



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

**In the Space Between: Listening to Young People Who Have  
Encountered a Managed Move**

Sarah Murphy

Research thesis submitted in part requirement for the  
Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology

The University of Sheffield  
School of Education

May 2017



## **Abstract**

In this research project, I listen to how young people who have encountered a managed move make sense of their experiences. Managed moves are typically presented as an alternative to permanent exclusion, whereby young people undertake a trial period in a new educational setting while remaining on roll at their original school. These young people could be seen to occupy a liminal space, between belonging and exclusion, and I explore the implications this may have for subjectivity, before considering how findings might inform practice.

Research in this area is limited and few studies critically examine notions of subjectivity and power. This project adopts a narrative methodology that privileges the voices of young people and facilitates an exploration of individual sense-making, while highlighting wider social and political factors. I approach the research from a critical realist perspective, drawing on poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theory in an attempt to bridge the divide between the political and the psychic.

I argue a case for practice that is rooted in an understanding of complex subjectivity, recognising the subject as both agentic and vulnerable. This is considered as an ethical imperative, demanding further reflection on how we engage with marginalised young people.



# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Chapter 1 Critical Literature Review</b>	<b>9</b>
Overview	9
Context	9
Accounting for problem behaviour: Stories of risk and resilience	12
Deconstructing problem behaviour	14
Accounting for oneself	20
Summary	25
Research questions	25
<b>Chapter 2 Methodology</b>	<b>26</b>
Overview	26
At the margins	26
Narrative	27
Theorising subjectivity	28
The Lacanian subject	29
Reflexivity	33
Quality criteria	33
<i>Validity</i>	33
<i>Reliability</i>	35
<i>Generalisability</i>	36
Ethics	36
Summary	39

<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Research Procedures</b>	<b>40</b>
	Overview	40
	Sample	40
	Data collection	41
	Analytic strategy	43
	Summary	46
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Analysis and Discussion</b>	<b>47</b>
	Overview	47
	Sophie	47
	<i>Things fall apart</i>	48
	<i>Adolescence</i>	52
	<i>A second chance</i>	57
	<i>Another world</i>	61
	<i>Looking forward</i>	62
	Charlotte	62
	<i>A normal child</i>	63
	<i>Uncomfortable tellings</i>	69
	<i>A chance to change</i>	74
	<i>I just need myself</i>	78
	Wendell	80
	<i>They didn't see me</i>	81
	<i>Another naughty kid</i>	88
	<i>Leaving everything behind</i>	91
	<i>On track</i>	92
	Summary	93

<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Further Discussion and Conclusions</b>	<b>94</b>
	Overview	94
	How do participants make sense of their experiences?	94
	What implications do managed moves have for subjectivity?	96
	Implications for practice	99
	Reflections on the research process	102
	Recommendations for future research	104
	Closing thoughts	105
	<b>References</b>	<b>106</b>

## List of Tables

<b>Table 3.1</b>	Transcription conventions	42
<b>Table 3.2</b>	Analytic strategy	46

## List of Appendices

<b>Appendix I</b>	Literature Search	122
<b>Appendix II</b>	Information Letter	124
<b>Appendix III</b>	Young Person Consent Form	125
<b>Appendix IV</b>	Parent/Carer Consent Form	126
<b>Appendix V</b>	Ethics Approval Letter	127
<b>Appendix VI</b>	Managed Moves Protocol	128
<b>Appendix VII</b>	Pilot Study	129
<b>Appendix VIII</b>	Pilot Interview Schedule	131
<b>Appendix IX</b>	Final Interview Schedule	132
<b>Appendix X</b>	Sophie's Mind Map	134
<b>Appendix XI</b>	Charlotte's Mind Map	135
<b>Appendix XII</b>	Wendell's Mind Map	136
<b>Appendix XIII</b>	Transcript of Interview with Wendell	137
<b>Appendix XIV</b>	Analysis of Interview with Wendell	152
<b>Appendix XV</b>	Composition of Analyses	174



## **Introduction**

My motivation to train as an educational psychologist is underpinned by a commitment to inclusion and social justice. Prior to joining the course, I had worked as a teacher in a comprehensive secondary school, alongside young people who were described as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. This label placed an emphasis on factors at the level of the individual, obscuring the wider social and political context. I felt that it denied pupils' subjectivity, perpetuating the notion of a 'problem student' who must be held to account for their actions, or else a pupil whose needs could not be met within a mainstream school, in this way legitimating exclusionary processes. I understood this to be intensified by the pressures of a neoliberal education system, which seemed to impose an increasingly narrow set of values and norms.

In my doctoral thesis, I was keen to focus attention on the voices of young people who inhabited the margins of this system, engaging critically with issues of power and subjectivity. While previous researchers had explored the views of young people who had been excluded from school, I intended to shift the gaze to young people considered to be at risk of school exclusion, who appeared to be "still attached yet excluded" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 68). When I came to approach the research in a local authority setting, I found that young people who had been identified as being at risk of school exclusion were typically offered a trial period in a new educational setting through the managed moves protocol. This was justified by the perceived value of a 'fresh start', despite limited evidence to support this idea. I therefore decided to refine my original research aims, adopting a specific focus on the topic of managed moves. I set out to explore how young people who had encountered a managed move made sense of their experiences, as well as considering the implications of managed moves for subjectivity. In doing so, I incorporated psychoanalytic approaches into a narrative research design.

I was first introduced to psychoanalytic theory as part of my undergraduate degree in English Literature, in which I developed an interest in critical theory and the links between trauma, narrative and subjectivity. While teaching, I also completed a master's degree in the Psychology of Education. My research explored perspectives

on secondary nurture groups, drawing on psychoanalytic theories of adolescence. As a trainee educational psychologist, I have continued to develop my interest in psychoanalytic approaches. For example, while conducting my doctoral research, I completed the seminar series entitled ‘Personality Development: A Psychoanalytic Approach’ delivered by the Northern School of Child and Adolescent Psychotherapy. The course provided an introduction to psychoanalytic theories of subjectivity, as well as offering space for reflection and discussion. In drawing on narrative, psychoanalytic and critical perspectives, this research study reflects my attempt to find a way of listening to young people that privileges individual sense-making, while also considering how oppression might be “structured and reproduced” (Mertens, 2010, p. 21).

### Overview of thesis

- In Chapter 1, I present a critical review of the literature base, exploring contrasting perspectives before providing justification for my research aims.
- In Chapter 2, I establish my philosophical position, linking this to my choice of research design and methods.
- In Chapter 3, I outline my research procedures, from the recruitment of participants to the collection and analysis of data.
- In Chapter 4, I present analyses of the individual interviews that took place with three young people who had encountered a managed move.
- In Chapter 5, I consider how the individual narratives relate to one another and to the existing literature base, responding explicitly to my research questions before reflecting on implications for practice.
- Throughout the thesis, I include reflexive accounts that explore my subjectivity as a researcher and how this might have influenced the research process.

## **Chapter 1: Critical Literature Review**

### Overview

I begin this critical literature review with an outline of school exclusion in order to situate managed moves in a sociopolitical context. I then explore differing accounts of problem behaviour, including realist and social constructionist perspectives. Finally, I reflect on how we might listen to young people who have encountered a managed move, considering the extent to which existing literature engages with notions of voice and subjectivity, before presenting a case for research that draws on both narrative and psychoanalytic approaches. Details of how I conducted my literature search are included in Appendix I.

### Context

The term ‘exclusion’ was introduced in the Education Act 1986. This referred to three categories of exclusion: permanent, fixed-term and indefinite (Berridge, Brodie, Pitts, Porteus & Tarling, 2001, p. 2). While the category of ‘indefinite exclusion’ was removed in 1993, fixed-term and permanent exclusions continue to represent government-sanctioned responses to pupil indiscipline. In the case of fixed-term exclusion, pupils are excluded from school for a set period of time. During this exclusion, pupils remain on roll at the excluding school, with the expectation that they will return to this setting once the exclusion period is over. Under current legislation, pupils may receive up to 45 days of fixed-term exclusion in a single academic year (Department for Education [DfE], 2015a). In the case of permanent exclusion, pupils are removed from the school register and are therefore required to complete their education in an alternative setting (DfE, 2012). Governmental policy states that permanent exclusion may only be used in response to “a serious breach, or persistent breaches, of the school's behaviour policy” or in cases where “allowing the pupil to remain in school would seriously harm the education or welfare of the pupil or others in the school” (DfE, 2015a, p. 6). Nevertheless, the power to determine behaviour policy rests with individual schools, leading to discrepancies in the use of permanent exclusions (DfE, 2014b).

Official records reveal an increase in the overall number and rate of permanent and fixed-term exclusions across England in the year 2014-15, based on figures from the previous year (DfE, 2016). In 2014-15, 83% of all permanent exclusions were imposed by secondary schools, with 14-year-olds experiencing the highest rates of exclusion (DfE, 2016). Persistent disruptive behaviour was the most commonly cited reason for both permanent and fixed-term exclusions (DfE, 2016). Munn and Lloyd (2005, p. 205) assert that “exclusion for disruptive behaviour is perhaps the most explicit form of rejection by a school of its pupils and for some pupils increases the likelihood of wider social exclusion.” Indeed, school exclusion is understood to interact with existing disadvantage, contributing to the marginalisation of young people (Berridge et al., 2001; Gazeley, 2010; Horgan, 2007). This is significant as pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds are disproportionately represented in school exclusion figures, as indicated by the free school meals (FSM) measure. In 2014-15, pupils eligible for FSM were around four times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion or fixed-term exclusion in comparison to their peers (DfE, 2016).

Despite the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, which states that schools cannot lawfully discriminate against pupils on the grounds of sex, race or disability, stark inequalities exist in the exclusion process (DfE, 2014a; DfE, 2016). In 2014-15, boys were over three times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than girls (DfE, 2016). Black Caribbean pupils were more than three times more likely to be permanently excluded than the school population as a whole, while pupils of Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage ethnic groups had the highest rates of exclusion overall (DfE, 2016). In addition, pupils identified with special educational needs (SEN) were more than seven times more likely to be permanently excluded than their peers.

Managed moves are frequently cited as an alternative to permanent exclusion, whereby young people undertake a *trial period* in a new educational setting while remaining on roll at their original school (Abdelnoor, 2007; Department for Children, Schools and Families [DCSF], 2008; Gazeley, Marrable, Brown & Boddy, 2015; Parsons, 2009). If this trial period is ‘successful’, the pupil joins the receiving school on a permanent basis, returning to their original school if this is not the case. Government guidelines recommend that managed moves “should only be done with

the full knowledge and co-operation of all the parties involved, including the parents, governors and the local authority, and in circumstances where it is in the best interests of the pupil concerned” (DSCF, 2008, p. 10). Yet, while alluding to the “best interests of the pupil”, young people are notably absent in the reference to the “full knowledge and cooperation” of stakeholders. Furthermore, there is no statutory guidance in relation to managed moves, leading to discrepancies within the system. In contrast to permanent exclusions, managed moves do not have to be recorded by the school and there is no system in place for monitoring practice at a national level.

