions in their own interests (Dowling et al 2019).

4.7 Epistemic and Deontic Rights

The literature reveals the ways in which the epistemic rights or epistemic status of service users is cast by supporters and how supporters use their deontic rights to advance institutional objectives (Antaki and Webb 2019, Antaki 2013, Williams and Porter 2015b, Antaki and Chin 2019). As discussed in Chapter 3.4, a person's epistemic rights concern their rights to knowledge, and people are generally treated as having greater epistemic rights to know about matters relating to themselves, such as their experiences or feelings (Heritage 2013). The epistemic status of an individual relates to the rights and responsibilities they have, regardless of any claims they make about their epistemic authority (Stevanovic and Svennevig 2015). An individual's deontic rights relate to their authority to direct another person's future actions (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012), such as might be seen in a supervisor allocating work to their employee. People do not automatically have equal epistemic and deontic rights, they are interactionally achieved by the extent to which interactants accept or reject a person's claims of knowledge or power to determine their actions (Stevanovic 2018).

Support staff are not always free to respond to service users' proposals, and may be led to inadvertently perpetuate epistemic and deontic asymmetries due to their obligation to fulfil

institutional goals such as getting a person home or teaching about gardening (Antaki and Webb 2019). Antaki and Webb (2019) revealed many instances where support staff did not attend to service users' talk, despite their repeated attempts to engage in interaction, when it was at odds with an overarching activity. Epistemic asymmetry was evident when numerous turns at talk regarding a quiz did not include a service user who sought involvement through her embodied actions. Also, a PA made use of their epistemic status to repeatedly question a service user's choice of meat whilst shopping, claiming she knew better what she should buy with the statement 'I think..'. The data illustrated two instances of a PA asserting their deontic authority: by not attending to two different side sequences the service user engaged in and carrying on with planning a route home in one instance, and by stating what activity he will do next time they are together in the other instance. This was despite the service user casting their first proposal as non-serious and something they could both joke about, and persistent verbal and embodied requests to acknowledge his sequence about a subject interesting to him.

When a third party is part of interactions between disabled people and professionals, the third party can interject to foreground their shared epistemic status. In Williams and Porter's (2015b) study, they aimed to discover what action a third-party, self-selected turn fulfils, to contribute to existing knowledge about epistemics and to explore the tension between progressivity and person centredness. Data were taken from two studies regarding disabled people's experience of using personal budgets. 261 minutes of audio data was collected from 4 support planning sessions with one male and one female with intellectual disabilities, both in the 18-20 age bracket. In order to test the robustness of phenomena, and due to the limitations of audio data, additional data was selected from 4 research interviews (totalling 289 minutes) with disabled people (3 female and 1 male aged 20 to 70+) with various cognitive difficulties. Five actions that the third-party turns performed were discovered:

1. Clarifying/repairing. For example, a parent interjecting to clarify what the young person has said, as the support planner appeared to believe what they said was related to their question when it wasn't.
2. Usurping. 82 instances were found where third parties self-selected to offer a candidate response. An example was given where a partner self-selected, pre-empting a negative response from the disabled person and interpreting an alternative motive for the researcher's question.
3. Prompting. Another 82 instances were found of turns where the third party aligned with the professional's prior turn and then addressed the disabled person, for example repeating a question that the researcher had just asked.
4. Expanding. A third party may expand a disabled person's response after they have spoken. For example, a young person's mother added that her daughter has to be careful about food choices, after she had answered a question about food minimally.
5. Challenging. The third party may challenge or disagree with the disabled person, as seen when a parent states that their son's girlfriend will not be attending the same service as them.

The authors state that these actions make their shared epistemic status with the disabled person visible, and they serve to ensure accuracy and mutual understanding between the disabled person and the professional. When the third-party turn challenged the disabled person, their right to speak took second place to concern for progressivity of the talk. The authors state that further research with video data would allow for consideration of non-verbal actions that occur around self-selection.

Two further studies reveal the ways in which staff manage the tension of claiming to know more about an individual's experience than they do (Antaki and Chinn 2019; Antaki 2013). Over 30 hours of video data were collected at two services for people with intellectual disabilities in Antaki's 2013 study, where he examines staff members' approach to unsatisfactory responses to questions intended to elicit reflection. The data were taken

from a residential service where five men lived and a gardening project, and one extract was chosen from each setting to illustrate the practices that staff used to encourage people to reflect. In the residential setting, a staff member used an interrogatory style including test questions, offering a set of alternatives and a yes/no question which does not produce a satisfactory outcome, as the staff member concludes the service user has answered incorrectly. This interaction was an ad hoc attempt at soliciting reflection, whereas in the gardening service it is a routine part of the day to reflect on the day's activities. Here the staff used incomplete utterances to scaffold the service user's response, employed hints and elaborated upon incomplete answers to make them relevant. Although this approach is more facilitative, offering hints suggests that the staff know as much about the individual's experience as they do, and casts them as having fewer epistemic rights than others, highlighting the epistemic asymmetry in this relationship. Nevertheless, reflection on actions and decisions is arguably a positive way for people with LD to develop their independence skills, and Dowling et al. (2019) show how it is possible to carefully listen for moments when the person with learning disabilities initiates a reflection.

Antaki and Chinn (2019) found that companions (usually staff or family carers) took a less dichotomous approach, and supported people upon a gradient of lesser to greater epistemic entitlement. Their study was concerned with whether companions override patients or act with sensitivity towards their epistemic rights. Video recordings were made of 33 people with intellectual disabilities having annual health checks in 10 GP practices in London between July 2016 and June 2017, with 14 different practitioners. 82% of people were supported by a family member, carer or supporter and 4 individuals did not use words to communicate, so 25 people were suitable for analysis. They focused on times when a question was asked of the patient, but the companion intervened. The findings showed that questions directed to the patient were mostly answered by them, and on the occasions that a companion did intervene, they did so in the following ways:

- 1) hinting at relevant information which the patient knows, but has not yet revealed
- 2) elaborating/clarifying the patient's answer to better fit the medical practitioner's requirements
- 3) repairing/correcting the patient's answer to better fit the medical practitioner's requirements
- 4) bypassing the patient, to self-select as the recipient of the medical practitioner's question to the patient, in exact overlap with, in advance of, or after lapsed, turn from the patient

An example in the data of an intervention demonstrating less epistemic entitlement showed a companion interjecting after the individual has finished their turn (in response to the practitioner's question) and then referring to information the individual has already expressed to them previously, thus minimising their epistemic status. At the latter end of the scale, the companion demonstrates significant entitlement to epistemic authority over the individual by answering the practitioner's question. The authors point to the dilemma that companions have in balancing the objective of successfully completing the medical consultation with respecting the individual's right to know about their own health experiences. They conclude that the way for a companion to preserve an individual's epistemic rights is to treat the patient as if they can answer the question. Like so many of the studies in this review, there are strong links between the interactional strategies noted in one setting and another (for instance, see Williams and Porter's 2015b paper about third-party turns in a social care setting). CA offers potent tools to cut across different contexts, and to reveal basic patterns.

4.8 Joint Talk

Joint talk can loosely be described as the ways in which conversational partners work towards overcoming asymmetry, and so this theme will be a key one in my own study. Williams (2009a, 2011) has shown the ways in which this can be managed in the talk

between people with learning disabilities and those people who are paid to support them; for example, support workers or personal assistants. Traditionally people with learning disabilities have experienced unequal and disempowering interactions with those paid to support them, where their rights to speak have been controlled, the acceptability of their utterances judged, or they have been left out of conversations about them altogether (Williams 2009b; Rapley and Antaki 1996; Redley and Weinberg 2007; Antaki et al 2006). This asymmetry or inequality happens in situations where one person has a defined professional role, and the other person is constructed as a pupil, patient or client.

Joint talk was not as prevalent in the literature as other phenomena, and only three studies showed evidence in interactions between people with intellectual disabilities and staff members, with evidence of less empowering and unequal interactions also present in the studies (Antaki and Crompton 2015; Williams et al 2009a; Williams et al 2009b). Service users and staff having a joint purpose or a shared stake in achieving a task was something that could promote a service user's agency (Antaki and Crompton 2015) or help to achieve equal interactional rights (Williams et al 2009b). Antaki and Crompton (2015) describe how this can be seen most clearly in the use of 'we' when referring to immediate tasks at hand; for example, 'so, we need a space for our geraniums'. The staff also reference the wider context of these tasks and the individual's stake in achieving them, so rather than their work together being that of an instructor and learner, it is of workers achieving a joint outcome together. Williams et al (2009b) note that joint talk is seen when people with learning disabilities and their PAs refer to shared information regarding experiences they have had together.

When talk is not dominated by staff members but has a fluency or fluidity between both individuals, it has the effect of achieving an equal and personalised relationship (Williams et al 2009a and b). Similarly, when that relationship is marked by smiling, laughter and jokes which are constructed by both parties there is a friendliness and equality of interaction not often typified in a service user–staff relationship (Williams et al 2009a). Service users can be active in challenging the status quo by acting out their role as employer and managing

the work their PA does, just as a PA who follows the lead of their employer and does not seek to control them can do too (Williams et al 2009a).

4.9 Implications for this study

Overwhelmingly, the existing CA literature involving people with learning disabilities points towards the imbalances that can occur in an interaction when one party has more institutionally mandated authority, control and knowledge than the other. Despite policy imperatives to encourage decision making and choices, these imbalances are driven by some very basic features about how communication works. This is equally true for my own study, where the imperative to 'co-work' does not automatically mean that equal co-working will be observed in action.

In order to unpick what happens in conversations with support staff, the concepts of epistemic and deontic authority have increasingly come to be seen as useful. They will also be applied in this study. Common-sense understandings of notions like 'offering choices' can be reversed by detailed CA, which attends to how one speaker's turn is taken by the next speaker. This basic tool in CA is a key to analysis in the findings which follow. Affiliation has been a more recent concept, but can be seen to underpin the more successful strategies to achieve an 'equal relationship'. Some of the tools used by both parties in these studies are non-verbal (e.g., smiles, body position, laughter) and therefore a multi-modal analysis is important for the data in the current study. Foregrounding the 'sharedness' of collaborative work and each person's stake in it was key to greater involvement for people with learning disabilities, and is a central consideration in this study. Finally, a focus on the strategies used by both the individuals, with and without a learning disability meant that some studies acknowledged the interactional abilities of people with learning disabilities, rather than focusing on their deficits. This study considers the interactional strategies and abilities of both co-workers with and without a learning disability.

The current study is distinct from existing literature in a number of ways. Firstly, the focus is on a context where, by virtue of having paid employment, a person with learning disabilities could be assumed to have greater authority and fewer restrictions on their choices than they do when in the role of service user. Within their role as co-workers, they have a set of responsibilities to adhere to as an employee, whereas the service user 'role' is less defined. Inherent within the co-working role is an acknowledgement of, and right to, the unique knowledge that an individual with learning disabilities has which their colleague does not. This is one way in which they have a superior epistemic status over their colleague and not something which is present in the service user–supporter relationship, where the supporter is seen as having a right to greater knowledge about support matters. These themes will be evident in the analysis of data, which is presented in subsequent chapters. Before turning to those findings, however, the following chapter will describe the methods of data collection and consider the ethical implications of this work.

Chapter 5: Data collection and ethics

5.1 Inclusive design

The study started with the recruitment of co-researchers who would use their 'expert by experience' status to assist in the initial stages of research. This would make it, in part, an inclusive study (Walmsley 2001). It was important to me that I aimed to include the voices of people with learning disabilities in this research as much as was feasible and that they were paid for their contributions. Although it would be disingenuous to claim that this was a fully inclusive or emancipatory study, I was keen to not reproduce the harms involved in historical research in the lives of people with learning disabilities (Barnes and Mercer 2006; Walmsley and Johnson 2003).

I approached two individuals with a learning disability who I had worked with before and who had research experience, expertise in Easy Read information (a method of converting written information into easy to understand written language with accompanying images see appendices C, D, F, I and K for examples) and experience of working alongside a colleague without a learning disability, in a manner similar to co-working. Both were keen to take part, so I sent them a co-researcher's introductory letter in formal language (appendix B) and Easy Read (appendix C), and Easy Read information sheet (appendix D) and a co-researcher's agreement (appendix E) in formal language and Easy Read (appendix F). I encouraged them to read this literature with support of a trusted person, if required. We then met to discuss the expectations of them as co-researchers, the need for confidentiality and how and what they would be paid if they agreed to take part. The Easy Read co-researcher information sheet was used to support this conversation. Both were satisfied they could meet to requirements of taking part and signed the relevant forms (appendix E and F). We started by reviewing the provisional Easy Read information that I had created for the research participants. This had a dual purpose of giving them greater understanding of the study and improving the quality of the information for participants.

5.2 Sampling and access

The plan was to find a minimum of four organisations that were using a co-working approach who would be willing to take part. As co-working is not widely used at present, I made use of knowledge I have of the self-advocacy movement and disabled people's organisations that employed people with learning disabilities across the UK to source contacts. Initial contact with potential organisations was made via email and then phone to establish if they used a co-working approach, even if this wasn't what they called it. Once four organisations had been contacted who agreed in principle to take part, email contact was made with their directors or trustees for permission. In this email, I included an introductory letter (appendix G) and Easy Read and formal research information sheets (appendices H and I). All four organisations gave me permission to undertake the research and put me in touch with potential participants.

5.3 Ethics and consent

The ethical sensitivities considered in this study were largely associated with using video in a CA study and capacity to consent to taking part. By videoing the participants in their workplaces there is a risk that they may feel judged or scrutinised and there is also an increased risk of being identifiable by anyone viewing the video or stills taken from it. These issues and issues of consent and understanding were addressed by meeting and discussing the study in detail with the participants as follows.

I met with the four pairs of potential research participants from each organisation either in person, or via video call, to discuss the study further and answer any questions they had. I spoke about my own involvement with disabled people's organisations (at the time as a trustee and previously an employee), motivation for completing the study, how data would be collected, risks involved in taking part and what would be required of them if they chose to take part. I used the participant information sheets in formal language (appendix J) and

Easy Read (appendix K) to support our discussion and to ensure as far as I was able that both workers understood the study and the expectations of them if they chose to take part. Everyone that I met with/spoke to was keen to be involved and decided to take part at the time we met. I then went through formal language (appendix L) and Easy Read (appendix M) consent forms and Easy Read participant support information (appendix N), explaining that they were free to withdraw consent at any time. I explained that transcriptions would be anonymous, pseudonyms would be used, and they were free to choose their pseudonym if they preferred. I also explained that any identifying information about where they worked, any partner organisations they worked for or similar information which might compromise their anonymity would be changed in the transcript. I explained who, other than myself, might be likely to see the videos and showed them examples of how anonymised video data would look. Although all participants agreed to take part at the time we spoke, I encouraged them to contact me if they had any questions or concerns at any time. I obtained signed consent forms from all dyads before commencing data collection. The consent forms the individuals with learning disabilities signed included a signed witness statement from their colleague confirming that they consent to taking part and being videoed.

5.4 Description of organisations who took part

The organisations who took part all had as their main (or one of their) aims to improve the life chances of people with a learning disability, but they each described themselves slightly differently. Despite this, they would each largely fall under the definition of a disabled people's user led organisation, which is that they:

- are led and controlled by disabled people and have a minimum membership of 75 per cent of disabled people on their board
- actively demonstrate their commitment to disabled people by employing disabled staff and volunteers
- actively demonstrate their commitment to the Social Model of Disability.

(SCIE 2014)

Most of the organisations grew out of the People First self-advocacy movement and have developed their services to be responsive to their local communities.

Organisation one:

Provides inclusive research, training opportunities (for example in co-production), produces accessible information and consultation. They grew out of a local People First organisation and maintain links with them. The paid staff comprise disabled and non-disabled people, including people with learning disabilities. The participants Graham and John (pseudonyms) work here. Graham and John had been working together as colleagues for several years, including in a previous organisation.

Organisation two:

Delivers a range of projects in partnership with other local and national organisations to create change and influence policy affecting the lives of people with learning disabilities. Also provides training opportunities and creates Easy Read information and resources. Their committee comprises mostly disabled people, people with learning disabilities are employed in leadership roles and their staff team comprises paid and voluntary people with and without learning disabilities. The participants Jennifer and Julie (pseudonyms) work here. Julie and Jennifer had been working together for a few months, Julie was a long-established member of the team and Jennifer was a newer employee.

Organisation three:

A self-advocacy organisation that provides a range of services for people with learning disabilities and the wider community. Services include producing Easy Read information, running self-advocacy groups, campaigning and providing social opportunities for people with learning disabilities. Trustees in this organisation all have learning disabilities, paid staff members comprise people with and without learning disabilities. The participants Jan and Liz

(pseudonyms) work here. Jan was a long-established member of the organisation and Liz had been working with her for approximately a year.

Organisation four:

A user led organisation of people with learning disabilities with origins in the People First movement. The services they provide include training opportunities for people with learning disabilities and professionals, providing Easy Read information and running advocacy groups. The organisation's management is entirely people with learning disabilities and their trustees are people with and without learning disabilities. Angel and Sue (pseudonyms) work here. Angel and Sue had worked together for some time.

All the dyads included a member who self-identified as having a 'learning disability' and another person working with them who did not identify in that way. The people with learning disabilities were three women and one man, all broadly 'middle aged'. They all used verbal language. The people without a learning disability also consisted of one man and three women, one of whom was a non-native English speaker. All participants were assumed to have the capacity to consent to the research.

It is important here to give some consideration to the impact that having interlocutors who are non-native speakers of English and people who have a learning disability could have on the analysis. As this thesis is concerned with analysing conversation it would be easy to place a lot of weight on potential or presumed difficulties that could arise due to a lack of fluency or possible 'atypical' forms of communication (Antaki and Wilkinson 2013). However, CA research shows that what is important in interaction is how an utterance is responded to or 'what comes next'. 'Troubles' in conversation (such as elongated pauses, overlapping talk, difficulties in understanding) tend to get worked out and it is notable when this doesn't happen. In co-working relationships such as the ones in this study, the colleagues mostly know each other well and have been working together for some time. Any idiosyncratic styles of communication have mutually understood meanings, for example, Graham's repetitions and overlapping talk is treated by both him and John as a

‘continuer’. This study’s focus is on the institutional practices of the co-workers and how they play out, rather than difficulties or deficiencies that may be associated with a diagnosis of a learning disabilities or being a non-native English speaker. For example, in excerpt three, where a co-worker anticipates that their colleague may struggle understanding a word, this is pre-empted and Sue repairs the word ‘publicity’ to ‘shout loud and proud’. This reflects Sue’s orientation to interpreting complex information and making it Easy Read for Angel. Ultimately, as in everyday conversation between people without specific diagnoses or for whom English is a second language, the co-workers shape their turns at talk so that their colleagues can understand.

5.5 Data collection

Data was collected during two visits to each of the organisations apart from organisation three, where it was collected on one visit. Video data was obtained at all settings and participants were given the opportunity to view themselves during a camera test before data collection started. The camera was set up in the room where the dyads usually worked together and left to run whilst I left the building or sat in another room when this was possible. I remained with the camera on one occasion when the participants in organisation two moved between rooms as they worked and also in organisation three when they requested that I stay. Between 1 hour 49 minutes and 2 hours of video data was collected at each setting during each visit, totalling 12 hours 43 minutes of data. The participants were given the opportunity to watch the video back and remove any sections they did not want to be part of the study, and one dyad requested that a short clip was removed.

5.6 Transcription

With a large volume of data to analyse, I began by systematically watching the videos and noticing what was happening between the co-workers. The purpose of this approach is to be open to discovering what the talk reveals, rather than ‘searching for instances of already

identified and described phenomena' (ten Have 2007). However, this study aims to examine how power is played out in talk when decisions are made and there were a number of very noticeable points where this was happening. I therefore made collections of clips where decisions appeared to be made about their work or where it appeared that one of them was exercising some power. I then made verbatim transcripts of a selection of those clips from each of the dyads and took them to meetings with the co-researchers (section 5:1) to undertake an initial analysis. The co-researchers and I watched the clips and discussed what the talk between the co-workers was achieving and if this had any resonance with their experiences of working alongside a person without learning disabilities. Through a series of six meetings, the co-researchers assisted in choosing a selection of video clips for further analysis. They also recommended a couple of clips that demonstrated a co-worker with learning disabilities exercising control, which was of particular interest to them. These clips were used in the final selection included in this thesis, as well as others which I later chose as representative of the phenomena in the 'findings' chapters (Chapters 6, 7, 8). This experimental approach to working with CA data with 'lay people' was also used in Williams et al (2010) and Williams et al (2009a and b).

The chosen video data was transcribed using the most commonly used CA conventions set out by Gail Jefferson (Hepburn and Bolden 2013) (Appendix O). Careful, repeated listening and detailed transcription of data is the key to CA research. Interaction is transcribed exactly as it occurs, no utterance is considered irrelevant and therefore omitted, so that every element can be analysed. Because CA is concerned with what words do, writing *how* they have been said is also included in transcription. The data was transcribed in Transana, software for qualitative analysis of data which enables video data to be played whilst a transcript is produced. The software assists in the smooth production of a finely detailed transcript by enabling precise measurement of pauses and gaps and viewing of changes in volume or pitch via a waveform. It also allowed collections of particular phenomena to be categorised to see which themes were common across the data.

In CA, the analysis of data begins with the transcription (Wooffitt 2005, p.11-13) and in this study it became apparent that some of the embodied actions of participants could have analytical significance, hence a multimodal transcription was completed where relevant. The style of multimodal transcription was a simplification of Mondada's (2019a) conventions (see Appendix O) and indicates the precise timing of certain actions so that the analysis can include a consideration of talk combined with visual conduct.

CA research requires detailed and meticulous work to transcribe and analyse data, and although an aim of this study was to be inclusive, it would be difficult to maintain contact with the insights and input of researchers with learning disabilities. Essentially, the co-researchers took an advisory role in this study (Bigby et al 2014), enabling some consideration of matters that were important to them in their experience of co-working. In doing so, it highlighted how important it was to pick up on practical implications for the dyads and for the disabled movement more generally.

The findings chapters which follow all include excerpts of transcription of the data and stills from the videos of significant points of analytical interest. Readers can thus check back and may notice other interactional strategies at play: the advantage of CA is that there is always this evidence base to return to. The transcripts in this study are presented at something of an unconventional length. It is routine to in CA research to present short excerpts of data, however within this study the excerpts allow the reader to see the full sequences in which decisions are negotiated. By including the entirety of the relevant data, the reader can see the development of a decision as it is raised, discussed and to greater or lesser extent, resolved. For example, in excerpt one there are 108 lines of talk before the issue of Jan's opinion on the work Liz has done is forthcoming. Although the original video clips are all available, the names and identifying details of organisations are anonymised in the transcripts and stills have had a filter added to distort the image slightly.

In this chapter I will present four excerpts containing examples of ‘Openings’, which are transcribed in the CA ‘Jeffersonian’ tradition (Hepburn and Bolden 2013) with additional annotation of analytically relevant embodied actions. Following a detailed description of each excerpt is a summary of the main points as they relate to the research questions, and to conclude is an overall summary bringing together the salient themes from all excerpts.

CA has had a longstanding interest in openings, stemming from Schegloff’s 1968 paper on conversational openings in telephone conversations, which focuses on the fundamentals at a sequential level of turn-taking and recognition of the ‘other’. More recently, this has been supplemented by studies of openings in particular institutional settings, such as Robinson, (2006), who considers how gaze and bodily orientation play out in the opening sequences of doctor-patient encounters. This work starts to move into areas very relevant to the current study, with asymmetries being the main focus, for instance in Hellerman (2007), who shows how learners regularly draw on the language used by the teacher to claim a turn at talk. ‘Openings’ in this thesis refers to the way the dyads made a start on their work together on that day.

The opening sequences in this chapter are the points when the dyads begin working together. They centre around planning what the co-workers are about to do, where one person is relaying information to the other regarding correspondence they have had with project partners or preparatory work they have already done. In one excerpt, the co-workers focus on remembering the content of a meeting they were both at. Opening sequences were chosen for analysis because they have been shown to be involved in the organisation of what gets talked about, or within the case of meetings, setting the agenda and deciding upon priorities for the meeting (Sidnell 2010).

Essentially, in these opening sequences in the current data, the dyads are establishing decisions about what to do during the session they have together. As Stevanovic (2012, p.799) demonstrates, 'the 'jointness' of every joint decision making process is a condition that needs to be constructed constantly, each time anew, and furthermore, it must be actively maintained in the sequential unfolding of interaction during the whole decision-making process.' However, openings are especially important in these dyads because they are a point at which it may be significantly harder to achieve equality due to asymmetries in access to the work which is underway and differences in memory or cognitive abilities. They are also important because the opening sequence contains decision points about activities, which then influence what happens in the subsequent interaction.

6.1 Detailed analysis of Excerpt One: Jan and Liz

Here we find Jan (worker with a learning disability) and Liz (worker without a learning disability) devising a workshop they have been commissioned to deliver with a partner organisation. Liz's role has led her to liaise with the commissioner and to agree upon what they can deliver. Jan came to their meeting that day with some prior knowledge of the workshop, but no involvement in the negotiations or finer points of their work. They are sitting side by side in a meeting room with their chairs slightly angled towards each other. There is a table against the wall with a laptop on it with a power point presentation on display (later on, we find that this contains an outline of the presentation for the workshop that Liz has already devised). Liz has some paperwork on her lap and a pen in her hand, while Jan does not have anything. Throughout the excerpt, Liz essentially tells a story of the preparatory work she has done before meeting with Jan. What is of interest here is the number and length of turns taken by each worker, where there are periods of eye contact and how paperwork is used.

36 invited uh:: (0.7) people who >come in contact with
37 nurses so maybe you've been a patient< or: .hhh uh(0.7)
38 your >family member has been a patient or whatever< and
39 and also this specific bit is about ↑learning ↑disabilities
40 JAN: ((nods))
41 LIZ: so they'll also invite people with learning ↓disabilities
42 so this workshops for (1.0) about fifteen to twenty
43 people (0.1) >as I finally found out yesterday ((flat voice))
44 ↑fifteen to twenty people< a:nd um (0.3) people with
45 learning disabilities and people without learning
46 disabilities altogether.
47 JAN: ((nods)) kay
48 LIZ: so (.) as always we kind of do it in easy read
49 JAN: ((nods))
50 way so I thought that what we could do wa:s keep it
51 the way that we always do it, (0.6) and (1.2) explain
52 things as simply as possible because (0.6) °that's just
53 the best way to explain [it°]
54 JAN: [yeah] ((nods))
55 LIZ: >for people to understand it< .hhh and then um people
56 from the university so I was >I think I told you the
57 man's name was Ben_<
58 JAN: ((nods))
59 LIZ: um who we've been talking to. he or somebody on his team
60 he said that he was hap- happily do it with you
61 JAN: ((nods))
62 LIZ: um will stand up there and kind of introduce (0.5)
63 [why the] university's doing this cos I- there's no point
64 JAN: [((nods))]
65 LIZ: us saying why the university's doing it when he can
66 explain it better maybe?
67 JAN: ((nods)) yeah
(lines 68-101 omitted where content of the workshop is discussed)
102 LIZ: but I think it's important that we say why we're there,
103 JAN: ((nods, looking down)) yeah_
104 LIZ: d'yo- °what do you think.°
105 JAN: ((nods, looking down)) yeah_
106 LIZ: yeah;
107 JAN: ((nods, looking down)) yes.=
108 LIZ: =so (0.5) he-
109 JAN: why are we there.

-JAN has flat expression-

110 LIZ: hh
 --
 111 (0.4)
 112 JAN: uh-hh-hh-hh uh huh
 113 LIZ: fto help people learn about the future of ɪnu(h)rɪ(h)ɪŋɪŋ .hh
 114 JAN: yeah, ok.

What is happening in detail?

This extract follows from a brief moment of shared laughter initiated by a joke Liz makes (not transcribed). She then, indicates her intention to begin, with the incipient discourse markers ‘um so’ (Bolden 2009) in first position. Her talk is then sped up as she says, ‘I apologise in advance’ before explaining that the paperwork she has is not in Easy Read (see Chapter 5.1) and this is attributed to it being produced by ‘the university’, their partner in the project they are working on today. She is orienting to the fact that it is necessary for her and Jan to have Easy Read information so that they can work effectively together, and it may be harder without this. As we shall see, this announcement signals a situation in which it is very hard to achieve epistemic equality. Her apology at this point could imply she takes responsibility for this; however, mentioning the university also implicates them as being at fault. Jan acknowledges the paperwork is not in Easy Read with a flat intonation in line 4 and Liz responds with laughter, perhaps taking Jan’s statement as a joke or acknowledging the discomfort she has made explicit. Laughter can be a face-saving device or used to deal with the delicacy of a topic (Glenn 2003; Haakana 2001). There are a couple of particles of breathy laughter from Jan in overlap with Liz, but Liz’s sped up second apology shuts down the laughter and prevents the joke or discomfort from continuing. At line 7, Liz holds the floor with ‘um’, projecting that she has more to say before stating that the paperwork which details the workshop that they are planning is the final iteration. Here she is demonstrating her epistemic position (Heritage 2012b, 2018) by foregrounding what she has already done to negotiate and finalise details of their commissioned work. Liz then goes on to say in a ‘smile voice’ and with an animated expression that she will make the document into Easy

Read as a 'treat' for Jan. As she does this, she makes eye contact with Jan who is already looking at her. Jan has a flat expression as Liz is talking, and she does not smile or laugh at the attempted joke that she is making (see fig 6.1).



Figure 6.1 Jan and Liz 'for a treat'

Instead, Jan nods minimally, in line 9 in overlap at the end of Liz's turn constructional units (TCUs – see Chapter 3.1). At the point she stops smiling in the middle of line 9, Liz's talk is jumpstarted as she quickly begins another TCU and holds the floor at a point when Jan could have taken a turn to speak and added to her earlier nod. Liz goes on to explain that the paperwork has the agenda written on it and then gives a further explanation of what an agenda is. Here, she is essentially doing 'Easy Read talk' interpreting the word 'agenda' into language that is easier to understand.

These first ten lines are somewhat representative of this extract, in that Liz is often seen to employ devices to hold the floor and extend her turns at talk, and Jan's responses are quiet and minimal. There is a significant amount of asymmetry between Jan and Liz in respect of

the number and length of turns taken. There are typical turn allocation points in Liz's talk, but these are not taken up by Jan other than to supply minimal feedback noises.

In line 13, Liz starts a new phase, until about line 30, where she tells Jan about some ideas she has had. At this point, the epistemic asymmetry (Heritage and Raymond 2005) between the ladies is made even more apparent as Liz has access to information about what is required of them for this piece of work that Jan does not, and she has spent time before this point to give thought to how they will do their work. Liz is in a position of superior knowledge to Jan and in subsequent lines this is played out. In lines 16 to 24 Liz recounts a list of things that she states she has already told Jan and Jan nods in response to each of the elements of the list, uttering 'yep' quietly in line 25. In lines 11 and 13, Liz uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to the work they are going to be doing and what they have already discussed, but in line 14 and 15, she changes to 'I' when referring to ideas she wants to 'run through' with Jan. This changes the project from a joint one, to a less equal one where Liz has superior, prior knowledge of the topic, and Jan is only asked to contribute on the terms set by Liz. In the main, Jan simply acquiesces with some very positively tilted suggestions by Liz. This follows through in lines 16 to 24. At line 16, she self-repairs 'it's about' to 'I told you the day', it might be projected that she was going to say what she picks up again in line 26/27 'and the whole day (.) is about (.) how the university cn cha:nge their cou:rse'. It would appear that Jan's memory of what she has been previously told is being tested here, however Liz does not ask her to remember; instead, she lists what has told her, suggesting that she does not trust her ability to recall these things, in a manner similar to those prompting people with dementia (Williams et al 2019). Liz also refers to a free lunch, and referencing food is a tactic which anecdotally I have observed support workers using to encourage people with learning disabilities to attend an event they may not otherwise be interested in, and which is also seen in Antaki et al (2007). Jan's utterances in lines 17 and 25 are delivered very quietly, and in between these lines she nods at transition relevance places (TRPs – see Chapter 3.1). Liz treats these as continuers and between lines 26 and 30 she gives an explanation of the purpose of the conference they are attending which is hearable as a new piece of information for Jan, due in part to Liz's rising intonation at the end of line 30. Jan responds here with 'right' and a nod, which is a slightly more certain response than she has given so far in this extract.

Liz has an extended turn between lines 32 and 46 where she describes the people who will be attending the conference. She describes nine different categories of people, and in line 39 when she mentions people with learning disabilities, there is an upwards pitch in her voice which could be marking what she feels is relevant for Jan. In response to this in line 40, Jan nods. Between lines 44 to 46, Liz reformulates the people in attendance from nine different categories to 15 to 20 people who either do or don't have a learning disability.

In lines 48 to 55, Liz again refers to the need for Easy Read information again and foregrounds the importance of producing their presentation in an Easy Read way, as per their usual practice. During the remainder of the excerpt, Jan's pattern of interaction seen so far (minimal, quiet response tokens and nods) continues until in line 102, after Liz states 'but I think it's important to say why we're there,'. This is an assertion, albeit a qualified one, about what Jan and Liz should contribute to the workshop. In response, Jan nods and utters an information receipt 'yeah_' whilst looking down. Liz goes on to pursue an expanded or upgraded response from Jan, however she simply repeats the information receipt 'yeah' and 'yes.='. It is possible that here Liz is attempting to elicit compliance from Jan regarding this assertion, rather than just acknowledgment of it (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012).

Jan then states, 'why are we there.' in line 109 and Liz responds with a breathy laughter particle. There is a gap before Jan shares this laughter. Liz's reply at line 113 is delivered with a higher pitched smile voice than her other talk and is interpolated with laughter particles as she says 'nursing'. The statement 'the future of ↑nu(h)rsi(h)ing£' is a reformulation of the title of their presentation 'Developing the future nurse' but it is not something that Liz has explicitly mentioned in this excerpt. The laughter at this point interrupts the pattern of the talk so far; it is shared laughter and brings the ladies together to a point where it is made explicit that they do not have the same epistemic access and knowledge about this piece of work.

6.1.1 Asymmetry in turn taking

This extract demonstrates a significant degree of asymmetry between the ladies in terms of their epistemic access to their particular project for the day and, perhaps leading from that, the number of turns at talk, the length of those turns and even the volume at which they are delivered (Williams 2011, pp.42-43). It is most apparent that Liz does the majority of the talking, that she has extended turns, uses devices to extend her turns at talk and that she regularly speaks quickly. In contrast, out of 114 lines of talk, Jan only makes utterances on 21 lines, and only 3 of those are extended beyond one word (the rest being one word turns). For the most part Jan's utterances are very quiet and sometimes barely audible, and her turns frequently only comprise of minimal nods. Throughout this excerpt the asymmetry between Liz and Jan is played out and Liz's attempts to get Jan to build upon her minimal turns and offer suggestions of what to include in their workshop fall flat until towards the end. The point at which they start to come together is seen through some shared laughter when Jan makes it explicit that she does not know why they are being asked to do this piece of work. There are echoes here of Antaki et al's (2006) study of supporters' attempts to produce decisions with individuals with intellectual disabilities. What they showed was how much more fluent and successful it was to produce decisions about practical action, in settings where concrete activities were at play (such as gardening). Where the talk is about something remote, or something which might require memory and other cognitive skills to understand, then support workers can fall into the trap of unreasonable interactional demands. In fact, Liz avoids that here, by taking up most of the joint work in her own turns.

6.1.2 Epistemic asymmetry and a 'learning disability' identity

Liz has spent time before they met liaising with the university who are commissioning their organisation to deliver a workshop at their conference. She has also spent time working on

their objectives before meeting with Jan, placing her in a position of superior epistemic authority. This is likely to be a contributing factor in why she takes so many turns at talk and why Jan takes so few. What is also apparent here is that in lines 1-10 Liz orients to one of their organisation's core values – the need to provide information in a format accessible to people with learning disabilities, such as Easy Read – and the university's failure in doing this. She begins the extract by highlighting this and refers back to it a few times, even making a joke about it being a treat for her to create an Easy Read version of the university's paperwork in line 10. The choice of the word 'treat' here is a potentially contentious one as it is a child oriented word and implies that what is being done is out of the ordinary. In reality, a DPO like the one Jan and Liz work for would regard Easy Read information to be a right for people with learning disabilities. To avoid treating Jan as childlike (as has happened to people with learning disabilities historically – see Chapter 2.4) and implying that producing Easy Read information is special treatment, it is imperative for Liz to frame this statement as a joke. However, she fails to do this as Jan does not take up any laughter in response to it.

The time and emphasis given to Easy Read information here alludes to the moral obligation to provide accessible information and the impact of its omission on the work she and Jan are presently doing. This in itself brings to light the fact that Jan is a person who has a learning disability and makes this identity salient here. Jan cannot participate equally in deciding how to proceed with their work because she has not had access to conversations with the university and the information provided by them is not yet in a format which is easy for her to understand. Jan's minimal and quiet turns at talk make her appear unsure or perhaps not engaged with the topic and seem to demonstrate that she is not on an equal footing with Liz. Liz foregrounds what might be relevant for Jan, for example, by categorising attendees at the conference as either having a learning disability, or not having a learning disability, but in doing so also foregrounds her 'learning disability' identity.

6.1.3 Deontics

At certain points in this excerpt, Liz proposes future actions for the workshop presentation and implied by this is also work that must be completed in preparation for it. Liz often takes a strong deontic stance (Stevanovic 2018) by using assertions about the work that needs to be done and by being the person to propose these actions, always in first position. Jan therefore is always in the position of responding and she does so mostly with 'deontically congruent treatment' of Liz's first turn (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012). However, some of Liz's assertions are turned into proposals with the addition of an increment such as in line 68 when she adds 'um if you agree with that' implying that there is a decision to be made that requires Jan's commitment. Towards the end of the excerpt, Liz pursues commitment to some action from Jan (lines 103-108) when it is not forthcoming, however Jan responds as if she is seeking agreement with her idea.

This excerpt demonstrates that the task of equalising a workload and decision-making responsibility between two partners is not a straightforward one and it can easily tip in favour of the person who does not have a learning disability. The following excerpts explore other co-working dyads which are less asymmetrical.

6.2 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Two: Graham and John

Within the next excerpt it is interesting to see that the co-worker without a learning disability (John) also performs a distinct role of liaising with a key stakeholder (presumably via email), predicting forward to work they will be required to do, determining what their responsibilities will be, foreseeing challenges and then communicating this to his co-worker. It appears that this role is implicit and is unchallenged by the co-worker with learning disabilities (Graham), as he does not stake a claim to the knowledge that his colleague brings to the table. In addition to the preparatory work done before the co-workers come together, it appears that John tailors his talk about their upcoming meeting so that they can discuss a subject which is meaningful and relevant to Graham. The longest stretch of talk from Graham happens when the start and finish times of their upcoming meeting are raised.

17 GRA: [no no ss group]

18 JOH: .hhh mainly it's going to be: (.) looking at the toolki[t]

19 GRA: [ki]t

20 (1.5)

21 JOH: and there's some: (0.6) possibility that (0.1) Flo: (0.7) hasn't

22 quite explained i[t properly to Amy:]

23 GRA: [to to Amy:]

24 JOH: so she might come expecting something else, .hhh (0.7)

25 Brendon and Dee's job is to sort th(h)at ou(h)t not [ours so-]

26 GRA: [yeah not]

27 ours right=

28 JOH: =yeah: we'll sit there quietly while they have that row=

29 GRA: =row

30 JOH: heh .hhh (.) so (.) yeah (.) um: (0.1) so it's it's um (.) back

31 on early [start] to Redford

32 GRA: [yeah]

33 oh good okay hhh

34 JOH: the one thing this will mean=

35 GRA: =yeah=

36 JOH: =is if Angie's go[ing by three:] (.) we're going [by three]

37 GRA: [wing by three:] [by three]

-----JOH points at laptop screen with pen-----

38 JOH: [as well so that's good]

39 GRA: [yeah well tha- specia]lly have an early start as [well]

40 JOH: [yeah.]

41 yeah:.

42 (0.1)

43 JOH: cool.

What is happening in detail?

Within the other extracts in this chapter, we will see that the interactions begin with ‘right’, ‘okay’ or similar singular lexical items which show a readiness to shift to subsequent matters (Beach 1993). However, here John opens up by stating a name, pointing to the laptop screen with his pen as he talks (See Fig. 6:2).



Figure 6.2 Graham and John ‘Molly Andrews’

He uses a ‘continuing intonation’ as he says this name and it could be assumed that he is pointing to some reference to this person on the laptop (for example, her name within an email). This intonation and the action of pointing draw Graham’s attention to a key stakeholder in the work that they are going to do that day. Graham responds ‘yeah’ at line 2, also with a continuing intonation which is taken as a cue for John to carry on and give further information. It is interesting that Graham does not respond at this point with ‘who?’ or ‘who is she?’, or even that John does not start off by asking Graham ‘Do you know who Molly Andrews is?’ Instead, both men orient to the fact that John knows more than Graham about this person, and that it is his role to explain who she is and why she is important to their work, which he begins to do in line 3. This is characteristic of all but one of the extracts from this data, where the individual who does not have a learning disability is the person within the co-working pair who has done some preparatory work before working together that day.