A report by the Office of the Children’s Commissioner (2013) highlights the prevalence of illegal exclusions, for example where pupils are coerced into alternative educational settings under the threat of permanent exclusion. The report cites the absence of regulatory bodies and a lack of meaningful sanctions as contributing factors in the use of illegal exclusions, outlining their role in intensifying existing social inequalities:

This illegal activity appears to impact disproportionately on those groups... most likely to be formally excluded, particularly children with SEN. It appears to happen most to those children who are least likely to know their rights, or to have adults in their lives who know the law, or who can and will support these rights on their children’s behalf.

(Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2013, p. 6)

The report maintains a distinction between managed moves and illegal exclusions, emphasising the collaborative nature of managed moves. Indeed, government advice in relation to managed moves notes that “parents should never be pressured into removing their child from the school under threat of a permanent exclusion” (DSCF, 2008). Yet this obscures critical attention to the way in which power is structured within educational institutions. This tension is illustrated in the following abstract, in which Abdelnoor (2007, p. 27), a proponent of managed moves, addresses the question of rights:

A great advantage in using a voluntary process is that it does not require a raft of procedural safeguards to protect parental or pupil rights... There is no need for a managed moves appeal process. If parents do not wish to agree to a managed move they simply say so, without obligation. Of course, the school is then free to permanently exclude if they wish to.

The fact that the school is “free to permanently exclude” if parents “do not wish to agree to a managed move” may function as an implicit threat, complicating the notion that this is a decision that can be made “without obligation”.

Overall, justification for managed moves seems to hinge on the perceived value of a “fresh start” and the opportunity this presents for pupils to “reinvent themselves”, despite limited evidence to support this idea (Abdelnoor, 2007; Bagley & Hallam, 2015, p. 442; DCSF, 2008; Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016; Parsons, 2009). This appears to be underpinned by the conceptualisation of a ‘problem student’, who must be held to account for their behaviour. For example, Abdelnoor (2007, p. 26) describes the “wrong-doer” who, “in an effective managed move process... is made accountable for their actions”. In the following section, I present differing accounts of problem behaviour, exploring the link between the individual and the wider social, cultural and political context.

#### Accounting for problem behaviour: Stories of risk and resilience

In existing literature, problem behaviour is frequently attributed to factors at the level of the individual. These include personality traits, neurological deficits, genetic influences, low self-esteem, language delay, and learning difficulties (Arseneault et al., 2003; Clegg, Stackhouse, Finch, Murphy & Nicholls, 2009; DfE, 2015b; Dodge & Pettit, 2003; Frick & Morris, 2004; Lindsay, Dockrell & Strand, 2007; Schonberg & Shaw, 2007). Studies have also identified microsystemic and macrosystemic factors, such as domestic violence, parental substance abuse, low parental education, parental criminality, insecure parent-child attachment relationships, maternal mental distress, involvement with an anti-social peer group, poor pupil-teacher relationships, and socio-economic disadvantage (Rutter, 1979; Sameroff, Seifer, Baldwin & Baldwin, 1993).

In recent years, research literature has focused on the concept of resilience, which considers an individual’s ability to achieve positive outcomes despite adversity (Luthar, 2006). Studies have identified a number of protective factors, which are believed to mitigate the effects of risk factors. These include individual traits such as cognitive ability, temperament, and reflectivity, as well as protective factors within

the family, school and wider community, such as positive relationships and consistent boundaries (DfE, 2015b; Rettew, 2008; Schoon & Brynner, 2003; Ungar, 2014; Werner, 2000).

Atwool (2006) suggests that attachment theory can help to elucidate the process of resilience. From an attachment perspective, emotional regulation is understood to develop in the context of a relationship between an infant and their primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1969). Through the experience of sensitive and consistent parenting, it is considered that the infant is able to reflect on emotional states and develop effective strategies for coping with distress (Bowlby, 1969). The caregiver provides a *secure base*, from which the infant is able to explore their environment (Bowlby, 1988). In the absence of a secure base, individuals may experience difficulties in coping, particularly in situations that involve separation and loss (Bowlby, 1973, 1979, 1981). Bowlby (1981) emphasises the importance of the attachment figure throughout childhood and adolescence. From a psychoanalytic perspective, adolescence is marked by a shift from parental relationships to peer relationships (Jarvis, 1999). This invokes conflicting emotions for the adolescent, who at once craves the security of the attachment relationship while simultaneously rejecting infantile bonds (Jarvis, 1999). Blos (1967) describes adolescence as a *second individuation process*, during which the adolescent re-experiences emotional states implicated in the initial separation from caregiver that occurred in infancy.

Atwool (2006) draws a link between early attachment experiences and the availability of protective factors. She notes that early attachment affects individual temperament, as well as access to supportive relationships (Atwool, 2006). Difficult early life experiences may also increase sensitivity to adversity. A correlation has been found between attachment and the neuroendocrine system, for example, which affects an individual's response to stress (Gerhardt, 2004). Marris (1991) considers adversity in terms of the gap between understanding and events. He proposes that difficulties in the early relationship with a caregiver affect an individual's ability to make sense of their experiences, influencing the "whole organisation of life's meaning" (Marris, 1991, p. 83).

Nevertheless, Marris (1991) emphasises that the capacity for meaning-making also relies on the existence of a stable environment. This is significant in the context of a society in which uncertainty is unequally distributed (Butler, 2004; Marris, 1991). Furthermore, Ungar (2014) draws attention to the normativity of resilience, noting that positive outcomes are typically defined in relation to Western cultural norms. This is demonstrated in a study by Munford and Sanders (2008), in which marginalised young women were found to display ‘disruptive’ behaviours in order to establish positive relationships. Moreover, Bottrell (2009) depicts disruptive behaviour as a form of resistance. She argues that, where interventions target individual behaviour, the project of resilience may promote “positive adaptation *to* adversity” (Bottrell, 2009, p. 334). From this perspective, it could be argued that the project of resilience fulfils a political agenda, obscuring the issue of adversity itself (Bottrell, 2009; Bracke, 2016).

#### Deconstructing problem behaviour

Billington (2000) questions the basis on which specific differences are deemed to be problematic amongst those who work with children. Indeed, Ainscow (2005, p. 117) draws attention to the inequalities in the exclusion process, highlighting the ways in which certain differences are perceived to be unacceptable by “particular teachers in particular schools”. Specifically, Visser (2003, p. 10) asserts that behaviour in schools is characterised by “chronic definition difficulties”. This is reflected in the variation in terminology used, across both educational settings and research (Armstrong, 2014; Hamill & Boyd, 2002). For example, the terms *social, emotional and behavioural difficulties* (SEBD), *behavioural, emotional and social difficulties* (BESD) and *emotional and behavioural difficulties* (EBD) are often used interchangeably (Armstrong, 2014). In the new SEN Code of Practice for England, the term SEBD is replaced by a new category of *social, emotional and mental health* (SEMH) (DfE, 2015c). This reflects a rise in medicalised discourse, as discussed later in this chapter (Macleod, 2006).

MacLure, Jones, Holmes and MacRae (2012, p. 447) emphasise the fact that acquiring an identity as a ‘problem student’ is “never the sole responsibility” of the child, highlighting the role of language in shaping perceptions. It is suggested that



teachers draw upon discursive frames in order to make sense of children's behaviour (MacLure et al., 2012). Such discourses do not "neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 1). Therefore, language powerfully shapes our everyday reality (Watson, 2005). This has significant implications for subjectivity, as discourses are "powerfully constitutive of the selves we take ourselves to be" (Laws & Davies, 2000, p. 219). For this reason, certain discourses are understood to be more problematic than others (Billington, 2000). Furthermore, Munn and Lloyd (2005) suggest that teachers treat pupils according to the reputations they acquire. As Orsati and Causton-Theoharis (2013, p. 518) observe, young people who come to be recognised as "defiant, problem or challenging students" are not measured by the same standards as their peers. Overall, it appears that perceptions of behaviour are closely linked to teacher perceptions of pupil identity (Laws & Davies, 2000).

Language intersects with power, as those in positions of authority exercise greater influence over the ways in which identity is constructed (Winslade & Monk, 1999). Foucault (1977) describes the *normalising gaze*, whereby those who occupy positions of authority gain the power to assess individuals in relation to others. Power is maintained by deeming certain behaviours to be appropriate while punishing others (Foucault, 1977; Wright, 2009). The normalising gaze serves as a "mechanism of objectification", depicting individuals as "cases which may need to be trained or corrected, classified, normalised or excluded" (Allen, Brown & Riddell, 1998, p. 27). As MacLure et al. (2012, p. 455) note:

There is an inevitable interpretive circularity in the discourse of normal development: specific child behaviours come to be read as signs of deviation from the normal path; yet the integrity of the normal path is consolidated by the identification of deviations.

Foucault (1977) uses the term *governmentality* to describe how powers of surveillance extend beyond national governments and into institutions such as schools, prisons and hospitals. As Billington (2000, p. 30) argues, "both psychology and education... formed as sites for social and political activity which, through their application to children, could contribute to the processes of governmentality by creating stories of the normal and abnormal child". Such discourses "systemically

form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1977, p. 49). In professional accounts of young people’s behaviour, Wright (2009, p. 287) identifies three meta-discourses of “criminology, psychiatry and patronage”. These discourses subsequently position young people as “bad, mad or sad” (Macleod, 2006, p. 155). The discourse of criminality is based on the principles of discipline and punishment, whereby young people are understood to be fully accountable for their actions (Wright, 2009). Problem behaviour is thus conceptualised as “pupil-initiated and voluntary”, with little regard for wider systemic factors (Watson, 2005, p. 59).

Governmental policy is interspersed with references to discipline and behaviour management. For example, a report entitled ‘Behaviour and Discipline in Schools’ maintains that teachers have a “statutory authority to discipline pupils whose behaviour is unacceptable” (DfE, 2014b, p. 60). Such reports often employ technological discourse, as evident in the reference to the “range of powers and tools to maintain discipline” (DfE, 2014c, p. 8). Official literature also outlines the “benefits of a military ethos” in improving pupil behaviour (DfE, 2014c, p. 7). Indeed, behaviour in schools is frequently depicted as a battle, with teachers positioned as victims (Araújo, 2005). Priyadharshini (2011) argues that the link between pupil behaviour and school reputation has resulted in a narrow focus on behaviour management within educational settings. Therefore, the response to children who challenge professionals is typically an increase in disciplinary measures (Wright, 2009). In a study by Araújo (2005), for example, teachers felt that pupil behaviour could be improved through the more frequent use of exclusions. As previously discussed, such measures are used disproportionately with particular groups of pupils (DfE, 2016).

Neoliberalism also perpetuates the notion of individual responsibility, adding further influence to the discourse of criminology (Lingard, Sellar & Savage, 2014). Indeed, neoliberal policy encourages a within-child model, obscuring the wider social and political context (Lingard et al., 2014). Armstrong, Armstrong, and Spandagou (2011, p. 38) argue that the drive towards inclusive education has been eclipsed by “policy on school performance and measurable outcomes”. Furthermore, the pressures of league tables and inspection regimes may, in practice, promote an anti-inclusion agenda, particularly in relation to pupils considered to display disruptive

behaviour (Macleod, 2006; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2013). Hamill and Boyd (2002) note that, in cases where pupils are identified as having SEBD, teachers typically focus on the disruption caused to other members of the class. This helps to maintain an ethos of management and control, justifying the use of disciplinary measures such as exclusion (Orsati & Causton-Theoharis, 2013). As a result, little attention is paid to the experiences of the individual pupils concerned or the difficulties that they may face in accessing the curriculum (Hamill & Boyd, 2002).

Araújo (2005, p. 252) argues that by “individualising discourses on the origins of indiscipline, teachers did not acknowledge how they differentiated pupils according to ethnicity, gender and/or class”. Such differences are instead conceptualised as within-child difficulties, which serve to legitimate the exclusion of pupils from educational settings (Ainscow, 2005; Mills, 2008). Nevertheless, Garcia and Guerra (2004, p. 154) note that teachers are also subject to societal discourses that “perpetuate deficit thinking and reproduce educational inequalities”. Indeed, Armstrong and Hallett (2012) point to the dilemma faced by teachers, who may find it difficult to reconcile their duty to enforce discipline with a desire to act in the best interests of children and young people. Wright (2009, p. 280) argues that the dominant discourse of behaviour management perpetuates the notion that professionals have “both the power to, and the responsibility for, changing children's behaviour”. As a result, teachers are also blamed for pupil indiscipline. This is evident in a recent government report, which claims that the persistence of disruptive behaviour in schools “may be the result of behaviour not being sufficiently well managed by school leaders and teachers” (DfE, 2014c, p. 8). Priyadharshini (2011) also highlights the degree of media coverage on the decline of behaviour in schools. This induces feelings of powerlessness for the professionals involved, perhaps increasing the likelihood of teachers attributing disruptive behaviour to individual pupils and their families (Wright, 2009).

An alternative discourse of patronage exists, whereby young people displaying disruptive behaviours are positioned as “victims of circumstance” (Wright, 2009, p. 288). This discourse emphasises the role of environmental factors, such as poverty, neglect and abuse (Wright, 2009). In a study that explored discursive constructions

of behaviour in an Early Years classroom, MacLure et al. (2012, p. 450) found that “while the failure to become a good student was indeed ultimately attributed to the child, behaviour was construed within ‘discursive frames’ that could also make reference to a child’s parents or community as a cause of her perceived failure to conform”. One such framing device was evident in the form of narratives about the “neglectful, indulgent, anxious, uncooperative or interfering parent” (MacLure et al., 2012, p. 454). These narratives are evident in governmental policy. As a recent report states, “it could be that the [behaviour management] approaches adopted by schools are fine but undermined by a lack of support from parents” (DfE, 2014c, p. 8).

In an analysis of government policy, Araújo (2005) found that poor parenting was the most commonly cited cause for pupil indiscipline. In particular, families from working class or ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to be positioned as ‘problematic’ (Araújo, 2005). Levitas (2012, p. 8) criticises the government’s ‘troubled families’ policy, arguing that this term “discursively collapses ‘families with troubles’ and ‘troublesome families’, while simultaneously implying that they are dysfunctional as families”. She argues that this discursive strategy is “successful in feeding vindictive attitudes to the poor” (Levitas, 2012, p. 8). This is evident in teachers’ attitudes towards pupils’ behaviour. In Araújo’s (2005) study, for example, teachers commonly attributed disruptive behaviour in school to a lack of parental support, particularly in cases where parents came from working class backgrounds. Additionally, in a government survey of teacher perspectives, 72% of respondents cited a lack of parental support or poor parenting skills as the most significant factor associated with disruptive behaviour (DfE, 2014c). Meanwhile, the discourse of patronage positions pupils as vulnerable, invoking notions of care, welfare and therapy (Wright, 2009, p. 288). This has the potential to deny individual agency and perpetuate negative self-perceptions (Butler, 2016; Ecclestone & Goodley, 2014).

Wright (2009) describes a final discourse of psychiatry, in which young people are understood to display ‘disordered’ emotional responses, often due to within-person factors such as genes and chemical imbalance. This discourse draws on a psycho-medical paradigm and is thus characterised by diagnosis and labelling. MacLure et al. (2012, p. 454) also identify medicalisation as a framing device for children’s

behaviour, whereby behaviour is attributed to underlying physical or psychological conditions such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Yet medicalised discourse often sits uncomfortably alongside references to behaviour management, as evident in a recent government report entitled ‘Mental Health and Behaviour in Schools’:

Our behaviour and discipline in schools advice sets out the powers and duties for school staff and approaches they can adopt to manage behaviour in their schools. It also says that schools should consider whether continuing disruptive behaviour might be a result of unmet educational or other needs... [including] unmet mental health needs.

(DfE, 2015b, p. 4)

Medicalised discourse may present an appealing alternative to discourses of criminology and patronage, as it offers the potential to remove blame from the child, family and school (Munn & Lloyd, 2005). Nevertheless, this discourse also negates wider social and political factors and may serve to diminish individual agency. For example, in a study involving pupils who attended an SEBD provision, Macleod (2006) found evidence to suggest that young people had internalised medical discourse, incorporating this into their sense of self. Watson (2005, p. 59) depicts the notion of the “disturbed child” that, while fostering compassion, also legitimates exclusion by suggesting the presence of needs that cannot be met within a mainstream classroom. Indeed, Graham (2008, p. 28) argues that labels such as ‘ADHD’ provide an “escape clause for schools and teachers”. In locating the causes of indiscipline within the individual child, schools are thus able to protect the existing system (Armstrong, 2014).

Wright (2009, p. 288) argues that dominant discourses of behaviour can deny subjectivity, reducing children and young people to “essentialist medical, sociological and psychological constructions”. As Billington (2000, p. 105) describes, “allocation of a reductionist label... seems to me to suggest a psychoanalytic dying in which as adults we are absolved from the demand to engage actively with a child who is confirmed as abnormal in this way”. In outlining the project of critical educational psychology, Billington (2006, p. 158) calls for three distinctions:

- Between the diagnosis and the child;
- Between a knowledge of children generally and our interpretations of the child before us;
- Between any descriptions of the children we construct and the descriptions that the child might potentially construct for themselves.

In the final section of this chapter, I engage critically with the notion of voice, considering how the views of young people are represented in existing literature pertaining to managed moves and the implications this may have for how we come to understand young people who have encountered this system.

### Accounting for oneself

Young people have the right to “express their views freely” in all matters affecting their lives and for these views to be “given due weight in accordance with... age and maturity” (UNICEF, 1989, p. 5). This is emphasised in the SEN Code of Practice, which places an emphasis on listening to the voice of the child (DfE, 2015c). Pomeroy (1999, p. 466) suggests that marginalised young people can provide an insight into how the education system reproduces inequalities. In this way, the narratives of young people can act as “catalysts for change” (McIntyre, Pedder & Rudduck, 2005, p. 156). Yet this may also represent a barrier to listening to young people. As de Pear and Garner (1996, pp. 154) recognise, the perceptions of marginalised young people can “illustrate the short-comings of schools in particular and of society as a whole... [which] may, of course, be one reason why we do not wish to listen to them”. Indeed, young people are frequently denied a voice in relation to exclusionary processes (Hamill & Boyd, 2002; Munn & Lloyd, 2005).

While professionals typically attribute disruptive behaviour to individual pupils and their families, Araújo (2005, p. 258) suggests that pupils are more likely to focus on the role played by the school in “producing indiscipline”. In studies exploring the perceptions of pupils considered to display disruptive behaviour, young people often describe being treated disrespectfully by teachers and may express a negative attitude towards education overall (Araújo, 2005; Freire, Carvalho, Freire, Azevedo & Oliveira, 2009; Hamill & Boyd, 2002; Macleod, 2006; Sellman, Bedward, Cole &

Daniels, 2002). Freire et al. (2009, p. 85) propose that, “by devaluing school and the curriculum subjects, students [resist] the unfavourable identities imposed upon them”. Indeed, Priyadharshini (2011, p. 127) argues that such counter-narratives may promote a deconstructive stance, emphasising the fact that “this deconstructive attitude is... not a negative, nihilistic one that opposes all order or discipline. Rather, it focuses our attention on the desire of those labelled as ‘naughty’ to be recognised differently”.

In conducting a search for peer-reviewed literature, I found just five articles that focused specifically on managed moves, only three of which explored the views of young people (Bagley & Hallam, 2015; Bagley & Hallam, 2016; Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016; Harris, Vincent, Thomson & Toalster, 2006; Vincent, Harris, Thomson & Toalster, 2007). Two papers pertained to the Coalfields Alternatives to Exclusion (CATE) project, which took place across seven secondary schools (Harris et al., 2006; Vincent et al., 2007). As part of the project, managed moves were arranged for pupils considered to be at risk of exclusion, alongside a programme of additional support. The project also included a preventative element, as “disaffected” pupils were offered additional support while remaining on roll at their original school (Vincent et al., 2007, p. 285). The research involved individual interviews with 21 professionals, 5 parents and 14 pupils, 11 of whom had experienced a managed move. Data was also gathered from staff focus groups, observations of panel meetings and analysis of key documents. Key outcomes were identified as positive relationships with peers, staff and family members; improvements in self-esteem, behaviour and educational attainment; and a reduction in permanent exclusions (Harris et al., 2006; Vincent et al., 2007).

Positive outcomes were understood to have been facilitated by the consistent application of a clear behaviour management policy, the provision of a “fresh start”, additional support within school, and access to alternative education programmes (Harris et al., 2006; Vincent et al., 2007, p. 296). Yet Harris et al. (2006, p. 30) note that “all pupils found the move daunting and difficult”, highlighting concerns over the time pupils spent out of education. Overall, Vincent et al. (2007, p. 294) emphasise the importance of “sensitive and flexible responses to perceived pupil needs” that provide “tangible demonstrations of care and commitment”.

Nevertheless, during the analysis, the views of pupils were grouped together with the perceptions of parents and professionals. Furthermore, as the sample included pupils who had not encountered a managed move, and all pupils had received additional support, it is difficult to determine the specific effects of managed moves from this research.

In a further study by Bagley and Hallam (2016), researchers met with five young people who had experienced a managed move to explore their self-perceptions, eliciting bipolar constructs in line with a personal construct psychology approach. Individual interviews were then conducted with pupils and their mothers. Thematic analysis was used to interpret the data, in which the responses of pupils and parents were grouped together. Difficulties in relationships with staff and peers were cited as contributing factors in the managed move, with young people describing social isolation and bullying (Bagley & Hallam, 2016). Overall, managed moves were considered to represent a “positive solution”, with improvements in learning and pupil self-perception identified as key outcomes (Bagley & Hallam, 2016, p. 211).