In line 4 there is an overlap where Graham echoes the last few words of John's turn. These overlaps are characteristic of his idiosyncratic style of talk and can be seen throughout the data. What is noticeable about these overlaps is that they do not cause any trouble in the talk, which could be because they almost always occur leading up to a transition relevance place (TRP). John treats them as a routine feature of Graham's talk and as a continuer, as seen in line 5. A feature of John's talk here is that he produces recipient designed, truncated turns; which gave Graham the opportunity to display cohesion, via his repetitions and completion turns (Drew 2013, p.134).

At line 7 there is a gap where it would be expected that Graham would take a turn, perhaps offering a continuer or an indication that he has understood. John takes up the turn and goes on to read from the laptop. He begins to smile as he says the word 'resource' and then makes eye contact with Graham at line 11, speaking with a 'smile voice' followed by an outbreath of laughter. Graham smiles weakly but does not take up a turn immediately, and John continues at line 13 with the discourse marker 'so', marking the beginning of an explanation of what this means for a meeting they will both be attending in the future. John details the content of the meeting between lines 15 and 28, referencing people who will attend, predicting any problems that may occur and what everyone's responsibilities will be at the meeting. In line 28 he even gives a description of how they should behave 'we'll sit there quietly while they have that row'. He laughs after this statement in line 30, and again Graham does not join in the laughter. He follows this with 'so', again marking another incipient explanation regarding this upcoming meeting. He begins this explanation with a few pauses before bringing in the topic of having an early start. In line 33, Graham's overlaps stop, and he says, 'oh good' as a news receipt (Heritage 1984), adding a compliance token 'okay', which is his first contribution in this extract other than overlaps and continuers. John introduces the concrete action of leaving the meeting in line 36 and echoes Graham's earlier assertion that it will be good to both arrive, and then subsequently leave, early. Graham's longest stretch of talk is in line 39 where he also orients to leaving the meeting 'early'. John closes this topic of conversation after Graham does not take another turn at talk, with a lexical turn constructional unit (TCU) 'cool', delivered with a closing intonation.

6.2.1 Epistemic and deontic asymmetries

Similar to the previous excerpt, the epistemic authority (Heritage and Raymond 2005) of the co-worker without a learning disability is evident. John interprets the correspondence from the organisation commissioning their task into concrete actions for them both to follow in an upcoming meeting. It is implicit within this excerpt that this is John's role and Graham does not challenge this, even when John states at line 28 that one of their tasks will be to 'sit quietly' in a future meeting if there is conflict. It is possible that Graham is treating this as a mere informing, indicative of John's deontic authority, that does not require him to make his commitment to sitting quietly explicit (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012). In addition, John's use of the word 'so' at lines 13 and 24 projects forward to action points he has formulated and is reminiscent of what might be expected within a manager's role. He makes an announcement in line 30 for example, to which Graham responds with an information receipt 'oh good' and compliance token 'okay'. These and other announcements in the excerpt reveal John's higher deontic status in action (Stevanovic 2018) which Graham aligns with by his responses.

6.2.2 Attempting to equalise the asymmetries

There is evidence of John attempting to offer Graham opportunities to take a turn at talk by using short TCUS (at least in the first 11 lines) and breaking up his turns into shorter sentences than might be expected with someone who is considered an equal conversational partner. The positioning of the laptop in the middle of the two men where they both have sight of the screen, and the fact that John points to the screen when speaking, indicates motivation to equalise epistemic access to the content of discussions John has had. However, just as in Extract 1, these strategies do not produce responses which indicate an equal status - or even that the other partner has learnt something. Instead, both Jan and Graham stay with minimal response tokens almost throughout.

6.2.3 Alignment

John has more and longer turns at talk than Graham and Graham's responses are largely continuers (lines 7, 32), information receipts (lines 2 and 4), compliance tokens (line 33) or his idiosyncratic style of echoing John's talk. Graham effectively aligns with the structure of John's talk. His longest turn of talk occurs at line 39 when John raises the matter of when they will be arriving and leaving the meeting. John frames these future actions as announcements (Stivers and Rossano 2010), and Graham displays his commitment to these actions by making reference to an 'early start'. John indicates that this topic is finished by the closing intonation he uses when uttering 'cool'.

Although Graham thus aligns with John, he ensures his inclusion in the interaction despite the epistemic asymmetry between the men with regards to the work they are discussing. Graham frequently repeats John's words in a way which would ordinarily signal a harmonious and equal partnership, typical of people who have known each other a long time. However, here it also appears to act as a placeholder keeping Graham in the conversation without having to offer anything to the planning that John is doing. What is happening here still positions the worker without a learning disability as more powerful and active than his partner in setting up the day's work. However, this is not inevitable, as the following two excerpts will demonstrate.

6.3 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Three: Angel and Sue

This excerpt finds Angel (co-worker with a learning disability) and Sue (co-worker without a learning disability) working together to put their organisation's development plan into an easy to understand format called Easy Read, so that their colleagues and members with a learning disability can understand it. This is the first time they were filmed for the study and Angel starts by making reference to the camera, waving and saying 'hi'. Like Graham and John, they are sat side by side at a table in a meeting room with a laptop in the middle in

front of them. There is a keyboard attached to the laptop, which is positioned slightly closer to Sue than Angel, and also slightly angled towards Sue. The mouse is in front of Sue. However, unlike in Graham and John's excerpt the laptop here is connected to a projector, so that what they are looking at is also viewable in a larger format on a screen behind the laptop, but this is not captured in the video. At the start of the excerpt, Angel has a pen in her hand and Sue has a pile of paperwork (notes from a previous meeting) in front of her, and some other papers are placed on the keyboard of the laptop (see fig 6:3). The notes are on A3 sized paper in different coloured pen and involve diagrams and pictures, some of which are similar to the Helen Sanderson Associates style of Person Centred Planning (Stirk and Sanderson 2012) (a holistic life planning system used to enable people with learning disabilities to take control over how they live their lives), which would probably be familiar to the people with learning disabilities who work within their organisation. She moves all of the paper to the pile in front of her and searches for the pieces relating to what they are discussing throughout the excerpt. A variation of the multimodal transcription style used by Mondada (2019a) is used in the transcript below to annotate the gaze behaviours of both speakers (in the box to the right), along with a description of analytically relevant embodied actions beneath the corresponding talk. Multimodal transcription was used as upon watching the excerpt, it appeared that the embodied actions, gaze behaviours and use of objects such as paperwork and the laptop were devices used to potentially hold the floor or seek affiliation and deserved closer analysis.



Figure 6.3 Angel and Sue 'What d'you wanna start with'

Excerpt Three: Angel and Sue 'What d'you wanna start with?' 0433

01 ANG: +hi::+
-ANG looks at camera and waves-

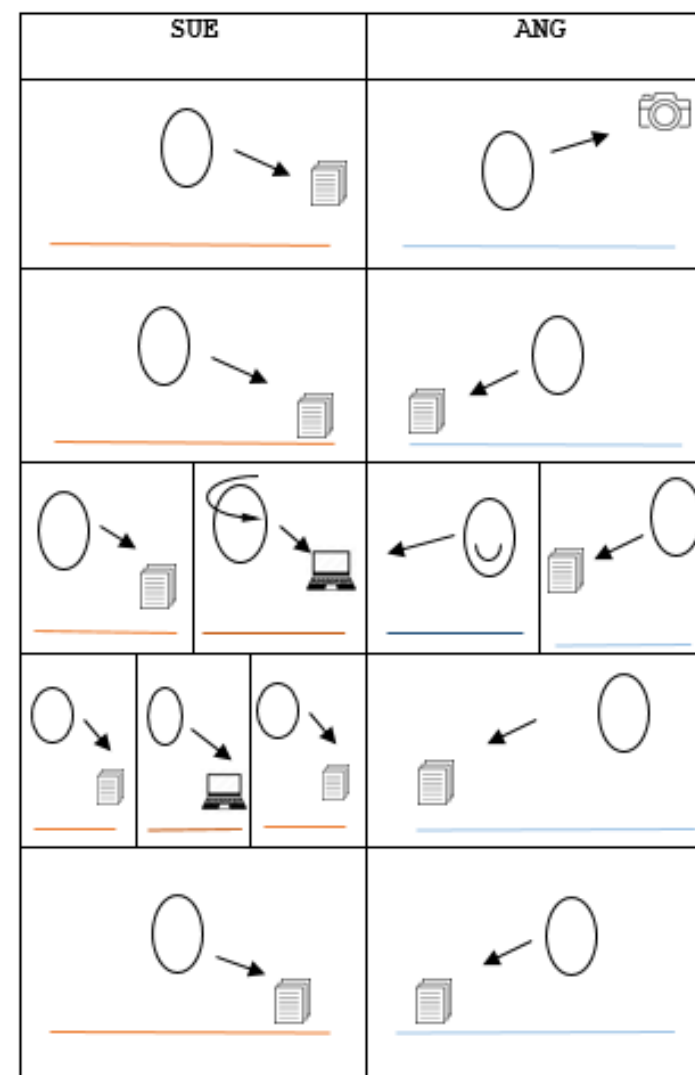
02 SUE: heh huh huh huh (0.4) right (0.2) what we do have to
-----SUE picks up paper on laptop keyboard and places in

03 work out is wha(h)t we(h)'re do(h)in huh .hhh becau:se (.)
front of her-----

04 this has been rea:lly (0.5) like bitty hasn't it. cos
-----SUE

05 we've[done]
picks up a

06 ANG: [yeah]



07 SUE: that bit. so we've done the value:s (0.7)
booklet and opens it in front of her -*

08 ANG: °s[o:]°

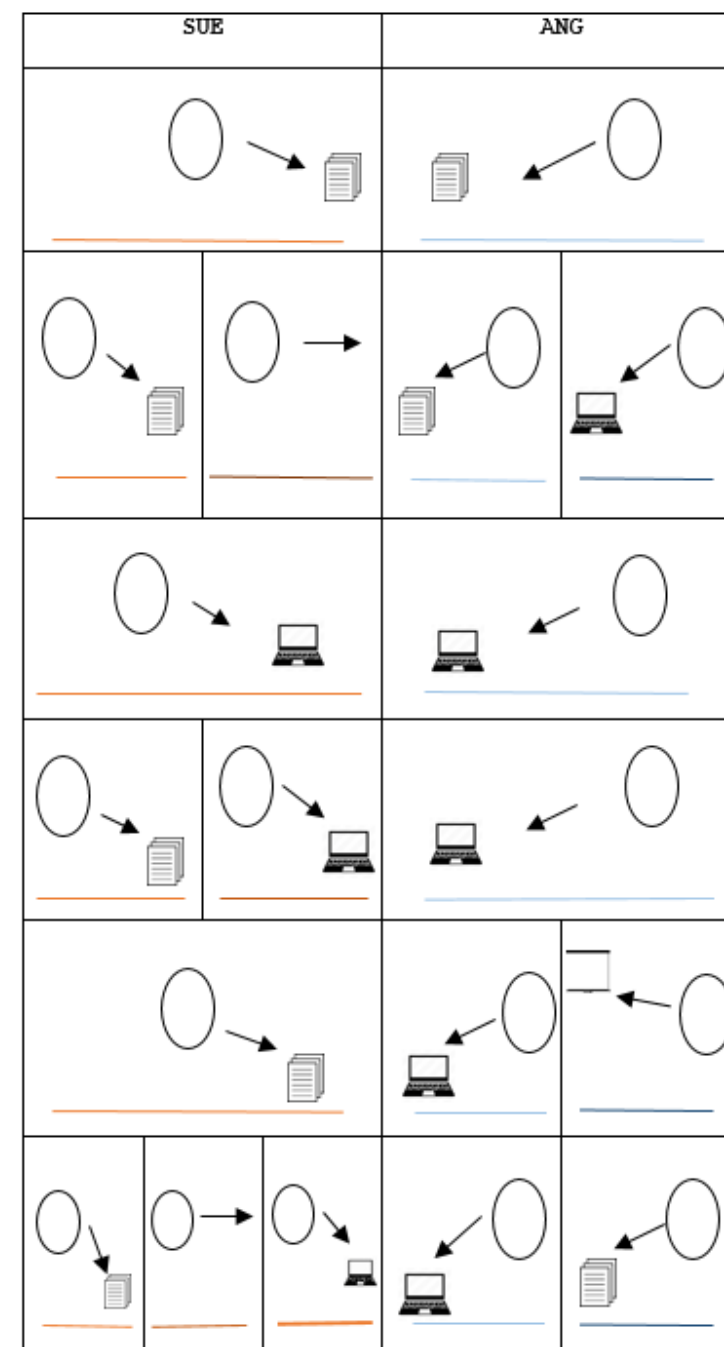
09 SUE: [um] (1.0) so hhh °I cahn't even remember what all the
--SUE puts booklet by laptop-- -SUE straightens keyboard

10 sections are which°=
so it directly faces them both & is closer to ANG-

11 ANG: =we've got values we've got money we've got

12 diversihee (0.9) and we've go::t (0.3)
---SUE looks at papers in front of her---

13 SUE: see this is like the test isn't it what are
-SUE looks at ANG then



14 the sections of the >valleytown group big plan< .hhh
 takes papers from the laptop & puts in front of her-----

15 ANG: t r[a i n i n]|

16 SUE: [and everyone] can only ever get like three huh heh huh
 -----SUE looks at ANG, ANG keeps looking down-----

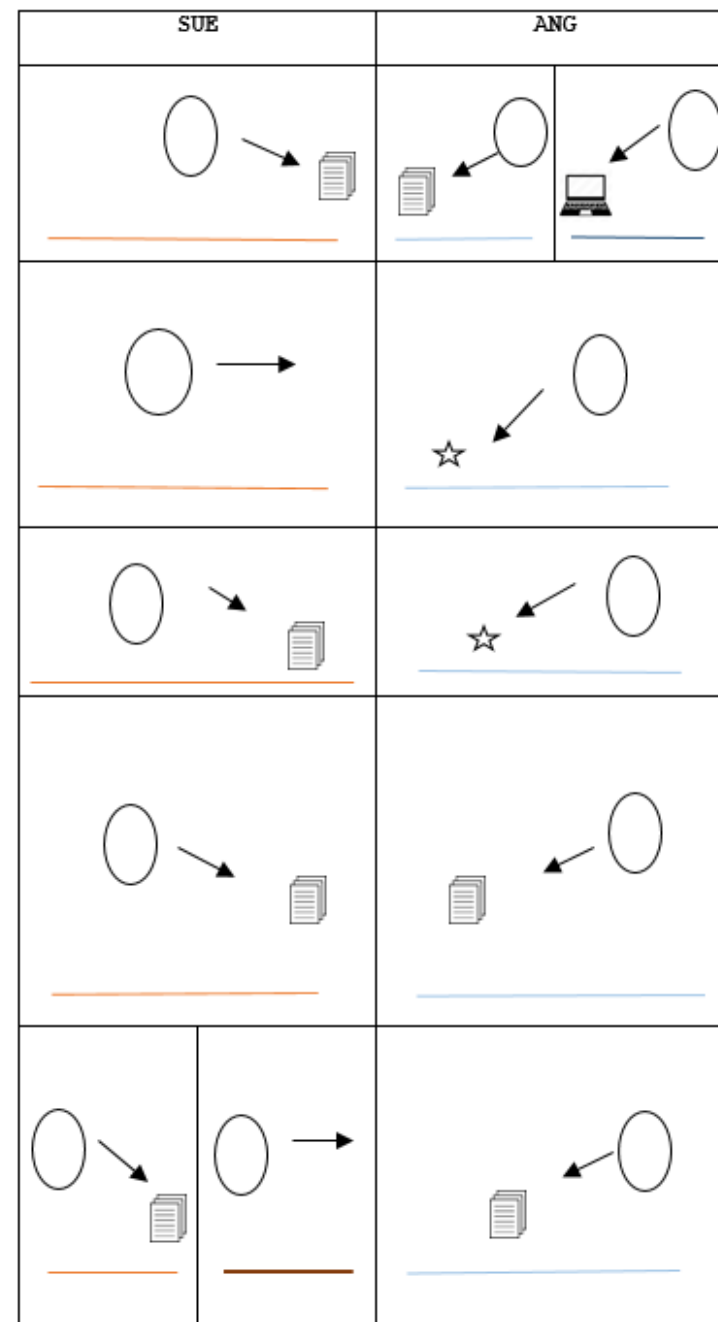
17 (0.2)

18 ANG: yeah I can [only get three.]

19 SUE: [but Didn't- we] added one in though didn't we
 ----ANG tracks the papers SUE is moving around-----
 -SUE looks through the papers and places one on laptop-----

20 ANG: trai- [t r a i n i n g]

21 SUE: [right so there's] diversity (0.8) publis-
 -SUE takes paper in front of her & puts on keyboard in front of ANG-



22 there's shout loud and proud isn't there.
 -SUE moves paper from in front of her, to in front of ANG-

23 SUE: money,
 24 (2.8)

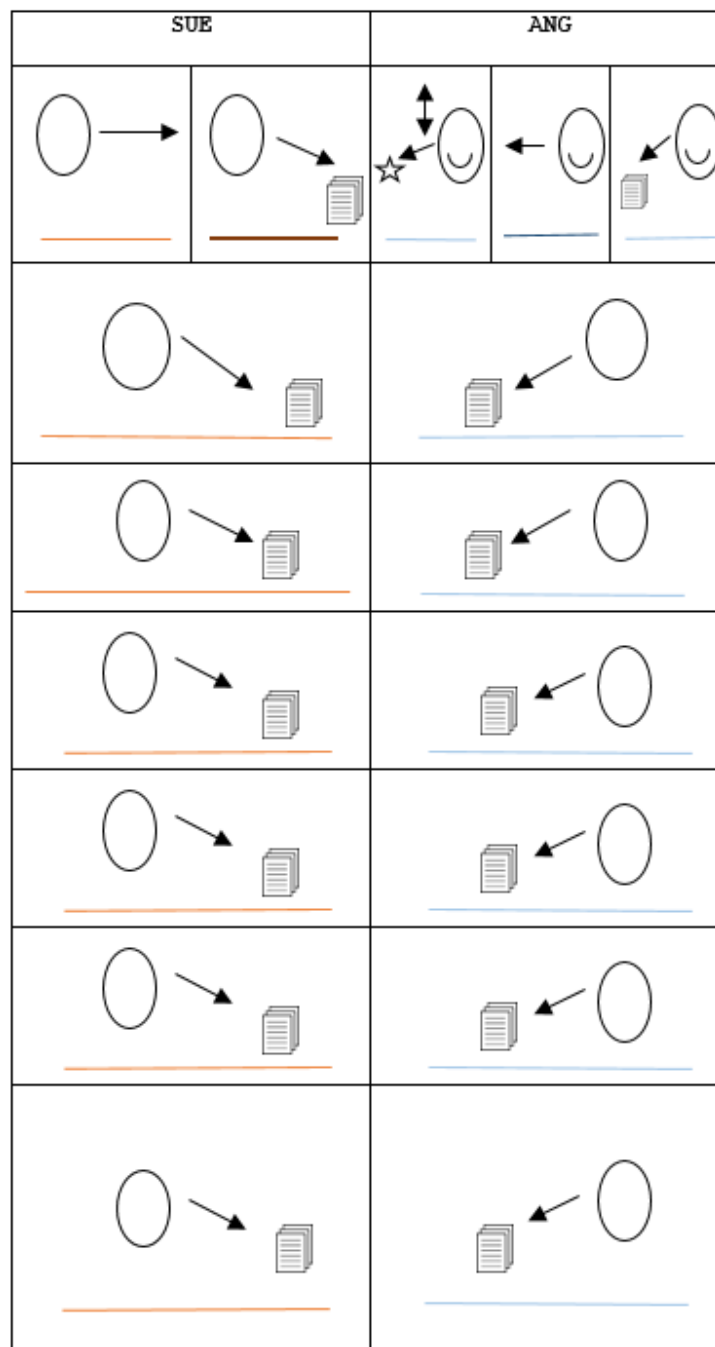
25 SUE: wo- what we: (0.3)

26 ANG: do differently

27 (0.3)

28 SUE: so if that's the user led stuff isn't it.

29 ANG: [°yeah°]
 30 SUE: [.h h h] and then didn't we- sa:y when we met last time
 -----SUE lifts papers and looks through-----



31 °>remember when we chatted to Kim<°

32 (1.2)
 -ANG takes one of the pieces of paper & moves it in front of her-

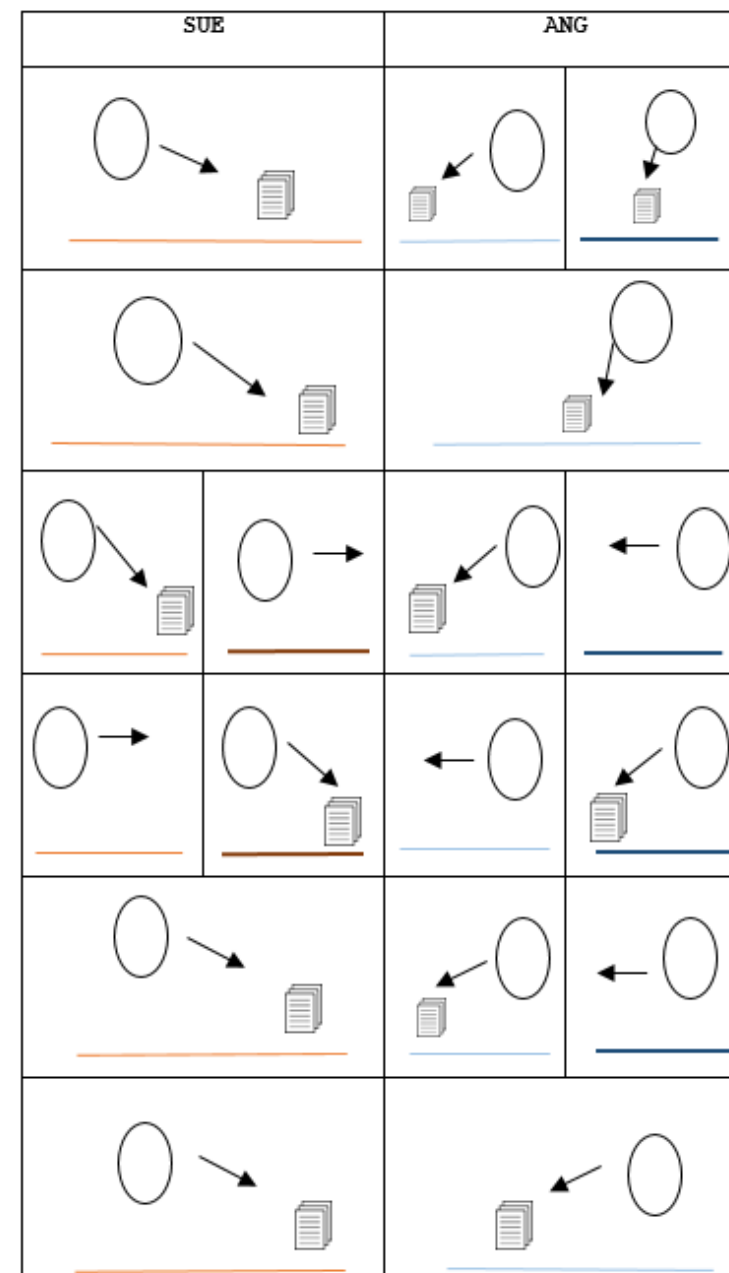
33 SUE: there was the (0.2) .tch oh um (0.3) like kind of

34 making life better (.) [bit cos]

35 ANG: [yeah do] you think we should have

36 a future bit as well

37 SUE: yeah there is we- we said about um .tch (0.2)



38 ANG: our aims for the future

39 SUE: future: (3.3)

-SUE looks through papers-

40 making a difference that was it,

-SUE picks up then puts down paper-

41 ANG: [yep]

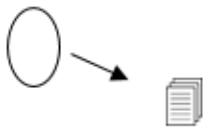

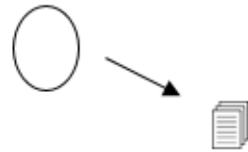
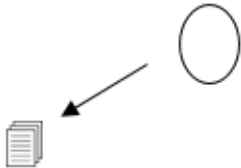

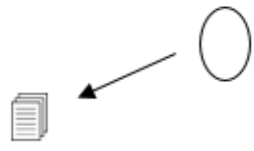
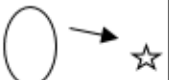

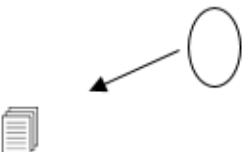
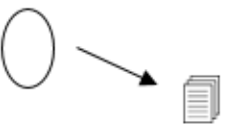
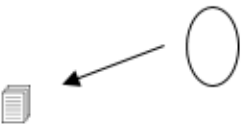
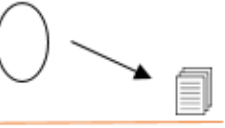

42 SUE: [um:] (0.2) future plans and dreams we've got haven't we

-----SUE looks through papers-----

43 ANG: e:yeah

44 (1.3)

-SUE takes a piece of paper from the pile & puts it on top-

SUE		ANG
		
		
		
		
		
		

45 SUE: right

46 (0.5)

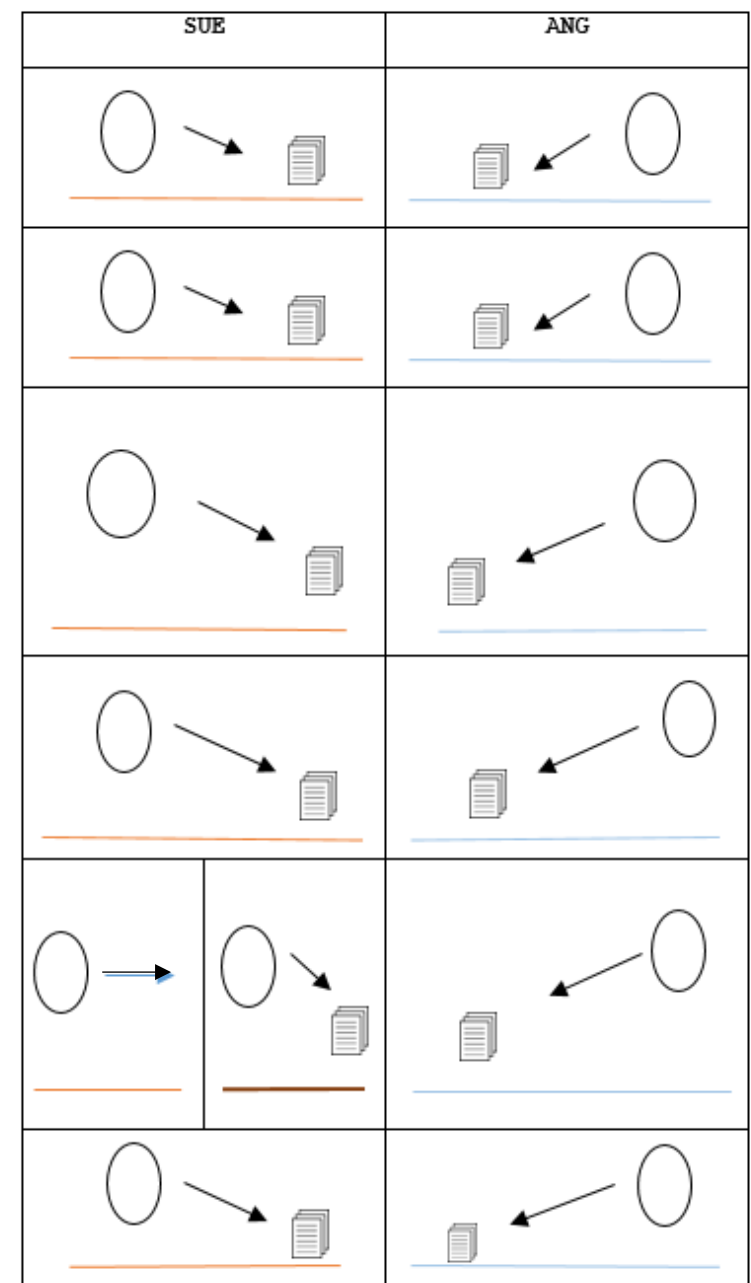
47 ANG: so what on[e- what one ha]ve we done

48 SUE: [pfft huh huh]
-SUE takes paper from bottom of pile & puts on top-

49 ↑dreams ↑and ↓plan:s (.) ↓plans↓ and ↑dreams

50 whichever way r(h)ound & you wanna put it
-SUE takes another piece of paper from pile & places on top -

51 (0.4)



52 ANG: [dreams- dreams and plans]

53 SUE: [right SO WE'VE DONE WHAT] we believe (0.7)

----ANG sits up---- --ANG sits back-- -ANG sits forward-

-SUE picks up paper- -SUE points at paper-

54 excuse me which is the- the values bit.

-SUE points at paper-

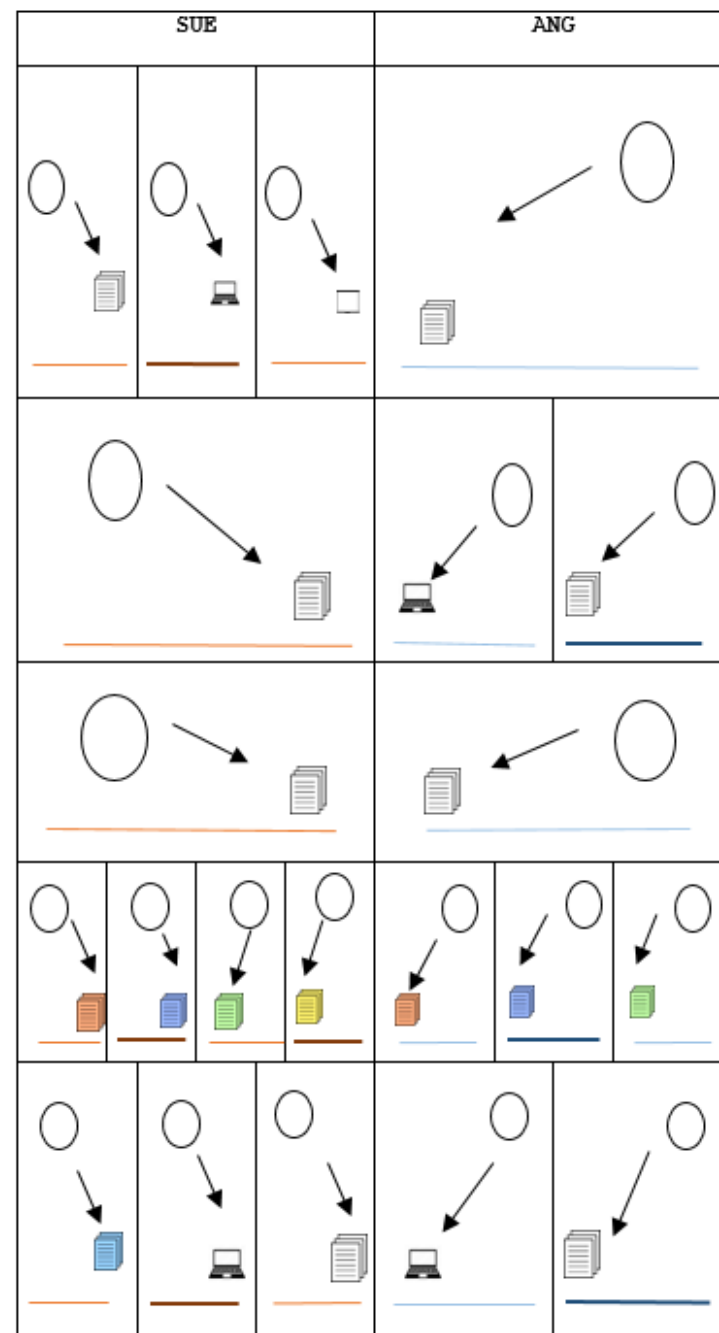
55 ANG: .hhh mm hm

56 SUE: so what we have gotta do is (0.8) wha- on each

-SUE moves paper to another pile- -SUE points

57 of the:se (.) a bit of what we already do (0.2)

at papers spread in front of her-


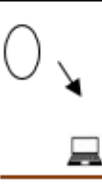
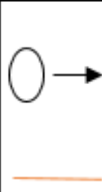
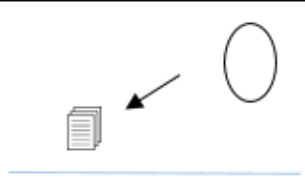
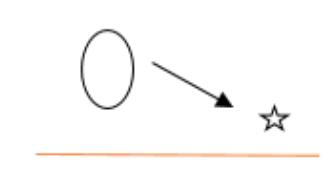
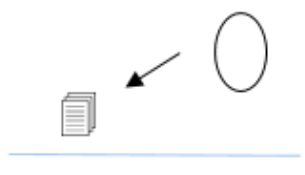
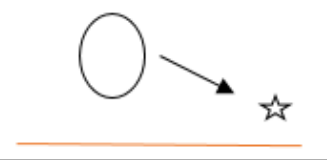
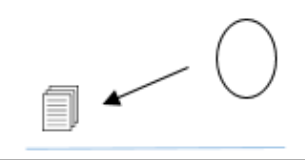
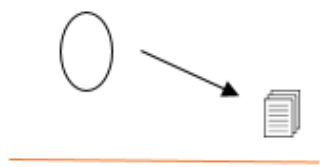
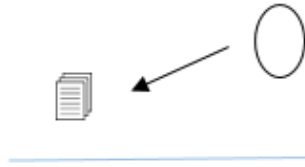


65 SUE: so which- (.) d'you want tuh- what d'you wanna start with
 -ANG see-saws pen up & down in her hand whilst looking at papers-








66 (1.0)
 -SUE taps pen rapidly-

67 ANG: money¿

68 SUE: °yep alright_° ((flat voice))

SUE			ANG
			
			
			
			

Key:

laptop  paperwork  projector screen  camera  head is turned in direction of arrow 
 Looking at nothing specific/middle distance  looking at other speaker  Nodding 
  different colours of paperwork signify different pieces of paper

* The booklet is the organisations future planning document, called 'Our Big Plans for the Future' and is in an Easy Read format

What is happening in detail?

This excerpt is marked by the use of humour at a number of points, which Angel introduces by foregrounding the fact of being filmed whilst working by looking directly at the camera, waving and saying 'hi'. As in both previous excerpts, it is the co-worker without a learning disability who orients to the task for the day and sets the agenda. However, here Sue uses laughter to soften her directiveness as she sets out the task for the day. The laughter particles seen in line 3 draw attention to the conflict between her action of foregrounding being on task, but not really being sure what that task is. She justifies this further by making reference to how 'bitty' the work has been. Sue uses the pronoun 'we' to highlight that this is a joint activity and that they both need to 'work out is wha(h)t we(h)'re do(h)in'. Sue's uncertainty about what they should be doing is apparent right through to line 40, as she repeatedly searches and sorts through the fairly large amount of paperwork they have, spreads it out over the table in front of them and then looks to the laptop screen whilst recalling work they have done previously. Her gaze in lines 1 -7 goes between the paperwork and the laptop whilst she is searching, while Angel's gaze remains on the paperwork that is in front of Sue. Here Sue is displaying responsibility for pinning down their task for the day, both by talking through the task and taking ownership of the paperwork. In line 7, 'so we've done the value:s' is hearable as the start of a list, however the list isn't immediately continued by either person and there is an overlap in line 8 (perhaps because neither of them is able to continue this list). Sue draws attention to not being able to remember a key part of the work they are intending to do and looks across at Angel in line 9 as she mentions this. Angel hears this as a request to help with remembering and restarts the list, adding in another two topics she has recalled. Both co-workers are orienting to the fact of working collaboratively to plan their task for the day by first remembering key parts of their organisation's 'big plan<'.

Angel comes to the end of what she can currently remember in line 12, the elongated sound in the word 'go::t' and the pause displaying that she is searching for the next topic in the list. Again, Sue focusses on not remembering by referring to knowing what is in their plan as being a 'test'. She

looks to Angel as she says this, but her gaze is not returned as Angel looks at the paperwork and laptop and continues 'remembering' stating the next topic in the 'Big Plan', 'trainin(g)'. In overlap, Sue continues recounting that it is difficult to remember more than three topics, looking to Angel as she laughs. Angel does not reciprocate the gaze or laughter and does not immediately take a turn to speak, coming in in overlap at line 18 to agree that she can only remember three topics as well, when in fact she has already mentioned four. Sue begins line 19 with a self-repair '[but Didn't we-] we added one in though didn't we'. It could be presumed that she was going to say, 'but didn't we add one in' and the reformulation to a statement 'we added one in' followed by a question 'didn't we' has more certainty, distancing her from performing 'not remembering' and positioning her more in alignment with Angel who is remembering. Angel comes in with 'train- [t r a i n i n g]' in response to Sue's statement about a topic being added in, and in overlap Sue restarts the list. She orients to this task of creating a list by marking a new item with the discourse marker 'right so' before listing the first topic. She then self-repairs the word 'publicity' to 'shout loud and proud'. This could be understood as an easier to understand interpretation of the word publicity and is likely to be what they have chosen to call this section of their report so that it can be understood by their members with learning disabilities. Angel again, does not return Sue's gaze but she nods and smiles in response to Sue's question 'there's shout loud and proud isn't there.'. Their listing activity continues in much the same vein until line 34, when Angel confirms that she can recall the time that Sue is attempting to remember but doesn't assist her, instead raising the possibility of another topic she feels should be in the 'Big Plan'.

Apart from the moments of eye contact already mentioned, Angel's gaze has primarily been directed towards the paperwork that is in front of Sue. After sorting through the paperwork, Sue draws the focus back with 'right' in line 45, projecting that she is about to assert what they have to do or perhaps that the list is complete. In the following lines, Sue jokes again about the wording of their 'Big Plan' but Angel responds to Sue without laughter answering her question seriously. Following this, Sue again proclaims 'right' and loudly asserts that they have now confirmed what they have already done.

In this short extract, there are 11 instances of overlapping talk and two of those occasions happened when Angel was adding to the list that Sue started regarding the topics in their 'Big Plan'. It appears that Sue is orienting to this by using the word 'right' and speaking in a louder voice in order to focus back on their task as Angel has appeared keen to do throughout (demonstrated by her gaze focusing on the paperwork almost exclusively and attending to recalling topics). In line 56, Sue states their task and confirms 'what we've gotta do is' and points to the pieces of paper laid out in front of them (presumably with each of the aforementioned topics on them). Angel's gaze follows as Sue points to the pieces of paper. Then in line 57 both women glance at the laptop, then at the paperwork and Sue suggests how they should start at line 60. Angel clarifies that they have already completed one of the sections and Sue responds by moving the relevant piece of paper from the table and onto the floor. Line 65 sees the decision being drawn to a close by Sue asking Angel 'what d'you wanna to start with' then looking slightly away from her. Angel states 'money?' to which Sue replies 'yep alright' in a flat sounding and slightly quieter voice.

6.3.1 Equal epistemic access to the task

What is interesting within this excerpt is maybe attributable to the background context, which creates a more equitable epistemic base than in the previous two excerpts. In discussions with the participants prior to filming, Angel and Sue explained that they were both part of a management meeting where the document they are working on whilst being filmed - their organisation's 'Big Plan' - was created. In contrast to the other settings, both co-workers have come to the meeting with an ostensibly equal amount of preparatory work done. In addition, the paperwork that the women are referring to and which Sue is sorting through is in a format accessible to them both, so they both have access to material to use when planning what to do. So, from the outset both women are seemingly equal in terms of epistemic authority in relation to this particular task (Labov and Fanshel 1977). When Sue refers to a 'test' in line 13, that is not taken by Angel as a test aimed at her, but very much at both of them. At that point, Angel has in fact already shown her superior knowledge in lines 11-12 by naming three of the sections in the plan.

6.3.2 Co-remembering and forgetting as affiliative actions

It is noticeable, however, that Sue takes responsibility for the paperwork and sorting through their priorities for the meeting. She introduces the action of 'remembering' and the interaction centres around their ability, or inability to remember the key topics in their 'Big Plan'. Both women orient to 'remembering' or 'not remembering' in different ways, and it ultimately appears to be a device that they use to achieve the project of joint working. Co-remembering has been shown to be a device used in the achievement of other goals (Bolden and Mandelbaum 2017; Williams et al 2019). Sue positions herself as 'not remembering' and uses the piles of paperwork as a focus as she sorts through them again and again searching for the right topic, or something to jog her memory. In contrast, Angel does 'remembering' and appears to do so without the use of the paperwork as a visual aid. Her gaze is focussed on the paperwork for most of the interaction, however she does not refer to it or ask Sue to stop and give some to her as one might expect, instead using her memory to recall key facts. When Sue jokes about 'not remembering' Angel does not laugh but continues to list the names of the sections of their report. Both women engage in affiliative actions in response to the position each of them takes in respect of remembering, Sue by upgrading the 'not remembering' statement 'but didn't we-' to a more certain 'we added one in though didn't we', and Angel by responding to Sue's joke stating that she can also only remember three sections, when in fact she had already mentioned four. It is possible that Sue's forgetfulness about their work is a device for prompting Angel's involvement in 'remembering', but whatever the case, their planning work comes over as a joint activity (Goodwin 1987).