Factors contributing to the success of managed moves included the provision of a “fresh start”; positive relationships with staff and peers; and pastoral support, including transition work (Bagley & Hallam, 2016, p. 214). These themes were reflected in the views of school staff and local authority officers, elicited through individual interviews as part of the same study, although reported separately (Bagley & Hallam, 2015). Pupils and parents also highlighted the need to ensure school suitability and the commitment of all stakeholders (Bagley & Hallam, 2016). Pupil commitment was linked to a ‘positive attitude’, illustrated by a quote from one young person: “Well I tried to be as non-negative as possible... I just tried being positive all the time” (Bagley & Hallam, 2016, p. 218). Yet pupils, parents and professionals also cited tensions pertaining to the use of managed moves (Bagley & Hallam, 2015, 2016). These included the notion of ‘moving a problem’ and negative narratives surrounding the young person concerned (Bagley & Hallam, 2015, 2016). Professionals also highlighted the contradictory relationship between the inclusion agenda and education league tables, while pupils and parents expressed concerns over the time spent out of school, family stress, and the uneven distribution of power in decision-making processes (Bagley & Hallam, 2015, 2016). One parent



commented specifically on the trial period, considering that this absolved the school from the responsibility to engage with her child (Bagley & Hallam, 2016).

Flitcroft and Kelly (2016) used appreciative enquiry to explore how schools might facilitate a sense of belonging in pupils who have experienced a managed move. This involved a focus group activity with six deputy head teachers, in addition to an individual interview with a local authority officer. Key themes were reported as effective preparation and information sharing, allowing for a “fresh start”, building effective relationships with staff and peers, and monitoring support and progress (Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016, p. 11). In particular, professionals highlighted the importance of “positive language and attitude”, considering the term “fresh start” to be more effective in creating a sense of belonging than reference to a “trial period” (Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016, p. 11). Significantly, the study pertained to pupils’ sense of belonging and yet young people’s views are not explored in this paper.

In the existing literature base, managed moves are explored retrospectively. Bagley and Hallam (2015) therefore suggest that future research could focus on the experiences of young people *during* the managed moves process. In addition, the studies each employ thematic analysis in interpreting the views of young people. Nevertheless, Reissman (2005, p. 3) problematises this approach, noting that “readers must assume, when many narratives are grouped into a similar thematic category, that everyone in the group means the same thing by what they say”. Furthermore, researchers seem to subscribe to a naïve realist epistemology in interpreting young people’s views, implying an “unproblematic relationship between words and meaning” (Frankham & Edwards-Kerr, 2009, p. 417). For example, Bagley and Hallam (2016, p. 221) report that “all [young people] agreed that the move had had a positive final outcome” and yet the supporting quotation appears to express ambivalence: “It was stressful but it has been worth it... it was just where I have had to keep moving schools and meeting new people and falling out with loads of different people and stuff”.

Carlile (2012, p. 267) emphasises the need to “pay attention” to individual circumstances, noting “the potential inherent in the focus and depth of academic qualitative research practices”. Howarth (2004, p. 360) also outlines a need for

critical attention to the structures and discourses that perpetuate educational inequalities:

Across both academic and media discussions on school exclusion there is an ideology of individualism that holds ‘disruptive children’, ‘bad parents’ or ‘racist teachers’ responsible for exclusions. The structures and discourses that maintain inequalities in the education system go under-theorised and therefore unchallenged. This has inhibited the reach of effective critical research and so limited possibilities for intervention and social change

Narrative research provides scope for such a study, exploring the ways in which an individual makes sense of their experiences, while also taking into account wider social and cultural factors. As McLean, Wood and Breen (2013, p. 433) argue, “a narrative perspective is particularly suited to studying questions of risk and vulnerability in adolescence because narrative can shed light on the intersections of the individual and his or her familial and cultural contexts”. Nevertheless, Aranda, Zeeman, Scholes, and Morales (2012, p. 553) highlight the perceived limitations of constructionist research, citing its “lack of attention to the unthought, unspoken, unthinkable and unspeakable”. Butler (2005, pp. 7-8) considers this to represent an ethical dilemma, asserting that, “when the “I” seeks to give an account of itself, it can start with itself, but it will find that this self is already implicated in a social temporality that exceeds its own capacities for narration”. I therefore considered it necessary to pay attention to the “ambiguities, ‘deviant’ responses that don’t fit into a typology, the unspoken”, recognising the potential for psychoanalytic approaches to inform such an interpretation (Reissman, 2005, p. 3). In this way, I hoped that I could approach a richer and more nuanced understanding:

We as researchers need to be carefully attentive to what is not spoken, not discussed, not answered, for in those absences is where the very fat and rich information is yet to be known and understood. This fat material requires our listening differently and to begin recognising the richness in our own and others’ silences.

(Mazzei, 2003, p. 358)

In looking for a way of “listening differently”, I found an analytic method based on the work of Lacan, which involved listening for “languages of the unsayable” (Rogers, 2007, p. 109). I explore this further in the next two chapters, considering how psychoanalytic approaches may be incorporated into a narrative research design

in order to inform an ethical mode of listening to young people who have encountered a managed move.

### Summary

- Managed moves are typically presented as an alternative to permanent exclusion, based on the perceived value of a ‘fresh start’.
- Existing literature on managed moves is limited and few studies engage critically with notions of voice, subjectivity and power.
- Previous studies have adopted a retrospective focus, providing little insight into the experiences of young people during a managed move.
- Narrative research that incorporates psychoanalytic approaches may provide an ethical standpoint from which to critically explore individual sense-making and subjectivity.

### Research questions

1. How do young people who have encountered a managed move make sense of their experiences?
2. What implications do managed moves have for subjectivity?

## **Chapter 2: Methodology**

### Overview

In this chapter, I detail my research methodology. I begin by situating the research within a critical, emancipatory paradigm, linking this to my choice of narrative design. I then provide an account of complex subjectivity, aligning this with a critical realist perspective. Finally, I discuss researcher reflexivity and research quality, before outlining my commitment to an “ethic of care” (Kearns, 2014, p. 507).

### At the margins

The research project is rooted in a critical, emancipatory paradigm (Smith-Chandler & Swart, 2014). This is characterised by attentiveness to power dynamics and to the ways in which “oppression is structured and reproduced” (Mertens, 2010, p. 21). Critical research “challenges the status quo and supports silenced or marginalised voices” (Alvesson & Deetz, 2006, p. 257). The study aims to explore how young people make sense of their experiences following their encounter with a managed move. These young people could be seen to occupy a space ‘at the margins’, between belonging and exclusion, and I wish to consider the implications this may have for subjectivity.

Nind, Boorman and Clarke (2012 p. 653) consider that “enabling voice can be a potential source of empowerment” for those who occupy marginalised positions. This is a central tenet of transformative research and I anticipate that this project will inform how I enable the voices of young people in my practice. In particular, Nind et al. (2012) highlight the importance of transformative approaches in relation to young people described as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, whose voices often go unheard. Marginalised voices present a challenge to “the hegemony of accounts that privilege certain voices over others” (Nind et al., 2012, p. 653). Yet Frosh and Baraitser (2008, p. 69) suggest that, in order to claim an emancipatory purpose, it is necessary for qualitative researchers to engage with marginality as a “potential space for newness as well as of exclusion”. The margins are considered as

a site of creativity, at once invoking both anxiety and resistance. There is “disturbance and unsettledness but also a kind of embracing of danger, a wish not to be completely absorbed into the conforming norm” (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 68).

### Narrative

I chose to frame the research within a narrative design that privileges the voices of young people. Narrative inquiry allows for a focus on subjective meaning-making alongside a critical exploration of wider social and cultural factors (Emerson & Frosh, 2004; Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg & Bertsch, 2006). It also embraces the notion of intersubjectivity, as narratives are understood to be co-constructed within a relational context (Gergen, 2015). Narrative research draws on a social constructionist epistemology, in which language is depicted as constitutive rather than merely expressive (Gergen, 2015; Rogers, 2007). It also aligns with Bakhtin’s dialogic conceptualisation of language, which recognises that there are multiple voices at play within narratives (Rogers, 2007). According to Bakhtin, “any utterance must take a position with respect to past words... all words echo with the voices of others” (Wortham, 2001, pp. 21-22).

Telling stories is considered to be a universal human act, representing an attempt to derive meaning from our experiences (Bruner, 2004). Bruner (2004, p. 4) draws attention to the interconnectedness of self and narrative, describing “self-making as a narrative art”. He suggests that our selves are continually under construction as we encounter and interpret new situations (Bruner, 2004). Yet narratives are always produced in a social context, as selfhood is negotiated in relation to the other (Bruner, 1990). Drawing on the work of Schafer, Bruner (1990, p. 114) depicts the notion of the *distributed self*, whereby “the wider circle of people about whom any person cares or in whom she or he confides might also be complicit in our narratives and our self-constructions”. Furthermore, the stories we tell about ourselves also depend on the availability of cultural narratives (Polkinghorne, 2004). In this way, “just as knowledge... gets caught in the net of culture, so too self becomes enmeshed in a net of others (Bruner, 1990, p. 114). There is thus an inherent tension between structure and agency. Indeed, Aranda et al. (2012, p. 554) depict the psychosocial

subject who is “ambiguously construed, being imbued with agency, but equally constrained... shaping and shaped by stories”.

### Theorising subjectivity

As Marks (1996, p. 115) asserts, “social constructionist theory has warned that giving our subjects a voice involves the fantasy that it is possible to have unmediated direct knowledge of experience”. Nevertheless, in understanding subjectivity to be constituted by language, social constructionist research has tended to adopt the position of *blank subjectivity*, whereby the subject itself is absent; a “blank space” (Parker, 1997, p. 481). Parker (1997, p. 81) argues that the position of blank subjectivity “has entailed a dismissal of individual experience as if it were only an effect of language or a work of fiction”. Yet McLeod (2000, p. 505) highlights the need for research that engages with the notion of subject as “a psychological as well as a sociological and discursive category”. Some researchers have attempted to bestow agency to the subject by adopting a position that Parker (1997) terms *uncomplicated subjectivity*. This “presupposes a subject who uses discourse” and, for Parker (1997, p. 482), “is uncomfortably close to the traditional humanist fantasy of the pure subject as an active reflective independent agent”. Throughout the thesis, this is referred to as the *agentic subject*. Uncomplicated subjectivity assumes a direct link between language and experience, which Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 3) refer to as the “transparent account problem”.

Reflecting on her work with young people who had experienced trauma, Rogers (2007, p. 105) writes: “I kept hearing something in narratives I could not grasp: the presence of the unsayable in words, in language, which also fell between sentences, between words”. This seemed particularly pertinent to my study and, as such, I was keen to explore the notion of the unsayable in relation to the narratives of the young people I interviewed. In doing so, I drew on Parker’s (1997) conceptualisation of *complex subjectivity*, which attempts to reconcile social constructionist and psychoanalytic accounts of subjectivity in order to enable “the return of the subject” (Stern, 2000, p. 109). This aligns with a critical realist perspective in that it is interested in subjective experience while acknowledging the impossibility of accessing this directly. Complex subjectivity “takes seriously both the intentions and

desires of the individual and the operation of social structures and discourse” (Parker, 1997, p. 491). It attempts to “theorise subjectivity, but in a way which captures the interweaving of self-as-experienced and self-as-constructed-within-the-symbolic-order” (Madill, Jordan & Shirley, 2000, p. 16). Complex subjectivity draws on psychoanalytic theory and, in particular, the work of Lacan (Sullivan, 2012).

### The Lacanian subject

Jacques Lacan was a French psychoanalyst who advocated a return to Freud. His ideas draw on a wide range of sources, including the philosophies of Hegel and Heidegger, as well as the structural linguistics of Saussure (Homer, 2005; Žižek, 2006). Lacanian theory has, in turn, transcended the boundaries of psychoanalysis, influencing disciplines such as literary and film criticism, gender studies, social and political theory, and organisational studies (Frosh, 2012; Homer, 2005).

For Lacan, the unified self is a “misconception, a place of illusion” (Rogers, 2007, p. 108). Instead, the Lacanian subject is fragmented and fluid, emerging “only fleetingly through a continuous process of subjectification” (Homer, 2005, p. 75). This is explicated through Lacan’s (2006a) account of the *mirror stage*, in which an infant first comes to identify with its reflection in a mirror. The mirror image “promises, momentarily, a sense of oneness and unity”, which contrasts with the sense of incoherence and fragmentation that the infant otherwise experiences (Kenny, 2012, p. 1176). Although this identification is *imaginary*, it nonetheless results in a sense of lack, engendering a “persistent desire to regain this pleasurable state” (Kenny, 2012, p. 1176).

Lacan (2006b, p. 231) notes that, “for this desire itself to be satisfied... requires that it be recognised”, highlighting the importance of speech and language in seeking recognition. The infant thus attempts to achieve a sense of completeness by making identifications with the *symbolic order* (the ‘Other’). The symbolic order encompasses “aspects of our social world: those laws, norms, rituals and cultural beliefs that are prominent, along with the language we use” (Kenny, 2012, p. 1176). As Butler (2004, p. 45) describes, “the ‘I’ who cannot come into being without a

'you' is also fundamentally dependent on a set of norms of recognition that originated neither with the 'I' nor with the 'you'. This "set of norms" occupies the realm of the symbolic: the "foreign language that we are born into and must learn to speak if we are to articulate our own desire" (Homer, 2005, p. 70). Yet identification with the symbolic order is "never complete" (Kenny, 2012, p. 1176). As Lacan (2006b, p. 247) remarks, "I identify myself in language, but only by losing myself in it like an object". The subject is "created in this act of objectification – of 'losing oneself' in language. It is found(ed), we might say, in this original loss" (Sayer, 2004, p. 68).

Indeed, "something is always missing" in the subject's identifications with the symbolic order; language is unable to fully capture experience (Stavrakakis, 2010, p. 62). Furthermore, words continually produce new meanings as "signifiers slide into one another, pointing beyond themselves in an endlessly moving chain" (Rogers, 2007, p. 107). Sayer (2004, p. 69) describes this process in the following extract:

The materials in and out of which the subject is fashioned are labile, fluid, slippery and treacherous – shifting markers that are always deferring *beyond* the self, always pointing somewhere else, toward some otherness that perpetually threatens to undo who we (think we) are.

In summary, "language carries both more and less than we intended to say" (Rogers, 2007, p. 109). This leads Rogers (2007, p. 106) to conclude that, "as speaking subjects, we cannot know anything directly and wholly, least of all ourselves". Kenny (2012, p. 1177) therefore considers our identifications with the symbolic order to be ambivalent, noting that:

While desire leads us to seek and gain recognition from important signifiers, this recognition can be experienced as hurtful: for example, when we are compelled to identify with terms that are offensive.

The subject is constituted through language: "What I seek in speech is a response of the other. What constitutes me as a subject is my question" (Lacan, 2006b, p. 247). Furthermore, this occurs beyond our conscious awareness. Indeed, the Lacanian unconscious emerges upon entry to the symbolic order. The unconscious is a "process of signification that is beyond our control; it is the language that speaks through us rather than the language we speak" (Homer, 2005, p. 44). Crucially, the



Lacanian unconscious does not reside within an individual, but rather it is “radically external, inscribed by societal norms” (Kenny, 2012, p. 1178). As Lacan (2006c, p. 10) describes, “the unconscious is the Other’s discourse”. The symbolic order encompasses “the discourse and desires of those around us, through which we internalise and inflect our own desire” (Homer, 2005, p. 70). This elucidates the process by which dominant narratives are internalised by an individual. In this way, oppression can be reproduced at the level of the unconscious. Lacan therefore transcends the binary between the political and the psychic, considering these to be “inextricably interlinked” (Butler, 1997; Kenny, 2012, p. 1178).

Homer (2005, p. 68) explains that “the unconscious manifests itself at those points where language fails and stumbles”. It is also considered to be present in free association, “a speech without conscious control” (Evans, 1996, p. 192). Lacan relates free association to *full speech*, defined in contrast to *empty speech*, which together form a continuum (Evans, 1996). Empty speech “articulates the imaginary dimension of language, the speech from the ego to its counterpart” (Evans, 1996, p. 191). Conversely, full speech articulates the truth “as fully as possible at a particular time” (Evans, 1996, p. 192). As Lacan (1990, p. 3) describes:

I always speak the truth. Not the whole truth, because there’s no way, to say it all. Saying it all is literally impossible: words fail. Yet it’s through this very impossibility that the truth holds onto the real.

The real can be defined as that which eludes symbolisation (Homer, 2005). Yet “there is a defect in signification; something that resists representation remains, even in the symbolic” (Rogers, 2007, p. 109). Lacan associates the real with trauma, suggesting that it emerges at the point at which signification breaks down (Homer, 2005). For Frosh and Baraitser (2008, p. 68), this has particular resonance for those who occupy marginalised positions:

Inhabiting the margins indicates a state of being not quite there and yet also not quite gone, like ghosts who cannot be laid to rest; what is in the margins is still attached yet excluded. This gives it a particular poignancy and connects it with what Lacanians call the real – a kind of borderline experience, something in the gaps that is not completely covered over by the symbolic.

Kenny (2012, p. 1177) notes that “the impossibility of total identification does not mean that subjects abandon the pursuit of wholeness within the symbolic; rather, they tend to actively cover over the gaps and flaws in the Other, holding on to the promise of final satisfaction”. As Ragland (1995, p. 94) reflects, “people settle for any known set of identifications, however painful, lest they fall out of the familiar symbolic order into the real of anxiety which opens onto a void of emptiness at the centre of being”.

Homer (2005, p. 94) describes the real as “that traumatic kernel at the core of subjectivity and the symbolic order”. The symbolic order provides a necessary “defence against the real” (Frosh, 2007, p. 641). Rogers (2007, p. 106) emphasises that “we are born into language... outside of language there is no way to describe or refer to the self”. In this way, the Lacanian subject is constituted in and through language: “The form in which language expresses itself in and of defines subjectivity” (Lacan, 2006b, p. 246). Despite this, Lacan avoids the position of blank subjectivity. Indeed, Homer (2005, p. 65) asserts that Lacan “does not see the subject as simply reducible to an effect of language. Crucially, the subject “assumes its position within the symbolic order and is thus able to act” (Homer, 2005, p. 74). This means that the subject is continually changing, transformed through “intersubjective experience” (Lacan, 2006b, p. 231). As Butler (2004, p. 44) describes, “to ask for recognition... is to solicit a becoming”.

I propose that this ontological position can be incorporated into a narrative research design, providing an ethical standpoint from which to listen to marginalised young people. Indeed, Pollard (2008, p. 55) draws a link between the work of Bakhtin and Lacan, highlighting a shared focus on the “ethical practice” of dialogue:

Interdependency is paramount for both Bakhtin and Lacan, due to the presence of the other in the self, the self’s ultimate unknowability and unfinalisability and the need to negotiate identity and social relationships through dialogue. The activity of dialogue is therefore a profoundly ethical practice.

Significantly, the “self’s ultimate unknowability and unfinalisability” extends to the role of the researcher. As Butler (2005, p. 84) asserts: “I find that my very formation implicates the other in me, that my own foreignness to myself is, paradoxically, the

source of my ethical connection with others”. Indeed, Benjamin (1998, p. 84) suggests that, “to articulate the conditions for recognising the other, we must understand the deepest obstacles within the self”. This links to Kofman’s (1998, p. 10) notion of *écrire sans pouvoir* (writing without power): “To speak: it is necessary - *without the power*: without allowing language, too powerful, sovereign, to master the aporetic situation, absolute powerlessness and very distress, to enclose it in the happiness of daylight”.

### Reflexivity

Parker (2014, p. 60) cautions that, as researchers, “we never speak from within a ‘metalanguage’, but from position”. Throughout the study, it was therefore important to reflect on my position as a researcher and the influence that this may have had on the research (Gilligan et al., 2006). This was supported through the process of supervision and the use of a research diary. Following each interview, I set aside time to reflect on my subjective experience, paying close attention to my emotional responses and moments of connection and disconnect in my relationship with participants (Gilligan et al., 2006, p. 257).

Doucet and Mauthner (2008, p. 404) claim that “how we come to know narrated subjects relies strongly on the role of our own subjectivities in knowing”. Nevertheless, they follow this with the assertion that “we cannot know everything that influences our knowledge construction processes... there are ‘degrees of reflexivity’, with some influences being easier to identify and articulate during the research, while others may only come to us many years after completing our projects” (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008, p. 405).

### Quality criteria

#### *Validity*

Reissman (2008, p. 185) asserts that “the validity of a project should be assessed from within the situated perspective and traditions that frame it”. Reissman and Quinney (2005) claim that validity can be established through the coherency of

participants' narratives. Nevertheless, Reissman (2008, p. 189) acknowledges that this does not necessarily apply to dialogic research, which does not assume a "single rational narrator". She also suggests that an "absence of coherence" may be particularly notable in narratives of people who have experienced traumatic events (Reissman, 2008, p. 190). As Emerson and Frosh (2009, p. 11) point out, "defining a narrative as something with a 'beginning, middle and end' raises the question of whether what is being focused on is a kind of 'defensive' structure in which the actual disorganisation of everyday life... is being denied".

Emerson and Frosh (2009) therefore argue that attention to fragmented narratives is necessary. Furthermore, they emphasise the need for the researcher to "resist foreclosure" by attending to contradictions and uncertainties rather than seeking to produce a cohesive account. This involves "homing in on the small surface distortions that are often overlooked, and yet in themselves represent moments of resistance and potential, if sometimes anarchic, creativity" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 69). Such distortions may include "the slight gaps, the moments of brokenness, running-on, contradiction, or slippage" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 75). Frosh and Baraitser (2008, p. 69) suggest this as "a way of detailing the exceptions to what appear to be general rules... to insert a little of the 'unheard' back into psychological thinking". Crucially, however, the aim is to not to "delve down through them to what is more true, but rather to harness their energy to examine what happens next - what these gaps allow to happen, what comes about as a consequence of narrative's scratched surface" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 75).