6.3.3 Using objects and embodiment for joint working

The objects that the ladies have in front of them (paperwork, laptop) are used as devices to aid their memories and are a focus of their gaze for much of the excerpt. Sue looks towards Angel at different points when she adds a tag question to statements (lines 13 and 22) or when she jokes about not remembering (line 16). Angel does not return Sue's gaze at these points; however, her response (nodding and smiling) is a display of affiliation. This contrasts with Asmuss and Oshima's

(2012) findings that in a work meeting mutual gaze, looking at a computer and other embodied actions were disaffiliative. At lines 33 and 34, eye contact occurs when there are pauses as Sue attempts to remember a section of their report.

Even though the women are largely performing different actions within this excerpt, they both affiliate with each other by downplaying their remembering/not remembering positions at certain points. Although Sue starts the excerpt by stating what they need to do and then introducing the need to recall certain facts, she appears to take the lead from Angel when she does not share her laughter, return her gaze or join in with 'not remembering'. The detailed multimodal transcription of this excerpt shows that Sue appears to seek out affiliation with Angel by pursuing eye contact with her (see lines 13,16, 21 and 22); however, Angel mostly does not return her gaze instead focussing on the paperwork and laptop for the majority of the excerpt. Eye contact does occur in lines 33-34 when there are pauses as Sue attempts to remember a section of their report. Sue is responsive to the stance Angel takes and says 'right' (line 21) to bring the pair back to working together on 'remembering' and leads the excerpt to a point where Sue asks Angel what to start with. The ladies work collaboratively, although both orient to Angel having the deontic authority to make an executive decision – seen in line 22 when she nods and smiles when Sue 'remembers' and by Sue deferring to her choice of topic to proceed with. The artefacts used in this excerpt – the paperwork and laptop – and eye gaze serve as key elements of achieving equitable interactions, and as with the earlier excerpts, these semiotic resources (Heath and Luff 2013, p.298-99) demonstrate how the action is co-produced by both partners in the dyad.

6.4 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Four: Julie and Jennifer

The final excerpt in this chapter also includes annotation of multimodalities, although this time the co-workers are using a notepad, pen and paperwork rather than laptops. This particular excerpt is of interest because it is a deviant case where the opening sequence is initiated by the individual with a learning disability. The contribution of the worker without a learning disability largely

focusses on clarifying their understanding and offering continuers. The following transcription includes annotation of multimodalities, such as writing, making eye contact and gesticulations. These are included because of the significance they have in the analysis of this data.

The excerpt starts immediately after the participants have sought the go ahead from the researcher to start. Julie (co-worker with learning disabilities) and Jennifer (co-worker without learning disabilities) are sat at a table both with note pads in front of them and some notes from their project partner in between them on the table. The room they are in is a small meeting room and there are no computers, phones or other office equipment on the desk they are working at. Although there is no ownership of computer equipment at play here, nevertheless Julie has brought the notes from their project partner and Jennifer has sole ownership of the notepad she writes on throughout the excerpt. Julie is relaying to Jennifer a phone call she had with their project partner on the morning this data was collected. Julie is doing most of the talking and essentially, she has the epistemic authority (Heritage and Raymond 2005) in this excerpt. This is interesting because it is noticeably different from the epistemic authority on display in other settings.

Excerpt Four: Julie and Jennifer Ethical Approval 0092

01 JUL: right so uh >dates for trainin< (0.4) tch uh so Kim said yes
 --Jen looks at Jul's notes--
 02 shes gonna push it into (0.1) uh january .hhh u::m: (0.2)
 -----Jen writes
 03 u- uh shes gonna contact uh everyone uh all the pa:rtners.
 on her note pad-----
 04 JEN: mm hmm

 05 JUL: u::h and shes going tuh ask the::m (0.4) if all the people

 06 all all the the partners all the people can give consent

 -- Jul gesticulates near to Jen-----
 07 (0.3)

-Jen stops writing & looks at Jul with raised eyebrows-

08 JUL: u::h (0.5) uh because u:m (0.1) so she's gonna put into
 -Jul and Jen make eye contact- -Jen writes on notepad-

09 Whites university (.) u::m for ethical approval so we can do

10 the trainin.
 - Jul glances at Jen-

11 JEN: mm hmm?
 -Jen returns to writing-

12 JUL: uh cos she said that'll take six weeks

13 JEN: [mm]

14 JUL: [an] then (.)i- uh once u:h all three partners come ba:ck=
 15 JEN: =mm [hm]

16 JUL: [uh] and (.) uh so she has an idea of if to do the NHS
 17 England (0.3) uh ethnical approval=
 18 JEN: =ah yeah=
 19 JUL: =cos that takes longer. to come i- through. uh then if we: (.)
 20 uh and then (0.2) once we get so >once we got the Whites one<
 -----Jen sits back and looks at Jul-----
 --Jul makes

21 we can go ahead in January=

 eye contact with Jen-----

22 JEN: =mm hm

23 JUL: ask Amy for some dates: (.) uh so I've got to contact

24 Amy
 --Jul points briefly at Jen's notebook-

25 JEN: okay
 -Jen writes in notebook-

26 JUL: u:h (.) tuh tell her to cancel December and give us some dates

27 for January for °the room in London° (0.2) uhm and then (.)

28 u::h if we: (.) once we: (.) uh all the partners say yes we do

 29 have some people who can't give consent (.) then she'll (.)
 ----- *-Jen sits back &*
 30 go for the approval from NHS England
makes eye contact-----
 31 JEN: yeah

 32 JUL: so we can include people (0.4) with uh (.) other

 33 disa°bilities°.

 34 JEN: yeah (.) and u::hm (0.1) so if she has to go through the
 35 <NHS:> (0.4) ethical approval (0.7) uhm <procedu:re> (0.7)
 36 would the: meeting still happen in january_=
 37 JUL: =yeah, because we've got approval from (0.4) Whites uni (.)
 38 but we'll just be including people with mild learning
 39 disabilities
 40 JEN: ah: I see.
 41 JUL: yes (.) uh but as she said we feel this- (.) the other people
 -Jen underlines something in notebook then sits back--
 42 can catch up
 43 JEN: yeah
 -Jen nods-

What is happening in detail?

In line 1, Julie starts the interaction off with the discourse marker 'right so', marking that what follows is for Jennifer's attention (Bolden 2009). She then introduces the first topic '>dates for trainin<'. Julie has the epistemic rights here, as she is recounting the conversation she had with their commissioner and appears to be making use of these right to take charge of the activity. The statement '>dates for trainin<' is hearable as the start of a list and perhaps as an instruction or notification to Jennifer to start writing her 'to do' list. At this point Jennifer looks across at the notes

from their commissioner and then at the end of Julie's TCU in line 2, she starts writing on her notepad. She continues to write and offers a minimal response in the form of a continuer 'mm hmm' at a transition relevance place (TRP), in line 4. Jennifer is orientated towards their job for the day, and interpreting Julie's description of the phone conversation and the tasks that need to be done, into a to-do list. In lines 5 and 6 Julie continues and begins to gesticulate, moving one hand in Jennifer's direction. There is a gap at line 7 when Jennifer stops writing, she does not respond verbally but makes eye contact with Julie and raises her eyebrows, which Julie interprets as a response/continuer.

The fact Jennifer does not interject verbally at this point could suggest that she is enacting an expectation of her role to be a silent and encouraging supporter, and also displaying the fact that she has fewer epistemic rights with regards to the phone conversation Julie had. Jennifer is attentive to Julie and to any cues she offers which may suggest she needs to add something to her list or acknowledge that she has heard or understood what has been said. At line 10, she demonstrates this by glancing at Jennifer when she finishes a TCU which has been peppered with hesitations and pauses. She is attending to these indications that Julie is unsure about her memory of the conversation or not confident about what she is saying. However, she does not offer any judgement or indication of how she interprets this, she simply acknowledges that it has happened. The continuers she makes at lines 11, 13 and 15 appear to encourage Jennifer to finish her account up to a point where she is able to offer an information receipt at line 18 '=ah yeah='.

In lines 19 and 20 Julie's talk involves pauses and restarts, and Jennifer stops writing and looks at her, offering her full attention whilst she is struggling to get her words out in lines 20 to 23. However, Julie then redirects back to Jennifer's role of 'to-do list writer' with the announcement 'I've got to contact Amy' and with the embodied action of pointing to her notebook (figure 6.4). She isn't directly telling Jennifer to write on the list that she has to contact Amy; however, it could be presumed that this is how she has received it (we do not have access to these notes) as in line 25, she utters a compliance token 'okay' and begins writing again. Julie frames this as 'her' task to do by stating that 'I've got to contact Amy', planning forward for tasks she considers her responsibility.



Figure 6.4 Julie and Jennifer 'Contact Amy'

In lines 26 to 33 Julie expands upon her reasons for needing to contact Amy whilst Jennifer writes in her notepad. In line 29 Jennifer sits back and makes eye contact with Julie and then goes on to ask for clarification about Julie's prior point in line 34. Jennifer's speech is a little hesitant and at a couple of times it is slow, which could be accounted for as English is her second language or it could be related to feeling uncertain and needing clarification about particular facts. The pace of her speech appears to position her in a K- position relative to Julie who swiftly goes on to clarify her point, claiming her epistemic rights to knowledge about complex issues such as research, consent and ethical approval. Further, in line 40 Jennifer indicates that Julie's explanation about such issues was new information for her, by the change of state token 'ah: I see'. Julie underlines her K+ position by referring to the conversation she had with their commissioner Kim, in line 41. She begins to make a statement which references a discussion they have had about the issue of consent and their opinion on the matter 'we feel this-', but then self-repairs with a more authoritative statement 'the other people can catch up'. Jennifer responds both verbally and with a nod, confirming her acceptance of this position.

6.4.1 Asymmetry reversed

Within this excerpt, a demonstrable asymmetry is played out between these co-workers, but in the opposite direction to what is seen in two of the previous excerpts; the worker with a learning disability, Julie, is the person who has the most turns at talk and who has the most epistemic authority regarding their work. The excerpt involves Julie taking an extended turn in lines 1-10, as she recounts the phone call she has had with their commissioner and the decisions they have come to together. It is noticeable that there is very little 'trouble' evident and the few overlaps that occur are minimal. This most likely occurs because Jennifer aligns to the fact that a 'telling' is in progress and therefore Julie has the floor, despite there being points where she hesitates and searches for words. Jennifer's utterances or embodied actions (such as sitting back and raising an eyebrow at line 7) are mostly continuers which enable Julie to continue until the telling is complete. The action of creating a 'to do' list also serves to support the asymmetry in play, as Jennifer attends to writing what Julie has indicated, or stated is important to write down, for instance at lines 11 and 25, at points where she could have taken a turn at talk.

6.4.2 Julie's epistemic and deontic authority

As Julie begins the excerpt her epistemic authority is evident in her first two TCUs which mark the start of being 'on task' and the first topic 'dates for training'. As she recounts the phone call and the arising action points, she holds the floor and Jennifer supports this with continuers and by directing her eye gaze at Julie. Julie also foregrounds her epistemic status in lines 5-6 by displaying her understanding of complex issues such as consent in research. Having greater access to the epistemic terrain enables her to be the first mover and direct the activity the two women are doing. Julie's deontic authority is also apparent when she mentions an action point at lines 23-4 ('I've got to contact Amy') she needs to complete and points to Jennifer's notepad which the latter takes as an instruction for her to write this down. Julie uses the pronoun 'I' to refer to this task, drawing attention to what is her responsibility. This is in contrast to other project tasks which Julie refers to

as joint responsibilities between the different project partners, using the 'we' pronoun for instance in lines 28-33.

This excerpt does not appear to demonstrate equality in decision making between co-workers with and without a learning disability but is closer to a reverse of what has been seen so far. However, they do work together to complete the joint project of creating a 'to do' list. In contrast with the first and second excerpts in this chapter, where the co-workers with a learning disability do not take many turns at talk and are in the role of 'listener', here it is Jennifer who has a role of being a scribe for the list. What is also notable is that the worker with a learning disability takes charge in a way reminiscent of a manager working with their secretary, holding the floor as they speak, being unchallenged in doing so, and directing them to write a list of tasks.

6.5 Summary of Chapter Six

These excerpts reveal the different ways the co-working pairs begin working together, the challenges they have in deciding exactly what to focus on or where to start, and how a decision is made about how to proceed.

6.5.1 Asymmetry

In focussing on how equal or unequal decision making is happening here, it is important to note the asymmetries that play out. Most of the excerpts share a significant degree of asymmetry between co-workers in respect of who does the talking. All co-working pairs are unequal in respect of who has the floor, with one person taking more turns at talk, having longer turns at talk, or both. In all but the last excerpt, it is the person who does not have a learning disability who speaks first about their work and goes on to hold the floor. For the most part, in the first three excerpts when the person with a learning disability takes a turn to talk, their utterances are minimal – Jan with very quiet, one-word utterances, Graham with idiosyncratic repetitions of the end of John's turns (which

are treated as continuers), and Angel with short turns or continuers. Julie and Jennifer's excerpt is notably different, as Julie who has a learning disability talks first, holds the floor with extended turns and initially at least, Jennifer's turns only consist of continuers.

6.5.2 Epistemic Access to the task

An apparent reason for a co-worker to have more or longer turns at talk here, is because of their epistemic access to their task for the day. Stevanovic (2012) claims there are three essential components for arriving at joint decisions – access, agreement and commitment. In this data it appears that access is such a key issue that it overshadows the other two components. In the case of Julie, who is the co-worker with a learning disability, it is she (rather than her co-worker who doesn't have a learning disability) who has liaised with a project partner on the phone before the meeting. By contrast, in the first two excerpts, it was the workers who don't have a learning disability, Liz and John, who have also both had prior contact and correspondence with the people commissioning their respective projects. It is clear from each person's talk that they have spent time thinking how to go about meeting the objectives set by their commissioners and in Liz's case even planned a broad outline of their workshop and devised a power point. They have had access to the purpose, objectives and content of their work before the excerpts were filmed, in a way Graham, Jan and Jennifer did not.

What is different about Angel and Sue, however, is that they were both present at a meeting where their task was discussed and have spent an equal amount of time working on it prior to being filmed for the study. They also have extensive notes in an Easy Read type format on A3 sized paper that they refer to whilst working together. The availability of Easy Read information means that a person with learning disabilities has the potential to understand information which is usually presented in a more complex format, and in this case have equal epistemic access to their work.

The type of paperwork and how it is used in these dyads, brings focus on the individual workers' epistemic access to the task (Heath et al 2018). Each partnership has paperwork at play, either

handwritten or digital (on a laptop). Julie has a set of notes she has written regarding her conversation with their project partner which are a focus for her authority, and something which Jennifer does not have claim to. Liz and John have an agenda and email respectively, which are both not in an easy-to-understand format. Liz foregrounds this fact and makes it explicit from the start that she is aware that this will hinder their ability to work as equals. At one point she points to the paperwork as she speaks, but then moves them where Jan can't see them, preventing her from having access to what is written, perhaps when it is apparent that this is not helpful for her. John shares access to his laptop, placing it between him and Graham, pointing to the screen as he speaks and then interpreting the meaning behind what he reads out. With Angel and Sue, the paperwork isn't a locus of inequality and instead is used by Sue as a means for remembering as she sorts through it.

6.5.3 Laughter and affiliation

In all but Julie and Jennifer's excerpt, the co-workers who don't have a learning disability make a joke on one or more occasions. Laughter is a way in which affiliation and intimacy is sought (Lindstrom and Sorjonen 2013) but unfortunately, in these excerpts the laughter was not regularly shared by the co-workers with a learning disability. Angel continually orients back to their task whilst Sue makes jokes, Jan does not indicate that she has recognised that Liz was, in fact, making a joke and Graham smiles weakly at one joke John made, suggesting that he recognised that it was a joke but he either did not understand it or did not find it funny.

The use of paperwork and laughter are devices that the co-workers who don't have a learning disability use to address the asymmetry we see by attempting to equalise epistemic access and to seek affiliation. In the first two excerpts, a third party – the commissioners of their work – is used as an affiliative tool by being the butt of their jokes. Liz also makes reference to this third party as partly responsible for hindering their work by not producing Easy Read information for Jan. Her attempt to make this laughable by saying she will produce an Easy Read document as a treat for Jan, falls flat and is in fact, disaffiliative. In addition, John and Liz both make reference to things

which may be of interest and importance to their colleagues for example, a free lunch and when they will start and finish their work. In excerpt two, this leads to Graham taking a longer turn at talk than he has done so far. Liz goes on to create opportunities for Jan to take a longer turn at talk by using scaffolding for example, and then asking directly for her opinion when this isn't successful. The use of topics known to be of interest to their colleagues suggests that John and Liz are aware of the inequity here and are attempting to address this, making their interaction and the tasks they are projecting forward to, joint activities. What is noticeable is that Angel and Sue's talk is primarily focussed on the joint project of remembering and Angel repeatedly orients to this when Sue focuses on making jokes about not remembering. Sue is responsive to this and brings herself back to the task at hand when Angel does not take up the laughter, so although the laughter is not shared, the task is.

Julie and Jennifer's excerpt stands out in that the asymmetry between them is unchallenged except when Jennifer seeks to clarify something that she is not sure about. In fact, Jennifer supports Julie's superior position, even remaining silent and offering non-verbal continuers when her talk is hesitant. They both have a role to play in completing the 'to do' list, and it is a joint task if an unequal one. This contrasts with the first two excerpts where the asymmetry is also noticeable. However, Jan and Graham do not have a task to complete and are in the role of 'listener'.

6.5.4 Ownership of the task

In respect of undertaking a joint task and how equitable that is, it is interesting to note the use of pronouns in the excerpts. Angel and Sue both repeatedly make reference to what they have worked on as what 'we' have done, and Sue refers to their task for the day as a what 'we need to work out'. This is also reflected in the titles of the sections of their report and would appear to be reflective of their organisation's values. However, ultimately Sue defers the final decision to Angel when she asks, 'what d'you wanna start with'. Both John and Liz make reference to joint activities (John for a future meeting – 'we'll sit there' and Liz for their future workshop – 'I thought that what we could do wa:s'). The use of the pronoun 'we' can give the illusion that a joint task or decision is being

made but does not necessarily result in that happening here and could in fact be taken as a controlling measure. Critical Discourse Analysts for instance have studied how 'we' can be used in political speeches as a means of exerting power and control (de Fina 1995). Julie, however, uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to the other project partners, and in terms of the task for the day she only makes reference to what she has to do 'I need to contact Amy' which gives their excerpt the feeling of a personal assistant taking notes for their manager.

By reflecting on the devices which are being used here to create affiliation and achieve joint decision making or a joint task, we can begin to describe the implications of this study for practitioners. The most notable example is that when both co-workers have equal access to preliminary meetings or contact with their commissioners or project partners and have accessible information, they have the possibility of equal epistemic access to the work underway. The next chapter will move into the working session undertaken by each of the dyads.

Chapter Seven Doing the work

In this chapter, I will present four excerpts from each of the co-working dyads with examples of when they are working on their respective projects.

‘Doing the work’ has been chosen as the focus for this chapter, as it brings to light the ways in which decisions are made in respect of key parts of the dyads’ work; in turn, these have ramifications for future work, or products they are producing for a third party. The decisions that the co-workers focus on relate to two areas: producing Easy Read information (see Chapter 5) and devising training sessions. Two of the dyads are producing Easy Read information and deciding on the composition of a suitable symbol to accompany text which has already been created. The other two dyads are devising training sessions with one working out a ‘script’ for their session and the other creating an appropriate activity to meet their learning objectives.

The points at which decisions are negotiated and made whilst co-workers are carrying out joint tasks have also been studied in other contexts. For instance, speakers of other languages who are learning English (ESOL) are studied by Lee and Burch (2017), who take an ethnomethodological view and draw on CA to show how locally constructed goals can take over from the joint work plan. Also, Stevanovich (2012) specifically focuses on the interactional means to move from a proposal to a joint decision, using video recordings of pastors and cantors discussing their joint work tasks. Although these studies are from very different contexts, they alert us to the delicacy of the relationship between two people working together. If one working partner fails to approve what the other proposes, then the ‘togetherness’ of their working relationship can be threatened.

7.1 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Five: Graham and John

Graham (worker with a learning disability) and John (worker without a learning disability) are working on producing a piece of Easy Read information for people with learning disabilities

regarding health services. In the previous chapter, they were seen setting up their working tasks, with John taking the lead by reading out an email from a (third party) who had commissioned a workshop. As shown there, this epistemic asymmetry between the two partners resulted in minimal contributions from Graham. Before this excerpt starts, they have been sitting side by side at a table in their office; John has his laptop and mouse in front of him and Graham, who does not yet have his laptop, is leaning and looking towards John's computer (see below figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Graham and John looking at a map

John has been showing Graham work he has already started on the Easy Read information and getting his opinion on it. During this time, Graham makes the suggestion of putting a letter 'H' on a map to create an Easy Read symbol denoting the position of hospitals and whilst looking at a map he points out the position of towns to John. After 20 minutes of working together, John asks Graham to get his laptop so they can look up precisely where the hospitals are. When Graham's computer has started up, he asks John what he wants him to do (the opening line of the excerpt below) and their focus then turns to looking for a map online. What is noticeable in this excerpt is the extent to which both men foreground Graham's knowledge of the local area. The workers' laptops appear to be a focus for demonstrating epistemic primacy as they point to each other's screens to show the other person what to do or where something is. There is also a considerable amount of embodied action whilst the co-workers move backwards and forwards between looking at each other laptops, as they decide upon the suitability of the position of a letter 'H'.

Excerpt Five: Graham and John 'Right what do you want me to do' 0087

01 GRA: right. what do you want me to do
---GRA looking at his laptop---
---JOH looking at his laptop---
02 JOH: okay, double check we've got those maps in the

----- -JOH looks at GRA laptop, takes hand off mouse--
03 [right place so if you go online]
04 GRA: [right place. right so googl- line] go online
----- -GRA clicks mouse-----

05 #goo:gle:uh# tuh tuh tuh come on °c'mon°
-GRA looks at his laptop-----
-JOH looks at GRA laptop-----
06 (3.7)
-GRA gaze moves around laptop screen-

07 GRA: tch tch tch tuh .hhhh tuh tuh tuh right_

08 JOH: and then you go to google maps ther[es always] a

09 GRA: [oh yeah]

-GRA folds arms----- -GRA puts hand back on mouse-

-JOH moves to touch GRA screen, pointing at top right corner-

10 JOH: short[cut] up there

11 GRA: [yeah]

-JOH takes away hand, scratches head-

12 GRA: yeah google maps yep ooh [°not that off°]

13 JOH: [what's it ask]ing you °oh thats the screen reader isn't it°.

----- -JOH puts chin in his hand-

14 GRA: yeah maps.

15 (7.8)

-JOH looks at own laptop for 2 seconds then back at GRA's-

16 GRA: °mm mm mm mm mm ah there we are°

17 JOH: cool then if you: (0.9) [zoom it yeah keep] going=.

18 GRA: [°zoom on there yeah]

19 =down°

20 (4.1)

-GRA scrolls on mouse-

21 JOH: bit mo:re

22 (1.3)

23 JOH: okay so,=

-GRA stops scrolling-

-JOH moves to point at GRA's laptop, stops puts his hand down & rests chin on his arms with his hand in front of his mouth-

24 GRA: =there's Whiteley

25 (1.0)

26 JOH: and we want (.) it's pretty much above (0.9) there isn't it (.)
 ----- -GRA looks at JOH
 ----- -JOH moves back to

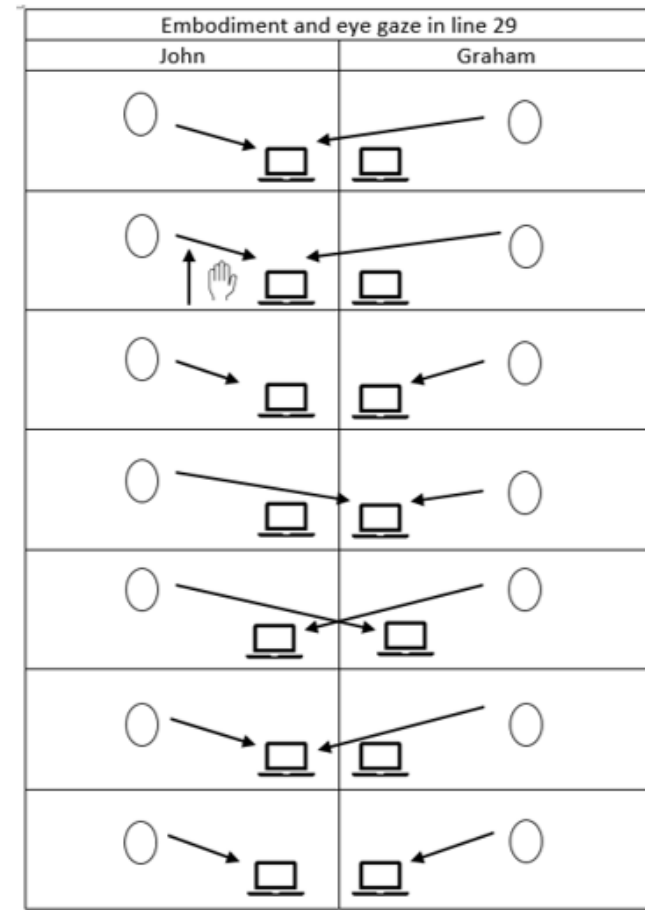
27 [whi]ch is (0.6) just have a l- look at the one we put in ↑there

28 GRA: [yeah]
 laptop -----
 his laptop and scrolls with the mouse -----

29 (9.7)
 -GRA looks at JOH'S laptop for 6 secs, looks at his when JOH lifts
 hand to rest chin on it, looks at JOH's laptop then back at his own-
 -JOH looks at his laptop for 6 secs, lifts hand & rests chin on it,
 looks at GRA's laptop, then looks back at his-

30 JOH: °you think they look good enough there°
 ----- -GRA leans
 -JOH looks at his laptop, then at GRA's--- -JOH looks

31 (1.3)
 towards JOH's laptop, then moves back & looks at own laptop just before
 at his own laptop-



32 JOH: ↑ye↓[ah]

33 GRA: [ye]ah,

----- -JOH looks at GRA's laptop-

34 JOH: °>happy with that<° I noticed um (0.8) move slightly
----- -GRA looks at JOH's laptop-----
----- -JOH looks at own laptop

35 (0.9) this way so we can see here.
----- -GRA looks at his screen, points where JOH is pointing then looks at
JOH's screen and points a little higher than JOH-
----- -JOH points at GRA's laptop screen then takes hand away-

36 GRA: yeah it does look good dun it there cos it's gou (0.9)thass=
-GRA looks at his laptop, points at screen, looks at JOH's screen & points at it-
-JOH looks at GRA's laptop----- -JOH looks at own laptop----

37 JOH: =↓ye↑ah but East Bluton's a good way of=
-GRA points at his screen-----
-JOH looks at GRA's laptop-----

38 GRA: =°°Redford°°

39 JOH: yeah it's at the top of the bit with East Bluton .hh (.) so
-GRA sits back puts hand on mouse-----
-JOH looks at own laptop- -JOH looks at GRA's laptop-----

40 GRA: ↑there's Redford

41 JOH: ↑yeah I bow to you[:r] understanding of maps [bett]er than

42 GRA: [y- yep] [yep]
 -*GRA looks at JOH laptop*- -*GRA looks at own laptop*-----
 -*JOH looks at own laptop points at screen*----- -*JOH looks at GRA*

43 JOH: [mine, ↑yeah I was gonna put] it in Greenwood, [you were right,]

44 GRA: [y- yep cos there's Gren↑wood] [there's Greenwood.]
 ----- -*GRA looks at JOHs laptop*-
 Laptop----- -*JOH looks at own laptop*-----

45 JOH: yep yeah↑
 -*GRA looks at own laptop*-

46 (1.3)

 -*JOH looks at GRA's laptop*-

47 GRA: then you've got Northwoodshire then (.) that's where that is John.
 ----- -*GRA points to JOH's laptop*----
 ----- -*JOH looks at own laptop*
 where GRA is pointing-

48 JOH: s[o:](0.8) yeah; I think that's pretty good;

49 GRA: [yeah] right
 ----- -GRA looks at own laptop and puts hand on mouse-
 -JOH puts hand on mouse-----

50 JOH: cool;=

 -JOH sits back in chair-

51 GRA: =cool_

52 (8.6)
 -After 6 seconds GRA turns whole body towards JOH puts his hand to his mouth
 then clasps his hands together-

53 GRA: that was good judgement of me; uh huh
 -GRA looks at facing wall then reaches for coffee-

54 JOH: £↑ye:ah£ °yes yuh°
 -GRA drinks coffee-----

What is happening in detail?

The excerpt opens with both men sitting looking at their laptops in front of them and Graham takes a first turn at talk, asking John what he wants him to do. Graham's choice of words places himself as doing something for John (what do you want me to do) either to help him out or because he is in charge of the activity. John's response in line 2 reframes their work as a joint activity, with his use of the word 'we' and by his instruction that Graham should check the work that has already been done. In lines 3 and 4 there is an overlap as Graham echoes what John says, however he self-repairs from 'googl-' to 'go online' when he wrongly anticipates the exact word John is about to say. From this point, until around line 16, both men's focus moves onto Graham's laptop screen whilst they wait for the computer to load. At line 7 Graham states 'right' and although we don't have access to what is on his screen, we can presume that the computer has loaded, and he is ready to do the next thing required of him. John responds in line 8 by physically and verbally directing him to click on a shortcut. At the exact time that John begins to move his arm to point at Graham's laptop screen, Graham withdraws his hand from his mouse and folds his arm close to his body. When John's finger touches Graham's screen, Graham immediately reaches back for the mouse. In lines 9 and 11, Graham talks in overlap with John, this time not echoing what he says but acknowledging receipt of his instructions (oh yeah and yeah). In lines 12 to 14 Graham narrates what he is doing 'google maps' and '°not that off°', which by John's utterance in the next line, we can presume means that a pop up from the screen reader on the computer has appeared and Graham has closed it down. During a 7.8 second gap whilst possibly waiting for the computer to respond, John glances back at his own laptop.

In line 16 Graham announces that what they want has loaded on the computer and John goes on to give more instructions. In line 19, Graham echoes John, although not entirely accurately, and then adds the increment '=down°' onto John's utterance 'keep] going=.' in line 19. After some more instruction from John, he indicates that Graham has reached the correct place on the map with 'okay so,' in line 23. The 'so' predicts he has more to say and as he utters this line, he reaches to point at Graham's laptop but stops his hand and rest his chin on his palm with his hand in front of his mouth as if to stop himself talking. Graham latches onto John's utterance with '=there's

Whiteley' which could be hearable as a collaborative completion of John's prior talk; 'okay so,= =there's Whiteley'. Indeed, in line 26 after a short gap, John continues as if their utterances from the preceding lines of talk collaboratively form a sentence 'okay so,= =there's Whiteley and we want'. John self-repairs after 'and we want' to 'it's pretty much above (0.9) there isn't it'. He doesn't point or indicate what he is referring to whilst he says this but moves to look at his laptop and scroll with his mouse stating that he is looking at what he has already put on the existing Easy Read image of a map.

The final section, when both screens are available, is heralded by a 9.7 second gap whilst both men look backwards and forwards from their own computers to each other's, seemingly comparing the two maps. The manner in which they do this mirrors the smooth turn taking seen in the talk, with both men looking at one computer at the same time, then both looking at the other computer at the same time, then looking at each other's computer, before looking at their own (see below figure 7.1.1). This is reminiscent of Raclaw et al's (2016) study of 'mobile-supported sharing activities', where embodiment is also highlighted as a part of the interaction.



Figure 7.1.1 Graham and John 'You think they look good enough'

In line 30 after both men have compared the images, John quietly asks if Graham thinks 'they look good enough there°'. Both men then look at both computers again before John asserts '↑ye↓[ah]'

with a modulating pitch that is hearable as indicating satisfaction. Graham utters '[ye]ah,' in a slightly delayed overlap. In line 34 John quietly and quickly utters '°>happy with that<°' and then instructs Graham to move the map so they can see something, pointing to his laptop as he does so. At line 36, Graham does not follow John's instruction as he is not touching the mouse to move the map around, but he offers an evaluation of their map image and points at both his and John's computers whilst making his point. John latches onto Graham's 'thass=' before he is able to complete his turn and offers his own evaluation. However, he does not finish his turn until line 39 as Graham whispers '=°Redford°', latching onto the word 'of=' before the end of his TCU. Graham restates the latter part of his turn in line 40, stating '↑there's Redford' with a normal volume. In lines 41 and 43, John states that he acknowledges Graham knows more about maps than him. In line 43, he adds two increments to his turn, extending it whilst Graham talks in overlap with him. In line 42, Graham uses continuers (yep) in overlap, one of which is at a TRP and in line 44 he comes in at two further TRPs in overlap with John. In line 47, after a gap Graham continues his line of talk, pointing to John's laptop as he states where a county is and addresses John, drawing his attention to this point. John's gaze is directed to where Graham is pointing and in line 48, he begins 's[o:]' predicting more to come, but then the men overlap as Graham offers an evaluation of their work, which John goes on to endorse. Similar to what we have already seen in previous chapters, John produces a sequence closing third 'coolǿ=' which Graham echoes. After a long gap in which Graham moves away from the computer and turns his body towards John, he evaluates his contribution to their work 'that was good judgement of meǿ' with a laugh. In the final line of this excerpt, John remains looking at his computer and agrees with a slight 'smile' voice, before his '£↑ye:ah£' trails off into a quieter '°yes yuh°'.

7.1.1 Embodied actions supporting joint work

This excerpt contains an annotation of the embodied actions of both men, including a recording of moment-by-moment eye gaze at a point when it is most analytically relevant, as in Mondada (2018). The talk and embodied actions combine to bring to light the ways in which these men make their knowledge and authority relevant in their work, in a way which wouldn't be apparent just by analysing the talk. The first most noticeable thing here is that, in contrast with their other excerpts,

both men have their own laptop and mouse in front of them. Their body positioning and placement of their laptops and mice are almost a mirror image of each other (see below figure 7.1.2) and there are a number of points throughout the excerpt where their embodied actions and talk mirror or echo each other. This gives a feeling of fluidity and ease to the excerpt suggesting that the way they are working together here is familiar and comfortable for them both.



Figure 7.1.2 Graham and John mirroring

The roles that the men have when working together are made apparent in the opening line from Graham 'right. what do you want me to do', and then played out as the excerpt progresses. With this statement, Graham positions John as the co-worker with authority to dictate the work that he needs to do and John responds by acknowledging this need (okay,) and giving Graham instructions of what to do albeit with an indirect form, using 'if' before some instructions (lines 3, 17). From this point, both men orient to the fact that Graham is expected to be following John's instructions and that this is the main task to be completed. John stops doing his work, takes his attention away from his laptop and focuses his gaze on Graham's laptop as he gives detailed directions for Graham to carry out the task of checking their maps are in the right position. Although we don't have access to what is on his laptop screen, it can be presumed from Graham's echoing of John's instructions that he is doing exactly what he is being asked to do. When Graham indicates that he has got online and the Google webpage has loaded in line 7, he takes his hand off the mouse and folds his arms as if his task is complete. John responds with further instructions and leans across to point at Graham's screen at which point Graham grabs his mouse and goes back to his work. Within this opening

sequence of 11 lines of talk, there is a sense of familiarity and fluidity to the interaction, suggesting that this way of working is typical for these men. Neither co-worker challenges the other in relation to whether it is acceptable for one to be giving or following instructions and when the instructions are given, they are acted upon immediately. The fact that they seemingly comfortably fall into these roles suggests an asymmetry in their style of working that is reminiscent of a supervisor working alongside their less experienced employee, telling them what to do. It is also reminiscent of Antaki and Kent (2012) in which the authority and entitlement of a staff member towards service users was not challenged.

The embodied actions throughout the excerpt reveal a close attention to the fact that Graham 'doing the work' is the main focus here; for example both men's eye gaze directed at his laptop screen, John pointing at Graham's screen and later in the excerpt, Graham leaning across to point at John's screen. The men mirror each other physically a number of times (see figure 7.1.2 above) and they noticeably mirror each other's eye gaze in the almost 10 second gap in line 29 where they look backwards and forwards between their laptops to compare the position of towns on the maps. As Nevile (2015, p.135) points out, in his review of ROLSI (Research on Language and Social Interaction) articles focusing on embodiment, the precise timing and coordination of embodied action 'can be fundamental for the nature and accomplishment of some specific action or phenomenon'. This mirroring doesn't occur at exactly the same time - that is, both men don't direct their eye gaze at each laptop at exactly the same time for the exact same duration. Rather, their moves happen sequentially in response to a subtle movement or change in the other person's eye gaze, much in the way that talk happens sequentially in response to the prior turn.

7.1.2 Collaborative completion of a TCU

In addition, between lines 17 and 26 there are two instances when the men's utterances combine to collaboratively complete sentences. Firstly, in line 17 John instructs Graham to '[zoom it yeah keep] going=.', which is marked as hearably complete by the closing intonation on the word 'going=.'. However, Graham produces a latched increment to John's TCU with the word '=down'',

creating 'keep going down'. John does not respond to this immediately which would usually imply a dispreferred response, however his gaze is focussed on what is happening on Graham's laptop as he scrolls on his mouse. His instruction 'bit mo:re' in line 21 implies that Graham's verbal and physical response is as expected. Another collaborative completion occurs again from line 23, when after uttering 'okay so,=', indicating John has more to say, Graham latches '=there's Whiteley'. As John speaks, he moves his hand to point at Graham's laptop and then retracts it, putting his hand over his mouth as he rests his chin on his hand. It's unclear at this point if Graham's statement relates to what John was about to say; however, he goes on to make it relevant after a brief gap, by adding an increment 'and we want', thereby creating the sentence 'okay so,= there's Whiteley and we want'. If the men are on slightly different trajectories at this point, the building of this collaborative completion serves to bring them together as they then go on to check the accuracy of their map in subsequent lines. This is quite unlike the collaborative completion noticed by Wilkinson (2014) with speakers with aphasia. Here the completion is performed just as often by the disabled as by the non-disabled partner.

7.1.3 Epistemic authority based on local knowledge

In the latter part of the excerpt the main focus of the talk is Graham's epistemic authority with regards to the geography of this area of Britain, with Graham keen to demonstrate his knowledge and John keen to make it explicit that he considers Graham to have expert knowledge in this area. Graham has already introduced this in line 24 when he points out where Whiteley is, then after both men are happy with the accuracy of their map, in line 36 Graham begins to qualify his evaluation by pointing out the position of towns. John comes in at line 37 and latches onto Graham's incomplete TCU which Graham completes with a whispered voice interrupting him at line 38. Graham comes back to complete his TCU again at a normal volume in line 40. In lines 41 and 43 John states emphatically that Graham has greater knowledge in this respect than he does, pointing out his own potential error 'I was gonna put it in Grenwood,'. He carries on past the possible point of completion twice and Graham talks in overlap with him, indicating a desire to move on (with three 'yep's) with pointing out towns. Graham comes in again at line 47, pointing out another time and emphasising his point by leaning across and pointing to John's laptop as he says his name. The

men are on slightly different trajectories, but both work to make Graham's epistemic primacy explicit.

In the closing lines of the excerpt, Graham turns away from the laptop and faces his body towards John, then evaluates his judgement. It is unusual for someone to explicitly appraise themselves and the fact he does this implies that John has not adequately acknowledged this, and he is seeking to rectify it. John's response is positive but delivered with a quiet voice and tails off, making it appear somewhat contrived. The implication of this sequence is that the deontic authority John has in this excerpt, that is, the authority to decide what work Graham needs to do and to give instructions to carry that out, is a routine way of working for them. The epistemic authority that Graham has is something which both men foreground and by drawing attention to the absence of a satisfactory positive assessment it may imply that it is not routine that Graham has knowledge which John does not.

By contrast, the following excerpt will reveal how the co-worker with a learning disability can achieve deontic authority whilst deciding on a suitable Easy Read symbol.