Reissman (2008, p. 191) suggests that "instead of trying to find coherence and factuality in individuals' stories, investigators might search for coexistent realities... making sense analytically of both convergence and divergence". Indeed, Frosh (2007, p. 639) asserts that "there is a need to hold on to this dialectic, this movement between fragmentation and integration, the part and the whole, without desperately seeking resolution". Frosh (2007, p. 639) suggests that the "integrating tendency" in research should instead be replaced by the notion of *multiplicity*. Thus, in striving towards trustworthiness, the researcher's aim is to produce "interpretations of particular texts which, while not claiming to be the only reading, may stand alongside other possible interpretations... as sufficiently warranted to consider

plausible or ‘trustworthy’ and hence able to contribute to changes in thinking and practice” (Emerson & Frosh, 2009, p. 161).

Mishler (1990) suggests that the validity of narrative research can be understood in terms of *trustworthiness*. As Reissman (2008, p. 191) asserts, “good narrative research persuades readers. Students can present their narrative data in ways that demonstrate the data are genuine, and analytic interpretations of them are plausible, reasonable, and convincing”. In order to ensure the trustworthiness of my data, I audio recorded interviews (Reissman, 2008). I have also included data extracts that display interactions between the researcher and participants in order to demonstrate how narratives are co-constructed within a specific context, as well as enabling readers to trace my interpretations to the primary texts (Emerson & Frosh, 2009; Mishler, 1990). This is significant as transparency represents an important aspect of transformative research (Mertens, 2010).

Reissman (2008, p. 191) considers that “persuasiveness is strengthened when... alternative interpretations are considered”. During the analysis stage, I was keen to explore alternative, and sometimes conflicting, interpretations. I also reflected on possible interpretations with my research supervisor. Gilligan et al. (2006, p. 258) note that research is “enhanced by work with interpretative communities”, whereby the goal is not agreement but “exploration of different resonances and interpretations”.

### *Reliability*

Riessman (2008, p. 198) argues that the concept of reliability cannot be usefully applied to narrative research as “life stories are not static; memories and meanings of experiences change as time passes”. As Parker (1994, p. 11) notes, “it is certainly possible to repeat the work that has been described, but that repetition will necessarily also be a different piece of work”.

### *Generalisability*

Emerson and Frosh (2009, p. 160) consider generalisability “not in terms of claims for abstract or unitary findings more typical of traditional research goals... but rather in terms recommending an approach to research as sense-making, rooted in commitment to participants’ orientations”. This echoes the view of Stake (1995), who argues that, in engaging with the pursuit of complex meaning, researchers should focus on *particularisation* rather than generalisation. While it does not seek to produce generalisable knowledge, narrative research may nevertheless challenge “grand generalisations” through the presentation of counter-examples (Stake, 1995).

### Ethics

Kearns (2014 p. 507) cautions that “experiences of vulnerability and disadvantage in other areas of young people’s lives may be reinforced without a strong commitment to an appropriate ‘ethic of care’ at every stage of the research process”. Prior to collecting the data, I obtained informed consent from young people and their parents/carers, in accordance with the British Psychological Society [BPS] (2010) ‘Code of Human Research Ethics’ and the Health and Care Professions Council [HCPC] (2016) ‘Guidance on Conduct and Ethics for Students’. I advised potential participants that consent was entirely voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time. Parents/carers were contacted by telephone initially with information about the research project. With the verbal consent of parents/carers, I arranged a meeting with the young person in school, in which to introduce the research project and provide the opportunity for questions. Each young person was then given an information letter to take home and read with their parents/carers (Appendix II). The letter was addressed directly to the young person concerned and written in accessible language, with clear headings and visuals to support understanding. My contact details were included in case the young person or their parents/carers wished to discuss the project in further detail. In order to make the process transparent, I explained that participation was dependent on consent from both the young person and their parent/carer. Once a signed parental/carer consent form had been returned, I held a follow-up meeting with the young person, in which I checked understanding and

provided the opportunity for additional questions before obtaining formal written consent (Appendices III-IV).

I recognised the potential for interviews to elicit distressing memories for participants. At the beginning of the research process, I discussed this openly with the young people concerned and each participant identified a key person in school who could provide further support if necessary. I also made it clear that participants could say as much or as little as they would like and that they were free to withdraw consent at any time during the research process (Emerson & Frosh, 2009). I had planned to pause or stop the interview should a participant appear distressed, however this did not prove to be necessary in practice. Following each interview, I ensured adequate time to discuss how participants were feeling and to check whether they would like any follow-up support.

I was aware that, in seeking to establish a rapport with participants, I might have encouraged them to share information that they would not otherwise have disclosed. I therefore met with participants on an individual basis following the interviews to review the transcripts. These meetings did not form part of the data collection process, but rather they provided a way of establishing informed consent, which was understood as an ongoing process. Participants were provided with the option of reading the transcripts independently or having the transcripts read aloud and they were asked to indicate if there was any information that they did not wish to be included in the final research report. These meetings also provided the opportunity for participants to ask further questions and comment on their experience of the research process overall. All participants indicated that they had appreciated the opportunity to express their views and felt comfortable in talking about their experiences.

Following discussion with my research supervisor, I made the decision not to share my analyses with participants during the final session due to the interpretative nature of the research. In a therapeutic context, interpretations are formulated in collaboration with clients over an extended period of time, whereas my time with participants had been limited. Indeed, Hollway and Jefferson (2013) point to the distinction between research and therapy, highlighting the need for researchers to

exercise caution in sharing their analyses with participants. Yet Hollway and Jefferson (2013) also maintain a distinction between harm and distress. They argue that, while analyses may raise difficult thoughts and feelings for participants, this is not necessarily harmful and, in some cases, may prove helpful in facilitating reflection on earlier experiences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). In this situation, I feel that my decision not to share analyses was justified in light of the precarious position that participants appeared to occupy at the time of inquiry. Participants will be able to access my analyses at a later stage if desired.

At the beginning of each session, participants were informed that information shared would remain confidential, unless it raised significant concern over the health, welfare or safety of participants or relevant others (BPS, 2009, 2010). Prior to being introduced to participants, I met with their respective pastoral managers, who provided key background information. This included information relating to previous safeguarding concerns. If, during my meetings with participants, any information was disclosed that raised additional safeguarding concerns, this was shared with an appropriate member of school staff. Decision-making pertaining to safeguarding was supported through the process of supervision.

Kearns (2014) emphasises that the risks inherent in research with young people need to be considered alongside the consequences of excluding young people from studies, which may serve to further disempower. Additionally, I considered that participants might find the opportunity to discuss their experiences therapeutic, although this was not an explicit aim of the research (White & Epston, 1990).

The utmost care was taken to protect participants' confidentiality (BPS, 2010; HCPC, 2016). All data was stored securely and data was anonymised at the transcription stage. Participants were each invited to choose their own pseudonym and all other names of people and places have been changed. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, the full interview transcripts have not been included in this thesis and an embargo will be placed on the work for a period of three years. Full ethical approval was obtained from the University of Sheffield and the local authority in which the research took place prior to the data collection phase of the project (Appendix V).



Parker (2005) asserts that writing a research report is only the first step in disseminating results, emphasising the importance of research leading to action. I have presented my findings to educational psychology colleagues, both at my university and in the local authority in which the study took place. I also plan to share my findings with professionals responsible for coordinating managed moves within the local authority, working alongside colleagues in order to effect changes to policy and practice. In addition, I plan to use my findings to write a paper with my research supervisor and a colleague, with a view to presenting this at the Psychoanalysis and Education Conference.

### Summary

- The research project is rooted in a critical, emancipatory paradigm.
- The study is framed within a narrative design that privileges the voices of young people and explores individual sense-making, while critically engaging with wider social and cultural factors.
- The research embraces the notion of intersubjectivity and a dialogic conceptualisation of language.
- I approach the research from a critical realist perspective that allows for an exploration of the gap between language and experience. This aligns with a social constructionist epistemology, in that language is understood to be constitutive rather than merely expressive.
- I engage with the notion of complex subjectivity, drawing on poststructuralist and psychoanalytic perspectives in an attempt to bridge the divide between the political and the psychic.
- Reflexivity forms an important part of the study. During the research process, I kept a reflexive diary and this thesis is interspersed with reflexive accounts.
- I argue that, while the criteria of reliability and generalisability cannot be usefully applied to this study, I have established trustworthiness by ensuring transparency and attending to the notion of multiplicity.
- Throughout the research project, I maintained a commitment to ethical conduct. Full ethical approval was obtained from the University of Sheffield and the relevant local authority prior to the data collection phase of the study.

## **Chapter 3: Research Procedures**

### Overview

In this chapter, I describe each stage of the research process, from recruiting participants to conducting and analysing the research interviews. The research was conducted in one local authority. A description of the local authority protocol for managed moves can be found in Appendix VI. Information regarding the pilot study is included in Appendix VII.

### Sample

Strategic sampling was used to select participants. I selected three participants for the main study as I felt that this would enable me to explore different perspectives, while conducting in-depth analysis within the available time frame and word limit. The following selection criteria were applied:

- Pupils are in Year 9 or Year 10.
- Pupils are on the trial phase of a managed move OR a managed move has been agreed and pupils are due to start the trial phase.

This ensured that I did not know the outcome of the managed move at the time of selection. Although my intention was to listen to the experiences of young people during the trial phase of a managed move, I recognised this as a precarious position that was subject to change at short notice. For ethical reasons, it was decided that participants would still be included in the research if their circumstances changed following the point of initial contact.

As I was interested in how participants made sense of their educational experiences, I decided to focus on secondary pupils, who would be in a position to reflect on their experiences of both primary and secondary education. I also acknowledged that young people at risk of school exclusion could be considered to represent a 'hard to reach' client group. Indeed, O'Connor, Hodkinson, Burton and Torstensson (2011)

reflect on the difficulties in recruiting young people described as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. In recruiting participants, I enlisted the support of professionals responsible for coordinating managed moves across the local authority, who were able to provide details of young people who met the selection criteria.

### *Reflection*

As anticipated, I experienced difficulty in recruiting participants for this study. For example, in making initial contact by telephone, I found that some parents/carers were reluctant to speak to me. I considered that my role as a local authority representative might have been viewed negatively, particularly in light of the difficulties that many families had experienced.

### Data collection

In seeking to understand how young people make sense of their experiences, I planned to elicit narratives through the use of individual interviews. Due to my chosen methodology, participants needed to be able to reflect on their experiences and articulate these in the context of a research interview. Despite this, I understood that participants might lack trust in adults (Bowlby, 1969). I also considered that participants might find it difficult to recognise and express their emotions. For example, research has highlighted the prevalence of speech and language difficulties in young people at risk of school exclusion (Clegg et al., 2009). I therefore employed creative methods for eliciting participants' views, as well as considering how I might establish a safe space in which young people could tell their stories.