7.2 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Six: Angel and Sue

In this excerpt Angel (worker with a learning disability) and Sue (worker without a learning disability) are working together on producing an Easy Read version of their organisation's five-year plan. This involves deciding upon suitable images to convey the main messages in their plan and which go alongside corresponding, easy to understand text. They are using an online programme called Photosymbols to do this which contains photos created specifically for creating Easy Read information. Sometimes creating Easy Read images requires putting two or more images together to create an image which specially relates to the text you have, for example combining a picture of a house and a removals van to mean 'moving house'. In the excerpt below, Angel and Sue refer to this method of combining images. They are sitting in a meeting room with a laptop between them, with a keyboard and mouse attached to it placed in front of Sue (see below figure 7.2). Out of view

of the camera is a projector screen positioned a number of feet behind the laptop, on which the laptop screen is mirrored. They have been working together for just over an hour up to the point when this excerpt starts and have just completed making the image for the front page of their document. The transcript contains a description of embodied actions when they are analytically relevant, including how artefacts such as Sue's mug, the keyboard and mouse are used.



Figure 7.2 Angel and Sue 'wass this one'

Excerpt six Angel and Sue: Moneybags 00435

01 SUE: okay (1.2) f:h:ff well there you go:,
 -SUE looks at Ang sits back in chair-
 -ANG looks at laptop-----
02 (0.5)
03 ANG: >wass this one<
04 SUE: it sa:ys (.) have good systems to check our money
 -Sue looks at Ang & picks up mug-
05 (1.2)
06 ANG: o:[h:.]
07 SUE: [>d'ya want] me to put up< money pictures an then you
 -----Sue clicks on mouse-----
08 cn

--

09 (2.5)

10 SUE: THE[RE IS A MA:N] lookin um (1.5) tch (1.2) there's

11 ANG: [°s:yste:ms°]

-SUE types-----

12 SUE: a:: (0.5) financial assessment one

-Sue leans into laptop-----

-Ang leans into laptop-----

13 (1.0)

14 SUE: .hh if I give you the

-SUE hands mouse to Ang-

15 (2.2)

-SUE sits back in chair-

--ANG scrolls through-----

16 SUE: thingy you can scro:ll an

Photosymbols-----

17 (2.3)

-SUE drinks-

18 ANG: good systems

-SUE sits forward-

19 (1.2)

20 ANG: >wass a< system again?

21 SUE: we::ll it's abou:t (1.5) tch how we write down and put

-SUE looks at

22 on the computer what we're doing with our money.

Laptop screen-----

(1.2)

23 to <check what we're spending> (1.5) a[:nd]

24 ANG: [.hhh] ↑o::h I've

25 got one↑

26 (1.2)
 --SUE rests mug at the side of her head--

27 SUE: yeah.

28 (2.7)
 -SUE turns head towards ANG but keeps gaze towards laptop-

29 ANG: ma:ybe:?

30 SUE: mm,

31 (0.5)

32 ANG: mm mm (0.7) s'money bags?

33 (0.5)

34 SUE: mm,

35 (0.2)

36 ANG: yeah?

37 (1.2)
 -SUE turns to look at ANG-

38 ANG: and the:n (0.5) a computer next to it;

 -----ANG looks at SUE-----

39 (0.5)
 -SUE glances up behind ANG-
 ----ANG looks at laptop----

40 SUE: yeah,

41 (0.7)
 -SUE moves to put mug down-

42 ANG: so it's called system
 ----- -SUE mug touches table-

43 (0.5)
 -SUE moves mug back to mouth-

44 SUE: yeah

45 (0.7)
 -SUE sits back & puts mug to mouth-

46 ANG: >with a person behind< the computer and the money bags.
 -SUE drinks---- -SUE makes eye contact with Ang-----
 -ANG turns & looks at SUE-----

47 (1.2)
 -SUE takes mug from mouth looks at ANG nods & smiles-

48 SUE: tch off you go: then hhh uh huhuh HA HA HA [HA HA] HA

49 ANG: [h h h]
 -SUE makes 'go ahead' gesture with hand looks at ANG
 & throws her head back as she laughs-
 ----- -Ang turns to laptop- -ANG smiles,
 looks at laptop-

50 SUE: #huh# #huh# #huh# .hhh
 ---- --SUE looks at screen behind laptop-

51 (1.2)

52 ANG: °°.hhh hhh u::m°°

53 (3.5)
 -SUE puts hand to her mouth, then raises mug-

54 ANG: uhm >so you've got< money ba:gs:,

55 (0.5)

56 SUE: >its gonna come in really big< member.
 -SUE holds mug to mouth whilst speaking-

57 (2.2)
 -SUE drinks & holds mug against chest-

58 SUE: >there you go.<

59 (1.5)

60 ANG: you've got money ba:gs:, (1.2) and then you got

61 (1.2)

62 SUE: you want computer do you=
-SUE puts down mug-----

63 ANG: =yep

64 (4.0)
-SUE types on keyboard- - SUE looks at laptop

65 ANG: oo:[:::h]

66 SUE: [oo::h] uh huh huh huh
----- -Sue looks at ANG then at screen behind laptop-
-ANG looks at laptop-

67 .hhh=oo[:::h]

68 ANG: [oo:h]

69 (0.5)

70 SUE: >ooh you mi[ght actch-] you won't have to build it<

71 ANG: [this one]
-SUE sits back in chair and puts hands on top of head-
-ANG sits up slightly-

72 SUE: with the person will you you can just use that;
----- -SUE looks at laptop-

73 (0.7)

74 SUE: .HHHHHH you can put the money bags on the scree:n.
----- -SUE looks at ANG-----
-ANG raises eyebrows
smiles and nods, looking at laptop-

75 ANG: mm hm

76 SUE: ↓you're already there aren't you.↓=
-SUE looks at screen behind laptop-

77 ANG: =yep

-ANG nods & smiles-

78 SUE: uh heh huh huh huh

-ANG smiles-----

79 (0.7)

80 ANG: You: knew what I was th[i n k i n g]

81 SUE: [.hhh uh heh] huh huh= >I did I

82 saw your eye:s light up<

83 (0.5)

84 SUE: .hhh >I thought I know where this is goin<

What is happening in detail?

Just before this excerpt starts Angel and Sue have completed their previous task, and Sue then looks at the first statement in the report for which they have to create an Easy Read image. Her 'okay' in line one marks the shift from one task to the next (Jefferson 1981) and is followed by a breathy sounding 'f:h:ff' (perhaps a variation of 'pew'), before sitting back in her chair, looking at Angel and drawing her attention to the next task. This setting-up phase then extends until around line 23. She uses the word 'you', orienting to this being a task for Angel to do. After a short gap, Angel looks at the computer and asks for clarification. In line 4, Sue states 'it sa:ys (.) have good systems to check our money' and picks up her mug. There is a gap of 1.2 seconds before Angel indicates some uncertainty about the task with the change of state token 'o:h:'. Sue comes in in overlap at line 7 asking if Angel wants her to 'put up< money pictures', meaning that she can search for money pictures on the Photosymbols programme currently running on the laptop. She then states, 'an then you cn_', leaving her turn incomplete before a 2.5 second gap. Angel does not take up a turn here, but in line 10 the women both come in in overlap as Sue begins to make a

suggestion of a Photosymbol image 'THE[RE IS A MA:N]' with a louder voice than usual. At the same time Angel quietly utters '[°s:yste:ms°]'. Sue goes on to finish her turn in line 12 explaining that the symbol she was thinking of depicts a financial assessment, and both women lean toward the laptop. After a 1 second gap, Sue places the mouse in front of Angel and states 'if I give you the'. Her turn is not a complete sentence; however, Angel takes hold of the mouse in line 15 and begins to use it, indicating that she has understood Sue's turn as relating to the mouse. Sue also sits back at line 15, physically distancing herself from the task. In line 16 she continues her prior turn but again does not complete her sentence 'you can scro:ll an'. After a 2.3 second gap where Angel is scrolling through Photosymbols, she states 'good systems'. Sue does not take a turn responding to Angel and in line 20 Angel then asks '>wass a< system again?'. Sue gives an explanation in lines 21 to 23 as Angel continues to look at the computer.

In line 23 she stops her turn before it is complete when Angel indicates she is about to talk with an intake of breath in overlap with Sue's utterance 'a[:nd]'. Angel indicates she is excited as she utters an elongated '↑ o::h' with a raised pitch that continues as she states 'I've got one ↑'. Sue responds after a 1.2 second gap with a continuer 'yeah'. There is then a longer 2.7 second gap before Sue turns her head towards Angel but keeps her eyes on the computer.

Between lines 29 and 46, Angel incrementally describes her idea for an Easy Read image, with Sue offering verbal and embodied continuers such as 'mm', 'yeah' and looking at Angel. This third section is marked by Sue's attempts to hold herself back, and by Angel leading on work tasks. In line 36 Angel utters 'yeah,' which appears to be seeking reassurance due to the slight rising tone with which it is delivered. Sue does not respond verbally to this but moves to put her mug down. As Angel continues her description in the next line, Sue touches her mug on the table, does not put it down but immediately lifts it back to her mouth. She offers another continuer 'yeah' before sitting back in her chair and putting her mug to her mouth. She drinks as Angel delivers the final part of her description and makes eye contact as Angel turns to look at her. After 1.2 seconds of silence, in line 47 Sue takes the mug from her mouth, looks at Angel, nods and smiles before stating 'off you go: then' whilst making a sweeping 'go ahead' gesture with her hand (see below figure 7.2.1). The nod and smile set this up as something laughable, and she throws her head back and laughs loudly.



Figure 7.2.1 Angel and Sue 'off you go then'

Angel turns back to the laptop and smiles as Sue's laughter continues but then peters out in line 50. Both women's gaze is then focused on the laptop/screen as Angel quietly sighs and utters 'u::m ° °'. Sue puts her hand to her mouth as she watches the screen where Angel is copying and pasting an image from the Photosymbols programme. In line 54, Angel narrates what she is doing as she finds the image for money bags. Her utterance is hearable as the start of a list due to the elongated sounds and the continuing intonation she uses when stating 'ba:gs:'. After a short gap, Sue reminds Angel that the image she is copying will be big when it is pasted into the document she is working on. She holds her mug to her mouth as she speaks, takes a drink, then holds it against her chest. In line 58, she states 'there you go'. It can be presumed that this statement is confirming that she was right to remind Angel that the image will 'come in really big', as it is visible in the video data that this is what happens when Angel pastes the image into her document. Angel does not respond to Sue's utterance here, but returns to her list started in line 54, repeating 'you've got money ba:gs:,' and after a short pause adding, 'and then you got'. At this point, from the video we can see Angel navigates from the document she is working on back to the Photosymbols programme and after a 1.2 second gap Sue puts her mug down and says, 'you want computer do you='. Angel replies '=yep' and Sue then uses the keyboard in front of her and types the word computer.



Figure 7.2.2 Angel and Sue operating laptop together

At this point, the women are using the computer together with Sue typing on the keyboard and Angel using the mouse (see above figure 7.2.2). In line 65 an image appears on the screen and Angel utters an elongated 'oo[:̣::h]' with a pitch shift from up to down throughout the word. Sue echoes Angel in overlap with her, and then laughs before an intake of breath and uttering 'oo[:̣::h]' again. This time, Angel echoes Sue in overlap with her. After a 0.5 second gap, Sue sits back in her chair and puts her arms behind her head as she speaks at a faster pace than usual, stating '>ooh you mi[ght acth-]' before stopping short on the word 'actually' when Angel's overlapped utterance finishes. However, she immediately continues explaining the idea that appears to have just come to her (indicated by the '>ooh'). In line 71, Angel sits up slightly and states '[this one]' presumably referring to a particular Photosymbol image. After a short gap, Sue comes in again with a loud, long intake of breath indicating excitement and explains another idea for the image 'you can put the money bags on the scree:n.'. Angel raises her eyebrow, smiles and nods as Sue comes to the end of her turn and states 'mm hm'. Sue watches the screen as Angel clicks between the Photosymbols programme and the document and states '↓you're already there aren't you.↓=' with a marked downwards pitch shift. Angel states 'yep=' in line 77, nods and smiles again as Sue laughs, introducing this as a laughable topic. Angel and Sue both continue the joke, stating that Sue was able to work out what Angel was about to do when she saw her 'eye:s light up<'.

7.2.1 Doing collaboration via use of artefacts

As with previous excerpts, embodied actions have been included in the transcription where relevant. What is noticeable here, is the use of specific objects and artefacts and the way they are used within the interaction as tools to prevent or limit Sue taking a turn, as tokens of power, passed from one co-worker to the other or as an embodied way of demonstrating they are working collaboratively as in Raclaw et al (2016). In addition, the women use different strategies for displaying their epistemic and deontic authority in relation to the task and in the decision of which image to use.

As with the other excerpts involving Angel and Sue, the placement of the laptop, keyboard and mouse are important in facilitating joint working and joint attention (Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007). The laptop and screen are placed centrally between them, and the keyboard and mouse are initially in front of Sue. At the point where Sue hands over the mouse to Angel she sits back in her chair, physically distancing herself from the task at hand. Use of the mouse is key to controlling the Photosymbols programme where they are searching for a suitable image. In passing over the mouse to Angel, Sue is passing over control of the task and the opportunity to influence the key decision of which image to choose. The moment at which Sue hands over the mouse, her turn is not sententially complete (.hh if I give you the), however the act of handing it over when she might be expected to say 'mouse' appears to make this understandable as Angel takes it and uses it to scroll through images. At line 64, Sue and Angel use the keyboard and mouse attached to the laptop at the same time as Sue types the word 'computer' after Angel has been using the mouse to scroll the Photosymbols programme (Figure 7.2.2 above). The way these objects are used and passed from one worker to another with only short or incomplete turns, and with no trouble in the interaction or disruption to the flow of work, appear to suggest that this is a familiar way for Angel and Sue to work together. Sharing use of the technology suggests that these co-workers are used to working in a collaborative way.

7.2.2 Using a mug to avoid speaking

Throughout the excerpt, Sue has a mug which she picks up, puts down and drinks from. When Angel is describing the idea she has for an image, she does so incrementally, in short turns, ending with a rising or questioning intonation leaving a number of transition relevance places (TRPs) for Sue to take a turn. It could be expected in these TRPs that a co-worker might offer continuers (which Sue does) or an evaluation of Angel's idea. However, whilst Sue encourages Angel to continue with her explanation with utterances such as 'mm' and 'yeah' and eye contact, she does not express any verbal opinion, but she holds her mug, moving it between the side of her head, the table and her mouth. At line 42, she puts her mug on the table but doesn't let go of it and immediately brings it back to her mouth again as she says 'yeah'. As Angel finishes describing her idea, Sue drinks and holds the mug up in front of her as she suggests that Angel goes ahead and implements her suggestion. How Sue uses the mug appears to be an embodied way of creating a barrier between herself and Angel and enables her to hold back from making an overt judgement by holding it in front of her mouth and body and by preventing her from talking when she takes a drink. It is somewhat unusual that Sue does not either validate or critique Angel at this point, given that it appears Angel is seeking her involvement by making eye contact and leaving many places Sue can take a turn at talk.

7.2.3 Deontic asymmetries ameliorated via laughter

What can be seen throughout this excerpt is how both women orient to Sue's deontic right to determine the task and evaluate its outcome. At the start of the excerpt, Sue marks a shift from the previous task (okay), implies that the next task could be a difficult one (f:h:ff) and marks it as a job for Angel to do by use of the pronoun 'you' (well there you go:;). She goes on to refer to the task as 'belonging' to Angel by using 'you' rather than 'we' a number of times throughout for example, in line 7 'then you cn-', line 16 'you can scro:ll an', line 48 'off you go: then', line 70 'you won't have to build it<'. Angel never challenges this stance and indeed does go about completing the task as suggested by Sue. Furthermore, Angel orients to her deontic responsibility to fulfil this task, when

in line 24 she exclaims '↑o::h I've got one↑' and then goes on to look for Sue to evaluate her work (in the ways mentioned above). Although Sue defines the task and marks it as Angel's responsibility, she resists making an explicit judgement of her idea, instead telling her to go ahead and create the image. The fact that she does this could imply that she is sanctioning Angel, and it is taken this way as Angel starts to create the image. In proceeding this way both women orient to Sue having deontic rights and Angel having deontic responsibilities. What could contribute to this is the epistemic asymmetry between the women when Angel is struggling with the word 'systems'. She first indicates some uncertainty with the word in line 6 when she states 'o:[h:]' and then again in lines 11 and 20, before asking Sue what it means. These factors contribute to this excerpt having some features of the asymmetry seen in teacher pupil interactions. However, in the latter part of the excerpt there is something of a shift when Angel proceeds with creating the final image without seeking Sue's approval (although she does offer it). Angel's right, both to decide on and to execute the task, are implicit in Sue's backgrounding of her own contributions.

As already mentioned, there are features in the excerpt which suggest that Sue and Angel are working together in a style that is familiar to them. Despite there being some asymmetry in the epistemic access and deontic rights of the co-workers there are examples of affiliation (Stivers 2008) which ameliorate the impact of these differences. Sue initiates laughter at a couple of points (line 48 and 66) but Angel does not match the volume and length of Sue's laughter at these points. Laughter can perform different functions according to where it is sequentially placed and it can lighten the impact of delicate moments in interaction (Glenn and Holt 2013, p.16). It is possible that Sue's laughter at line 48 is an attempt to mitigate the deontic stance she is taking, which might not be expected of a worker without a learning disability in this type of organisation. In line 74 Angel makes the fact that she is already making the image Sue is talking about laughable by raising her eyebrow and smiling. The excerpt finishes with the women foregrounding the success of their joint working by sharing laughter and smiles about the fact they have ended up coming to the same conclusion about the best image to use.

7.3 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Seven: Julie and Jennifer

Next, we move back to Julie (worker with a learning disability) and Jennifer (worker without a learning disability), who were seen in the previous chapter deciding on their work for the day. In this pair, the worker with a learning disability appeared to have the upper hand in taking control of the interaction during the opening phases. Julie and Jennifer have been working together at Julie's desk for an hour and a half and have now moved into a meeting room and are sitting side by side at a desk. Julie is sitting with her chair turned slightly away from Jennifer and has her arms crossed across her chest (see figure 7.3 below), except where annotated in the transcript. Jennifer is sitting facing forwards and moves herself and her chair around during the excerpt. Both women have their notepads in front of them and in between them are notes from their project partner detailing work they need to complete. It is the first time both women have been able to look at this document fully. They are working on devising a workshop for people with learning disabilities which is intended to help them prepare to apply for a job which will be available as part of this project. The excerpt starts after a 6 minute discussion of the expectations their partner has and what to prioritise from their list of tasks. During this time, both women have been reading the notes from their project partner and checking their understanding with each other. The notes do not appear to be in an easy-to-understand format such as Easy Read, and it is also worth noting that English is not Jennifer's first language. Jennifer has been interpreting the information in the notes into outcomes for the workshop, prioritising them and recording them in her notebook. Julie has suggested that the workshop should be run over two days and Jennifer agreed.



Figure 7.3 Julie and Jennifer thinking about the workshop

Excerpt Seven Julie and Jennifer: Skills 103

01 JEN: so (1.2) u::m (0.9) mcht (3.2) hhh (1.6) should we: focus: o:n
 02 the first part of the workshop.=
 03 JUL: =oh yeah we're gonna=
 04 JEN: =the first day
 -JEN sits back in chair and makes eye contact with JUL-
 05 JUL: yeah.
 06 (0.7)
 07 JEN: yeah,
 08 JUL: yeah.
 Lines 09 to 36 omitted
 37 JEN: so.(1.2) um I yeah think you're right we need to: (1.0)
 38 start (1.5) with (.) some form of (0.5) exercise or
 39 ga:me:=
 40 JUL: =yeah=
 41 JEN: =or activity (0.7) which really brings out (0.2) what um
 42 (2.7) the future peer supports workers (0.7)
 43 JEN: [exper]iences and skills are.
 44 JUL: [role]
 45 (0.2)
 -JUL rests her finger above her top lip and looks up-
 46 JUL: ye::s
 47 (2.2)
 -JUL's eyes move around as if thinking or searching-
 48 JEN: hm

49 (1.5)

50 JEN: u:m:

51 (3.5)

-JEN picks up pen and holds it near to notepad-

52 JEN: ((sniffs))

53 (2.5)

-JUL looks over at JEN-

54 JEN: so in a way its identifying (0.5) skills and ex°periences°

-JEN sits back and makes eye contact-

55 JUL: yes:

56 (0.7)

-JEN begins writing-

-JUL sits back in chair-

57 JUL: so u:h cos u- (0.7) I don't know if these

58 people have (0.5) u:h CVs (0.2) u:m (0.7) so ↑really

59 they've de↓signed their CV but not knowing they're

60 doing it.

61 JEN: mm hmm

62 JUL: u:m: (0.7) so (1.0) cos if you tell people to (0.2)

-JEN sits back and makes eye contact-

63 do their CV they're just gonna draw a blank.

64 JEN: ye(h)ah

65 (1.0)

-JEN writes on notepad-

66 JUL: uh so (3.5) you're gonna ave to ask them what they-

67 (0.7) ↑basically what they do (1.0) in their- in their day

68 (0.5) uh bay- uh but not their perfect day do they do

69 volunteering somewhere (1.0) uh (0.7) yuh know

----- -JEN sits back, makes eye contact-

70 JEN: yeah we want to get as many things (1.0) that they can=

-JEN moves her chair back and swivels to face JUL-----

71 JUL: =ye[ah]

72 JEN: [tha]t they kn↑ow (0.5) and that they can ↓do

73 (0.2)

74 JUL: yes

-JUL makes eye contact-

Lines 75 to 131 omitted

132 JUL: .HH there's a game we don't play it now uh it was a >very
 -----JEN writing----- -JEN sits back, leans
 -JUL points towards JEN- -JUL sits forward---

133 old ice breaker game<
 on arm of chair closest-

134 JEN: yeah
 -to JUL-

135 JUL: we don't play these games any more so they've gone uh huh
 -and smiles-----

136 in the bin uh an it was called what am I doing

 -JUL turns toward JEN-

137 JEN: ↑yeah
 -JEN raises eyebrows and smiles widely-
 -JUL makes eye contact-

138 JUL: so you it's actually an acting game (0.2) so you get you

139 you mime what you are doing

 -JUL gesticulates-----

140 JEN: mm hmm

141 JUL: and the other people guess,

 ----- -JUL makes eye contact-

142 JEN: ah yeah yeah like um=

143 JUL: =[and]
 144 JEN: [yeah]

145 JUL: and there's you're showing your skill they could (.) play that

 -JUL gesticulates whilst making eye contact- -JUL taps JENs
 paper-

146 JEN: yeah great (0.5) so (0.2) potentially it could be a mi:me
 -JEN smiles and writes on notepad-----

-JUL picks up pen and folds arms-----

147 game

148 JUL: ↑yeah

149 (2.7)

150 JEN: great

151 JUL: yeah¿

What is happening in detail

After having written a list of the outcomes for the planned workshop and agreed these with Julie, Jennifer suggests a move from ‘planning’ to ‘doing’. Agreement is reached in this first section – lines 1-8. ‘So’ in line 1 marks something new to come that has been on Jennifer’s mind, and which is for Julie’s attention (Bolden 2009). She goes on to ask Julie if she agrees with her suggestion to work on the first part of the workshop. Julie comes in quickly, latching onto Jennifer’s utterance in line 2 with ‘=oh yeah’. The speed of her reply and ‘oh’ prefaced response implies that Julie feels this question is not relevant (Heritage 1998a). Although Jennifer’s turn sounded complete in line 2, marked by a grammatically complete sentence and a closing intonation, she adds to it in line 4, latched onto Julie’s turn which is not yet complete. Jennifer sits back from the table and her notepad and makes eye contact with Julie as she says this, and Julie repeats her agreement. After a gap of 0.7 seconds, Jennifer asks a questioning ‘yeah,’ marked by her slight rising intonation. Here she is effectively asking Julie for a third time if she is in agreement with her.

The next 25 lines of talk are omitted here, but during this time they discuss that the workshop activities need to draw out participants’ skills and experiences. At line 37 Jennifer begins with ‘so’ again, this time appearing to mark a move from general discussions about the task to a focus on the first element of the workshop. In lines 37 to 43 she positively evaluates Julie’s assertion that they need to start by focussing on participants ‘[experience and skills’. In line 43 after a brief pause when Jennifer finishes her turn, Julie comes in in overlap and states ‘[role]’, projecting her turn to

conclude with 'the future peer support worker's role'. There is a gap of 0.2 seconds before Julie states 'ye::s' and both women indicate they are thinking by looking upwards as if searching (Julie) and signalling a delay in speaking with 'hm' and u:m:' (Jennifer). At line 53 Julie looks towards Jennifer who then takes a turn 'so in a way it's identifying (0.5) skills and ex°periences°' and then sits back in her chair making eye contact with Julie. Here she is restating what she has already said, and the latter part of her last word is stated quietly perhaps indicating some hesitation due to her repetition. Julie confirms in line 55 that this is correct, and Jennifer writes on her notepad as Julie sits back in her chair.

Julie then begins her turn at line 57, with 'so', marking that she is proceeding with something new, then goes on to make reference to the participants producing a CV. Here she is referring to a part of a prior workshop they have described elsewhere in the data where the participants (who may be attending both these workshops) will have already completed an exercise detailing how they spend their time. Jennifer offers a continuer 'mm hmm' in line 61 and Julie goes on build the case for her idea for the activity, explaining that the participants would not be able to complete a CV. Jen sits back and makes eye contact as Julie states this and then laughs as she agrees that it would be difficult for them to create a CV 'ye(h)ah'. She then starts to write on her notepad again and continues doing so as Julie resumes describing her idea for an activity around people describing how they spend their day. She is somewhat hesitant as she speaks, self-repairing three times and pausing three times. As her turn is coming to an end Jennifer sits back and makes eye contact and she appears somewhat uncertain about what she has said 'uh (0.7) yuh know'. Jennifer gives a preferred response 'yeah' and begins to move her chair some way back from the desk and turns to face Julie as she speaks (see below figure 7.3.1).



Figure 7.3.1 Julie and Jennifer facing each other

She gives some further clarification of the intended outcome of the activity they are planning and redefines skills and experience as ‘things (1.0) that they can= [tha]t they kn↑ow (0.5) and that they can ↓do’, adding emphasis to the words ‘kn↑ow’ and ‘↓do’. Julie utters ‘=ye[ah]’ and latches onto ‘can=’ before Jennifer’s turn is prosodically or grammatically complete and overlaps with her as she finishes her turn. After a brief gap she states ‘yes’ and makes eye contact with Jennifer, indicating agreement with her interpretation of their task.

Lines 75 to 131 are omitted, but during this time Julie begins to describe an idea for an activity and Jennifer focuses on drawing out the definition of a skill, thinking of some examples of skills and recording them in her notepad. In line 132 after Jennifer has listed some skills, Julie has a loud intake of breath and briefly points towards Jennifer who is writing, before she introduces another idea for an activity. Before she defines the activity, she twice describes it as a game they don’t play anymore, as a ‘>very old ice breaker game<’ and as something which has ‘gone uh huh in the bin’. Jennifer sits back in line 132 and makes eye contact, then takes a turn at line 134 ‘yeah’, offering encouragement to continue. In line 136 Julie states that the game is called ‘what am I doing’ and turns in Jennifer’s direction. Jennifer then states ‘↑yeah’ with a marked upwards shift in pitch from her usual speech, and she raises her eyebrows and smiles at Julie whilst making eye contact. Julie describes the activity as an ‘acting game’ and gesticulates as she talks. In line 141 she states that the activity involves other people guessing and ends with a continuing intonation, suggesting that she has more to add. She makes eye contact with Jennifer who takes a turn acknowledging that she

has understood but she does not finish her turn as Julie latches onto her last word with ‘=and’ making the fact she has more to add explicit. She goes on to describe that the activity will involve people demonstrating their skill, and she gesticulates again whilst making eye contact. She completes her turn by stating ‘they could (.) play that’ and taps her finger on Jennifer’s notebook. Jennifer states, ‘yeah great’ and writes on her notepad. We cannot see what she writes down, however it could be assumed that she writes what she states in line 146, that the activity ‘potentially it could be a mi:me game’, a candidate understanding and summing up of Julie’s offering; as Antaki (2012) suggests, this type of clarification could be seen as affiliative. The word ‘potentially’ is Jennifer’s word and adds less certainty about this activity than Julie expresses in line 145 and with her embodied action in line 146, where she folds her arms across her chest in a manner that suggests completion and therefore physical detachment from the task. Lines 148 to 151 see Julie confirming the decision with two ‘yeah’s and Jennifer stating ‘great’; it is unclear if this is an evaluation of Julie’s idea or in relation to a decision being finalised.

7.3.1 Affiliation and embodied actions

The notation of embodied actions in this excerpt reveals some of the ways that Jennifer works to achieve affiliation by significantly adjusting her positioning and making eye contact with Julie as the personal assistants often did in Williams (2011, p.76-77). For most of the excerpt, Julie is positioned at a slight angle from Jennifer and is sitting with her arms across her chest giving the impression that she is somewhat physically detached from what they are doing. We can see that Jennifer’s role here is to take notes, as she does so on and off throughout, and this could mean that her attention and body position is also focussed away from Julie. However, she notably sits back in her chair and makes eye contact in between writing on her notepad, particularly when she is expressing an important point or when Julie is taking an extended turn. For example, in line 54 she sits back in her chair and looks at Julie as she restates the main outcome of the activity they are planning ‘its identifying (0.5) skills and ex°periences’. At these times, Jen’s gaze appears to be a way of mobilising Julie’s response (Rossano 2013). In line 70, when Julie has described her idea for an activity, Jennifer moves her chair back from the table and turns her body round to directly face her. What Julie has described prior to this does not directly relate to what they are doing and may

demonstrate that she hasn't yet fully understood their task. However, Jennifer does not draw attention to this and by moving position, she gives Julie her full attention as she makes what she has said relevant to their work. This enables her to restate their aims in an easy-to-understand way, that is, to define skills as 'what people know and can do' which may be more understandable for Julie giving her a better chance of coming up with a relevant idea. From line 132, Jennifer leans towards Julie, looks at her and smiles whilst she describes a game she feels might be suitable, then when Julie makes eye contact with her perhaps looking for reassurance in line 137, she smiles widely and raises her eyebrows. Julie takes this as a positive sign and carries on with her explanation. Jennifer does not overtly state an opinion on what Julie is describing, but she gives her space to talk, offers continuers and nonverbal signs of approval and attentiveness. The only suggestion that she may not be fully on board with Julie's idea can be seen in line 146 as she states that they could 'potentially' take up her suggestion, however there is no indication that Julie picks up on this. Jennifer does a lot verbally and non-verbally to achieve affiliation when Julie's body positioning is at least initially, turned away from her.

7.3.2 Epistemic access, deontic rights and embodied actions

In this excerpt, the co-workers have relatively equal epistemic access to the task they are completing as it is the first time they have both had the chance to read the notes from their project partner outlining the objectives they have to achieve. However, from line 132 onwards when Julie describes the game she remembers, she states a number of times that it is a game from the past of the organisation and one that they don't play anymore. It is possible that she is orienting here to the fact that this is a game that she has knowledge and experience of, but Jennifer does not. Jennifer orients to this by offering continuers, making eye contact and smiling, giving Julie space and encouragement to continue describing her idea.

Although they both have access to their partner's notes, there are indications that Jennifer provides support for Julie to have some clarity about the meaning of their objectives so that she can think of a suitable activity. There is some evidence that Julie has interpreted the activity slightly incorrectly,

seen when she projects that Jennifer is going to say ‘future peer support workers (0.7) [role]’ rather than ‘[exper]iences and skills’. There is then a brief gap indicating a dispreferred response, before Julie states ‘ye::s’; the elongated vowel sound signalling some uncertainty. In lines 57 to 69 she goes on to describe the participants building a CV or describing their perfect day, activities which are somewhat related to what they are doing but which will not meet their aims. Jennifer does not challenge Julie or offer her own ideas, instead she restates their aim in different words (line 54 ‘its identifying skills and ex°periences”) and makes her ideas relevant without drawing attention to how they may have missed the mark (line 70 -72 ‘we want to get as many things (1.0) that they can= [that] they kn↑ow (0.5) and that they can ↓do’). This approach is an affiliative one as described above (see Antaki 2012), but it is also reminiscent of the approach of a support worker who is keen to empower an individual and avoid drawing attention to any deficits in understanding.

Another thing that a support worker would be expected to do is to enable an individual to make decisions about what they do, that is, to have deontic authority. In line 145 when Julie has finished describing her idea, she links the game with the objective that Jennifer articulated in line 54 of ‘identifying (0.5) skills and ex°periences”. She then decisively states ‘they could (.) play that’ whilst firmly tapping Jennifer’s notepad with her finger. This embodied action is interpreted as an instruction by Jennifer who then proceeds to write on the notepad that ‘it could be a mi:me game’. Both women orient to Julie having the deontic right to decide which activity is suitable, having ultimately come up with an activity that fulfils their objective.

7.4 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Eight: Jan and Liz

Finally in this chapter we turn back to Jan (worker with a learning disability) and Liz (worker without a learning disability), whose opening excerpt started the previous chapter. We saw there how Liz had some difficulties in creating a situation where Jan could take an equal part in the interaction. At this point Jan and Liz have been working together for an hour and 15 minutes (apart from a lunch break) and are sitting side by side in a meeting room. Liz is sitting near to a wall which has a table attached to it and her laptop on top of it.



Figure 7.4 Jan and Liz facing each other

Throughout the excerpt she moves between facing the laptop whilst typing and facing Jan when she talks to her (see above figure 7.4). They are working on devising Jan's 'script' for a workshop she will be delivering, and Liz is typing this script into a PowerPoint presentation. They have already completed the first part of the workshop where Jan will introduce herself and they are now moving on to the next section. Liz has had prior meetings with the people who have commissioned this work from their organisation and has made an outline of a PowerPoint presentation that Jan will use on the day. Liz has filled Jan in on the purpose of the workshop and her role in delivering it earlier this day, but she has not met or spoken to commissioners about it. Both women are sitting facing and looking forwards when the excerpt starts.

Excerpt Eight Jan and Liz Script Writing 0066

01 LIZ: okay.(0.4) so.(1.2) d'you think no::w (1.8) you've introduced
02 you (0.5) so John is gonna introduce John (0.5) and he's gonna
03 introduce t- his (0.3) his team and what they do,

-LIZ makes eye contact with JAN---

04 JAN: yeah

05 LIZ: so do you think that you >need to introduce< >Greentown

06 Speak Up and what Greentown Speak Up does<

07 (0.5)

08 JAN: yeah

09 LIZ: yeah okay. (1.2) so who is Greentown Speak Up.
----- *-LIZ turns to face laptop and types--*

10 (1.5)

11 JAN: a char- a- (1.7) s:mall charity for people with learnin

12 disabilities,

13 (2.0)

14 LIZ: wha- (1.2) what sort of charity are we_
---- *-LIZ looks at Jan-----*

15 JAN: <learnn disability charity

16 LIZ: yeah,

17 (1.0)

18 JAN: >that's what I was gonna put< was a small charity for people

19 with ↑learn disabilities=

20 LIZ: =°°okay°°
-Liz faces laptop

21 (2.2)
and types-

22 JAN: it sounds better

23 (1.2)

24 LIZ: small charity for people with learning disabilities=

25 JAN: =good.

26 (2.0)

27 LIZ: where're we based

28 (0.7)

29 JAN: Greentown

 30 (0.5)

 31 LIZ: °yeh°.

 32 (1.7)

 33 LIZ: I'm just gonna write <Greentown shy:ur> because we (.) do all of
 ----- *-Liz faces Jan-----*
 34 Greentown °don't we° [yeah
 35 JAN: [yeh
 ----- *-Liz*
 36 (1.5)
faces laptop-
 Lines 37 to 89 omitted
 90 LIZ: w- (0.5) why are you a trustee of °Greentown Speak Up°
 ----- *-LIZ faces Jan until line 125-----*
 91 (1.9)
 92 JAN: tuh help run the char:ity
 93 (0.5)
 94 LIZ: yeah¿
 95 JAN: °yuh°
 96 LIZ: who do you: (0.5) so- (0.9) you help run the charity=
 97 =but who do you help run the charity for.
 98 (1.0)
 99 JAN: ↑us
 100 (0.5)
 101 LIZ: who's us.
 102 (1.0)
 103 JAN: ↑people with lear↓nin dis°abilities°
 104 (0.5)
 105 LIZ: yeah?
 106 (1.0)

106 JAN: yuh.

107 (0.7)

108 LIZ: so (0.7) an I don't wanna put words into your mouth but mcht .hh

109 (3.0) when you stand for trustee:s (0.5) you have to write a speech

110 (0.5)

111 JAN: yes

112 (0.5)

113 LIZ: what did you write in your speech =>I know you might not

114 necessarily reme[mber<

115 JAN: [I don' remember thah

116 LIZ: but what sort of things do you like to do.

117 (1.2)

118 JAN: gettin involved in helpin others.

119 LIZ: yeah. so helping others is I think something we

-LIZ widens eyes and points towards Jan briefly -

120 LIZ: haven't mentioned ye[:t,]

121 JAN: [yeh]

122 LIZ: is that you like wul- =>Greentown Speak Up< helps other

123 LIZ: people

124 JAN: yea

125 LIZ: with learning disabilities (1.0) to:z

-LIZ makes a

126 (3.0)

questioning face then smiles-

127 JAN: t- t- ↑I think they do different fings↑

128 LIZ: yeah okay.

-LIZ looks away then back at Jan-

129 JAN: >t- ch-< like travel buddying or:=

130 LIZ: =yeah (0.5) okay so I °I was gonna (0.5) don't wanna tell you°

131 but maybe tuh use your voi:ce:

-LIZ leans slightly towards JAN & makes eye contact-

132 JAN: yeah help people to use their voice and to have a voice

133 LIZ: °uhkay°

-LIZ makes small pointing gesture in JAN's direction then

134 (2.0)

Quickly faces laptop til line 139-

135 JAN: °.hhh hhhh°

-JANs chest and shoulders noticeably rise and fall-

136 (13.0)

-JAN looks at laptop screen for 2 seconds then looks forward-

137 LIZ: yeah?

138 JAN: °°yeh°°

139 LIZ: cool.

What is happening in detail

This excerpt is a continuation of the way that Jan (co-worker with a learning disability) and Liz (co-worker without a learning disability) have been working together on writing the script for her workshop presentation so far. Liz has the outline of the workshop aims and is prompting Jan with suggestions of what she might need to say, and in the first 35 lines, Jan is expressing how she would put this in her own words. In line 1, after marking this part of the script as complete ('okay. '), Liz indicates she is moving on to a new topic ('so. '). She prefaces the new topic by recapping what has just been done, that is, the introductions and then makes eye contact with Jan and asks if she thinks

she should introduce their organisation to the participants of the workshop. After a brief gap, Jan replies 'yeah' in line 8. Liz echoes her response 'yeah ok', then turns towards her laptop, starts to type and asks Jan 'so who is Greentown Speak Up.'. In line 11, Jan begins 'a char-' which could be projected as being 'a charity', then self-repairs 'a-' and cuts off before there is a pause of 1.7 seconds. She then states that Greentown Speak Up is a 's:mall charity for people with lear↓nin disabilities↓'. Liz is still turned away from Jan here and there is a 2 second gap as she continues to type at the laptop, then turns her head to look at Jan to ask, 'what sort of charity are we_'. Jan hurriedly starts her turn in line 15, replying that they are a '<learnin disability charity'. Liz responds with a questioning 'yeah,' indicated by the slight rising intonation in her voice. The first part of Jan's turn in line 18 is delivered quickly and she emphasises the word 'put' suggesting that she may be irritated by the question. She goes on to explain that what she has already said is what she wants in the script. Liz turn comes in quickly, latching on to Jan's and she very quietly states '=°°okay°°' before turning to the laptop and typing. Jan takes a turn again after a 2.2 second gap whilst Liz is typing and qualifies her earlier statement by saying 'it sounds better'. Liz then echoes what Jan has said she wants included in the script and Jan replies '=good' in line 25. Another gap of 2 seconds occurs in line 26 as Liz types and she then asks 'where're we based' in line 27. Jan responds 'Greentown' and Liz indicates this is correct with a quiet '°yeh°.' delivered with a closing intonation. Liz does not ask further questions to clarify this as she has done so far, but states in line 33 that she is going to specify that they work across the county (emphasising the word shire as 'shy:ur') and Jan agrees in line 35.

The next 52 lines of the transcript have been omitted, but during this time Liz prompts Jan to describe the activities of the organisation and she lists the various projects they run. Liz stops typing, pauses and faces Jan then asks the question in line 90: 'why are you a trustee of °Greentown Speak Up°'. Jan replies that she is a trustee 'tuh help run the char:ity'. Liz states 'yeahč' with a medium rising intonation, making the 'yeahč' sound like a question. Jan confirms that this is correct, but it could be presumed that Liz's questioning 'yeahč' was a prelude to gathering more information, as she then goes on to ask who the charity serves in line 96. Jan's turns in lines 99 and 103 as Liz searches for more information sound somewhat irritated as they are delivered with a marked upwards shift in her pitch. Liz delivers another questioning sounding 'yeahč' in reply to Jan and then when she goes on in line 108, it becomes apparent again that she was fishing for more information as she states, 'I don't wanna put words into your mouth but'. She goes on to enquire

about what Jan wrote in her speech when standing to be a trustee, but Jan states that she doesn't remember. After asking another question in line 116, Jan states that she likes 'getting involved in helpin others.'. Liz confirms that this was something she was looking for Jan to say as she confirms 'yeah.' with a closing intonation, in contrast to other 'yeah's she has delivered with an upwards or questioning intonation. In addition, her eyes widen, and she points towards Jan as she states that helping others is something they 'haven't mentioned ye[:t]'. The choice of the word 'yet' implies that this point is a key one that Liz was hoping to include in the presentation. She goes on to draw more from Jan in line 125 when she asks Jan what the organisation helps people with learning disabilities to do by making an incomplete statement '=>Greentown Speak Up< helps other people with learning disabilities (1.0) to: ɜ' and looks at her with a questioning look on her face (see figure 7.4.1 below).



Figure 7.4.1 Jan and Liz 'questioning face'

There is a gap of 3 seconds before Jan takes a turn and she starts with two cut off 't-'s which could be projected to restate the last part of the Liz's statement 'to' and then complete the sentence. However, she goes on to state with an upwards pitch indicating some frustration that '↑ I think they do different fins↑'. In line 128, Liz states, 'yeah ok.' and Jan goes on to list one of the projects the organisation runs. Liz latches on to Jan's utterance in line 129 before she finishes her turn and indicates a change to a different tack by stating 'okay so', and that she was looking for a different response (as in line 108) when she says 'don't wanna tell you° but'. She leans towards Jan and makes eye contact as she states 'maybe tuh use your voi:ce:'. Liz then indicates that Jan's response to this in line 132 (yeah help people to use their voice and to have a voice) was a

preferred response by stating ‘uhkay’ and pointing at her before quickly turning to the laptop and typing (see figure 7.4.2 below).



Figure 7.4.2 Jan and Liz pointing to indicate a preferred response

When Liz is turned away from her, Jan lets out a quiet sigh which is visible from her chest and shoulders rising and falling. During a 13 second gap whilst Liz is typing, Jan’s gaze can be seen directed at the laptop screen for a couple of seconds before she looks ahead at the other side of the room. Whilst still facing the laptop after finishing typing, Liz asks a questioning ‘yeah?’ in line 138 and Jan very quietly utters ‘‘yeh’’ before Liz signals the completion of this subject with ‘cool.’ delivered with a closing intonation.

7.4.1 Sequence Design and known answer questions

The distinguishing feature of this excerpt is how Liz almost exclusively uses questions to elicit information from Jan for the workshop presentation, rather than doing ‘thinking together’ which is seen in some of the other excerpts. The design of the questions mirrors the type of question-and-answer sequences seen in the classroom between teachers and pupils. For the majority of the excerpt, Jan is second position, responding to questions asked of her by Liz. Liz is asking Jan known-answer questions (Heritage 2018; Mehan 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) that is, she is not

looking for new information by asking these questions, she is aiming to find out what Jan knows (Heritage and Clayman 2010). Out of 12 questions that Liz asks, 6 of these (see table 7.1 below) are ones that she would know the answer to, being an employee of Greentown Speak Up, for example 'so who is Greentown Speak Up.', 'where're we based' and 'who do you help run the charity for.'. Jan would also be expected to know the answers to such questions as an employee and as someone who has prior experience of delivering workshops where she introduces the organisation. The lack of a 'news receipt' such as 'oh' from Liz in third position (see table 7.1 below) reveals that Jan's answers are not new information for her; she mostly responds with 'yeah' as a continuer or says nothing in receipt. It is apparent that Liz is attempting to elicit specific information, words or phrases from Jan, possibly in a suitable format to include in a PowerPoint presentation. This can be seen in the sequence towards the end of the excerpt where the question in line 90 'why are you a trustee of "Greentown Speak Up"' is a first pair part of a question-answer sequence (Schegloff 2007). Jan's answer in line 92 is not what Liz was looking for, even though the answer is not something Liz cannot claim to know more about. The first indication that Jan has given a dispreferred response is the gap in line 93 where Liz does not immediately respond with an evaluation or acknowledgement of Jan's answer, as would be expected. The intonation with which she delivers the word 'yeah?' suggests that she is questioning the answer that Jan has given. Jan treats Liz's response as meaning that she requires further confirmation that her answer is correct and replies "yuh". However, Liz then goes on to repeat Jan's answer and ask additional questions, indicating that Jan's responses are not what she was hoping for. Antaki et al (2008) found that repeat questioning or testing of an individual's answers can indicate that their initial choice was wrong, and indeed, Jan does not repeat her answers as if she assumes that Liz has misheard or misunderstood her, but she orients to Liz's status as arbiter of knowledge, producing answers to her questions until a satisfactory answer is given. It isn't until line 132 that Jan responds with a second pair part ('help people to use their voice and to have a voice') that Liz treats as adequate. She indicates that this is a preferred response with the response token "uhkay", by pointing towards Jan as she speaks and by turning back to the laptop and typing.

Table 7.1 Liz's known answer questions and responses to them

Line no.	Known answer question	3rd position response	Liz's Embodied action during 3 rd position response	How this is taken (Jan)
9	so who is Greentown Speak Up.	2.0 gap then another question	Looking at laptop	n/a continues to answer subsequent questions
14	what sort of charity are we_	yeah,	Eye contact	>that's what I was gonna <u>put</u> < was a small charity for people with <u>↑lear↓nin</u> disabilities=
27	where're we based	0.5 gap °yeh°. Then states she's going to write something slightly different	Looking at laptop	yeh agrees with Liz's suggested change
97	who do you help run the charity for.	0.5 gap then another question	Eye contact	n/a continues to answer subsequent questions
101	who's us.	0.5 yeah?	Eye contact	yuh.
122	=>Greentown Speak Up< helps other people with learning disabilities (1.0) to:ž	yeah okay.	Looks away from Jan briefly	>t- ch-< like travel buddying or:=

7.4.2 Epistemic and deontic asymmetry

The impact of asking known answer questions is that they position the question asker as epistemically more knowledgeable than the question answerer (Heritage 2012b). They can be a feature of many settings including teacher-pupil interactions in classrooms, and when this style is used in other settings, it puts the question answerer at risk of feeling demeaned (Schegloff 2007). Intruding on someone else's epistemic domain is a very sensitive interactional move, in whatever context it happens. The institutional settings in which this appears to be routine include classrooms (Mehan 1979), dementia groups (Williams et al 2019) and when addressing children in family settings. However, whatever the context, there is a risk of the addressee losing 'face' (Goffman 1955).

There are some signs that Jan is finding the interaction difficult, the first indication being in line 18 when she responds to Liz's third position 'yeah,' as if it was a negative evaluation of her response. She states that this is what she wants to say, 'as it sounds better', and then when Liz appears to confirm she has included her words in the script by narrating as she types, Jan closes the sequence with her own evaluation '=good'. This is quite an assertive stance for Jan to take and notably different from her usual style of interaction. Another indication that Jan may be feeling frustrated by the interaction is how her pitch shifts upwards sometimes when she answers Liz's questions, giving it a slightly exasperated sound (see lines 99, 103 and 127). Lastly the noticeable sigh towards the end of the interaction when Liz turns away implies some weariness.

As well as having features of teacher pupil interactions, this excerpt also has some similarity to the question-and-answer style seen in media interviews where the interviewer and interviewee both know the answers to the questions, but the questions are designed to elicit a response for an unknowing audience (Heritage and Clayman 2010). For the most part, Jan and Liz both know the answers to the questions, however the answers are intended to inform the PowerPoint presentation, which is for the participants of their workshop. This is apparent in the question design, questioning style and the fact that Liz has already worked on the presentation. However,

Jan does know what Liz has planned in the presentation and it is not until the end of the excerpt that her answer meets Liz's desired outcome.

Despite the interrogatory style which Liz adopts, she is at pains to make salient Jan's deontic rights – as a person with learning disabilities in an organisation promoting people with learning disabilities' right to speak up for themselves - to have her own words and 'voice' in the presentation. Firstly, she concedes to Jan's assertion that she wants her description of Greentown Speak Up in the presentation (line 18). Then towards the end, when she has not been able to draw out the chosen words from Jan, she states in line 108 'I don't wanna put words in your mouth' and in line 130 'don't wanna tell you'. Liz is evidently walking a tightrope between ensuring they produce a perfect presentation and conceding to Jan's superior rights as a person with lived experience of a learning disability.

7.4.3 Embodied actions

The layout of the room and the impact on this interaction is worth noting as Liz is required to turn her body away from Jan and type at the laptop whilst trying to maintain a line of questioning. This serves to physically distance Jan from the activity, and she remains fairly static for all the interaction, facing towards the opposite wall. Liz attempts to redress this at certain points. At the start of the excerpt from line 9 onwards, Liz is facing the laptop as she asks questions, but she turns to make eye contact when Jan gives a dispreferred response in lines 14 and 33. In the latter part of the excerpt she faces Jan, then leans in towards her and makes eye contact before turning back to the laptop when she gives a preferred response in line 132.

7.5 Summary of Chapter 7

This chapter has presented the four dyads as they are carrying out their work tasks together. There is some similarity in the kind of tasks they are doing. Two of the dyads are working on creating the images for Easy Read information and the other two are planning for workshops.

The analysis in this chapter revealed that there were several factors which either contribute to successful joint working or make it harder to achieve. These are detailed as follows.

7.5.1 Embodied Actions

In the data in this chapter, the dyads are paying attention to a work task whilst simultaneously conducting a conversation. The very fact that they attempt to perform this means that they have the challenge of paying attention to body position, eye gaze and overall room layout. What actually happens is that the co-workers move their body position at key moments, for instance, so that they can see each other more directly and make eye contact. This appears to happen mostly when a co-worker is encouraging the other co-worker to continue talking (see Angel and Sue line 37), when a key point is being made (see Julie and Jennifer line 54) or when a question is being asked (see Jan and Liz line 14). At times the co-workers' embodied actions mirrored each other's and appeared to represent a familiarity between them and the way that they are working. For instance, Graham and John mirrored moving simultaneously backwards and forwards between looking at each other's laptops whilst checking the position of an image on a map. There are also occasions when two of the co-workers without a learning disability appeared to prevent themselves from talking by holding an object in front of their mouth (Sue) or putting their hand in front of their mouth (John). These actions appear to silence an upcoming turn, sometimes preventing themselves from drawing attention to something that is slightly off topic.

7.5.2 Positioning and use of objects and artefacts

All of the co-workers are working in communal spaces rather than at their own desks. However, there are differences in the layout and positioning of each pair, as well as their IT equipment or paperwork. In one pair, there are two laptops, and in another, there is just one laptop with a projector, which both partners can access. Another pair has one laptop positioned in front of one person and the final pair do not use a laptop but have paperwork on the table in view of them both. Nissi and Palli (2020) draw attention to how the use of textual artefacts contributes to sensemaking and in institutional settings, they create 'social sharedness' and assist in collaborative working. Some, such as Jan and Liz in the final excerpt, are physically turned away from each other when the laptop is in use. At one point when Angel and Sue are working together, they operate the laptop simultaneously with one using the keyboard and the other using the mouse. Graham and John work side by side at their own laptops but point and refer to what is on each other's screens as in Raclaw et al (2016), who considered how information can be shared via mobile technology during a mundane interaction.

These differences in the layout of the working environment and access to IT or other means of recording the work produce a different style of joint working on each occasion. What seems to matter most in creating information in a joint way, is having equal access to the information as it's being produced on the laptop or notepad. This chapter has revealed how important objects and artefacts are in supporting joint work. If only one person is mainly writing or operating a computer, there is less opportunity for equal working practices.

7.5.3 Deontic and epistemic rights

In analysing the interaction within each dyad, it is generally the person without a learning disability who defines the task which the pair is to undertake. The partners have different epistemic access to the tasks which need to be undertaken, and this is particularly visible in how the first excerpt plays out, with Graham and John. John has already completed some work on their project on his own and

this influences the deontic rights which he exercises, as he alone can dictate what needed to be done next. It is common for the co-worker with a learning disability in each pair to orient to the authority of the co-worker without a learning disability in this regard, who is expected to tell them what to do next. Indeed, in the same excerpt, Graham starts by asking John what he wants him to do. The disparity in epistemic access is not simply down to one individual having worked on their project prior to coming together. In Julie and Jennifer's case they looked at their project aims for the first time together just prior to the excerpt starting, but there is a difference between them initially, in terms of understanding how these aims could be achieved.

Each interaction thus starts on an asymmetrical basis, tipped in favour of the co-worker without a learning disability who has greater epistemic and deontic rights. Nevertheless, this changes during the course of each interaction, as the co-worker with a learning disability can become the most authoritative in each dyad. This appears to be related to their membership categorisation as a person with a learning disability, which validates the purpose of the co-working arrangement and the work they are doing together. For instance, in excerpt two, Sue defers to Angel's expertise in making authoritative decisions about Easy Read images. In excerpt one, Graham also draws on his identity as a local man to foreground his knowledge of towns in their part of Britain. It is routine in these dyads for the task to be considered complete only when the co-worker with a learning disability has expressed their approval with the outcome. Where this does not seem to happen, the interaction is less comfortable and more troubled, as in the final excerpt.

7.5.4 Thinking and working things out together

On each occasion, there is some work to be done so that the co-working pairs are on 'the same track' with the work task. There are specific interactional troubles which have to be resolved before the partners can achieve mutual understanding and either proceed with their work or make a decision about it. For example, in excerpt six, Chapter 7.2 Angel's understanding of the word 'systems' and in excerpt five, Chapter 7.1, John's understanding of where towns are on a map of

Britain. As in Stevanovic (2012), in order to work collaboratively, the dyads have to repeatedly manage any epistemic differences between them.

The design of the talk when working through such interactional troubles can either facilitate or frustrate the goal of joint working. For instance, the question-answer format in excerpt four creates a teacher-pupil structure, which puts the person with learning disabilities continually on the back foot. When this approach is used Liz is mostly in first position and Jan in second position. However, this does not have to be so. We saw for instance in excerpts two and three, that it is the co-workers without a learning disability, Jennifer and Sue, who make relevant the ideas which Julie and Angel are putting forward. Julie and Angel both initiate new topics, and Jennifer and Sue follow, responding to their initiations.

Comparing this chapter to the previous one, the style of working together in each dyad is to some extent predictable from the way they opened their session together. Each dyad simply has a slightly different style of interaction, and a unique relationship between the partners. However, they all face the same issue of how to foreground the authority of the person with learning disabilities, in relation to their work task. In all cases, the person without a learning disability appears to have the authority to set the task and define what needs to be done, while the person with a learning disability reserves the right to approve the detail.

The following chapter will focus on the times that the dyads decide to stop their work and take a break, who initiates the topic of taking a break and the interactional strategies that are used to do this.

Chapter Eight Negotiating breaks

The following excerpts are part of a collection where the talk does not directly relate to the task at hand. Instead it negotiates the ongoing activity in the here and now. Specifically, the talk examined here centres around deciding to stop their work either for lunch or a cigarette break. In the previous chapter, maintaining equality in the talk when the dyads were actually working proved challenging. Each pair however handled the challenges in slightly different ways, and the co-workers without learning disabilities tended to avoid deontic authority where possible. We saw how they stepped back, silenced themselves, or foregrounded the expertise of the person with learning disabilities.

In Chapter six the dyads were seen negotiating their work task. However, in the current chapter, they step outside that frame, and negotiate how and when to stop for a break. This is a potentially difficult and sensitive thing to do, as one or other of the parties has to introduce the topic, to avoid simply walking away from the work. As this chapter will reveal, the initiation of talk about going for a break can be a disruptive action, which may require interactional rescue work from both parties in each dyad.

8.1 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Nine: Graham and John

This excerpt has been chosen because the authority of each person to suggest, sanction and specify the duration of a break is visible. We can see how attempts to foreground the need for a break are made and then either taken up, or not.

Prior to excerpt one, John (worker without a learning disability) had spent approximately an hour describing the work he had done previously in preparation for the task they intended to complete that day, explaining to Graham (worker with a learning disability) what they need to do together to finish it. The talk had mostly been initiated by John up until this point and Graham's contributions

had been somewhat limited. Graham displays signs that he is keen to have a break and that he is disengaging from John's talk about the task they have yet to complete. His first utterance is spoken through a sigh (line 3), he provides minimal responses to John when he explains what they have to do next (the 'yeahs' in lines 7 and 9). He begins to interrupt John at line 11 which together with his embodied actions in pushing back the chair, is taken by John at line 13 to indicate his wish for a break.

As this analysis will attempt to show, Graham is using strategies to get a longer turn at talk than is being given to him. John is carrying on describing what he has already worked on and projecting forward to what they need to work on next; however, Graham closes this topic down when he brings up his desire to have a break.

Excerpt Nine Graham and John: Five Minutes 0082

1 GRA: .hhh
 --GRA & JON are leaning forward looking at the laptop--

2 JON: cool.=

3 GRA: =<cool hhh

4 JON: so thats [that pa:ge]

5 GRA: [that pa:ge] right so:
 -JON moves paper towards him & sits back-
 -GRA sits back at same time as JON and puts left hand on table-

6 JON: then again it's that bit
 -JON holds up paper and points to it-
 -GRA strokes hand off and on the table-

7 GRA: ((sniff)) yeah

8 JON: managed to fill a [whole] pa(h)ge [so] that's [part] of the

9 GRA: [yeah] ye[ah] [yeah]
 -JON points at laptop, looks at GRA then puts paper down-
 -GRA looks at laptop, taps fingers on table & leans slightly
 forward when JON reaches to put paper down-

10 JON: thing making [it bi]gger and bigger and bigger

11 GRA: [have]
 -JON puts hands up & moves them apart-

Line one starts with an intake of breath from Graham, which could indicate either an attempt to start speaking or the start of a sigh/yawn. In line two, John signifies the completion of their previous task and readiness to move on by saying 'cool' (Beach 1993). Graham's echoed 'cool' in line three is latched onto John's and is hearable as either spoken through either a sigh or a stifled yawn, as it is followed by an outbreath. The speed of Graham's response, the fact that he makes the first utterance either to indicate his desire to speak or to sigh or yawn, and the delivery of that sigh/yawn appear to be the first indications here that he is keen to take the floor.

John continues in line four 'so thats [that pa:ge]', picking up the piece of paper with their notes on and pointing to it. Both men sit back in their chairs at exactly the same time and Graham puts his hand onto the table in front of him. Graham echoes '[that pa:ge]' in overlap with John in line five and this would appear unremarkable, as it is something he does throughout the data (Chapter 6.2). In contrast with other points in the data where he expands upon what John has said or seeks clarification after echoing in overlap, here he adds 'right so:'. It appears that he has heard John's utterance in line four as a complete TCU and 'right so:' opens up the possibility of something new to come, or a linked topic that either party could introduce at this point. However, John treats this as a continuer in respect of the current topic and carries on describing the work they need to finish together.

John points at the piece of paper in line six, saying 'then again it's that bit' referring to what he is pointing at. Graham responds 'yeah' in line seven and strokes his hand on and off the table in a manner that suggests he is anticipating shifting his weight in order to stand. John points at the computer and states with some breathy laughter whilst looking at Graham that they have 'managed to fill a [whole] pa(h)ge' with what they have been doing. Graham does not return his gaze or share the laughter saying 'yeah' firstly in overlap, then again at the end of '[whole] pa(h)ge' which could be heard as the end of John's TCU. However, John carries on '[so] that's [part] of the thing', therefore Graham's next 'yeah' ends up in overlap with John's '[so]' and then a further 'yeah' in overlap with '[part]' as Graham is attempting to get a turn to speak (Jefferson 1984a and b, Grivicic and Nilep 2004). During lines eight and nine, Graham taps his fingers on the table a number of times and leans slightly forward at the same time as Jon reaches forward to put the piece of paper

down again. In line ten, John completes his explanation of why their task is taking so long to complete, that is, that what they have had to produce is making the document 'bigger and bigger and bigger'. (The translation of complex information into an Easy Read format can make a document very lengthy and this is something that both John and Graham are likely to be familiar with as a regular part of their business). At line eleven, Graham interrupts with 'have' and puts his right hand on the back of the chair as if he is about to get up. He then waits for John to stop talking before completing his turn 'have five minute=. The fact that he positions himself to be ready to stand up but doesn't, and that he waits until for a relevant place to speak suggest that Graham is seeking permission and John complies with this. In line twelve Graham produces a soft 'yeah' before finally making his request to 'have five minute= (.) break' . He displays his sensitivity to their work and the need to get it done in a timely fashion by suggesting a five-minute break, rather than a break of an unspecified amount of time.

The negotiation which Graham starts here also relates back to earlier in the data, where when a section of their work is complete, John states the time and then suggests they carry on before having a five-minute break. Thus, the deontic authority (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012) could be said to lie primarily with John, even though Graham is the one to recall and reopen the topic later on.

Prequel to Excerpt Nine

Graham and John: 'Twelve oh four' 0082:6

01 JON: how're we=doin. its twelve oh f:o:ur,
 02 (0.3)
 03 if you're happy for us to have a look at this pa:ge.
 03 GRA: =yeah
 04 JON: and then um (1.5) five minutes
 05 GRA: =yeah five minute ((.) brea)k
 06 JON: (c o o l .)

In the current excerpt nine, at line 13 John comes in quickly, latching his talk and echoing ‘=fi:ve min:utes?’ and speaking with a marked pitch shift and rising intonation. Graham looks to John as he speaks, then gets up out of his chair then completes his incomplete TCU from line 12, ‘have five minute= break’. The fact that John gives an explanation of why their work is taking so long to complete (lines eight and ten), and that he very promptly acknowledges Graham’s explicit request (line 12), appears to suggest that he has picked up on Graham’s cues that he is keen to have a break and that the request was not a surprise. In line sixteen, John reads the time off the computer with a marked upwards pitch shift, ‘its um twe:lve six[tee:n.]’ and looks at Graham. Graham has not asked what the time is or requested help to work out what time he should return from his break, and by doing so John positions himself as having the authority to keep him to schedule. In line seventeen, Graham echoes the last part of the word ‘sixteen’ and he goes on to state ‘so (0.1) come back twen(.)ty:’ orienting to the importance of not taking too long for his break. Indeed, he is suggesting a four-minute break, rather than the five that was previously mentioned. As he gets up, he slightly moves his chair after John glances at it and then at him. At line eighteen, when John does not immediately take a turn to speak, Graham moves to leave the room, treating the decision to have a break as having been agreed. John closes this section of talk with the utterance ‘cool’ in line nineteen.

8.1.1 Graham changing his style of talk

What is most significant within this excerpt is how Graham drops his usual, idiosyncratic style of communication – echoing John’s words in overlap – and uses devices which he hasn’t typically used in the data so far to obtain a first pair part turn at talk and make clear his need for a break. Although there are features of working collaboratively here, aspects of the talk are reminiscent of an institutional style of interaction where one person has greater authority than the other, such as between a teacher and pupil (Macbeth 1991) . Graham ultimately defers to John to sanction having a break.

Graham indicates his desire to have a break from the start of the excerpt. It is unclear whether the intake of breath at line one is the start of him attempting to take a turn, a sigh or a stifled yawn (the video data does not make this clear). However, he goes on to make repeated and incrementally more explicit moves towards making his request. The latched 'cool' in lines 2/3 suggests he is hearing John's utterance as shutting down the activity or marking it as complete and he is quick to echo his agreement. In line five, he adds an increment 'right so:' to the overlap of '[that pa:ge]', projecting that there is more to be said. As this excerpt builds up to, and concludes, with Graham taking a break, it could be projected that he was hoping for John to make a collaborative completion along the lines of 'right so let's have a break now', or that he was intending to say this himself.

8.1.2 Signs of becoming an active agent

Graham's overlapping speech in line 9 is notably different from the echoing he produces elsewhere; his use of echoing is so persistent in other parts of the data, that it seems significant that he does not do this here. It is almost as if he is suddenly an active agent in projecting the course of their activity. It is noticeable that this happens in the context of planning in the here-and-now, while previous talk between the co-workers has been pitched at a much more abstract level (future planning, reference to the context of the conference). Here he does not echo what John says, but states 'yeah' three times, perhaps indicating his increasing desire to take a turn. In line 11, when his verbal and nonverbal cues do not receive the desired response, he interrupts John with the word '[have]' and places his hand on the back of the chair in a manner which undeniably indicates he is intending to get up. However, he does not go on to complete the sentence until John has finished his turn and then looks to John before he gets up out of his chair. John mentioning the time in line 16 delays Graham leaving the room whilst he works out when he should return. He doesn't actually make a move to walk out of the room until line 18 at which point John states 'cool', suggesting that both men are satisfied that this has been permitted.

8.1.3 Achieving joint decision making over when to have a break

Despite both the men here orienting to John's right to permit a break, it is nevertheless true that 'being collaborative' is always on the agenda: otherwise, Graham may have simply stated he was going to take a break and got up to leave. Graham starts his request for a break with small changes in his body language, and by dropping his usual style of echoing John's words, and John evidently picks up on these actions. In line 8/9 he glances at Graham, who is not smiling in response to his laughter and then puts down his piece of paper, perhaps an indication he has noticed that Graham is disengaging from their work. Graham's repeat of 'yeah' three times in what follows effectively closes down what John is saying, leaving the field clear for him to make the suggestion of a break. This is a striking attempt to move on from the talk about the present task which is set by John, into 'have five minute=' which concerns their present actions. In some circumstances it could appear rude; however ultimately John does not treat it as rude but sanctions the request by echoing 'five minutes'. There are many markers here that Graham is making a request to have a break rather than simply making a statement of his intent, and also that John treats it as one. Graham's embodied actions suggest he is readying himself to get up, his utterance 'right so.' suggests a move away from the current topic to something new, as does the change in his style of talk from echoing to interruption in line 11, and finally, the fact he looks at John as he finally says '°yeah° have five minute=' but doesn't get up to leave until he responds.

Thus, it is Graham who instigates the collaborative negotiation about taking a break; however, John is treated by both men as having more authority than Graham. His utterance of 'cool' is twice treated by them as a signal that a task is complete and they are now ready to move on (lines 2 and 19). The fact that Graham looks towards him as he speaks, and then waits for a response from John implies that both men are treating this as a request. John repeats '=↑fi:ve min:utes?' which Graham treats as acceptance of the request. John however foregrounds the need to be mindful of time, he does not state that its 'quarter past twelve' but rather, 'twelve sixteen' which although he is reading the time off the computer, is very specific. Graham orients to this by suggesting the exact time he will return and shortening his break by one minute.

There are features of the interaction (reminding a colleague of timekeeping, for example) which have resonance with a teacher-pupil or parent-child interaction (Bateman 2016), where one participant has authority over the other. The epistemic authority John has in relation to their work for the day has played out leading up to this excerpt (see Chapter six) and represents an imbalance between the two men, which now in the current excerpt seems to morph into deontic authority. In addition to this, Graham defers to John at least initially, in respect of remaining on task and in respect of deciding when a task is finished, or a break allowed.

8.2 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Ten: Jan and Liz

The second 'Negotiating Breaks' excerpt follows on from Jan (worker with a learning disability) and Liz's (worker without a learning disability) data in the previous chapter. However, before looking at this excerpt it is important to note that at the very start of this data set Jan and Liz completed a set of 'rules' about how they will spend their time working together. These 'rules' were written on a piece of paper and stuck to the wall next to where they were working. They included things such as only one person speaking at a time, putting their mobile phones on silent and the timescale they would keep to (see below figure 8.2).

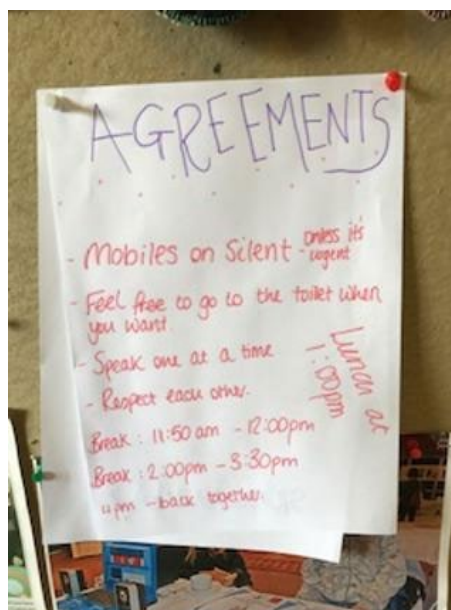


Figure 8.2 Jan and Liz's agreement

They revisited the rule they made regarding lunch again after taking a short coffee break and this is captured in the excerpt below. In it we can see Jan's attention to time keeping for the day, given her need to attend a 'Jobs and Money' session later on (see line 9 in the prequel to excerpt 10 below), before returning to work with Liz at the end of the day. The reason for highlighting this excerpt before looking at the main data is that their discussion about lunch and recording an agreed time on their 'rules' appear to empower Jan to go on to state 'good its lunchtime now' in a much bolder manner than previously seen in her data.

Prequel to Excerpt Ten

Jan and Liz: 'One o'clock' 0065

(Just before recording started, Jan raised the topic of what Liz was going to have for lunch and what time lunch would be)

01 LIZ: I've got pasta so I can just heat it up in the microwave,

02 JAN: one o'clock.

03 LIZ: one?

04 JAN: yeah.

05 LIZ: alright. I'll put it on the=

-LIZ gets up, goes over to the 'rules' and writes 'lunch at 1pm'-

06 JAN: =and then we'll have an hour an a half after

07 [that] to do the stuff

08 LIZ: [okay]

09 JAN: and then come back after (0.3) jobs an money uh huh

In the following excerpt, some 40 minutes later, the women are seated side by side, but Liz is initially turned away from Jan and typing on the laptop. The researcher is also present here, sitting off camera on the right-hand side of Jan as the participants requested that she stayed during filming. Jan turns and talks to her, and her responses are included in lines 8 and 10.

Excerpt ten Jan and Liz 0066

01 Liz: alright, and thats- (.) those first two bits done,
-----Liz picks up paperwork behind laptop and
02 (0.6)
looks through it-----
-Jan turns to look at clock behind her-
03 JAN: good its lunchtime now
04 LIZ: it is lunchtime_

-Jan stretches---
05 (1.8)

06 LIZ: [s o:]
07 JAN: [>have] some lunch< have you bought ↑some lunch with you↑
-Liz puts paper down, puts hands on keyboard then turns to look at
Debbie-
-----Jan turns whole body to face Debbie-----
08 DEB: I have yes:
09 JAN: oh good
-Liz looks at Jan & smiles-
-Jan turns to look at Liz-
10 DEB: [yes]
11 JAN: [°we']ll have some lunch now°

-Jan smiles at Liz and slaps hands on arms of chair-
12 LIZ: yeah. (0.7) yeah?=happy?
-----eye contact-----
13 JAN: °yeah°

14 LIZ: how long shall we have for lunch.
-Liz glances at wall where the 'rules' are, then looks
15 (1.0)
at the clock-
16 JAN: half an hour so I can eat it and have a cigarette at the same



Figure 8.2.1 Jan and Liz working at the laptop

What is happening in detail?

In line one, Liz introduces the possibility of a break by announcing 'alright that's those first two bits done', signalling the end of the task they've been working on, as John did in excerpt nine, and Jan uses the opportunity to take forward the project of lunch. Jan immediately turns round to look at the clock, the first indication of her keenness to take a break, although not one Liz can see as she is facing the other way. Jan says, 'good its lunchtime now', a direct statement of her desire to stop work and have lunch which now Liz can pick up on. This is an interesting move as she does not merely suggest or request that they have a break, she simply states that it is the time they have previously agreed for lunch, which is a fact that Liz cannot refute. In line 4, she indeed confirms the statement to be true whilst Jan silently stretches, perhaps performing a 'tired worker' or a 'bored worker' and possibly further indicating her need for a break. Liz's back has been turned since line 1 so it is possible that she is not picking up on Jan's non-verbal cues.

There is a 1.8 second gap at line five before Liz continues ('so') and places her hands on the laptop keyboard as if to type some more. In overlap, Jan quickly turns to the researcher to ask if she has lunch with her. This maintains 'lunch' as a topic of conversation, possibly broadening support for taking a break and causing Liz to turn and look round. The affirmative response from the researcher

in line 8 appears to further continue the topic and embolden Jan to smile, decisively slap the arms of her chair and proclaim 'we'll have some lunch now' whilst making eye contact with Liz. She uses the term 'we' which softens the authoritative stance she has taken (Watson 2019). Also, at this point, the researcher has been invited into the conversation and so the 'we' here could be considered to include her as well as Jan and Liz. As she is their guest, it would be regarded rude for Liz to deny or delay lunchtime. However, Jan's statement is delivered more quietly than her preceding talk, giving the impression that it is less confident than the words and her embodied actions suggest. In line twelve Liz responds to Jan as if her statement was a question with a 'yeah' produced with a closing intonation, and she then follows with a questioning 'yeah' with an upwards intonation and a latched, questioning 'happy'. It is unclear whether the question is about whether Jan is happy to have a break now or with the work they have been doing; however as Liz's focus throughout the preceding talk has been on getting Jan's approval for their work, it could be presumed that this question is more of the same.

It appears that both Jan and Liz are orienting to the lunch break being a joint decision, since Liz uses her turn at line 14 to ask Jan a question 'how long' which heralds in the final section of this excerpt. In line 16, Jan expresses her desire to fit in having a cigarette break as well as lunch and Liz responds affirmatively in line 18 with some gentle, breathy laughter spoken through the word 'ohkahy' and a wide smile. Jan doesn't return her smile; she responds as if the break has been approved and enacts the decision by getting up out of her chair. Liz goes on to make her amusement explicit in line 20, by making a joke of her literal understanding of Jan 'having a cigarette' and 'eating' at the same time. Jan has her back to the camera at this point, but her talk in the subsequent lines is performed with a 'smile voice' and some laughter. The excerpt ends with both women laughing at Jan explaining that she didn't mean that she was going to smoke inside. Her final sentence here is grammatically incomplete, but she finishes her turn with a couple of laughter particles, whilst Liz is back looking at the laptop.

8.2.1 Referencing an earlier agreement

In parallel with Graham in excerpt nine (above) Jan's style of communication here is different from what we have seen of her in the data so far. Firstly, her speech is delivered at a relatively 'normal' volume, whereas previously it has mostly been quiet, or at times only just hearable. Her first utterance is a first turn at talk and a statement rather than a question or a request of Liz. It would seem that the collaborative work around taking a lunch break has already been done earlier in the data when the rules were written and stuck to the wall. Having done so and having these rules in eyesight of both colleagues appears to empower Jan to change their focus from the work Liz has been describing for the past hour, into what is happening in the 'here and now'.

The sitting positions of the co-workers, and the fact that Liz has access to the laptop and paperwork on her side of the room and Jan does not, enhance Liz's dominance over the work up to this point. As they have been working together for an hour, this is potentially quite disempowering for Jan and her stretching at line 4 could be an expression of this disempowerment through tiredness and/or boredom. The prior agreement regarding lunchtime gives Jan the possibility of making an authoritative move to break for lunch without appearing overly abrupt. After Liz announces in the first line that the first two bits of their work are done, Jan turns to look at the clock at line 3 and states 'good its lunchtime now'. The 'good' here could be related to having completed their work or it could be an expression that Jan is pleased it is lunchtime. It could also be received by Liz as implying she is happy that their work together is over. However, Liz does not respond in a way that suggests she has taken the statement this way but confirms the timing of lunch 'it is lunchtime now'.

8.2.2 Pursuing affiliation

Both women work to keep 'being collaborative' on the agenda despite the disparity in how much work they are doing, and much of this can be seen in the use of devices which they use to convey or pursue affiliation (Stivers 2008). Despite Jan needing to stretch, she does this when Liz is facing

away from her at line 4. If she had done this when Liz was looking at her, it is likely it would have been received as a rude or unprofessional, disaffiliative action. As the researcher was present and subsequently brought into the conversation at line 7, it is possible that the stretching was performed for the camera, although evidence of this cannot be seen in the data. The act of bringing the researcher into the conversation at this point strengthens the move towards taking a break, prolonging the discussion about lunch and potentially garnering support for the need to stop work. At this point, Liz was poised to continue typing but instead turns around and returns Jan's eye contact at which point she announces 'we'll have some lunch now' whilst slapping her hands on the arm of her chair. This assertion is an upgrading of her earlier statement about it being lunchtime and a movement into taking action 'now'. Liz acknowledges this with an information receipt 'yeah.' At line 12 and goes on to ask how long she wants, demonstrating a collaborative decision has been made for when and how long to have for lunch. When Jan first states that it's time for lunch, she does not get up to leave straight away but waits for Liz to indicate that it is okay to do so. Liz gives her agreement three times, in lines 4, 12 and 18 but it isn't until line 19 when Liz agrees how long they will have, that Jan gets up out of her chair. Waiting for a colleague's approval to stop for lunch does suggest an unequal relationship; however, Jan demonstrates sensitivity to the need to work collaboratively by doing so.

8.2.3 Deontic authority and laughter

Liz first smiles at Jan in line 9, and then again at line 18 before she makes a joke. The women share these smiles and the laughter at the end of the excerpt as Jan gets up to leave. It would appear that this ameliorates the directness of Jan's assertions about lunchtime, particularly as they are made in the presence of the researcher who is new to them both. The way Jan makes these assertions are in contrast with her utterances in the data so far (see excerpt 1, Chapter six) where her responses are minimal and delivered very quietly. It is possible that the agreement about a lunch break that the women have already written and stuck to the wall has prompted a move to take an authoritative stance and make her first announcement 'good its lunchtime now'. Liz confirms that it is lunchtime, treating Jan's announcement as a 'mere informing', which has been shown to not require any commitment from the recipient (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012). Jan continues with her talk about

lunch and announces ‘[°we’]ll have some lunch now°’ in line 11. Jan is taking a deontic stance here and inferring that the decision to stop for lunch is not contingent upon Liz’s actions. Liz, however, does make relevant Jan’s approval ‘yeah?=happy?’ (although it is not clear if this is intended or understood to be about their work or the decision to have lunch) and then a decision about how long they will have. This appears to be a step towards reclaiming of some deontic authority over the lunch break by Liz. In that context, the subsequent joking and laughter that Liz introduces appear to serve to prevent or relieve any tension regarding authority to announce or have control over a break (Arminen and Halonen 2007). The shared laughter enables them to pursue affiliation (Haakana 2002, Glenn and Holt 2013, p.16-17) and keep a collaborative way of working on the agenda even as they stop for a break. However, when Liz turns to continue working on the laptop this reinforces the idea that she has been the one doing most of the work in this pair.

8.3 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Eleven: Angel and Sue

The following excerpt was chosen as in contrast to the previous one, the co-worker who does not have a learning disability raises the suggestion of taking a break. Both parties use assertive strategies to negotiate the break, and this is something that might not usually be expected of someone with a learning disability, or of a worker who is sensitive to the fact that people with learning disabilities have traditionally been prevented from making their own decisions (Finlay et al 2008b; Antaki and Kent 2012; Antaki et al 2009; Williams 2011). Given that the organisation they work for aims to challenge discriminatory practices against people with learning disabilities, it would follow that workers who do not have a learning disability would be attentive to the ways they might prevent people exercising choices.

Sue (worker without a learning disability) and Angel (worker with a learning disability) are sitting side by side at the desk with a laptop in the middle of them and their paperwork strewn across the table. In contrast to the other excerpts, the prior talk had not been dominated by the colleague without a learning disability but had been shared relatively equally between the colleagues. They

have been working together at this point for roughly 2 hours and have just saved a finished piece of work on the computer. The topic of having a break is initiated and pursued by the colleague without a learning disability and resisted by the colleague with a learning disability. The excerpt starts with Sue holding some papers in front of her chest whilst looking across at Angel.

Excerpt eleven: Angel and Sue 0435

01 SUE: d'you want lunch.
-Sue puts paper over mouth then eyes-
---Ang looks forward--

02 (1.7)
-Sue puts paper on head, looks down, takes paper
off & turns head to Ang-

03 ANG: no let's carry on
-Sue holds paper over mouth-
---Ang makes eye contact---

04 .hh heh heh heh °heh heh°
-Sue puts paper down, leans forward with hands on table,
sticks out tongue & makes gasping noise whilst smiling-

05 ANG: hhh what have you got for lunch

06 SUE: I ha:ve (.) my new current obsession

07 ANG: whats that=

08 SUE: =so I've got pitta bread wholemeal pitta bread with hummus
-Sue puts hands palms together & moves in circles-- --taps
-Sue makes

09 spinach and falafel
hands with each word then puts in lap-
eye contact with Ang-----

10 (0.5)

11 ANG: wow=shall we have a ↑working↑ lunch Sue
-----eye contact-----

12 (0.7)
-Sue looks away-

-Ang looks at Sue-

13 SUE: £↑no:↑ (.) lets have a bre:akf
 -----Sue looks at Ang-----
 ----- -Ang smiles & looks at camera-

14 ANG: hh heh heh heh hh
 -Sue picks up papers and holds in lap-
 -Ang picks up cup & drinks-

15 SUE: heh heh .hh cos then everyone else will- <you were part of
 -----Sue looks at Ang-----
 -----Ang drinks-----

16 the management committee that voted
 -Sue leans back in chair & holds papers to her chest-
 -Ang snorts into cup, smiling-

18 th- heh heh yeah >you're laughing cos you know what I'm
 -Sue flaps papers away from her chest then sits forward &
 puts papers
 ---Ang takes cup away from mouth and smiles with lips
 tightly shut--

19 gonna say< that voted that your staff should have time away
 -in her lap- -turns head & looks at Ang---
 -Ang leans forward then back keeps lips
 tightly shut and keeps looking forward, smiling-----

20 from their desk at lunch time.