Bagnoli (2009, p. 548) considers that “the use of visual and creative methods can generally facilitate investigating layers of experience that cannot easily be put into words”. Prior to the interviews, I met with each young person in order to create a mind map of significant experiences and possible future events. I feel that this helped to elicit narratives that may not otherwise have been heard, as well as providing an opportunity for us to begin to get to know one another. This is in line with an ethnographic approach to interviewing, as advocated by Parker (2005). I also consider that this represented an ethical approach to research, as participants were

able to reflect on their responses before the interview took place. At the beginning of the interview session, I asked whether participants would like to add any information to their mind maps and whether there were any experiences they did not wish to talk about during the interview.

Careful consideration was given to the physical space of the interviews. Participants were offered a choice of interview time and location, however all indicated that they were comfortable for the interviews to take place in the school environment. I adopted an informal interview style, demonstrating unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1980). Although I intended for the interviews to be led by participants as far as possible, I used a semi-structured interview schedule in order to elicit rich data (Emerson & Frosh, 2009). This was trialled and adapted during the pilot study (Appendices VII-IX). The interview schedule encouraged a focus on particular times and events, as recommended by Hollway and Jefferson (2013). The interviews lasted for 49 minutes and 59 seconds (Sophie), 34 minutes and 2 seconds (Charlotte), and 36 minutes and 55 seconds (Wendell). Immediately after each interview, I recorded reflexive field notes, commenting on the relational dynamics and my emotional responses to the interview situation (Hollway, 2011). Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed, using selected conventions from Jefferson (2004):

**Table 3.1 Transcription Conventions**

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Description</b>
(.)	Pause of less than a second
(3)	Pause length in seconds
((laughs))	Non-verbal communication
[ ]	Speech overlaps
<u>Underscore</u>	Emphasis
(???)	Inaudible

### Analytic strategy

I felt that dialogic analysis was appropriate to the philosophical orientation and aims of my research project. This considers how a story is co-produced in “spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader, and history and culture” (Reissman, 2008, p. 105). In particular, I drew on the Listening Guide method, which is rooted in feminist and critical theory, as well as psychoanalytic theories that emphasise “the layered nature of the psyche” (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan et al., 2006, p. 254). This offered “a way of illuminating the complex and multilayered nature of the expression of human experience and the interplay between self and relationship, psyche and culture” (Gilligan et al., 2006, p. 268).

The method involved a series of *listenings*, each with a specific focus. The first of these involved listening for the plot, whereby I paid attention to “the landscape of the interview... and to the stories that are told” (Gilligan, 2015, p. 71). This included a focus on character, place and events, as well as significant words, phrases and themes (Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan & Eddy, 2017; Gilligan et al., 2006). I also worked reflexively during this listening, recording my emotional responses to the interview in an attempt to separate my voice from the voice of the participant (Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan et al., 2006). During the second listening, I was attuned to the diverse ways in which the participant spoke of the self in the first person (Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan & Eddy, 2017; Gilligan et al., 2006). This listening was used to compose *I poems*, which highlight “an associative stream that flows through the narrative” (Gilligan, 2015, p. 72). I then listened for *contrapuntal voices* that related to my research questions and theoretical framework, before looking at the interplay between different voices (Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan & Eddy, 2017; Gilligan et al., 2006). For example, in each interview, I identified a voice of agency that was in tension with a voice of resignation.

Through this third layer of analysis, the Listening Guide “creates an opportunity to hear voices that are not spoken directly (or consciously) but are evident by ‘listening’ for what is unsaid or also said or said beneath some kind of other discourse” (Gilligan, 2015, p. 74). Nevertheless, while it draws on psychoanalytic theory, the Listening Guide method does not elucidate a specific theoretical

framework for analysing the unconscious aspects of speech. I therefore introduced a fourth listening for *languages of the unsayable*, a narrative research method based on Lacanian psychoanalytic theory (Rogers, 2007, p. 109). In explicating each aspect of this method, Rogers (2007, p. 113) suggests that the unsayable is present in speech in the form of “negations, revisions, smokescreens (diverting attention to a safer place), and silences”.

I considered a Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective to be compatible with the critical theoretical underpinnings of this research, offering a way of exploring “both language and the beyond of language” (Miller, Billington, Lewis & DeSouza, 2008, p. 484). Yet, as it is rooted in a clinical context, it is not possible to translate Lacanian theory directly to a research framework. As Frosh (2010, p.1) cautions, “psychoanalytic knowledge... arises from, and refers back to, a very particular situation specially created to be different from the normal environment of everyday life”. The method devised by Rogers (2007) draws on specific elements of Lacanian theory that can be applied to narrative research. Nevertheless, this approach could be criticised for the emphasis that it places on verbal language. As Reissman (2008, p. 141) comments, “words... are only one form of communication; other forms (gesture, body movement, sound, images) precede words in human development and continue to communicate meaning throughout the life course”. I have attempted to address this by recording reflexive field notes that explored my emotional responses following each meeting with participants, as well as through the reflexive listening that forms part of the Listening Guide method.

In exploring possible approaches to research, I also considered Hollway and Jefferson’s (2013) Free Association Narrative Interview method. This is based on Kleinian psychoanalytic theory, exploring non-verbal aspects of communication through concepts such as *transference*, *countertransference* and *projective identification*. Yet Parker (2005) criticises this approach for its focus on the individual at the expense of wider socio-political factors. Parker (2005, p. 108) also expresses concern over the “essentialising” nature of this method, in which the researcher “makes it seem as if they have actually found the emotional drivers under the surface”. A similar criticism could be applied to psychoanalytic approaches in

general. Indeed, Frosh and Emerson (2005, p. 322) recognise that “appeals to the unconscious” can become “top down assertions of expert knowledge”. In this way, psychoanalytic interpretation “carries risks of being an exercise of power on the part of the analyst” (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013, p. 155). This has implications for the transformative aims of this research, in which my intent is to privilege the voices of young people.

Yet psychoanalytically informed approaches can be valuable in exposing the “concealed authority and acts of exclusion behind the subject”, thereby fulfilling an ethical imperative (Benjamin, 1998, p. 84). As Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 155) assert, research that focuses on “giving voice” with “minimal imposition of the expertise of the researcher and theoretical constructs” assumes “a belief in the transparency of participants... that is inconsistent with the psychoanalytic idea of a defended subject”. Parker (2005, p. 107) considers that “we can treat psychoanalysis dialectically, as part of the problem and part of the solution; it is our way in and out of the contradictory shape of contemporary subjectivity and social relationships”. Parker (2005) suggests Lacanian theory as a particularly helpful resource for critical researchers. Indeed, from a Lacanian perspective, understanding on the part of the researcher is imaginary (Parker, 2005). My analysis therefore remains tentative and provisional; I do not seek to claim interpretative authority. As Frosh (2007, p. 644) asserts, “we should approach a text not as something we can understand, but rather as something waiting to be opened up”.

Frosh and Emerson (2005, p. 323) also advocate the “bringing together into dialogue of psychoanalytic and discursive analytic interpretations”. In using a psychoanalytically informed approach alongside the Listening Guide method, I feel that I was able to attend to participants’ individual sense-making while also exploring the dimension of “internalised oppression” (Smith-Chandler & Swart, 2014, p. 427). The listening for languages of the unsayable elicited an “additional polyphonic voice”, intended to complement rather than supplant the voices of participants (Smith-Chandler & Swart, 2014, p. 427). Overall, I consider that my analytic method enabled me to attend to multiplicity and complexity, while ensuring that analysis remained grounded in a close reading of the data (Emerson & Frosh, 2009; Gilligan, 2015). An overview of my analytic strategy is provided in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2 Analytic Strategy**

Listening		Markers
1	Listening for the Plot	Character, place and events Repeated words and phrases Striking metaphors Salient themes Narrative voice Social and cultural context
	Reflexive Listening	Emotional resonances Values and assumptions Relational dynamics
2	Listening for the I	First person phrases I poems
3	Listening for Contrapuntal Voices	Identification and interplay of different voices Relationship to first person narrative
4	Listening for Languages of the Unsayable	Negation Revision Smokescreen Silence

It is important to note that data analysis was a recursive process, in which listenings were continually revisited. Different resonances were also explored through supervision. In composing the final analyses, each listening was “brought back into relationship with one another so as not to reduce or lose the complexity of a person’s expressed experience” (Gilligan et al., 2006, p. 267). This represented a creative process that was “purposefully self-conscious and subjective” (Reissman, 2008, p. 137). The analytic strategy described was very time intensive. It is therefore more appropriate for case study research than larger-scale studies (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017; Reissman, 2008; Rogers, 2007).

### Summary

- Strategic sampling was used to select participants. Three participants were included in the main study. I met with each participant to create a mind map of their experiences before conducting semi-structured interviews.
- Dialogic analysis was considered appropriate to the philosophical orientation and aims of this research project. My analytic method was based on the Listening Guide framework, incorporating an additional listening for “languages of the unsayable” (Rogers, 2007, p. 109).



## **Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion**

### Overview

In this section, I present my analyses of the interviews that took place with participants Sophie, Charlotte and Wendell. Guided by my research questions, I explore how participants make sense of their experiences, as well as reflecting on the implications for subjectivity. Prior to the interviews, I met with each participant to create a mind map of their experiences, as displayed in Appendices X-XII. Mind maps have been re-written and some details have been changed or omitted in order to protect confidentiality. An example interview transcript can be found in Appendix XIII. I have also included an annotated transcript, which details each stage of the analytic process (Appendix XIV), in addition to diagrams that illustrate the composition of analyses (Appendix XV).

### Sophie

Sophie is a Year 10 student who attends a large, comprehensive secondary school. She lives with her mum and dad and is an only child. Sophie outlines frequent moves, moving from India to Scotland and then England at the age of four. In early adolescence, Sophie describes “hanging around with the wrong people” and taking drugs. Earlier in the year, Sophie had experienced an overdose and was admitted to hospital. Upon being discharged, Sophie describes two “fights” with her dad, which resulted in police involvement. Sophie had then moved to live with her auntie before returning home. Sophie also details involvement from social care, CAMHS and Connect (a service for young people affected by drugs and alcohol). Sophie explains that, after the overdose, she started taking drugs again. When it was discovered that Sophie had been in possession of drugs in school, she was issued a fixed-term exclusion before being offered a managed move. While waiting for the move to be arranged, Sophie attended her original school on a part-time basis, where she remained in “inclusion” with “no contact” from other students.