21 (0.7)

22 SUE: and then you're there ck crackin the whip
 -Sue looks at Ang, makes whip cracking motion with hand-
 -Ang puts cup to mouth, smiling, looking forward----

23 (0.5)
 -Sue looks forward-

24 ANG: .hh huh huh [huh huh]

25 SUE: [g o i n]
-Ang holds cup to mouth whilst laughing-

26 ANG: huh huh huh huh huh

27 SUE: you can eat and still type heh
-Sue picks up papers then turn to look at Ang-

28 (0.6)
-Sue looks back at papers-
-Ang tips cup back further-

29 ANG: he he he he he he he

30 (1.1)
-Sue puts papers down-
-Ang brings cup down from mouth-

31 SUE: hahhrhhsh
-Sue puts hands in lap-
-Ang holds cup at lips-

(32 lines omitted where the timescale for completing their work is discussed)

56 ANG: I think we're finished now.
 -----*Sue yawns loudly*-----

57 SUE: what if I fall asleep at the end heh heh heh

This excerpt is interesting because humour is used to mitigate the effect of conflicting opinions (Arminen and Halonen 2007) and because a disagreement doesn't necessarily threaten joint working in this context. They use artefacts (paper, cup) either to 'mask' their utterances and to perform a more silent or subservient role than their talk implies at that point or to communicate meaning not present in the talk. Throughout there is a humorous tone to the talk and objects, along with embodied actions, are used in an almost slapstick way to add to this.

What is happening in detail?

Sue opens the topic of having a break at line 1 with the positively tilted polar question 'd'you want lunch.' but does so with exaggerated use of a piece of paper perhaps mimicking, hiding or shielding herself from something as she speaks. She briefly holds the paper over her mouth as she says 'lunch' then puts the paper on her head and ducks down slightly, before putting the paper over her mouth and making eye contact with Angel (see below figure 8.3).

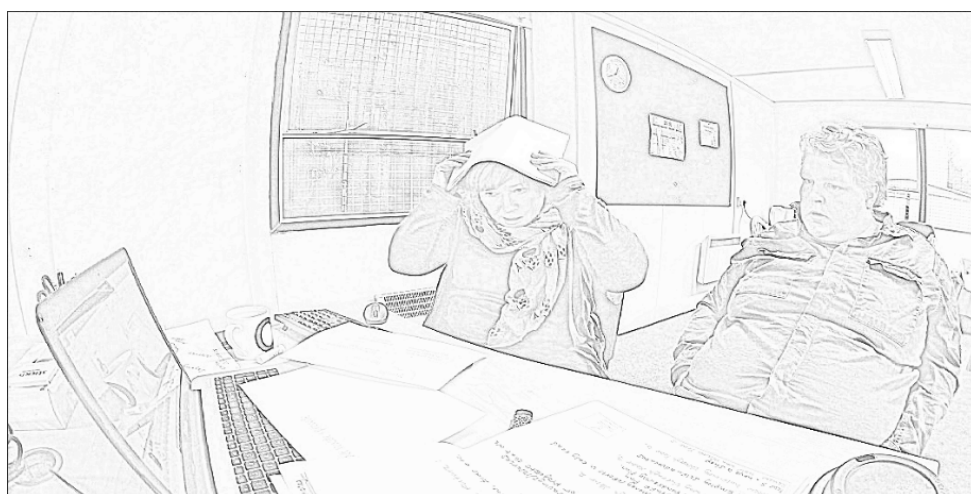


Figure 8.3 Angel and Sue 'd'you want lunch'

Sue continues to use the paper in a comedic and almost childlike way for the first 4 lines of talk. In line 2 whilst she is holding the paper on her head and looking at Angel, there is a gap which lasts 1.7 seconds marking an upcoming dispreferred response. Angel responds to Sue's polar question with 'no lets carry on', whilst Sue holds the paper over her mouth. Angel mitigates the impact of her refusal with laughter in line 4, at which time Sue makes another jokey and exaggerated action, mimicking gasping for breath in way which would suggest she is exhausted and/or desperate for a drink. However, rather than laughing or sympathetically changing her decision, Angel lets out a minimal outbreath and introduces the topic of what Sue is having for lunch. Sue declares at line 6 that what she has for lunch today is 'her new obsession', upgrading her desire for lunch as being not just based on needing a break but also on fulfilling a need to satisfy her obsession. As she

describes her lunch, she taps her hands together as she mentions each of the fillings in her pitta bread. There is a gap in line 10 before Angel acknowledges Sue's 'obsession' with 'wow' and quickly goes on to suggest a working lunch, stating the word 'working' with a marked upwards pitch shift. In a manner which directly mirrors Angel's response to Sue's opening question, there is a gap of 0.7 seconds in line 12 before Sue, replies '↑no↑ let's have a bre:ak'. She delivers this suggestion with markers of 'nonseriousness' (eye gaze, smile voice, elongated vowel sounds and intonation pattern) (Glenn and Holt 2013 p6), and Angel responds with laughter at line 14 before picking up her cup and drinking.

Sue goes on to back up her assertion in lines 15-20 by generalising the issue with regard to Angel's contribution on the management committee. She begins 'everyone else will' (line 15) which as the context and subsequent talk shows, may be the first part of something like 'do the same' or perhaps 'remind us we need to take a break', something which reminds her of the need to take a break to set an example. She goes on in lines 15 to 20 to remind Angel of the prior conversational context (at 'management committee') where she had defended the rights of workers to have lunch away from their desks. As she says this, Sue leans back in her chair and holds the papers to her chest and Angel starts to take a drink which causes her to snort with laughter into her cup (see below figure 8.3.1).



Figure 8.3.1 Angel and Sue laughing

Angel smiles but remains looking forwards with her lips tightly pursed as she takes longer than expected to swallow her drink. Sue seeks eye contact with her, but she does not return it at this point and she continues the joke by stating that Angel is 'cracking the whip' whilst imitating the noise and motion of a whip. Angel laughs in lines 24 and 26 but remains looking ahead of her and keeps her cup against her mouth (but does not drink from it). Sue draws the joke out further in lines 27 to 31, again seeing but not receiving eye contact. Angel takes her cup down from her mouth as she laughs but then returns it (without drinking) when Sue laughs through uttering the word 'harsh'.

The following lines of the data were omitted as Angel brings the conversation back to their work and they proceed to discuss their timescale for another 32 lines. In line 56 Angel looks at the researcher who has not long entered the room and states 'I think we're finished now', so the decision to finish and have lunch is made at this point. Sue brings back the joke about being tired and needing a break by laughing about falling asleep at the end of the video.

8.3.1 Using laughter and physical pantomime

The talk in this excerpt appears to set up a comical interaction, which turns into an extended sequence of teasing. The childlike and exaggerated way that Sue shields herself and puts paper on her head projects that laughter is a relevant response to her question about lunch. It also indicates that Sue knows Angel well, is anticipating how she might reply and preparing herself for dealing with a dispreferred response. Sue frames her question about lunch as an offer (Curl 2006) 'd'you want lunch' and she mentions it at a point when they have just completed a piece of work, however, there hasn't been any prior indication from Angel that she would like to eat or stop work. The implication is that Sue would like to stop for lunch but simply doing so would mean that their work together would have to stop. However, a negative response from Angel would be hard to come back from without risking their relationship. Framing this question as a 'laughable' at line 1, and again at line 3, actually does lead to both women laughing when Angel refuses the offer and helps to prevent any trouble between the women. Laughter has also been shown to mitigate the

impact of conflict in other institutional settings such as business meetings (Voge 2010) and doctor-patient interactions (Haakana 2002). Sue extends the sequence by making over exaggerated gestures indicating her desperation for a break and teasing Angel for preventing her from doing so.

When Angel asks what Sue has for lunch at line 5, this enables her to describe her 'current obsession' and build her case for needing a break in order to satisfy this obsession. Again, Angel resists this, however she steps back from her earlier suggestion of carrying on, to suggest a working lunch. Sue's response is formatted the same as Angel's earlier refusal to have lunch ('no lets') but delivered with an exaggerated but playful tone re-invoking the laughable and extending the joke. The use of the word 'lets' by both women orients towards the collaborative aspect of their work. Angel smiles and looks at the camera as Sue speaks, which, along with the joking and laughter, feels rather like a performance. For the remaining lines of the excerpt (apart from the last two) Angel is either drinking from her cup, holding the cup to her mouth and not drinking from it or she has her drink in her mouth. She also looks forward and does not make eye contact with Sue. All of these things enable her to resist offering a verbal response and affiliating with Sue (Kitzinger 2000). It could appear that she is preventing herself from speaking and avoiding eye contact; however, Sue is attentive to her body language, her smiles and stifled laughs and treats them as acknowledgement of her stance and continues as she embarks on an extended teasing sequence.

8.3.2 The role of affiliation work

The fact that Sue asks Angel if she would like a break and the teasing about not following the rule about having time away from their desk at lunch, frame Angel as being the responsible authority in the organisation. By contrast Sue positions herself as an employee who is unhappy to overwork herself. All this however is done with laughter and is marked as 'not to be taken seriously' for instance by extreme case formulations (Pomerantz 1986), exaggerated body language and the use of objects like the paperwork. It is a real achievement to do affiliation in the context of a sensitive disagreement, where the purpose of the organisation both work for is to ensure people with learning disabilities have their rights respected and upheld. Sue starts the interaction off indicating

that deciding to have a lunch break is not a joint decision, but one for Angel to make. However, she goes on to reject Angel's decision on two occasions, using humour and teasing to mitigate the impact of this. Angel shares the laughter, and the women display a similar sense of humour, familiarity and a desire to maintain a positive relationship by attempting to negotiate a compromise and treating the matter as something that should be jointly agreed. Their conflicting opinions about lunch and Sue's teasing of Angel for not living up to her responsibilities are not treated as problematic. The women share laughter at these points and Angel aligns with Sue's jokey account of her expectation that they should work through their lunch break by laughing in response to each turn. Sue appears to treat Angel's laughing as a continuer and adds increments to extend her turns, prolonging the laughable matter. After line 31 Angel steers the topic back to their work and does so until a time that she is satisfied they are finished, and states this in line 56. Although both women orient to the need to make a decision jointly, they also orient to Angel being the person who can make the final choice.

8.4 Detailed analysis of Excerpt Twelve: Julie and Jennifer

This excerpt is similar to Angel and Sue above: the co-worker without a learning disability introduces the topic of having a break. Although in this instance she does so by asserting her need to have a break rather than seeking agreement or approval from her co-working colleague, they do still negotiate when to stop, and use embodied actions to enact the break starting.

Here, Julie (worker with a learning disability) and Jennifer (worker without a learning disability) have been working together in a side office to plan a workshop they have been commissioned to deliver. They are sitting together at a desk and have paperwork from the commissioner in front of them both (see below figure 8.4). The researcher is sat behind Julie, out of view of the camera. They do not use a computer for this work. Jennifer has a notebook, and she has been writing down their plan for the workshop as they go. At the start of the excerpt, they have been working for roughly an hour and their talk has been a fairly equally balanced exchange of ideas and discussions around activities they could include in the workshop. For the five minutes prior to this excerpt Julie's verbal

contributions have been minimal, whilst Jennifer has been talking about how to fit in their chosen activities within the timescale they have (in the workshop). This might account for the fact that at the opening of this excerpt, Julie appears a little disengaged but hasn't made any verbal or nonverbal signals that she would like to have a break. However, she seems buoyed by Jennifer's comments that she likes what they have worked on and that it fulfils their brief well.

As this excerpt opens, Jennifer's intonation when summarising the work that they have been doing projects that she is anticipating a break coming up, which she articulates in line one.



Figure 8.4 Julie and Jennifer 'we'll have a break'

Excerpt twelve: Julie and Jennifer Brain Frying 0097

01 JEN: okay_
02 (0.7)
 -Jen raises hand with wrist placed on the table-
03 JEN: I think I need a break
04 JUL: yeah yeah we'll have a break and then come back to
05 recruitment an- what is it heh heh heh and selection
 ----Jul points & looks at Jen's paperwork-
 -Jen looks where
06 (0.9)

-Jul is pointing-

07 JEN: okay.

08 JUL: yeah

09 (1.9)

-Jen turns over paper & firmly places pen on table-

-Jul moves her paper away from her-

10 JEN: good job

11 (0.7)

-Jul picks up papers & shuffles them 'til line 21-

12 JEN: .hh heh heh

13 (0.4)

-Jen leans back in chair looks at researcher and pokes
tongue out-

14 JEN: uh: heh heh heh heh

-Jen looks back at Jul-

15 (0.4)

16 JEN: do you feel your brain frying

-----Jen looks at Jul-----

17 JUL: no: [no]

18 JEN: [ah] hah hah hah=

-Jen throws her head back-

19 JUL: =no but my bum's hurting on [this chair]

20 JEN: [hah hah hah]

-Jen bends over & almost touches head on desk-

21 JUL: HEH HEH HEH cos I'm not used to this sitting on this chair

-Jen turns and looks at researcher, smiling-

-Jul finishes shuffling papers then turns and looks behind-

22 JEN: uh heh heh heh .hh

23 (1.2)

-Jen moves chair away from Jul, smiling-

24 JUL: oh:

-Jul places papers on table-

25 (3.3)

26 JEN: u:m I'm gonna to make myself a cup of te:a

-Jen turns to researcher then looks at Jul-

-Jul gets up-

27 (1.2)

28 JEN: you don't drink tea do you want one

-Jen looks at Jul- -Jen looks at researcher-

-Jul stretches-

What is happening in detail?

In line one, Jennifer closes down her prior summary of their work with 'okay' with a flat intonation suggesting tiredness. Julie does not take up a turn to speak at line two, and after a 0.7 second gap, Jennifer announces her desire to have a break. She claims this need as her own, rather than overtly seeking approval from Julie by asking a question, and she simply states, 'I think I need a break', placing emphasis on the 'I'. As she starts to speak, she raises the palm of her hand (which is placed on the table) in a gesture suggesting 'stop', adding emphasis to her claim (see below figure 8.4.1).



Figure 8.4.1 Julie and Jennifer 'stop'

However, Julie's response indicates that she hears what Jennifer says as permission seeking and as a request for a negotiation of their work together. She acknowledges Jennifer's desire for a break in line 4 with 'yeah yeah', and then reframes it as a shared break, by the use of 'we' in 'we'll have a break'. She then goes on to set the agenda following their break, 'we'll have a break and then come back to recruitment and.... selection'. As she does this she leans forward, looking at Jennifer's notes and points to them. Jennifer looks at the notes for almost a second before stating 'okay' with a final, closing intonation. Julie and Jennifer are both orienting to Julie's authority to keep them to task. In

line 9 they both enact finishing their current task, by picking up and shuffling their papers, and Jennifer firmly places her pen on the table in a decisive manner. It is unclear from the data if Jennifer's fairly low-grade assessment (Lindstrom et al 2019) 'good job' in line 10 is a restatement of her satisfaction with their work from the talk prior to this clip, or if it relates to their negotiation of a break. We cannot tell how Julie interprets 'good job' as she does not respond to this assessment.

In line 12 Jennifer laughs as she leans back and turns to look at the researcher. She pokes her tongue out as if to suggest being worn out and sighs before laughing again, introducing the idea of being tired as a laughable subject. She then looks back to Julie who isn't laughing and verbalises the joke, asking if she 'feels her brain frying'. Julie rejects this suggestion, implying that the effort of their task has not left her in the same position as Jennifer, but acknowledges the receipt of this as a joke by the elongated vowel sound in her response 'no:' and then continuing the joke herself (Holt 2013a p69-89). Jennifer dramatically throws her head back whilst laughing and Julie continues the joke about being in discomfort stating that her bum is hurting due to the chair. Using colloquial vocabulary such as this is an illustration of the close relationship where they both accept that it is OK to speak in this way. The ladies share laughter at this point and Jennifer leans forward almost touching her head on the table in an exaggerated gesture, reminiscent of Angel and Sue in excerpt eleven in this chapter.

She looks to the researcher again in line 21, as Julie stops shuffling her papers, turns her body and also looks slightly behind her where the researcher is. Jennifer laughs a little more, then after a gap of 1.2 seconds begins to enact moving away from the table by moving her chair away from Julie. Neither worker gets up, but Julie places her paperwork down before another elongated gap. Jennifer upgrades her need for a break due to tiredness to one to meet her bodily needs in line 26 by asserting that she is going to make a cup of tea whilst looking at the researcher and then Julie. Julie stands up marking a physical separation from their work and a move towards the break starting. Physically standing up is a strong way of initiating the break and was done by the participant with a learning disability in Excerpt 1 in this chapter. Here however, it is the partner without a learning disability who stands up first. Jennifer continues the project of tea-making by acknowledging that Julie won't want one as she doesn't like it and includes the researcher in the

negotiation of the break by asking if she would like one. Jennifer has looked at the researcher four times up to this point, perhaps looking for an indication that it is ok for them to stop work and thereby involving them in the negotiation of the break. Julie stretches before the clip finishes.

8.4.1 Who initiates the break?

The manner in which this excerpt starts and how the topic of a break is raised is somewhat different from the other excerpts, as the individual without a learning disability clearly states that she needs a break and demonstrates this need nonverbally as well, with a hand gesture. In contrast with the other excerpts, one person states their own need and does not frame it as a request or a negotiation. However, there is an implication here that both parties must have a break at the same time if the objective is to work together, and so the statement implies that Julie must have a break as well. Julie, in fact responds to the statement as if it were a request and acknowledges the impact on their co-working ('we'll have a break'). She positions herself as having the authority to sanction the break and determine how their work will proceed afterwards.

8.4.2 Sensitive identity work

In making reference to her own need to have a break at line 3, Jennifer is playing out her identity as a tired worker who needs to stop working. By using the pronoun 'I' she is sensitive to not framing Jennifer as also being tired or in need of a break and is resisting framing her as someone who is struggling with the intellectual effort of their work. Jennifer continues to enact being a tired worker for the rest of the excerpt, and marks this as something which is laughable, starting when she leans back in her chair and sticks out her tongue at line 13. It appears that she is poking fun at herself for being worn out and in need of a cup of tea. When she asks Julie if she feels her brain frying at line 16, Julie resists this. There are a couple of potential implications within what is taking place here – that being tired is either due to having worked very hard (and possibly that the burden of the work was on one person more than the other) and/or that the work in itself is complex and mentally draining. Given that Julie is a person who has a learning disability who could be expected to find

their work complex, it is possible that her resistance to Jennifer's suggestion is a rejection of the implication that their work has been enough to tax her mentally. However, she does not reject this with indignation and instead concedes at line 19 that they have been working long enough for her bum to hurt due to sitting on a chair she is not used to. Both women are doing sensitive and respectful identity work which serves to build and maintain a friendly working relationship.

8.4.3 The role of embodied actions in negotiating the break

When Jennifer raises her hand at the start of the excerpt in a gesture that implies 'stop' or 'I've had enough', it is the first of a number of embodied ways in which the women physically distance themselves from their work before actually getting up to take a break. They shuffle papers, move their chairs, turn to look at the researcher, firmly put a pen down, one of them pokes out their tongue and so on. The actions come across as a little uncomfortable, particularly between lines 9 to 15 where there are a number of gaps as Jennifer takes three turns at talk. It is possible that this may be due to the co-workers being unsure if it is acceptable to stop working, due to being filmed for the study, and are waiting for the researcher to voice if it is okay. Jennifer makes four attempts to draw the researcher into the talk and be part of the negotiation of the break by looking at her, but in the absence of being given direct permission, it is Julie who makes a move to start the break by getting up from her chair.

8.4.4 The role of laughter in signalling a shift in the joint project

From line 13 onwards, the tone of the talk changes from a professional one, to a more familiar and jokey one. Jennifer projects that something laughable is coming up with her laughter in line 12 and poking out her tongue in line 13, before asking Julie if she feels her brain frying. The use of humour and informal language seem to indicate a move away from 'institutional' or professional talk and onto more ordinary and colloquial talk, signifying that their work is coming to an end. This co-working pair had not introduced anything laughable anywhere else in the data and have mostly focussed on their work tasks in a serious and professional manner. The change in tone and word

choice, the joking and laughter appear to mark a change from the co-workers relating to each other as colleagues, to being work friends who know each other well enough to joke about how they feel. This change also signifies a move from getting business done to foregrounding their relationship through shared laughter, shared experiences of discomfort and a need for refreshment.

8.5 Summary of Chapter Eight

Initiating a break as one half of a co-working dyad could be potentially a bold or disruptive action. In the context of co-working, the negotiation of a break is an important moment which can reveal how equally balanced the co-workers' contributions are. Taking a break will put their work on pause; however, if one person carries on working, this could show that there is a disparity in how 'joint' the work is and may be experienced as disempowering by the person taking a break. This chapter has shown how each of the dyads avoids any rudeness or overt disruption to the flow of the work; instead, each pair takes pains to show how the decision for the break is a joint responsibility. The excerpts demonstrate the ways that the topic of a break is introduced, the strategies used for negotiating a break in terms of whether and when it happens, and how the break actually starts (see Table 8.1). Within the excerpts here, all co-working pairs do take a break at the same time; however they vary in how soon the break takes place after the initial request, with one pair (Angel and Sue) continuing to work until Angel expresses that she is satisfied their work is finished.

Table 8.1 Actions within each dyad when negotiating a break

	Graham and John Excerpt nine	Jan and Liz Excerpt ten	Angel and Sue Excerpt eleven	Julie and Jennifer Excerpt twelve
Who initiates?	Graham (worker with learning disability)	Jan (worker with learning disability)	Sue (worker without learning disability)	Jennifer (worker without learning disability)
Their epistemic access in prior talk	K-	K-	=	K-
+ or – turns at talk than their co-worker in prior talk	-	-	=	=
How request is made verbally	‘have five minute=’	‘good its lunchtime now’	‘d’you want lunch.’	‘I think I need a break’
Non-verbal behaviour at time of request	Strokes hand on table Change in style of talk - interrupts	Looks at clock Change in style of talk – louder volume	Puts papers on head	Raises hand
Response from co-worker	‘=fi:ve min:utes’ Negotiates time for break	‘it <u>is</u> lunchtime_’ Negotiates time for break and teases about smoking inside	‘no let’s carry on’	‘yeah yeah we’ll have a break and then come back to recruitment an- what is it heh heh heh and selection’
Reference to bodily needs?	Not explicitly	Lunch Smoking	Food for lunch Gasping as if tired	Sticking tongue out Reference to brain frying and bum hurting
What happens next?	Graham leaves	Excerpts ends	Angel suggests a working lunch Sue teases about setting an example to other staff	They laugh about brain frying and bum hurting Jennifer asks who wants tea.

8.5.1 Authority to sanction a break

The interactional practice of co-workers stopping work to take a break necessitates one person initiating that break. What can be seen here is that this action routinely positions the other person as having the deontic authority to give permission (or not) for the break to take place. Graham's 'have five minute=' is an incomplete sentence which would ordinarily be prefaced with a request e.g. 'can I', an assertion 'I'm going to', or something similar. It is received as a request by John and Graham waits until John has responded before he leaves. Sue's 'd'you want lunch' is framed as an offer to Angel, showing low authority on Sue's part (Hayano 2013, p.410), and Angel responds by rejecting the offer. Jennifer's statement 'I think I need a break' is framed as an assertion but qualified by the use of 'I think' which also shows lower authority (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012). It is, however, treated as a request by Julie who grants it. Jan's statement 'good it's lunchtime now' differs in that it relates to an irrefutable fact which has already been agreed between them. However, she does not initiate the break until Liz has negotiated the timescale. Stopping the flow of work to take a break is routinely done with a request to another person who is treated as if they have the authority to sanction it.

8.5.2 Laughter

Other actions happen in parallel with the request, and the initiation of the break is partly verbal and partly physical. One notable action is the use of laughter in and around the request for a break. All but one of the dyads engages in teasing and/or one of the workers poking fun at themselves (Table 8.1 above). The joking centres around providing an example to other staff (Angel and Sue), smoking inside on their break (Jan and Liz) and the physical impact of having worked for so long (Julie and Jennifer). The laughter brings them back to their relationship as co-workers and goes some way to moderate the asymmetry of authority in their relationship that has been seen so far, and which is inherent in requesting a break.

8.5.3 Reference to bodily needs

Another routine strategy the co-workers use in negotiating a break is to turn the attention from the work and onto themselves. A break is when you become yourself again and have an opportunity to meet your bodily needs. What all excerpts share is that reference to bodily needs is made explicitly or otherwise in making the case for a break. Graham is keen to 'have five minute=' to smoke a cigarette, Jan refers to it being time for lunch (good its lunchtime now), Sue also makes reference to lunch (d'you want lunch.) and Jennifer states her need for a break due to tiredness both verbally and non-verbally. As a strategy for negotiating stopping work with another person, making reference to physical needs is something that is hard for another person to refuse without seeming unreasonable. It appears that drawing attention to bodily needs and not just the need to stop work, upgrades the request for a break and is an effective strategy in gaining a co-worker's agreement.

8.5.4 Change in communicative style

When there has been significant asymmetry in talk (with one person taking more turns than the other) a change in style of utterance was a strategy used to initiate the negotiation of the break. In the first two excerpts (Graham and John, and Jan and Liz) prior to the break being mentioned, Graham and Jan had fewer and shorter turns at talk than their co-worker (see Chapter six). The style of their utterances changes noticeably when mentioning a break. Graham who idiosyncratically echoes what he predicts John is about to say and says it in overlap with him, overlaps with continuers before interrupting him. Jan talks with a louder voice than before and takes a first turn at talk, rather than responding to Liz in second place. Graham and Jan are both workers who have a learning disability, and in the second two excerpts the workers who don't have a learning disability mention a break but there is no discernible change in their style of communication in doing so. The moment of negotiating a break gives the opportunity of exerting authority to do something they have decided and goes some way to addressing the asymmetry in authority. Graham and Jan had little epistemic access in the 'Openings' chapter in comparison to

their co-working colleagues, but negotiating a break enabled them to exercise deontic authority (Stevanovic 2013).

8.5.5 Initiating the start of the break

The initiation of a break in this data requires a physical move away from the working area to either make a drink, get a packed lunch or go outside to smoke. Requests that require an embodied response (such as ‘can you get me a tissue’, for example) have been shown to be routinely responded to without delay (Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012). However, in all dyads, there is a gap between the responder to the request (offer or announcement) saying ‘yes’ and the break actually being initiated. In two of the pairs (Graham and John, and Jan and Liz), this gap consists primarily of negotiation regarding the length of time of the break. These negotiations are instigated by both of the co-workers without a learning disability in each of these dyads. As already discussed, in Julie and Jennifer’s dyad, the gap consists of Julie stating what work they will do upon their return and joking about physical signs of fatigue. Although Angel and Sue have an extended sequence of teasing after the initial request, Angel does not confirm they would have a break until a few minutes later when she decides their work is complete.

Embodied actions, including exaggerated ones, are a feature in these excerpts and seem to upgrade the request for a break or serve to hasten the actual start of the break. Both Jen and Sue who had expressed their desire to stop work stick out their tongues in an exaggerated fashion. Sue makes direct eye contact with Angel when refusing a working lunch and making a ‘cracking the whip’ gesture as part of her tease of Angel. Graham strokes the table, put his hand on the back of the chair in the lead up to his request and Jan slaps her hands on the chair when announcing that ‘[°we’]ll have some lunch now’. Physical initiation of the break occurs directly after negotiation of length of time to break for (John and Graham and Jan and Liz) and after a long gap when Jennifer announces her intention to move (u:m I’m gonna to make myself a cup of te:a) and Julie simultaneously gets up.

The sequences involved in negotiating a break take the format of a request (offer or announcement), confirmation by the recipient, a gap during which the terms of the break are negotiated, or a joke is shared, then finally, physical initiation of the break.

Something so seemingly simple, like going for a break, has such complexity when looked at in detail. As in the other data chapters, this chapter has tried to unravel some of the interactional strategies used, and how they play out in the four dyads. Planning their work for the day, reaching decisions while working, and stopping for a break, all represent moments when co-working is visible, or when it can be challenged. The findings from all three data chapters will be summarised at the start of the Discussion, to provide a basis for reflection.

Chapter nine: Discussion

This study set out to reveal the devices used by co-working dyads in organisations that champion the rights of people with learning disabilities to make decisions and work in a collaborative way. This was achieved by collecting 13 hours of video recordings from co-working partners, where one person had a learning disability and one did not, in 4 different organisations across the UK. This chapter will summarise the key findings from the study and discuss how they relate to the research questions regarding joint decision making and collaborative working in co-working set ups. Next, it will consider the contribution this study makes to Conversation Analysis (CA) and to knowledge regarding the disability movement, both in relation to people with a learning disability and to disabled people as a group. Then a discussion of the methodology, including the relevance and effectiveness of using an inclusive approach to research will follow. Finally, it will provide an evaluation of the study and suggest the implications for practice within this field.

9.1 Summary of findings

Chapter six summarised the challenges and strategies that the co-workers used when starting their work together and deciding what to focus on. In chapter seven the focus was on how they got their work together done and then Chapter eight revealed how they stopped their work by negotiating a break.

Chapter six showed that the dyads all had a degree of asymmetry in respect of who took the most turns at talk and the length of those turns. This appeared to be in part related to prior access to the task at hand, with all but one of the co-workers without a learning disability taking the floor to explain the task they needed to complete or to describe conversations with their external project partners (who had influence over the task they were doing). There was also a notable disparity in terms of epistemic access to the task when one of the co-workers did not have prior knowledge of the task, or information about it in a format which was accessible to them. Although in this study it wasn't always the worker with a learning disability who did not have full knowledge of the task,

there are similarities with Antaki and Crompton's (2015) findings when service users with a learning disability were not provided with a context for activities, thus limiting their understanding of, and stake in, completing the activity. In the present study, when information was accessible such as in an Easy Read format, this created more equal epistemic access to the work. Affiliative devices such as laughter, making references to known points of interest and referring to future tasks as a joint project (i.e., 'we need to..') were used, mostly by the co-workers without a learning disability perhaps to remedy some of the asymmetry seen. This echoes the findings of literature in chapter four, where PAs were friendly as well as professional, shared respectful jokes with the people they were supporting and framed tasks as something they had a shared stake in (Williams et al 2009a&b; Antaki and Crompton 2015). One dyad notably remained asymmetrical, when the co-worker with a learning disability had greater access to the task as they had previously liaised with their external project partner. In this instance, neither co-worker challenged the asymmetry (number and length of turns at talk and epistemic authority).

Although the co-working dyads had a goal of equality and there were examples of this occurring, when they began their work together, in many respects their interactions mirrored the inequalities seen between support workers and people with learning disabilities and were reminiscent of the findings in CA literature in other settings such as residential homes or day services (Dowling et al 2019; Jingree et al 2006; Antaki and Webb 2019).

Moving on to the next stage of their work together, in chapter seven, the co-working dyads had already decided upon a course of action and were 'Doing the work' on their respective projects. Two of them were working on producing images to go in Easy Read information and two were working on devising workshops. A multimodal transcription of embodied actions showed that some co-workers displayed affiliation by mirroring each other's body language. Others adjusted their positioning and eye gaze at key interactional moments, and some put physical barriers in front of their mouths, such as a hand or mug. The setup of the working environment and access to whatever was being used to record information (laptop or notebook) were key to working well together. Each dyad was set up slightly differently, and this impacted on the style of joint working that took place. Where the co-workers both had good visual access to the information and were

sitting together, not turned away from each other, there was more opportunity for collaborative working.

As was seen in Chapter six, the co-worker without a learning disability had greater knowledge of their objectives and defined the exact task they needed to complete. In all dyads, the participants initially oriented to the co-worker without a learning disability having deontic and epistemic authority. This mirrors Antaki and Webb's (2019) findings where support staff and service users with cognitive impairments oriented to staff having greater authority to know about and control activities taking place. However, the present study also shows evidence of the contrary, as the balance of authority began to shift when a decision was made about something which the co-worker with learning disabilities had more knowledge or experience of. All dyads oriented to the co-worker with a learning disability having the right to decide upon the suitability of certain topics which may be considered within their domain of expertise, such as the best Easy Read image, the accessibility of a workshop exercise and so on. Their identity of being a person with a learning disability meant that they had the right to make authoritative decisions about such matters, especially in this context of organisations led by people with learning disabilities. When this didn't happen, the interaction was more troubled. Both parties oriented to the shifting identity, for instance by counter-suggestions by the person with learning disabilities; by silences and hesitation by the worker without a learning disability or by questions which implied that the person with learning disabilities had rights to decide on a matter. All these findings challenged some of the existing literature reviewed in Chapter four, which largely took place in residential or 'therapeutic' settings (Antaki et al 2009; Antaki et al 2008). A couple of studies did, however, highlight instances where service users foregrounded their expertise or their own professional identity by making proposals, and where staff asked questions to expand upon these proposals or responded to service users' requests (Kaminsky and Finlay 2019; Williams et al 2009b).

Each dyad worked out interactional troubles in a different way. Where a question-and-answer sequence was used to elicit information from a co-worker with learning disabilities, this placed them at an interactional disadvantage and appeared to hinder joint working. This finding is strongly supported in the literature (Antaki 2013; Antaki et al 2007a and c; Finlay and Antaki 2012), despite

the studies taking place in a different type of setting where there is an inherent asymmetry between service users and staff. It appears that it is commonplace for staff in these institutions to use an interrogatory style of questioning, to ask test questions that they already know the answer to and to pursue a chain of questioning until a service user produces a response which is adequate (ibid). Although the co-working arrangement has an intention of equality and unobtrusive support, there is a risk that the interactional inequalities that arise in other settings can be reproduced.

When the co-workers with a learning disability initiated talk in first position, this tipped the asymmetry in their favour, so their co-working partners were in the position of responding to them and making their ideas relevant. This echoes the findings of Williams et al (2009b) in interactions between PAs and people with learning disabilities. The main issue for all the dyads in this study appeared to be focussing on the authority of the co-worker with learning disabilities to approve certain aspects and key outcomes of their work. By contrast the co-worker without a learning disability was treated by both as having the right to decide upon, and interpret, the specific task for them to complete.

After having completed some of their work, Chapter eight saw each dyad negotiating whether or not to have a break, a task which could be sensitive for any colleagues working together. This was routinely done by one person making a request of the other which positioned that co-worker as having the authority to sanction the break. Within the dyads the requests for a break were split equally between the co-workers with a learning disability and the co-workers without a learning disability. By requesting a break, their joint working was disrupted and if the request was refused or if one partner carried on working, it could have hindered the aim of working collaboratively and suggest their relationship was less than equal, although this wasn't present in the data. The literature revealed that in contrast to a work setting such as this, in social care settings it was commonplace for staff members to either ignore, refuse or override a request from service users with a learning disability to either stop a task or decline to start it (Nicholson et al 2021; Finlay et al 2008a and c).

To upgrade their request for a break, the co-workers made reference to their bodily needs, for example tiredness, hunger or need for a cigarette, issues which would be problematic for their partner to refuse. The co-workers without a learning disability who requested a break mitigated the apparent boldness of their requests by introducing a laughable topic and bringing the focus back to their relationship as friendly co-workers. The co-workers with a learning disability changed their communication style when requesting a break, by taking a more assertive stance, but there was no notable difference in the communication style of the co-workers without a learning disability. In all cases, there was a delay between the request being granted and the break actually starting, whilst further negotiation or further work took place, or where the individual continued to emphasise their need for a break via introducing a joke.

Much of the conversation analytic literature in this field highlights asymmetries, which are often taken for granted in talk between support workers and disabled people. For instance, support workers have been shown to use various interactional tactics to persuade or cajole people to carry out tasks (Finlay et al 2008c); they may offer choices but will often determine what constitutes a good choice (Dowling et al 2019; Jingree et al 2006; Antaki et al 2009). Invariably they have superior epistemic rights, over the domains on which the disabled person might be expected to have primacy i.e., their own life. Only a few studies have attempted to consider interaction between participants who purportedly have a more 'equal' status (Williams et al 2010) for instance). However, even here, the main findings were that considerable work had to be done by both parties to create equal interactional status.

The current thesis stands out from existing literature in this field in several ways. Firstly, it is set within disabled people's organisations, which are run *by* disabled people themselves. So ostensibly, they have the power and authority to determine how the organisation works. In the case of the data for this thesis, all the dyads had been established precisely in order to set the scene for co-working. In other words, the worker *without* a learning disability was there on an equal basis with the worker *with* a learning disability, and not necessarily just to 'support'. The individual with a learning disability was specifically employed due to the expertise and lived experience they had that the worker without a learning disability did not have. The co-worker with a learning disability was

by definition in this role due to recognition of, and respect for, their epistemic primacy. Nevertheless, despite that context, sometimes people were pulled back into the interactional patterns they were familiar with.

9.2 Addressing the research questions

This study aimed to reveal the interactional practices that people use when making decisions in a co-working relationship. The co-working relationship is one usually only seen in disabled people's organisations, more specifically those which exist to promote the rights of people with learning disabilities. The intention of this working arrangement is to enable any support that might be required by a worker with learning disabilities to be part of their co-worker's role, rather than that of a support worker or personal assistant. In addition, it allows people with learning disabilities who are significantly excluded and discriminated against in the labour market, to be employed in a role with equal employment status to someone without a learning disability. This study intended to examine, through a focus on decisions being made, the impact of employment in a role which intends to enable equity with people who don't have learning disabilities. The forthcoming section will summarise the findings in respect of the research questions and highlight the importance of these findings.

9.2.1 What interactional work promotes and impedes equality in co-working?

There were a number of strategies that the co-workers used to facilitate equality whilst working together, some of which were purely interactional strategies and some of which related to the use and position of equipment. Firstly, with regards to preparatory work completed before the workers came together, it was important that either *both* co-workers were part of prior meetings with external or internal project partners, or that the individual with a learning disability was the liaison and relayed details of the meeting to their co-worker. When the co-workers with a learning disability were not present during contact with project partners, the contents of the meetings were not accessible (or accessible enough) to them. This created a burden of additional work on the co-

worker without a learning disability, requiring time to interpret the information into an accessible format and if this wasn't possible, it placed the co-worker with a learning disability at a disadvantage, epistemically speaking. Related to this, when information about previous work was in an accessible format it contributed to greater deontic and epistemic authority for the individual with a learning disability.

Another practical strategy for interactional equality was having access to ways of viewing, recording and editing information. All but one of the dyads had equal sight of vital information needed for their work together such as on a laptop or paperwork. For example, there was shared use of a laptop placed directly in the middle of one pair (figure 6.3), another where co-workers were sitting side by side with a laptop in front of each person (figure 7.1.2) and a further dyad were sitting side by side with reference notes in equal view (figure 6.4). One dyad had a shared laptop placed in between them, connected to a projector screen, projecting a larger view of what was on the laptop screen and a keyboard plugged into the laptop so that either party could type on one of the two keyboards. This type of physical set up enabled more equitable epistemic access to the task at hand. When a laptop was only in view of one co-worker this hindered equal working. In Chapter 7.1 (figure 7.1.1) for instance, this type of arrangement of equipment enabled each co-worker to refer to the same item or picture on the screen, without having to explain themselves. That in itself allowed their talk to flow more easily, and without the need for repair.

Some of the interactional work that the co-workers undertook appeared to actively challenge the asymmetries typical of conversations between people with learning disabilities and those supporting them in care settings already detailed earlier (see chapter four). For example, the co-workers without a learning disability were seen to perform embodied actions which demonstrated that they were withholding talk, such as placing a hand or mug in front of their mouth. The result of this was that their colleague went on to take more, and sometimes extended turns at talk leading up to the point when a decision was made. Laughter was a common feature of the interactions, serving an affiliative function particularly when asymmetries were apparent, as seen in Chapter

eight. When the laughter was shared it reinforced the relationship between co-workers and when not shared, it was swiftly dropped showing sensitivity to the inequalities it could reinforce.

To some extent the usual asymmetries in interactions between people with a learning disability and those without were on occasions reversed, ostensibly redressing the balance of power. In addition to the ways mentioned so far, this was seen when the co-worker with a learning disability took more and longer turns at talk and spoke mostly in first position. When this happened, their colleagues responded by their utterances relevant, ultimately resulting in a sequence where they ended up making a decision about their work. A strategy that seemed to hinder equal co-working was the use of a style paradigmatic of teacher-pupil interactions, where the teacher is in first position asking known answer questions and the pupil is in second position responding to them. When this approach was used, the co-worker with a learning disability took fewer and shorter turns at talk and their response was not treated as adequate until their colleague approved it.

9.2.2 How does each co-worker contribute to decision making?

The findings show that the co-workers routinely oriented to each of them having different responsibilities regarding decisions. The co-workers with and without learning disabilities had responsibility for decision making in different deontic domains, and some decisions were seemingly shared.

The overarching decision to define the task they were working on was largely the domain of the co-worker without a learning disability, even when epistemic access was equalized by both co-workers being present at meetings with project partners and having accessible information about their work. This was apparent in the 'Openings' data in Chapter six, where at the very beginning of working together, most of the co-workers who don't have a learning disability spoke in first position, starting a sequence describing previous work or meetings regarding their project. This meant that the co-workers with a learning disability were mostly in the role of listener. Half of the co-workers without a learning disability had completed work on their project alone and one did not

seek approval for this work from their co-worker, further indicating their deontic authority. The co-workers without a learning disability used the pronoun 'we' when describing tasks to be completed today or in the future giving the impression that these were joint tasks. However, it rather appeared to be an expression of their authority to decide on the pairs' priorities and it was not challenged by any of the co-workers with a learning disability. This was demonstrated when direction on what to do was not forthcoming. In that situation, it was common for a worker with a learning disability to ask what their colleague wanted them to do.

Most notable were the times when the co-workers with a learning disability were deferred to as having deontic authority relating to their specific expertise, to finer, detail-oriented decisions or decisions which foregrounded their voice. When a decision was made about a matter which a person with learning disabilities was considered to have expertise in, for example Easy Read information, they were treated as having the authority to approve this. As previously mentioned, when this happened, they took longer turns at talk and the resulting outcome was a sequence where a decision was made about their work relating to this area of expertise. Within organisations aiming to challenge the discrimination of people with learning disabilities, individuals are employed as experts by experience of living with a learning disability. Employees who don't have a learning disability do not have this expertise and this disparity between the co-workers was played out in the data.

Both parties also oriented to the individuals with learning disabilities having personal knowledge or experience their co-worker did not, such as knowledge of their local area or of accessible training activities. Recognition of this resulted in this knowledge forming part of subsequent work-related decisions. There were times when smaller, here-and-now choices were offered to the co-worker with a learning disability, after their colleague had decided upon the objective for the day. When the objective of their task was to make the voice of the individual with learning disabilities explicit, such as when planning the wording of a presentation, they were permitted the final say. Although the workers without a learning disability took charge of the main activity, the workers with a learning disability were largely treated as having the authority to foreground their voice and experiences within the content of their work together.

The decision to take a break was something that the co-workers negotiated and decided upon jointly, and which neither co-worker had greater authority than the other to permit. The topic of taking a break was raised equally by two co-workers with a learning disability, and two without. Although requesting a break necessitates the other co-worker granting it (or not) and positions them as having the authority to do so, each dyad negotiated the break between them.

9.2.3 How do the negotiations of small everyday decisions get done as compared with those regarding significant job-related decisions?

In reality, the dyads did not actually make any overarching job-related decisions whilst being filmed for this study, such as financial or strategic decisions. The most straightforward, everyday decision they all made was if and when to have a break, and other decisions were part of planning or completing their work together.

Although deciding to take a break is likely to be an everyday occurrence in a workplace, when two colleagues are working together on an equal basis, if disagreement occurs about taking a break it could reveal a lack of equality. Therefore, although this is a run of the mill decision, it is one where a disparity in power could become apparent. One dyad pre-empted difficulties regarding break times, by negotiating them before working together, writing them on a piece of paper and sticking it on the wall where they were working (figure 8.2). This agreement was referred to when the co-worker asserted that it was time for a break.

Two of the co-workers with a learning disability used a different communication style when introducing the topic of a break, talking in first position and one person speaking more loudly than usual. In addition, a strategy that all co-workers used to upgrade the request for a break was to make verbal or embodied references to bodily needs such as tiredness, hunger or the need for a cigarette. This often led to laughter and/or teasing, bringing a focus to the friendly relationship between the co-workers. Although requesting and granting a break potentially frames one co-worker as having more deontic authority than the other, humour was key to mitigating this. The

physical initiation of the break was delayed after the initial request was made whilst jokes were made and further negotiations took place. The dyads oriented to the need to make a decision about a break that they both agreed on, and that the recipient of the request had the authority to approve this.

The decision of what to work on together that day and future work plans, were largely the domain of the worker without a learning disability, who as already mentioned, had greater epistemic access to the overall project. Although not part of this data, two of the co-workers without learning disabilities had worked on their project alone prior to working together and decided on a course of action which they then communicated to their colleague. The other two dyads worked out their plans for the day together, using information accessible to both workers to assist, but the co-worker without a learning disability took a dominant role in the interaction.

Decisions made while planning and completing work activities were dependent on a number of strategies. Embodied actions were important for achieving or reconfirming affiliation. Giving eye contact, smiling, raising an eyebrow and turning to face each other served as encouraging continuers when one party was expressing an idea. Mirroring each other's actions demonstrated familiarity when approving a suitable Easy Read image. Simultaneous use of IT equipment also supported decisions about Easy Read images and the availability of accessible computer programmes meant that the co-worker with a learning disability could take control of the laptop to put their ideas into action. The co-workers without a learning disability used supportive strategies to encourage their colleague to be part of decisions, such as making suggestions, withholding speech at key points and making what their colleague had said relevant without drawing attention to misunderstandings. These strategies constitute what could be described as 'doing thinking together' and formed part of the work the dyads did towards making key decisions.

The findings are important due to the implications for practice for people working in co-working roles and for those organisations looking to create this working arrangement. The purpose of a co-working role is to address inequality in employment for people with learning disabilities and to

increase opportunity for them to take up well paid roles which have parity in terms of employment status and salary with those who don't have learning disabilities. By having the opportunity to take on higher status and higher responsibility roles, people with learning disabilities can have a greater opportunity to influence decisions that are important to them. Individuals with learning disabilities themselves (Department of Health 2001) and research (Glendinning 2008, Finlay et al 2008c) tells us that historically they have been treated as if they are not able to make their own decisions, they have not been given the opportunity to make even small choices about their lives and have routinely had their decisions overruled by professionals or carers (Williams and Porter 2015a). In addition, when people with learning disabilities have a job, they are predominantly in low paid/low status roles (Department of Health 2009b). The opportunity to take on a role which challenges this fact is an important one which can contribute to reducing the discrimination against people with learning disabilities in employment.

9.3 Contribution to Conversation Analysis

This study contributes to understanding of CA in respect of laughter, embodied actions, epistemics and deontics and affiliation. These will be considered in turn.

9.3.1 Laughter

For conversation analysts, laughter does not have a singular function. One of the important aspects in talk is that respondents can either go along with or decline to respond to the laughter (Jefferson 1979, p.79-96). Laughter can modulate the impact of a problematic prior utterance by creating it as a laughable (Shaw et al 2013) but much depends on how laughter is responded to. In this thesis the findings showed that laughter was present at particular moments. For instance, laughter was used at times to downplay a potentially problematic statement and was often introduced by the partner without a learning disability in the dyads. Laughter also became relevant when the talk was about negotiating and initiating the start of a break; for instance the co-workers framed references to their bodily needs such as hunger and soreness as laughable. This marked a move away from the task in hand and a change to a joking tone and an interaction which was more friendly than

professional. At all these moments, laughter introduced the possibility of affiliation between the two workers (Stivers 2008). However, as Jefferson (1979) commented, it is always possible for the respondent in these moments to fail to take up the laughter. There were certainly times when a tentative joke was not taken up by the other partner, who then made laughter not relevant or appropriate at that point. This happened for instance in Excerpt one when Liz initiated a potential joke about Easy Read information being created as a treat for her colleague. She then had to extend her turn, since Jan did not take up a turn in response to the possible joke by laughing and in fact remained unsmiling.

The moments of laughter did different things in each sequence of talk, but they tended on the whole to punctuate the data at points when the partners were moving from one type of task to the next, or when the interaction suddenly moved forward. Laughter was often a way of indicating that the partners were 'on the same page', but that only happened when the recipient of the laughter joined in and accepted the invitation to laugh. Where they did not do that, it was interesting how quickly the other partner would step back and stop laughing. That often happened before the ending of the next turn. Overall, then, all these examples of patterns of laughter sequences indicate that for all of these dyads, affiliation was one of the primary goals.

These dyads did not work in an exclusively serious way but were concerned to keep the tone light-hearted. In general, a 'light-hearted' tone can be a feature of how people talk with someone with a learning disability (Rapley 2004), and it can sometimes serve to make the work more relevant and enjoyable for the person with learning disabilities. However, there is a fine line to tread here, as laughter can also undermine someone's competence and status (Clift 2016). When the two partners knew each other really well, like Angel and Sue, then maybe a discrepancy in their tendency to laugh did not matter quite so much. Angel seemed to accept that Sue was always joking and let that happen without it disrupting things. It is true however that in most cases, it was the person without learning disabilities who introduced the laughter, an example of the asymmetries in the data analysed in this thesis and a marker of their institutional identity (Holt 2013b). This asymmetry in introducing laughable topics could be a feature of the way that the

people without a learning disability sought to downplay their own power and expertise in favour of their colleague, at times by laughter directed at themselves.

9.3.2 Embodied Actions

Conversation analytic studies show that talk is not the only means of accomplishing social action (Schegloff 1998; Neville 2015; Cekaite 2010; Depperman 2013). This study showed that the embodied actions of participants and their use of objects and artefacts were instrumental in supporting joint working practices and achieving greater equity between them. The embodied actions seen in this study reflect those found by Neville (2015) and included the ways in which participants positioned themselves, the direction of their gaze, their use of gestures and the way objects and artefacts such as paperwork, mugs, the laptop, keyboard and mouse were used. By undertaking a detailed transcription and analysis of these factors along with the talk, this thesis has contributed to the analysis of embodied actions in the following ways. Firstly, it confirms what others have found in relation to the precise way that the use of objects and artefacts, as well as gesture and bodily positioning, are interlaced with talk to accomplish social action (Heath and Luff, 2013). For example, in Chapter 6.1 people sorted through and commented on paperwork, using it as a visual prompt whilst 'doing remembering'. Also in Chapter 7.3, a participant pointing at their colleague's notebook whilst stating a task they have to do was taken as an instruction to write something down.

Secondly, the thesis has shown how important it is to the analysis to transcribe in detail the ways that eye gaze and bodily gesture are accomplished. It is the precise position and coordination of these noticings which lead to a more fine-tuned analysis of the talk and embodied conduct. For instance, in Chapter 6.3 transcribing the direction of people's gaze revealed how they pursued affiliation through seeking eye contact when making a joke. Also, in chapter 7.1 a detailed transcription of eye gaze revealed how people jointly oriented to the task at hand by sequentially mirroring the direction of each other's gaze towards the computer screens. The transcription of bodily actions in this thesis was undertaken using a somewhat simplified and adapted version of the

multimodal transcript conventions developed by Mondada (2019a). This approach was used when it appeared that a closer look at the participants' actions or use of equipment would add to the analysis of their talk. This contributes to the existing body of work on multimodal transcription conventions.

Thirdly, some of the analysis in this thesis has shown how objects or artefacts can be used to redress imbalances between two people working together. In other words, they can be key elements of achieving greater equity between people and in accomplishing collaborative action (Heath et al 2018). Most notably, those artefacts which give control over information such as computers, notebooks and other paperwork may play this function, affecting the course of the interaction. This was evident for instance, in Chapter 6.1 where the written information people were using was accessible to both participants, creating a more equal chance for either person to decide how to start their work. Objects were also used to tip the balance in favour of the worker with a learning disability so they could potentially have more influence on a key decision. For example, in Chapter 7.2.1, IT equipment was passed to the worker with a learning disability giving them control of a computer programme they were using to choose an Easy Read image.

9.3.3 Epistemics

Broadly, some CA analysts would argue that one cannot refer to an abstraction such as 'knowledge' and use it as part of an analysis, since the goal is only to refer to what is actually done, and what is evident in the data. However, Heritage has strongly contended that it is possible to use the concept of epistemics when analysing interaction and that people routinely orient to the knowledge that they and their conversational partners have, or do not have (Heritage 2014). This thesis would add to Heritage's position, by showing how epistemics matter in co-working, when one partner has knowledge about their work that their co-working partner does not. In respect of the pattern of talk, those co-workers who had greater epistemic access to the task at hand (and thus were in a K+ position) initiated sequences about their work. This can be seen in the excerpts in Chapter 6 when

co-workers launched sequences describing their work, projecting that their colleagues were 'relatively unknowing' regarding this work (Heritage 2012).

Other work on epistemics has been mainly about personal knowledge, that is, the epistemic primacy of each person to have knowledge about their own life (Raymond and Heritage 2006) and the way this can affect the pattern of talk. This thesis, however, shows how one party can have greater epistemic rights simply due to prior conversations or contact with third parties (for example, via email) or by their presence in additional interactions, such as meetings. Equality in co-working relies on these elements of prior knowledge and could flounder if one party has greater access to third-party knowledge than another as seen in Chapter 6 where the co-workers in a K-position took fewer and shorter turns at talk, for example. Although it could be presumed that the difference in intellectual ability between the co-workers would account for inequality when working together and is indeed part of the reason for implementing a co-working arrangement, this thesis showed that unequal epistemic access to the task at hand was potentially more significant in creating interactional inequality.

9.3.4 Deontics

In considering the epistemic asymmetries in this study, it is also important to note the ways in which deontic asymmetries play out. A person's deontic authority relates to their right to decide upon other people's actions, and it can vary across domains and interactions (Stefanovic and Perakyla 2012). CA research shows how people present and negotiate their deontic authority in interaction and that a second speaker can push back against this or acquiesce and go along with it (Antaki and Webb 2019; Stefanovic and Perakyla 2012). This study supported this position as we saw that the co-workers oriented to the authority of their colleagues in specific domains. For example, the co-workers without a learning disability assumed authority to decide upon the working agenda and their colleagues supported this. In contrast, both workers foregrounded the right of the co-workers with a learning disability to have their voice represented in their work and to decide if details of a task were suitably complete.

Stefanovic and Perakyla (2012) revealed how a speaker's deontic authority was oriented to when joint decisions were made in an institutional setting, by the use of assertions and proposals. Largely, when proposals are made about future actions, there is a 'more symmetrical distribution of deontic rights' and when assertions are used the speaker has greater deontic rights. This study partly supports this finding regarding assertions. The co-workers without learning disabilities made assertions when talking about their working agenda for the day when they had already assumed authority to decide what they were going to do. However, the co-workers with learning disabilities also made assertions regarding having a break, but then went on to make further negotiations before actually taking the break, suggesting less deontic authority in this matter. In summary, this study showed that it was accepted that the co-workers with and without learning disabilities had deontic authority regarding different matters. It also showed that a key factor in equalising the ability to exercise deontic authority was the availability of accessible information.

9.3.5 Affiliation

Affiliative actions are those that create or maintain social solidarity between speakers, and which support the 'affective stance' of the speaker (Lindstrom and Sorjonen, 2014). Stivers et al (2011, p.21) specified that affiliative responses are "maximally pro-social when they match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action". There are a number of ways that affiliation can be conveyed through spoken or embodied actions or the 'specific sequential position of the response' (Lee and Tanaka 2016). This study upholds Stivers' claim that affiliative actions are supportive of social solidarity, as maintaining positive working relationships was a key imperative for the co-workers. The study also supports the claim that affiliative responses are apparent in people's visible conduct. In Chapter 7.3 and Chapter 7.4.3, co-workers oriented their body and eye gaze towards their colleague or leant forward when the speaker displayed some misunderstanding or gave a dispreferred response to a prior question.

The study builds on Stivers's claim that affiliative actions match the affective stance of the previous speaker. In the context of a working relationship where the moral imperative of addressing

inequality is played out, devices such as laughter and/or jokes were often used as a way of softening the inherent lack of symmetry between the two co-workers, for example, the joke and laughter regarding acknowledgement of the lack of accessible information in Chapter 6.4 and in Chapter 8.3 when the co-workers disagreed when to have a break.

9.3.6 Alignment

Affiliation and alignment are related concepts and while affiliation has a social focus, alignment relates to how a speaker's responding actions cooperate with the structural properties of talk (Stivers et al 2011). This can be seen when an extended turn at talk is taken during storytelling, for example, and the recipient responds with continuers such as 'mm hm' encouraging the speaker to carry on (Lee and Tanaka 2016). Alignment was present in this study when extended turns were taken by workers with learning disabilities describing an idea or recounting details of a phone call (Chapter 7.2 and 6.4). It was also present when the colleague without a learning disability described the work they were both to do that day (Chapter 6.1 and 6.2).

This study contributes to the literature with an example of alignment/disalignment with an idiosyncratic style of talk. Graham routinely echoes the end of John's prior turn, as in this example from Chapter 6.2:

03 JOH: she::'s the:: (0.4) British boss [of Voice.]
04 GRA: [sov Voice_] (.) yeah
05 JOH: she's gonna be at the me[eting]
06 GRA: [meeti]n

This was treated unproblematically and appeared to be both an affiliative and aligning action, for example, Graham agreed with John's opinion about approaching a difficult meeting and his echoing turns were largely treated as continuers by John. The one time that Graham did not use this

approach, he disaligned with John's talk in order to bring up the need for a break (Chapter 8.1). He stopped echoing John, then talked repeatedly in overlap with him until he could take a turn to mention having a break. Because of the unusual nature of these disaligning strategies, Graham was successful in gaining his partner's agreement.

9.4 Contribution to knowledge in the disability movement

9.4.1 Expanding upon the Expert by Experience role

The co-working arrangement in this study involves two colleagues working together where one of them is employed by virtue of having a learning disability and one of them by virtue of *not* having a learning disability. Particularly in the context of learning disability, the thesis has shown how the co-working role is done. As described in Chapter 2.7, by being part of the co-working partnership, the individual with a learning disability is operating as an 'expert by experience'. The experience they have which their co-worker does not is their understanding of facing barriers to inclusion and of accessing services for people with a learning disability. This is the unique expertise that they bring to the role and without it they would not qualify as a candidate for the job.

What this study has shown is that when the co-worker without a learning disability understood and acknowledged the particular knowledge and skills that an expert by experience with learning disabilities has, then they could make that visible in the way they provided opportunities for them to have an active influence over their work together. Furthermore, when the co-worker withheld talk and allowed time for their colleague to work through ideas, then their colleague had the opportunity to exert deontic control over a specific aspect of their work. This is significant as all but one of the interactions started with the co-worker without a learning disability being oriented to as having deontic authority. Even in a slightly troubled interaction, (as seen in Chapter 6.1) the co-worker with a learning disability was able to make it explicit that accessible information was imperative, when she said, 'why are we there.'

By going behind the scenes in disabled people's organisations, this study showed the detail of the preparatory work between co-workers. Two of the dyads were preparing work for a project partner who had commissioned them to deliver a product at a later date, such as a training workshop and conference presentation. As mentioned in Chapter 1 my own experience of a local authority commissioning a person with a learning disability to undertake a co-produced activity with their staff was fraught with inequalities. This thesis reveals how co-working within a disabled person's organisation functions as a preparatory step before external co-production activities can take place. Although the dyads differed in the way they worked together, co-working allowed the possibility of meaningful power sharing in a way that would not be achievable using the approach to co-production that I had experienced in a local authority (Chapter 1). Having time to work alongside each other in a collaborative way enabled a much more equitable outcome than is possible within complex, often bureaucratic and inaccessible organisations.

The study also showed that it is crucial that the individual with learning disabilities is involved in all aspects of their work and that the work is accessible to them. Although we don't know how the training workshop and conference presentation (both referred to in Chapter six) actually went, we can only speculate that it probably makes a difference to how someone comes across when representing their organisation in a public forum if they have full and equal access to all preparatory work. Not being present at key meetings with project partners and not having information that you can understand gives a stark message about how much someone's contribution is valued. There is the potential that this message could affect an individual's confidence and if not fully and confidently prepared to deliver a training workshop, for example, it could impact the reputation of disabled people's organisations representing people with learning disabilities and risk appearing tokenistic. This is an area where more research is needed, to collect data which follows through from preparatory meetings into public forums.

9.4.2 Reflecting on the place of people with learning disabilities in the disability movement

As discussed in Chapter 2, the disability movement led by those with physical and other impairments started slightly earlier and took a different trajectory than it did for those with a learning disability. Early on in the movement, those with physical impairments were keen to remove themselves from any association with people with a learning disability because of the infantilising treatment they received when due to ignorant attitudes, their physical disability was equated with a learning disability (Campbell 1997). Distancing themselves from people with learning disabilities meant that they weren't subject to the additional discrimination, restriction of rights and silencing that they received. Within the movement, this resulted in two separate strands of activism and organisations supporting the rights of people with learning disabilities were not always welcomed in the wider disability movement. The main objective in the movement for individuals with a learning disability was, and arguably still is, as Jan states in Chapter 7.4 to 'help people to use their voice and to have a voice', whilst other disabled people's organisations have a broader aim and focus on campaigning for equality and inclusion for most or all disabled people (Inclusion London 2021).

This study contributes to debates about the position of people with a learning disability in the disability movement, particularly with regards to there being separate disabled people's organisations. Organisations like the ones in this thesis are fundamental to the rights of people with learning disabilities and central to making a difference to the lives of other people with learning disabilities. The contexts where people are enabled to have power and the approaches used to do this are often quite different for people with a learning disability. The thesis provides a behind-the-scenes look in organisations for people with learning disabilities and shows some of the detailed work that happens in order for power to be equalised. What is clear is that effective, equal co-working takes time, skill and understanding to implement. Time is required to make information accessible, either before the co-workers work together, as a joint exercise or to interpret information on an ad hoc basis as they work together. Although as mentioned in the co-production literature in Chapter 1 a positive, close relationship is beneficial, this study has shown that more than this is needed for equitable co-working. Stepping back from an interaction and resisting taking

over so that a co-worker with learning disabilities can ‘use their voice’ requires understanding and sensitivity regarding how power is played out in interaction. One of the co-workers who took this approach had been working with their colleague for only a short time, showing that it is possible to hold back from taking over even if you don’t know someone well. It is also important that the co-worker without learning disabilities has an understanding of the strategies that can promote or hinder involvement in decision making. Equally, it is helpful for their colleagues with a learning disability to assert their power and to be aware of their right to have a voice, just as Angel did in Chapter 8.3, when she refused Sue’s suggestion of stopping for lunch. Sharing ideas and coming to an agreement about work matters, or things such as taking a break, takes careful negotiation using the devices already mentioned. And working to maintain a positive and supportive mutual relationship is imperative when managing aspects of work that require negotiation.

9.4.3 Making comparisons with support work

As co-working is not currently a widely known or widely used approach, we cannot be sure if it is used in other disabled people’s organisations. As other disabled people generally don’t face the same barriers to having their voices heard, choices respected and rights upheld in the way people with learning disabilities do, it appears unlikely. They also experience fewer barriers to employment with 52.3% in paid work (House of Commons Library 2021), versus only 5.1% of people with a learning disability (British Association of Supported Employment 2021). A co-working set up is one that lends itself to enabling people with learning disabilities to take on more senior and complex roles than are usually made available to them and therefore having the ability to exert influence and advocate for change to disabling practices. This is exactly what was seen when the NHS set up Learning Disability Network Managers co-working roles (see Chapter 2). Although other disabled people are likely to require some type of support or reasonable adjustments in work, be that in a disabled people’s organisation or not, there is likely to be a difference between the type of support they might receive from a personal assistant (PA) or support worker and that which is provided by a co-worker. A PA or support worker is not employed on an equal basis to the person they are supporting; for example, their job description would describe the practical activities they have to provide to support their employer (the disabled person), they would have a different job title and

would probably be self-employed or employed by an agency. In addition, they would be unlikely to earn the same salary as the person they support, especially if that person was in a position of responsibility/seniority. It would be routine in the employer- PA relationship for the employer to instruct the PA to complete tasks or ask for their support, whereas as we have seen, although there was one example of a co-worker asking their colleague what they wanted them to do, ultimately the task they completed was a joint one. The co-workers in this study prioritised working together, sharing responsibility or negotiating whenever possible and mitigated the impact when one of them 'took over'. The essential difference between co-working and a PA or support worker is the emphasis on working together, rather than 'for'. And this is reflected in the lower status and salary that a PA would receive compared with what a co-worker could potentially receive as a manager in the NHS for example.

Although the interactions showed that joint working was a priority for the co-workers, there were some features of 'support worker' talk and it is interesting to reflect on how these interactions would appear if the same talk occurred between co-workers in other settings, for instance where one had a physical disability and the other did not. It is hard to imagine that the stretches of 'teacher style talk' and known answer questions would remain unchallenged for as long as they did or that the non-disabled co-worker would be automatically oriented to as having deontic authority during the opening sequences of talk. Telling a colleague what time they should come back from a break could be received as controlling and a person may convey that they feel affronted if told 'off you go then' (as in excerpt 6) after expressing an idea. The fact that a person who does not have a learning disability could be seen to react differently to these interactions highlights how power can still be a feature of talk even when equality is the aim. It points towards the sensitivity that is required of a co-worker to accommodate their colleague's support needs and hold back from assuming authority. It also underlines the points at which a co-worker with a learning disability may wish to challenge or push back against these types of practice.

9.5 Reflecting on the methodology

9.5.1 Use of Conversation Analysis

CA was chosen for this study in order to reveal what talk achieves for colleagues aiming for equality in co-working and how they contribute to decision making. The organisations that undertake co-working operate within a strong value base with aims of achieving equality, promoting rights and improving the life chances of people with learning disabilities. If another methodology had been used to conduct this study, such as interviews, it is possible that interviewees would describe their approach to co-working in line with these values. An interview would also give a broad gloss on the detail of what happens during co-working and the worker's perspective on it. By contrast, in the current thesis, CA has enabled us to see how co-working is done without obscuring what actually happens. For instance, as the researcher, I have experience of working in disabled people's organisations and of co-working arrangements and I am aware of that there is a strong moral argument put forward by those in these organisations for any way of working which foregrounds the voice and experience of disabled people. Equally, there is fear that their practices may be perceived as misjudged or tokenistic. Therefore, it is hard to argue for improvements without a rigorous method. CA was a good choice for this study as it enabled a closer look at the finer details of the interaction between co-workers without presuming that equal power sharing was a 'given'.

Early studies on people with learning disabilities' interactions focussed almost exclusively on deficits that affected the participants (Schiefelbusch et al 1967). A later series of studies by Sigelman et al (1980, 1981 a & b, 1982) compared different versions of interview questions and showed that people with learning disabilities tend to acquiesce and say 'yes' to questions. It was with the advent of CA that the emphasis shifted away from communicative 'competence' and towards social interaction (Rapley and Antaki 1996). In fact, the concept of 'acquiescence' was shown to be far more nuanced than previously thought, and to be one of a range of strategies that could be used by participants during interviews. Today, CA is useful in supporting the stance of the social relational model of disability (Thomas 2004b) whereby it enables us to examine one of the social barriers they face, which is the way that people interact with them. This study contributes to a body of work in CA which highlights that the way in which those who work alongside or support

people with learning disabilities can interact with them in ways which limit and disable them or support them to claim their power. In addition, it contributes to a growing field in CA regarding interactions between people with a learning disability and those who work alongside them. To date, much of this research has focussed on caring relationships and this adds to the field with a focus on a working relationship, taking into account what has been learnt from existing studies, as has been detailed above.

9.5.2 Inclusivity in the methodology

This study set out to adopt at least in part an ‘inclusive’ methodology (Walmsley 2001). Two individuals with learning disabilities who worked in disabled peoples’ organisations, who had experienced working alongside people who do not have a learning disability and who were also employed at the University of Bristol as Research Associates, worked as co-researchers on this study. Their role was specifically to assist in selecting excerpts of data that they felt were interesting and which represented issues of power sharing or misuse. However, rather than just choosing the excerpts, the co-researchers started an initial analysis of data by offering their insights on video clips of chosen data. They were paid for their time at the hourly rate of a researcher working for the university.

Despite my aims, I cannot claim that this was a fully inclusive study (Barton 2006; Bigby et al 2013), as the basis for the research was my own idea; I completed data collection and the detailed analysis of data after excerpts were chosen. Inclusive research is fundamental to disability studies and is defined as research which people with a learning disability are involved in producing, not just as participants (Walmsley 2001). Historically, people with a learning disability have not been even considered as reliable research respondents, so inclusive research represents a shift in power and control of the research agenda and echoes the claim of ‘nothing about us, without us’ (Crowther 2007). When having initial meetings with research participants for the study, a couple of them commented that they appreciated that people with learning disabilities were researchers and

would assist with the study as they felt they had the insight to represent their experience better than someone who did not have a learning disability.

Inclusive CA research presents a challenge as the transcription and analysis of data is complex and requires a level of cognitive ability that may be beyond the reach of most people with a diagnosis of a learning disability. It requires time to make the process understandable, accessible and meaningful and a flaw of this study was that it took some time to assist the co-researchers to understand a project they had not been involved with from the start. The co-researchers and I spent some time watching and re-watching a few select video clips, discussed what they understood was happening and what it meant in relation to co-workers working together well. They used their own experience to reflect on what they felt about the data and which of the video clips told a story about how people work together. Although this initial analysis did not make use of a CA transcript, it made use of a verbatim transcript upon which we marked and discussed any notable body movements, laughter and volume changes. Upon reflection, more time to do this would have been useful to practise reflecting upon video data and drawing out meaning from prosody and embodied actions. However, funding to pay for the co-researcher's time was limited. Nevertheless, I would argue that it did prove a useful basis for further detailed CA analysis and deciding upon final excerpts to analyse. By contrast one of the first studies in which researchers with learning disabilities took part in CA was a fully funded project over three years, in which the people with learning disabilities worked on a regular, weekly basis to build their skills and to work with data (Williams et al 2010).

The final selection of excerpts was influenced by the co-researchers' choices and by making collections of different phenomena, for example, starting and finishing work together, getting the work done, joint word finding, understanding the task, taking a break, planning ahead, giving instructions, explaining work done separately. The co-researchers highlighted excerpts from the 'starting work together' and 'getting the work done' collections as representative of enabling and less enabling co-working styles. Making decisions was a feature in all of the collections and the final excerpts were chosen based on those which tell a story about what works and what does not work in co-working. This study thus contributes to understanding how to involve people in CA analysis in an accessible way when they do not have CA training, particularly when with working with

researchers with learning disabilities. It also contributes to the body of work on inclusive research, especially when using complex research methods such as CA.

9.6 Practice recommendations

For disabled people's organisations, self-advocacy groups or other organisations wishing to implement or improve upon co-working arrangements between people with and without learning disabilities, this thesis has a number of practical recommendations.

1. Being clear about co-working

The grey literature currently available online gives a brief outline of how two organisations have implemented co-working, however the approach is not used widely. Defining the approach, its purpose, intended outcomes for people with learning disabilities and any potential pitfalls would provide useful guidance and assist with funding applications.

2. Funding

Equal co-working requires time. Funding should take into account the time required to make tasks accessible to both workers. This could include software to make information accessible, IT equipment, time for both parties to attend meetings, producing accessible, Easy Read information and time to work at a pace comfortable for both co-workers.

3. Equal involvement from the start

The findings show that co-working works best if both partners have equal access to every part of the project they are working on. When only one of the co-workers (especially if this is the co-worker who does not have a learning disability) has prior involvement with project partners, that can create epistemic asymmetry. Where the co-worker without a learning disability was not part of a conversation with commissioners, there was less interactional difficulty involved in addressing the asymmetry. We saw that this asymmetry led to co-workers having fewer interactional rights and that the decision regarding what specific task to work on was deferred to their colleague.

4. Accessibility of information

This study has shown the importance of Easy Read and/or other types of accessible information and the difference it can make to people with learning disabilities in work. The

format of information differed between dyads, with one using pictorial and written notes, for example. What mattered was that there was equal opportunity to understand and make use of key information needed to do the job. Where one dyad had accessible Easy Read information from their prior meeting, there was significantly less epistemic asymmetry between them.

5. IT

Software that is used to produce Easy Read information formed a key part of some dyads' work. However, it is also a useful tool for producing or interpreting information for the co-worker with a learning disability. Using or sharing use of a laptop enabled joint working. When a laptop was only physically accessible to one person who was using it to record information, their colleague with a learning disability was at risk of being excluded from the main activity as they were left with a purely intellectual role to perform.

6. The space matters

The findings also showed that the physical set up of the room that people work in really matters. Having equal visual access to whatever is being used to record information, be that a notebook or laptop, and being sat in close proximity to their colleague impacted upon how involved people were in the activity. The set ups which seemed to foster collaborative working involved the co-workers being sat side by side and,

- each person using their own laptop and having sight of the other person's laptop
- paperwork and a notebook in view of both co-workers
- a laptop in the middle of the co-workers with a keyboard and mouse attached which was passed between the co-workers

7. Relationship is important but not everything

The dyads differed in how long they had been working together but all appeared to foreground the need for a friendly relationship through affiliative actions such as laughter, joking and referring to known points of interest, for example the time a future meeting may start, free lunch at an event or referring to shared experiences. These actions were part of what contributed to the co-worker with a learning disability being active in the current task and contributing to decision making about aspects of their work. However, this was not the only thing that made a difference as one dyad had only been working together for a few

months, but both co-workers made use of skills that enhanced power sharing (described below).

Putting the CA findings into action

There is scope for the recommendations above to be combined with the following actions to form a training package for DPOs and advocacy organisations regarding co-working practice. Below are key action points that the co-workers demonstrated contributed to interactional equality in their practice.

An important focus for the co-worker without a learning disability was to foreground the expertise of their colleague with a learning disability. Having an understanding of why this is important and how it can be achieved was key. The strategies that they used to do this included:

- holding back from contributing their own judgement, ideas or solutions when their colleague was expressing an idea. This often entailed accepting a silence or a pause, without filling it immediately or holding an object such as a mug, or their hand in front of their mouth to stop themselves talking.
- using attentive and encouraging embodied actions at key points, for example making eye contact, smiling, turning their body and chair to face their colleague.
- using verbal continuers and maintaining interactional asymmetry when their colleague took extended turns at talk.
- making their colleague's ideas and contributions relevant and avoiding focussing on misunderstandings. This can help to ensure their ideas are included in their work.
- when complex or unfamiliar words are used, verbally interpreting them in straightforward language so they are easier to understand.
- ensuring that project partners provide accessible information.
- handing over/sharing use of IT equipment.
- orienting to their colleague having the authority to decide when things within their epistemic domain have been completed adequately i.e., an Easy Read image.

- ensuring that any additional knowledge their colleague has is used in their work, e.g., Graham's knowledge of the local area.

Nevertheless, the co-workers with a learning disability were not simply the recipients of their colleague's skilled practices and demonstrated that demanding their rights and orienting to their specialist expertise was crucial to having influence. We saw that they upheld their rights in interaction in the following ways:

- Refusing a request for a lunch break by making eye contact with their colleague and making a couple of alternative suggestions to having a break.
- Questioning their colleague when the task was unclear.
- Using verbal and embodied actions to mark that they were satisfied with a decision.
- Pursuing extended turns at talk to describe an idea.
- Using embodied actions to upgrade a request for a break.
- Making their specialist knowledge explicit by engaging in longer turns at talk.

9.7 Take home messages

This thesis has shown that co-working is a valid and effective method of enabling people with learning disabilities to achieve status in the world of paid employment, and to have a voice and influence in the organisations they work for. The detail of how rights are enacted, how decisions are made and how people get to have influence at work or not are absolutely crucial, and that is what has been demonstrated in this thesis. There is potential for this method to be applied more widely than it is currently and even used outside of disabled people's organisations. However, without sufficient funding so that both co-workers can be included in a meaningful and accessible way in all aspects of their work together, there is a risk that existing inequalities between people with learning disabilities and other people are perpetuated. Nevertheless, there are moments highlighted throughout the data where the reverse is true and the co-worker with a learning disability claimed their power and had influence in their job.

To conclude, a snippet of data really allows us to see how a co-worker with a learning disability can exercise their power. This was no better demonstrated when after 145 lines of talk discussing ideas for an exercise for a workshop they were delivering, Julie describes a particular game, states 'they could (.) play that' and taps her pen on Jennifer's notepad in a gesture suggesting she needs to write the idea down (Chapter 7.3 and figure 9.1 below). People like Julie, working alongside a co-worker like Jennifer can lead the way in changing the balance of power that people with learning disabilities have at work and this thesis has shown how that power plays out in the very fine details of the interaction between co-workers.



Figure 9.1 Julie and Jennifer 'play that one'

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Appendix A

Literature overview

Reference	Country	Sample	Methods	Findings	Comments
Williams, V., Ponting, L., Ford, K. and Rudge, P., 2009. 'A bit of common ground': personalisation and the use of shared knowledge in interactions between people with learning disabilities and their personal assistants. <i>Discourse studies</i> , 11(5), pp.607-624.	UK	14 people with learning disabilities and their personal assistants	Thematic analysis of prior interviews to determine what people with learning disabilities want from PAs. CA of videotaped interactions between PAs and people with learning disabilities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both parties refer to shared information in order to equalise the relationship Referencing shared knowledge can lead to more personalised support 	Possibility of participants 'performing' for the camera as researchers with learning disabilities collected some of the data, creating potential for participants to feel increased scrutiny.
Antaki, C., Finlay, W.M.L. and Walton, C., 2009. Choices for people with intellectual disabilities: Official discourse and everyday practice. <i>Journal of Policy and Practice in Intellectual Disabilities</i> , 6(4), pp.260-266.	UK	5 men aged 43 -65 living in one group home and 10 people aged 34-53 living in another group home. All had ID.	Ethnographic field notes and video and audio recordings of everyday interactions over a nine month period. CA applied to video and audio data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff use choices to instigate institutional objectives of the service Policy discourse about choice bears little relation to the choices offered on a day to day basis in a group home 	Focus of analysis is heavily weighted towards staff offering choices. Further research on staff responses to service users instigating choice would also provide useful practice guidance for support workers.
Antaki, C. and Chinn, D., 2019. Companions' dilemma of intervention when they mediate between patients with intellectual disabilities and	UK	25 individuals with ID attending a health check between July 2016 and June 2017 at GP surgeries in	CA applied to video and audio recorded interactions of the health checks.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Companion's interventions fell on a gradient of low to high entitlement, from hinting to taking over. 	Audio recorded interactions may have included analytically relevant embodied actions.

health staff. Patient education and counseling, 102(11), pp.2024-2030.		London with a family member or carer.			
Antaki, C. and Crompton, R.J., 2015. Conversational practices promoting a discourse of agency for adults with intellectual disabilities. <i>Discourse & Society</i> , 26(6), pp.645-661.	UK	5 men with ID who live in a residential home and service users at a therapeutic horticulture service.	CA applied to video recorded interactions between staff and service users in these settings.	Three practices were identified which promoted services user's agency: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Casting the activity as part of a meaningful overall framework 2. Designing turns as suggestions and requests 3. Implying a shared purpose 	Appears that assumptions about staff have influenced the analysis, despite claims to the contrary. Conclusion claims that better communication training would benefit staff in the residential service, and difference in level of communication training between residential and horticultural staff was mentioned earlier in the article.
Mortari, L. and Pino, M., 2014. Conversational pursuit of medication compliance in a Therapeutic Community for persons diagnosed with mental disorders. <i>Disability and Rehabilitation</i> , 36(17), pp.1419-1430.	Italy	Between 8 and 10 service users attending 4 different meetings at a therapeutic community for people with mental health conditions in Italy. The same 1 male and 1 female staff member attended each meeting.	CA applied to audio recordings of the meetings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The staff employ topic initiation to engage service users in talk about medication to achieve the institutional objective of medication compliance. • Service user's accounts of side effects are not responded to • Staff treat medication problems as compliance problems 	Video data may have revealed embodied evidence of service user's resistance to engagement in medication talk or staff non responsiveness to accounts of side effects.

Antaki, C., Finlay, W.M.L. and Walton, C., 2007. Conversational shaping: Staff members' solicitation of talk from people with an intellectual impairment. <i>Qualitative Health Research</i> , 17(10), pp.1403-1414.	UK	People with ID in three group homes. No further details provided.	Ethnographic field notes and video and audio recordings of everyday interactions between service users and staff over a nine month period. CA applied to video and audio data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff employ six interactional practices to engage service users in conversation: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> question pursuit articulating what resident means disattending ill-formatted material blunt yes–no repeat of question test questions teasing 	Presence of researcher could have impacted on the frequency of staff's initiation of talk with service users (which was shown to be disproportionate to service user's initiation of talk with staff).
Jingree, T., Finlay, W.M.L. and Antaki, C., 2006. Empowering words, disempowering actions: an analysis of interactions between staff members and people with learning disabilities in residents' meetings. <i>Journal of Intellectual Disability Research</i> , 50(3), pp.212-226.	UK	Six women and two men aged between 49 and 70 who lived at a residential care home for people with ID in the UK. Four female and one male member of staff aged 41-66.	CA applied to audio recordings of two resident's meetings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff exercised their interactional power in the resident's meetings Staff guided discussions and led people to make certain statements and decisions. 	It is not mentioned in the article, but a diagram of the room set up includes the position of the researcher. Their presence could have impacted the interactions of the participants. The use of audio meant that embodied actions which impacted on interactions were not able to be considered.
Nicholson, C., Finlay, W.M.L. and Stagg, S., 2021. Forms of resistance in people with severe and profound intellectual disabilities. <i>Sociology of Health & Illness</i> .	UK	4 male and 1 female service users aged 31-48 at a residential home and a day centre for people with ID. 4	Ethnographic field notes, ad hoc interviews and video recordings. CA applied to video data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Service users exhibited a range of nonverbal resistance behaviours Staff did not always recognise these behaviours as decision making 	<p>The authors acknowledge:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Their interpretation of service users' nonverbal behaviour is limited by their experience as social psychologists.

		female and 8 male members of staff.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resistance was often ignored or overridden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff intentions were not fully explored. Staff behaviour may have been influenced by the presence of the researcher.
Antaki, C., Walton, C. and Finlay, W.M.L., 2007. How proposing an activity to a person with an intellectual disability can imply a limited identity. <i>Discourse & Society</i> , 18(4), pp.393-410.	UK	People with a learning disability living in one of two residential homes or attending a day centre, who attended four service user meetings with support from staff members. No further details supplied.	CA applied to audio and video data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff commonly propose activities to people by associating it with a person they know who will also be attending, thus framing them as socially motivated. This approach exerts subtle pressure on people to not reject activities and the people associated with them. 	Some data was audio recorded therefore analytically relevant physical actions could not be observed.
Finlay, W.M. and Antaki, C., 2012. How staff pursue questions to adults with intellectual disabilities. <i>Journal of Intellectual Disability Research</i> , 56(4), pp.361-370.	UK	People with ID who lived in one of two residential homes or who attended a gardening project. No further details supplied.	An ethnographic study with CA applied to video data collected in each of the settings.	<p>Seven question pursuit practices that staff used to obtain a 'satisfactory' response were identified:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Question repetition 2. Expansion 3. Questions about desire versus intention 4. Making a question more specific 5. Changing the question format 	The paper doesn't state the number of participants in the study, their gender or age.

				6. Providing a visible realisation of the question 7. Using preliminary questions	
Williams, V., Ponting, L. and Ford, K., 2009. 'I do like the subtle touch': interactions between people with learning difficulties and their personal assistants. <i>Disability & Society</i> , 24(7), pp.815-828	UK	14 pairs of people with learning disabilities and their PAs.	Video recordings of 19 different occasions when the PA and person with learning disabilities were working together (at home, domestic or social activities and excursions). CA applied to the video recordings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful interactions are sensitive to the wishes of the individual. • A friendly, but still professional relationship is dependent on both parties coordinating their body language, humour and timing. 	Possibility of the quality of data being impacted due to being filmed by researchers with learning disabilities. Participants actions may have been impacted by their presence.
Hutcheon, E., Noshin, R. and Lashewicz, B., 2017. Interrogating 'acquiescent' behavior of adults with developmental disabilities in interactions with caregiving family members: an instrumental case study. <i>Disability & Society</i> , 32(3), pp.344-357.	Canada	One individual with developmental disabilities and a mental health diagnosis in Canada and their parent carers.	A case study of a 2.5 hour video recording of a research interview with the participants. CA applied to the video recording.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence was found of the individual with developmental disabilities steering the conversation towards her own needs, rather than acquiescing. • Themes discovered were speaking over/capping it off, speaking for/giving it over, and correcting/redirecting. 	CA was applied to videotaped research interviews, not 'naturally occurring' data, therefore this may not be representative of usual interactions between the participants.
Kaminskiy, E. and Finlay, M., 2018. It Does Take Two to Tango: An Applied Conversation Analysis of	UK	3 female mental health service users aged 42, 24 and 26,	CA applied to audio recordings of medication reviews between each service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared decision making does not follow a set pattern. 	The authors highlight further research would be useful on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service users who take an active part in shared

Interactions between a Psychiatrist and Service-Users Discussing Medication. Health communication.		and one female psychiatrist.	user and the psychiatrist, then consideration of how criteria of Shared Decision Making are met.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service users can sensitively make proposals that enhance shared decision making. • Doctor's approach can vary between shutting service users down to encouraging them 	<p>decisions and how the psychiatrist responds to and supports this.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missed opportunities to involve people in shared decision making. <p>Video recordings may reveal embodied actions which support or oppose the findings.</p>
Stevanovic, M., Valkeapää, T., Weiste, E. and Lindholm, C., 2020. Joint decision making in a mental health rehabilitation community: the impact of support workers' proposal design on client responsiveness. <i>Counselling Psychology Quarterly</i> , pp.1-26.	Finland	15 male and 14 female clients at a Finnish Clubhouse for people with mental health conditions and 7 support workers (1 male, 6 female) aged 30 -50.	<p>Video recordings of 29 weekly meetings between September 2016 – August 2017. A 5 stage mixed methods approach was used:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analysis of support workers proposals 2. Design of coding scheme for proposals 3. Rating of client responsiveness 4. Multiple linear regression analysis 5. Illustration of findings with CA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seven predictor variables accounted for 24% variance in the data • The 4 variables predicting a higher level of participation were using an explicit address term, quasi open proposal format, support worker' length of experience and average level of client experience. • 3 variables predicting a lower level of client responsiveness were the grammatical complexity of proposal, modal declarative proposal form and presence of only one support worker. 	<p>The authors highlight:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data are from one Finnish setting which may affect applicability. • Video recording may have affected conduct of participants. • Independent raters may have been subject to bias due to listening to data prior to the proposal. • Coding scheme was not sensitive to the content of participants conversations.

			applied to examples		
Moore, J., 2016. Knowledge as an interactional tool in the management of client empowerment. Patient education and counselling, 99(6), pp.911-916.	UK	5 call takers and 165 callers to a mental health Infoline.	A single case analysis of an audio recorded call, using CA.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The call taker can produce turns which construct the caller as already having the knowledge about the help they require, which avoid advice giving and empower the caller. Positively framed Yes/No interrogatives position the caller as knowing what they wanted. 	The author notes that although empowerment is achieved in talk (and this is a goal of the institution in question) they cannot make claims that the caller is empowered outside the interaction. Whether this is an 'ethical' aim for this service is not considered in the study.
Pino, M., 2016. Knowledge displays: Soliciting clients to fill knowledge gaps and to reconcile knowledge discrepancies in therapeutic interaction. Patient education and counselling, 99(6), pp.897-904.	Italy	Between 7 and 12 clients and 2 members of staff attending 4 different meetings at a therapeutic community for people with mental health diagnoses. And between 3 and 5 clients and 2 members of staff at 8 different meetings at a therapeutic community for people with addiction problems.	CA applied to audio and video recordings of the meetings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff use 'knowledge displays' to prompt clients to share personal information when their responses are considered inadequate. 	The conduct of participants may have been affected by recording devices for example staff may have felt the need to use KDs more than usual if clients were reluctant to reveal personal and possibly incriminating information due to being recorded.

Antaki, C., Finlay, W., Walton, C. and Pate, L., 2008. Offering choices to people with intellectual disabilities: an interactional study. Journal of Intellectual Disability Research, 52(12), pp.1165-1175.	UK	5 men with ID living together in a residential home in the UK.	Ethnographic field notes, video and audio data recorded in the home over a nine month period.	<p>Six conversational practices that staff used to offer choices were identified:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Two option simple alternative in one question 2. Open question and understanding check 3. Open question and immediate multiple option alternatives 4. Open question and immediate single option 5. Open question reissued as one at a time alternatives 6. Closed question <p>If there is no other option than offering a number of alternatives the best approach was to either finish with an open question without any of the options in it; or if the person has named a small number of options, ask them to select one.</p>	A consideration of whether the choices are warranted, real choices or appear to be something the service users want would add to the discussion. Are staff focusing more on choices and pushing them on people due to the camera?
Pilnick, A., Clegg, J., Murphy, E. and Almack, K., 2010. Questioning the answer: questioning style, choice and self-determination in interactions with young	UK	28 young people aged 18/19 with ID in the process of preparing to leave special school.	CA applied to audio recorded data from 8 multi party meetings planning the young person's transition from/leaving school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempts to enable self-determination can undermine choice and control. 	No details given as to why the extracts were chosen for analysis.

people with intellectual disabilities. <i>Sociology of health & illness</i> , 32(3), pp.415-436.					
Finlay, W.M.L., Antaki, C. and Walton, C., 2008. Saying no to the staff: an analysis of refusals in a home for people with severe communication difficulties. <i>Sociology of health & illness</i> , 30(1), pp.55-75.	UK	People with ID with 'high support needs' living together in a residential home in the UK.	Ethnographic field notes, video and audio recordings made over a nine month period in a residential home. CA applied to recorded data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refusals are treated as temporary reluctance, and treated in the following ways: • Treating the resident's behaviour as <i>not</i> a refusal • Reformulating an invitation into a no blame format • Minimising the task • Changing an invitation to a request or order • Physically moving the person • Adding a positive gloss 	The activity being analysed is one that may have little meaning or interest to people with 'high support needs' so perhaps there is an over representation of staff persistence and overriding refusals. (if it were a more meaningful/pleasurable activity would refusals be treated differently?).
Antaki, C., Young, N. and Finlay, M., 2002. Shaping clients' answers: Departures from neutrality in care-staff interviews with people with a learning disability. <i>Disability & Society</i> , 17(4), pp.435-455.	UK	Four men and one woman aged 28 -58 with a learning disability. The men lived alone in flats and the woman shared a house.	Audio recordings of questionnaire based interviews carried out by staff members to audit the quality of the service individuals are receiving. CA applied to the recordings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The staff did not use neutral practices in administering the questionnaire. • They celebrated positive responses, suggested improvements, offered advice, steered people towards more acceptable answers, offered suggestions and offered examples relevant to the individual when a question was vague or abstract. 	Video data would have revealed any embodied actions that impacted on responses.

Irvine, A., Drew, P., Bower, P., Ardern, K., Armitage, C.J., Barkham, M., Brooks, H., Connell, J., Faija, C.L., Gellatly, J. and Rushton, K., 2021. 'So just to go through the options...': patient choice in the telephone delivery of the NHS Improving Access to Psychological Therapies services. <i>Sociology of health & illness</i> , 43(1), pp.3-19.	UK	45 female and 21 male patients with mental health problems receiving support from Improving access to psychological therapies (IAPT) service, aged 17-71. Six female and 1 male Psychological Wellbeing practitioners (PWP) aged 24-72.	CA applied to audio recordings of telephone consultations between PWP and patients between November 2018 and February 2019.	Choice of treatment was presented to patients in three ways: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presenting a single option 2. Presenting different options one by one after the patient refusal 3. Presentation of multiple options at one time. The latter option enables person centredness and shared decision making about treatment choice.	It would be of interest to see which options the patients actually followed through with, and therefore how influenced they were by the PWP's treatment offers.
Williams, V., Ponting, L., Ford, K., Rudge, P. and (Skills for Support Team), 2010. Skills for support: personal assistants and people with learning disabilities. <i>British Journal of Learning Disabilities</i> , 38(1), pp.59-67.	UK	11 men and 3 women with learning disabilities and their PAs.	CA applied to 19 episodes of interaction between people and their PAs whilst undertaking domestic, social or leisure activities.	Good support from PAs is characterised by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showing respect, supporting choices and giving advice • Stepping back, listening and observing • Using open body language • Giving people time • Having shared experiences • Talking to people in an adult way 	A deliberate focus on 'good support' features, which obscures some of the regular patterns in asymmetrical talk which happened throughout the data.
Antaki, C., 2018. Supporting adults with intellectual	UK	Approximately six to eight people with ID	CA applied to video recordings of 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff supported people to chair the meeting along a 	Focus is on staff actions when people struggle which risks

disabilities by protecting their footing in a challenging conversational task with intellectual disabilities by protecting their footing in a challenging conversational task. Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders, 9(1), pp.98-113.		who attend the gardening project, two members of staff and some volunteers.	workday briefings lasting between 20 and 50 minutes.	<p>gradient of most to least supportive of their entitlements as chair.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the least supportive end they entirely took over the role of chair • At the most supportive end, staff made suggestions with low entitlement, offered candidate questions, and spoke for them. 	putting both the service user and staff member in a negative light. Focus on service user actions when they manage the task or aspects of it would provide an idea of strategies that work.
Antaki, C. and Kent, A., 2012. Telling people what to do (and, sometimes, why): Contingency, entitlement and explanation in staff requests to adults with intellectual impairments. Journal of Pragmatics, 44(6-7), pp.876-889.	UK	5 men with ID living in a residential home in the UK, and two members of staff.	CA applied to video data of five episodes representative of staff-service user interaction (food-preparation in the kitchen; laying the table for a meal; a meeting to plan holidays; a meal; and an evening in a social club).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 234 tokens of request were found in 3 hours 27 minutes of data. • Requests were made in formats that assume staff's entitlement to do so and which make no account of factors that might hinder the service user. • Bald imperatives were used 2/3 of the time. • Only 2 formats made account for the contingencies upon service users. • Staff only offered explanations for their 	Researcher/video presence may have influenced staff's behaviour towards exercising their authority and appearing 'competent'.

				requests on a dozen occasions.	
Finlay, W.M., Antaki, C., Walton, C. and Stribling, P., 2008. The dilemma for staff in 'playing a game' with a person with profound intellectual disabilities: Empowerment, inclusion and competence in interactional practice. <i>Sociology of Health & Illness</i> , 30(4), pp.531-549.	UK	A 36 year old man living in a residential home (with 9 other people with severe or profound learning disabilities aged between 34 and 53) and one member of staff.	CA applied to video data of staff playing a game with this man.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When initiating a game, staff treat lack of, or an ambiguous response from the service user as 'deferred approval' and continue to pursue the game. • Staff invitations to play a game became instructions. • Staff have an institutional imperative to be active and display service user's enjoyment, and this was played out in the pursuit of games. 	The authors note that some of the service user's behaviour may have been performed for the researcher present. They also state that they had limited experience of the setting and may have missed staff responses in the game with the service user.
Antaki, C., Finlay, W.M.L. and Walton, C., 2007. The staff are your friends: Intellectually disabled identities in official discourse and interactional practice. <i>British Journal of Social Psychology</i> , 46(1), pp.1-1	UK	8 residents and two staff members at a residential home for people with learning disabilities in the UK, who are present at a resident's meeting where 'relationships' is on the agenda.	CA applied to recorded data (not specified if video or audio data).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff moved from soliciting resident's views to instructing them. • Residents were led to produce certain statements by using answer pursuits, candidate answers, leading sentences with one word missing and formulations. Thus treating them as people who are coachable. • Residents were guided to classify staff as friends 	Claim made that the authors are confident that talk which reinforces an identity of deficiency will be present in other services for people with learning disabilities.

Williams, V. and Porter, S., 2015. Third-party turns and shared knowledge: Supports and challenges to disabled people in social care and research settings. <i>Communication & medicine</i> , 12(1), p.71.	UK	2 young people with ID (1 male, 1 female both aged 18-20) attending meetings (with parents/carers) to plan for leaving school. And 4 disabled people (3 women with ID, 1 man with physical, mental health and cognitive disabilities) aged 20-70+ taking part in research interviews with support from a third party.	CA applied to audio recordings of the young people's meetings and of the interviews with disabled people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third parties intervened in order to 1) clarify; 2) usurp; 3) prompt; 4) expand; and 5) challenge. • The shared epistemic status was made visible by these practices. • The majority of third party turns were supportive to the disabled person. • When challenges occurred, the third party was orienting more to progressivity than the need for foregrounding the disabled person's voice. 	Video data would allow embodied actions that may encourage or otherwise impact on third party turns to be analysed.
Antaki, C., Chinn, D., Walton, C., Finlay, W.M.L. and Sempik, J., 2020. To initiate repair or not? Coping with difficulties in the talk of adults with intellectual disabilities. <i>Clinical linguistics & phonetics</i> , 34(10-11), pp.954-976.	UK	People with ID who are attending two different gardening activity centres with support from staff. People with ID living in a supported housing service with staff support. And other people with ID attending health checks at a GP surgery with	CA applied to video data shot opportunistically at the garden activity centres and shot during health check appointments.	<p>When speech was undecipherable the following approaches were used:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaking in a way that requires little or no reply • Not taking up the next speaker slot • Responding only minimally • Embedded correction • Other initiated repair (candidate understandings, category specific repair initiators, repeats, open class repair 	The quality of the data which was videoed opportunistically may have been compromised by assumptions made by the researcher about what to record or not.

		support from a companion.		<p>initiators, mitigated correction, bald correction).</p> <p>Other initiated repair may be the most respectful approach to use.</p>	
Antaki, C., 2013. Two conversational practices for encouraging adults with intellectual disabilities to reflect on their activities. <i>Journal of Intellectual Disability Research</i> , 57(6), pp.580-588.	UK	5 men with ID living in a residential service and people with ID attending a garden activity service.	CA applied to 30 hours of video data from both services.	<p>Two practices were identified for encouraging service users to reflect. Both start with open ended questions but treat unclear or unsatisfactory response differently:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A facilitative style used hints and elaborations 2. An interrogatory style used test questions, yes/no questions and alternatives. <p>The facilitative style risks casting the service user as having less epistemic rights.</p>	Different staff styles are attributed to training, however workplace and industry culture may also have an impact (for example care versus therapy).
Antaki C. and Webb, J., 2019. When the larger objective matters more: support workers' epistemic and deontic authority over adult service-users. <i>Sociology of health & illness</i> , 41(8), pp.1549-1567.	UK	People with dementia attending 5 different support settings, 5 people with ID interacting with their PA, people with ID attending a pottery group and people with ID attending a	CA is applied to video recordings of interactions between service users and staff at each of the settings.	<p>Support workers can override service user's wishes by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exercising their deontic authority to progress an overarching objective, casting service user's requests as diversions from this. • Exercise their epistemic authority to dismiss a service user's proposal. 	The study focussed on support worker's negative practices, which could have been influenced by the presence of the researcher when filming.

		garden therapy centre.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People with cognitive impairments often cast their proposals in a low entitlement/high contingency form or as not serious. 	
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Appendix B

Co-Researchers Introductory letter



Debbie Worrall
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Bristol, BS8 1TZ
Tel: +44 (0)117 331 0983
debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk
Direct number: 07837 233114
www.bristol.ac.uk/norahfry

Dear ,

I am carrying out a PhD at the Norah Fry Research Centre at the University of Bristol. My research is entitled 'Co-production in talk : A conversation analysis study of decision making between a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities in joint work role'. The study intends to examine how a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities manage decision making when they have a shared job in a user led organisation. The research is supervised by Professor Val Williams and Dr Sandra Dowling and has received ethical clearance from the University of Bristol.

I am making contact with you as I am aware that you are currently working in a shared job as described above, at the University of Bristol. I am looking to recruit people who are currently working in these type of roles to act as co-researchers on this study. No formal research qualifications are required to undertake this research, the only requirement is that you are working in a shared job role and are willing to use your experience of this role to benefit the research.

As a co-researcher you will be expected to attend approximately six research meetings with myself and two other co-researchers at a venue convenient to all. These meetings will take place roughly between June and October 2017 and will last for no more than two hours each. You will be paid £200 for taking part. You will be expected to sign an agreement stating that you will maintain research participant's confidentiality.

By taking part in this study, you will gain some experience and knowledge of research and have a chance to be involved in research which aims to build on what we know about how to do co-production, employment for people with learning disabilities and enabling equal decision making responsibility between people with learning disabilities and people without learning disabilities.

Please see the attached research information sheet for further information about the study. If you have any questions or would like to find out more before committing to take part, please feel free to get in touch with me as above. Similarly, if you would definitely like to take part, feel free to get in touch. In order that the research is conducted in a timely manner, please could you let me know your response by the 19th May 2017?

Kind regards,

Debbie Worrall

Appendix C

Co-Researchers Easy Read Introductory letter



Debbie Worrall
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To



My name is Debbie Worrall.

I am a PhD student at the University of
Bristol



I am doing some research as part of my
studies.



I would like to find out how people who
have a shared job work well together
and make decisions together.



I would like to do this because shared jobs where people with learning disabilities are employed equally are quite unusual.



I am writing to you because you have a shared job and I am looking for people who have a shared job to do some of the research with me.

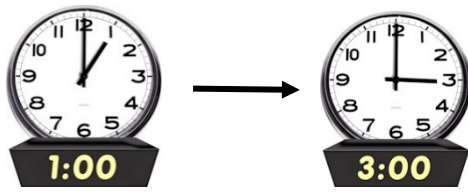


You do not need to have done research before or have had special training to do this. You will need to think and talk about your work with me and other researchers.

6 x



You will need to come to roughly 6 research meetings between June and October 2017.



The meetings will last up to 2 hours each.



You will be paid £200 for coming to these meetings.



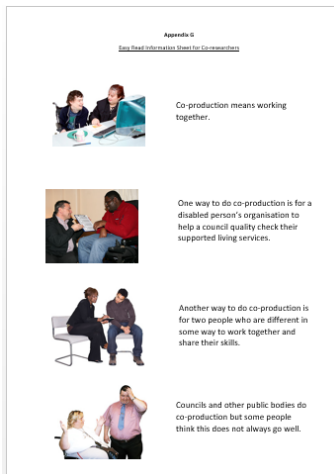
You will have to agree to keep what we talk about at the meetings private.



By taking part in this study you will learn about doing research.



You will also help with how we understand co-production, jobs for people with learning disabilities and how to make sure people with learning disabilities make equal choices at work.



There is an information sheet with this letter to tell you more about the research.



If you want to talk about taking part and to let me know if you are interested or not, please ring me on [redacted] or email me at:

debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk



Please can you ring or email by the 19th May 2017 to let me know if you will take part. Thank you

Appendix D

Easy Read Information Sheet for Co-researchers



Co-production means working together.



One way to do co-production is for a disabled person's organisation to help a council quality check their supported living services.



Another way to do co-production is for two people who are different in some way to work together and share their skills.



Councils and other public bodies do co-production but some people think this does not always go well.



I have seen that some disabled person's organisations have shared jobs.



This is where a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities work together. They have the same job and the same pay. They help each other to do the job.



I think this is a good way to do co-production.



I would like to see how people who have a shared job in a disabled person's organisation make decisions together.



I think this is important because not enough people with learning disabilities have jobs and they do not always get to have choice and control in their lives.



I want this research to show if people can make decisions together and do co-production well in a shared job.



I want this research to show if decision making happens equally in a shared job.



I want this research to show if big decisions (like spending work money) happen as equally as small decisions (like when to have a coffee break).

Appendix E

Co-Researchers Agreement

Debbie's Role

- I am the main researcher
- I can be contacted about the work we are doing together by email: debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk or by phone: [REDACTED]
- I will arrange our research meetings at a time and place that works for everyone
- I will pay you £200 to attend the research meetings
- I will explain the work we are going to do together and why we are doing it clearly, in the way you chose
- I will listen to your thoughts about the research
- I will explain how I will make sense of (analyse) the work we have done clearly

Your role

- You will use your experience of easy to understand information to help me to make information that I will give to people taking part in the research
- You will help out with making sense of (analysing) the research I have done by watching research videos
- You will come to all six research meetings. The meetings will last about two hours
- You will not talk about the people who have been in the research and what you saw on the research videos outside the meetings.
- You will use your experience of your shared job to think about what is in the research videos and decide what about them is important or interesting
- You will help me to decide what parts of the videos I should look at more closely (analyse).

Signed:

Date:

Appendix F

Easy Read Co-researchers Agreement



What Debbie will do:



Debbie will be the main researcher



Debbie will arrange the meetings at a time and place that suits everyone.



Debbie will pay you £200 for coming to the research meetings



Debbie will explain the research to you clearly and in the way you chose.



Debbie will listen to your thoughts about the research.



Debbie will explain how she is going to make sense of (analyse) your thoughts about the research.



Debbie can be contacted by phone on: [REDACTED] or by email at: debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk



What you will do:



You will help to make Easy Read information for people taking part in the research.



You will help to make sense of (analyse) the research Debbie has done by watching and thinking about research videos.

6 x



You will come to all research meetings. They will last up to 2 hours each.



You will not talk about the research or what you have seen in the videos outside of the meetings.



You will think and talk about how your shared job works, to make sense of what you see in the research videos.



You will help Debbie to choose which parts of the video to look at more closely.

Sign here to say that you have read and understood everything in this agreement.



Name.....



Date.....

Appendix G



Debbie Worrall
Norah Fry Research Centre
8 Priory Road
Bristol, BS8 1T
Tel: 07837 233114
debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk
www.bristol.ac.uk/norahfry

To the trustees of (organisation name)



My name is Debbie Worrall.

I am a PhD student at the University of Bristol



I am doing some research as part of my studies.



I would like to find out how people who have a shared job work well together and make decisions together.

Disabled people's organisation logo

I would like to look at how people in shared jobs work together in a disabled people's organisation like yours.



My supervisors (bosses) for this research are Professor Val Williams and Dr Sandra Dowling.



Disabled people's
organisation logo

I am writing to you to ask if I could do my research at (organisation name).



I would like to do the research with two people at (organisation name) who have a shared job.



They would need to be a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities.



They would both need to be paid and doing the same or similar jobs.



One of them would not be a support worker or job coach helping the other to do their job. It would be ok if support was sometimes part of the job.



I have written to you because I think you have staff with shared jobs. If you are not sure if you do, please contact me because it might still be ok.



You can email me at:

debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk

Or phone me on:



If I did the research at (organisation name) I would spend up to two half days with you getting to know the participants (people doing the research).



The participants would have to sign a consent form to show they agree to take part.



I would then film the participants whilst they were doing their work for up to 2 hours at 2 different times.



I would like to do this between June and October this year.



Please could you read the information sheets with this letter?



Please could you let me know as soon as you can, if you have any staff who would like to know more about the research?



If you have any questions, or want to find out more, please contact me as before.

‘Co-production in talk: A conversation analysis study of decision making between a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities in a joint work role’

Co-production is a hot topic in public services and many are taking steps to involve people who use their services in designing, delivering and evaluating them. There isn’t a universally agreed definition of co-production or a universally agreed way of doing it, which is both the strength and potential weakness of this approach. Disabled people’s user led organisations are often turned to to provide co-productive activities such as quality checking of residential and supported living services, staff recruitment or training.

I am undertaking research for my PhD to study the ways in which co-production takes place in the working relationship between an individual with learning disabilities and an individual who doesn’t have learning disabilities, with a focus on how they make decisions together. My motivation for doing this research comes from having spent twenty years working in services for people with learning disabilities, the majority being in local authority run services. I have witnessed many well intentioned co-productive activities with people with learning disabilities fall frustratingly short of the mark. Having also worked for disabled person’s user led organisations, I have seen individuals with and without learning disabilities work together on a more equal basis. I have also become aware of a unique working situation where colleagues with and without a learning disability are employed on an equal basis to undertake the same role and mutually support one another. I have seen this work very successfully and it is a method for both increasing employment opportunities for individuals with learning disabilities and increasing their involvement in the day to day running of user led organisations. As people with learning disabilities are significantly discriminated against in employment, it is important to look at successful working arrangements for them.

Research tells us a lot about the ways in which co-production can take place at an organisational level, telling us about how public bodies should or could do it. But little is known about how user led organisations do co-production ‘in house’. Co-production ultimately hinges on managing power within a working relationship and decision making is a potential way in which power, or lack of it can be seen. Research tells us that people with learning disabilities are not given enough choice and control, and that the ways in which their supporters talk to them has the potential to prevent them from exercising their right to control their lives.

This study aims to:

- Analyse the ways in which individuals with and without learning disabilities in this unique job role, make decisions by looking at how they talk together
- Contribute to what we already know about how people make decisions together
- Contribute to what we already know about how a person without a learning disability can do co-production on an equal basis with a person without learning disabilities, and make recommendations on how to do this
- Analyse whether this equal working relationship reflects equal responsibility for decision making
- Analyse whether big decisions, for example managing a budget are made as equally as smaller decisions, for example when to break for a coffee.

Appendix I

Easy Read Research Information Sheet



Co-production means working together.



One way to do co-production is for a disabled person's organisation to help a council quality check their supported living services.



Another way to do co-production is for two people who are different in some way to work together and share their skills.



Councils and other public bodies do co-production but some people think they could do it better.



I have seen that some disabled person's organisations have shared jobs.



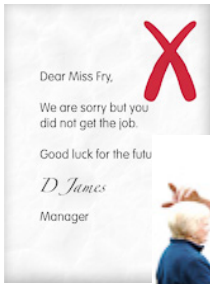
This is where a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities work together. They have the same job and the same pay. They help each other to do the job.



I think this is a good way to do co-production.



I would like to see how people who have a shared job in a disabled person's organisation make decisions together.



I think this is important because not enough people with learning disabilities have jobs and they do not always get to have choice and control in their lives.



I want this research to show if people can make decisions together and do co-production well in a shared job.



I want this research to show if decision making happens equally in a shared job.



I want this research to show if big decisions (like spending work money) happen as equally as small decisions (like when to have a coffee break).

Appendix J

Participant information sheet

Co-working between a person with learning disabilities and a person without learning disabilities

Who is carrying out the research?

My name is Debbie Worrall, a PhD student at the Norah Fry Research Centre at the University of Bristol and I am the main researcher. I will be working with a small group of up to four co-researchers with and without learning disabilities who will be currently working in roles where they work together, have the same (or similar) job title, responsibilities and working conditions. The study is supervised by Professor Val Williams and Dr Sandra Dowling from the Norah Fry Research Centre.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study will look at the working relationship between an individual with a learning disability and an individual without a learning disability who work together in a shared job role in a user led organisation. It will look at how these individuals work together to make both big and small decisions. This working relationship demonstrates a way of doing co-production which is unique and rarely seen outside of user led organisations. Public bodies aim to do co-production by involving people who use their services in running and evaluating them but can fall short of doing this well. Research tells us that people with learning disabilities are significantly excluded from the labour market and often have their rights to exercise choice and control in their lives restricted. By studying this unique working relationship, it is hoped that recommendations can be made to user led organisations and others who want to do co-production, about ways of working together that enable equal joint decision making. Demonstrating the benefits of this way of working may also increase opportunities for people with learning disabilities to be employed in this way.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are working with a person with learning disability in a shared role in a user led organisation.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part, I will visit you and your colleague at your workplace to discuss the research and get your consent to take part. You will need to sign a consent form to say that you agree to take part. I will spend up to two half days at your workplace to do this and also to get to know you both better before the research starts. When the research starts, I will video you and your colleague working and talking together as you usually do, for up to 2 hours on two different occasions. You will have the chance to watch the videos back and ask to remove anything you don't want in it. You have the right to withdraw from the study once you have agreed to take part. If you want to withdraw from the study but videos of you at work have already been taken, you can request that your videos are removed from the study.

What will happen if I don't take part?

You do not have to take part in the research, and you have the right to withdraw from it at any point in the study. Your employer knows that your involvement in the study is voluntary.

Will people know the research is about me?

The videos of you and your colleague at work will be watched by myself, staff at the university and up to four co-researchers. The co-researchers are people with and without learning disabilities who are also working in the same type of shared role. If you are known to the co-researchers, we will discuss whether you wish to take part in the research. The final research report will not use your name, your colleagues name or the name of your workplace, pseudonyms will be used.

Limits of confidentiality

If I become aware of abuse or bullying taking place during the course of the study, I am obliged to report this to my supervisor who will then decide on what action should be taken.

What will my information be used for?

The videos of you and your colleague at work will be transcribed (what you say will be written down) and then analysed with Conversation Analysis. Conversation Analysis is a research method which looks closely at how people talk together in order to understand what is happening between them. A final report will be written about this study to be submitted to the university for my PhD. I will write an Easy Read summary of this final report and I will go through this with you and your colleague if you wish. If I intend to write or publish any reports or papers on this research, I will come back to you and your colleague to get your consent first. You can choose if the videos of you can be kept by the university for other research or if they can only be used for this study. Your information will be held securely by the University of Bristol for 20 years after the final PhD thesis has been submitted.

Contact details

If you have any questions about the research, you can contact me by email: debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk or by phone: [REDACTED].

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research you can contact Professor Val Williams at the University of Bristol by email: val.williams@bristol.ac.uk or by phone: 0117 331 0971

Appendix K

Easy Read Participant information sheet



My name is Debbie Worrall.

I am a PhD student at the University of Bristol.



I am doing some research as part of my studies.



I would like to find out how people who have a shared job work well together and make decisions together.



I would like to do this because shared jobs where people with learning disabilities are employed equally are quite unusual.



You are being asked to take part because you have a shared job.



You do not have to take part. If you do, you can change your mind at any time.



If you decide to take part I will visit you at your workplace 4 times. 2 times to get to know you and 2 times to do the research.



I will visit you and the person you have a shared job with to talk about taking part in the research, and to make sure you are both happy to do it.



This will take up to 2 hours.



I will visit you again to spend time getting to know you both and how you do your job.



This will take up to 2 hours.



I will then visit you 2 more times to video you and your colleague working together as you do your job.



I will video you for up to 2 hours each time.



You can watch the videos and take out any parts you do not want in there.



If you change your mind about being in the research after it has started, you can ask for the videos you are in to be removed.



If I feel that you are being bullied or being spoken to in an abusive way, I will speak to my supervisor. She will decide what to do about it.



I will watch the videos with my co-researchers to decide which bits of them I will look at in more detail.



My co-researchers are people with learning disabilities and people without learning disabilities who also have shared jobs.



Then I will think about and write about what was in the videos on my own.



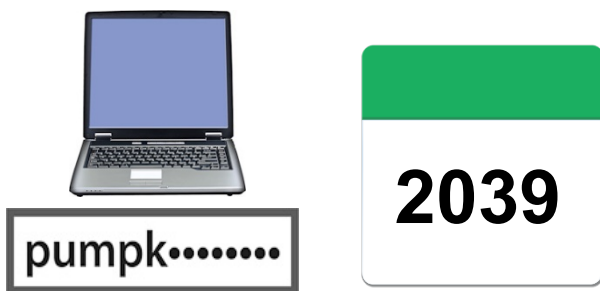
Whilst I am writing about the videos they will be kept safely on a computer, in a file that has a private password.



Only me, the co-researchers and staff at the university will see the videos.



When I have finished watching the videos I will delete them and anything with your name on it from my own computer.



The University of Bristol will keep your information safely for 20 years after I have finished writing my report. You can choose if they keep your videos or not.



I will write a detailed report and an Easy Read report about the research. These reports will be for my PhD and only staff at the university will see them.



I will make sure that when I write the reports I won't use your real name, your colleague's real name or the name of your workplace.



I can come back to tell you and your colleague what I have found out by doing the research, if you would like me to.



I may write papers about the research that other people could see. If I do this I will contact you to get your agreement first.



If you are not happy about anything to do with the research, you can tell my supervisor, Professor Val Williams by email: val.williams@bristol.ac.uk or by phone: 0117 331 0971.



If you would like to know more about the research, please call me on [REDACTED] or email me at debbie.worrall@bristol.ac.uk

Appendix L

Consent Form

1. I have read and understood the participant information sheet.

YES

NO

2. I have been able to ask questions about the research.

YES

NO

3. I know that I can stop taking part in the research at any time. I do not have to give a reason to stop and my employment will not be affected.

YES

NO

4. I know that I can stop taking part in the research even when videos of me at work have already been taken. I know that if I stop taking part at this point, I can ask that the videos are removed from the study.

YES

NO

5. I know that it is my choice to take part in the research and doing so will not affect my employment.

YES

NO

6. I understand that my anonymity will be protected in the final research report and I have chosen a pseudonym to be used instead of my real name.

YES

NO

7. I am happy to be videoed undertaking my normal working duties as part of this research.

YES

NO

8. I understand that what I say in the videos taken of me may be written about in the final research report submitted as part of Debbie Worrall's PhD thesis.

YES

NO

9. I understand that the videos taken of me will be shown and discussed with co-researchers and staff at the University of Bristol other than Debbie Worrall and that they will be bound by a confidentiality agreement.

YES

NO

10. I understand that if the researchers see anything that causes concern on the videos or during the course of research visits, my confidentiality may have to be broken in order to protect those who could be vulnerable.

YES

NO

11. I understand that my data will be held by the University of Bristol for 20 years after the final PhD thesis has been submitted.

YES

NO

12. I understand and agree that the videos can be kept by the University of Bristol to be used within other research.

YES

NO

Signed (participant):.....

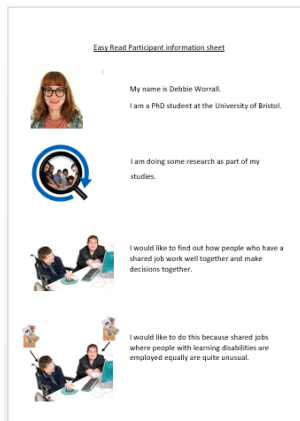
Date:.....

Appendix M

Easy Read Consent Form

Please put a tick in the box that shows your answer to these questions:

1.



This study has been explained to me
and I have seen the information sheet.

I understand what this study is about.



Yes

☐

No

☐

2.



I have been able to ask questions
about this study.



Yes

☐

No

☐

3.



I understand that I can stop taking part in this study at any time and that I can ask for videos of me to be removed from the study.



Yes

☐

No

☐

4.



I understand that it is my choice to take part in this study and doing it will not affect my job.



Yes

☐

No

☐

5.



I understand that my real name will not be used in the writing about this study. I have chosen a nickname to be used instead.



Yes

☐

No

☐

6.



I am happy to be videoed doing my work for this study.



Yes

☐

No

☐

7.



I understand that Debbie may write about what I say and do in the videos of me at work.



Yes

☐

No

☐

8.



I am happy for Debbie to watch and talk about the videos of me at work with the other researchers and staff.



Yes

☐

No

☐

9.



I understand that Debbie will have to speak to her supervisor if she is worried I am being bullied or abused at work. I understand that the supervisor will decide what to do about it.



Yes

☐

No

☐

10.



I understand that the University of Bristol will privately keep my information for 20 years after the study has finished.



Yes

☐

No

☐

11.



I agree that the University of Bristol can keep my videos to use in other research.



Yes

☐

No

☐

Please sign your name to say you have completed this form.



Name.....



Date.....

The researcher must sign here:



Name.....



Date.....

Witness statement

This study has been fully explained to the participant and they have agreed to take part. They agree to be videoed at work.

Name:

Relationship to participant:

Signature:

Appendix N

Participant Support Information



Below is a list of local and national organisations who may be able to offer you support and advice after your participation in this study.



Work Support



Citizens Advice Bureau

Provides general advice on a number of issues including work and benefits.

<https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/>



local phone and email will be added here



ACAS

Provides information, advice, training, conciliation and other services for employers and employees to help prevent or resolve workplace problems.



<http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=1461>



0300 123 1100

Other local work support will be added here

Advocacy support

Local advocacy organisations will be added here

Appendix O

Transcription Key

<u>word</u>	underlining indicates emphasis, placement indicates which syllables are emphasised
wo:rd	underlining a colon indicates gentle pitch movement from down to up through the word
w <u>o</u> :rd	underlining before a non-underlined colon can indicate a pitch moving from up to down through the word
wo::rd	colon indicates prolonged sound. One or two colons is common, three or more only for extreme case
↓word	marked pitch shift ↑up or ↓down immediately following the arrow. Double arrows can indicate extreme pitch shifts
.	final falling or closing intonation at TCU boundary
,	continuing or slight rising intonation at TCU boundary
—	level or flat intonation at TCU boundary
¿	medium rising intonation at TCU boundary
?	sharp rising intonation at TCU boundary
<u>Word</u>	emphasis
WORD	syllables or words louder than surrounding speech
<word	hurried start of a word/jump start, usually at start of a TCU
<word>	slowed down speech, relative to surrounding speech
>word<	sped up speech, relative to surrounding speech
Word-	cut off speech (glottal stop)
.hhh	normal length intake of breath. Longer intake is indicated by more letters
hhh	normal length outbreath. Longer indicated by more letters
hah/heh/huh	laughter separate from talk
whhord	breathiness or aspiration within a word
w(h)ord	abrupt spurts of breathiness/laughter within a word
£word£	smiley voice or suppressed laughter

#word#	Creaky voice
~word~	shaky voice, as in crying
(word)	possible word if unsure. Empty brackets indicate could not hear or make out the word
(word)/(curd)	two possible hearings
((word))	comments or description of a sound
tch	tongue click
mcht	lip parting sound

adapted from Hepburn and Bolden (2017)