I first met with Sophie at her original school on the Friday before a half-term holiday. Sophie was due to start a managed move immediately after the break,

however she had just been told that the receiving school was querying the arrangements and that she would be attending mainstream lessons at her original school until a managed move could be agreed. Nevertheless, Sophie expressed a keen interest in taking part in the research project. We initially agreed to wait to see whether a managed move would go ahead, although I explained that I would offer to meet with Sophie again before the end of term, irrespective of the outcome. After six weeks, Sophie was still attending her original school on a temporary basis. I arranged a further meeting with Sophie, in which she said that she would still like to participate in the research. Once written consent had been obtained from Sophie and her parent/carer, I met with Sophie to create a mind map of her experiences, before arranging a subsequent interview.

### *Things fall apart*

Sophie begins her narrative with a positive account of her educational experiences:

Researcher (R): Right, so maybe if you start by, erm, telling me a little bit about your experiences of (.) of school

Sophie (S): Err, always been good in school, never had any problems

R: Mm hmm

S: Err, usually got (.) quite high grades and (.) liked coming to school.

R: Yeah

S: It's quite (.) a good social place, had a lot of friends.

(Lines 1-7)

In this section, Sophie appears keen to establish herself as a 'good' student who was popular, achieved high grades and enjoyed school. Perhaps this functions as a smokescreen, "diverting attention to a safer place" (Rogers, 2007, p. 113). There is a notable absence of the pronoun 'I' and Sophie seems to be telling her story at a distance. Sophie also uses the past tense, which implies a contrast to her present situation. There is then a sudden shift in Sophie's narrative:

S: And, erm (.) and then it just, like, kind of fell (1) and everything, err, fell (.) apart at home.

R: Okay

S: So then school got bad as well.

R: Okay

S: And everything else did as well.

(Lines 9-14)

Sophie describes how “everything fell apart” at home, suggesting this as a contributing factor in how school “got bad”. Once again, events seem to be related at a distance and it appears that Sophie has little control over what is happening to her. When asked if she can tell me any more, Sophie describes her experience of an overdose:

S: Err, it started with (.) err, an overdose back in (.) March, start of March, and, erm, ended up in hospital (.) and my parents reacted very badly to it, so ever since then I was very (.) err (.) very bad with them, they were, they weren't supportive and they were just, they were just not nice from then on, erm, and then I didn't wanna go back home cos of the reaction they had (.) err, from me being in the hospital.

(Lines 16-20)

The absence of pronoun is again significant here. It appears that “the overdose” is something over which Sophie had little control. Sophie speaks hesitantly, leaving sentences unfinished. Smokescreens are evident in the repeated phrase “very bad” and in the reference to Sophie’s parents being “just not nice”, perhaps reflecting the limits of what Sophie is able to say. Sophie goes on to describe her “release” from hospital:

S: And, erm, when I got released out of hospital (.) I made, I made quite a scene cos I didn't wanna go home and they were trying to force me to go home. So (.) my dad came and picked me up cos my mum couldn't get me to go home (.) and he got really angry at, like, the way I was acting, cos I didn't wanna go home, so he got quite mad and had a massive fight

(Lines 22-26)

Sophie refers to the fact that her dad “got really angry”, later revising this to say that “he got quite mad”. She frames the events that unfolded as “a massive fight”, thus positioning herself as an active participant. A sense of agency is also implied through the phrase “I made quite a scene”. Despite this, Sophie appears to have little power in the situation overall. She emphasises the fact that she did not want to go home and yet the attempts to “force” her appear to have been successful. Sophie suggests that “after a while (.) it was all okay”, perhaps in an attempt to reassure, although this is contradicted by the statement that follows: “and then it all happened again” (Lines 29-31). This is echoed in a later section of the interview, in which Sophie comments, “I just put up with it for a few month, for a few months and (.) it all got better, except the school thing” (Lines 294-295). Again, Sophie suggests that

“it all got better”, before highlighting an exception. Sophie’s ability to “put up with it” could on the one hand suggest resilience, a capacity to overcome adversity (Luthar, 2006). Yet it also positions Sophie as passive, conveying a sense of resignation in the face of the circumstances in which she finds herself.

### *Reflection*

During our initial meeting, I was surprised at Sophie’s early mention of an overdose. On listening to Sophie speak for a second time, I was struck by her apparent detachment and it occurred to me that this might represent a protective strategy. Sophie talked quickly, leaving gaps between events and little space for me to ask questions. She seemed to be retelling a familiar tale and I wondered how many times Sophie had been asked to share her story with professionals.

Sophie cites various examples of professional inaction, for example in the nurses who “just blanked me” (Line 135), as well as in her encounters with the police following a further fight with her dad:

They came in, spoke to me, spoke to my parents (.) and they were just like, well your parents have a right to do that, you’re their daughter... and (.) they kind of, they saw me as being cocky cos (.) I wasn’t crying cos I, cos I was used to it, really, like you don’t cry after a while ((sniffs)) and I was like, so you’re just gonna let him get away with that and they were like, well (.) you’re his child. See I, I was getting really angry and I don’t think they believed me cos I wasn’t crying ((sniffs)) and, erm, so when I left I had social workers, police and everything come speak to me.

(Lines 180-188)

The police seem to privilege the rights of Sophie’s parents over the rights of Sophie. Sophie adopts an agentic position (“I was getting really angry”) and yet she appears to have been met with disbelief: “I don’t think they believed me cos I wasn’t crying”.

### *Reflection*

This segment caused me to reflect on how professionals make sense of young people’s behaviour. I wondered whether, if Sophie had presented as “crying”, she might have evoked more sympathy from the police. Perhaps gender is significant here, in that Sophie’s response does not conform to commonly held assumptions

about femininity. Through her repetition of “I wasn’t crying”, Sophie appears to resist being positioned as vulnerable. Yet Sophie’s assertion that “you don’t cry after a while” conveys a sense of resignation, in contrast to the agentic identity that Sophie appeared keen to perform.

Sophie’s narrative initially omits information about what was happening in the lead up to the overdose. When asked about this, Sophie again speaks of family life:

S: Err, it was just (1) really (2) It wasn’t awful at home, it was just (.) my parents not understanding my situation and that (.) I was brought up here so I have a different mindset to them, I have a different culture. It’s a different style of living to them.

(Lines 85-87)

This contrasts with Sophie’s earlier narrative, in which her parents are positioned as “just not nice”. Sophie displays an awareness of her parents’ perspectives, suggesting cultural differences as a reason for her parents “not understanding”. She seems to mark a distinction between her parents’ actions before and after the overdose. Yet, at the beginning of this segment, Sophie appears to be struggling for words. Her home life is described in negative terms (“it wasn’t awful”), which hints at tensions and difficulties that are not made explicit.

As she speaks, Sophie seems to adopt an impassive voice, revealing little emotion. It is when Sophie speaks of an absence of a reaction to her overdose that it is perhaps possible to glimpse her emotional world:

S: And my dad just sat just like, right, okay. (1) Didn’t react to it. How he didn’t (.) All he did was follow the car to the hospital, get out the car when I go out and he went, and look what you’ve done to me now, got back in the car and went home (.) which was (.) probably one of the worst things

R: Mm

S: You have to, like, experience from a dad.

R: Mm

S: So (.) it was just (1) proper difficult to live with parents like that.

(Lines 122-129)

### *Reflection*

This moment in the interview struck me as particularly poignant, in which Sophie appears to be seeking recognition from her dad. Sophie’s speech became hesitant and

her voice softened. It seemed as though, for a brief moment, she was no longer ‘performing Sophie’ to me, but instead trying to find the words to convey her experience. Towards the end of this segment, Sophie appears to adopt her previous persona, stating that it was “proper difficult to live with parents like that”.

### *Adolescence*

At times, Sophie appears to seek a close relationship with her parents: “Cos they left me and they just went out, they didn’t even ask me if I wanted to go with them. I felt like, well I’m not even part of this family, am I?” (Lines 109-110). The sense of abandonment that Sophie expresses contrasts with her later comment on being left alone:

S: And my mum rang me asking (.) asking me where I was and I was kind of just like (1) messing her around, not telling her, being quite (.) being quite a bit of trouble. So my dad was ringing me and then, after an hour or two, they just went, nah you’re not coming home, don’t want you back here, don’t want anything to do with you. So (.) I think I was quite happy about that cos they’d always wanted, like, they always wanted me to be there to see what I was doing and everything (.) so I was like, oh finally, I was like, finally they’ve left me alone

(Lines 169-175)

Sophie appears to perform the role of a rebellious teenager, describing herself as “being quite a bit of trouble”. She speaks once again of her parents’ rejection (“don’t want anything to do with you”), on this occasion suggesting that she was “quite happy about that”. Yet this phrase could also represent a revision, contradicting Sophie’s earlier narrative. It is as if Sophie is caught between childhood and adulthood, both seeking and rejecting the support of her parents (Jarvis, 1999). At points in her narrative, Sophie appears to attribute blame to her parents, placing emphasis on the need for them to change. For example, in describing a reconciliation with her mum, Sophie comments:

S: And she saw that if she’s (.) good to me, I’m gonna be so good back. So that’s how we started getting along, like, she started letting me do things

R: Yeah

S: And I started being good (1) yeah.

(Lines 393-396)

Sophie appears to occupy a powerful position, once again assuming the role of the ‘good’ daughter, although one that is conditional on her mum “letting me do things”. Later, Sophie recognises mutual responsibility: “We both made mistakes (.) but (.) I think they need to understand me being a teenager” (Lines 586-587).

Peer relationships are depicted as an important aspect of adolescence: “I was a teenager, you obviously want to go out and you want to see your friends, your boyfriend” (Lines 102-103). Sophie refers to herself as a teenager in the past tense, her narrative assuming a reflective tone. She describes feeling isolated from her peers, suggesting this as a contributing factor in her overdose:

I wasn’t allowed to do anything, I wasn’t allowed to go out, barely allowed friends over (.) so it was just, like (.) just cu-, cut off from (1) everything (.) really (.) which is a bit like being imprisoned.

(Line 98-100)

Sophie’s peer relationships appear to function as a protective factor: “I was so close to literally giving up again but (.) I saw the way it affected my friends and I saw the way it affected (.) Josh especially” (Lines 293-294). In particular, Sophie emphasises the support of her boyfriend, Josh: “he was the only thing that was getting me through” (Line 285). Yet her relationship with Josh also appears to cause tension within her friendship group: “we just got into a bit of an argument, really, because (.) obviously I chose (.) my boyfriend over them, because he was a lot more supportive (.) than they were” (Lines 399-401).

Sophie explains how the argument with her friends went on for “absolutely ages”, commenting that:

I’m still not friends with a few of them and one of their boyfriends threatened me (.) it was pathetic, a guy getting involved in a girls’ fall-out, an older guy (.) threatening a girl (.) so that just made the fall out so much worse. Whenever I saw them around school, like, it just made me feel horrible.

(Lines 417-421)

Gender appears to be significant here, with Sophie suggesting that it is “pathetic” for a “guy” to become involved in a “girls’ fall-out”. The narrative then adopts a more ominous tone as Sophie describes “an older guy (.) threatening a girl”. Sophie appears to once again distance herself, in a possible attempt to avoid being

positioned as vulnerable. Sophie briefly reflects on her emotions (“it made me feel horrible”), before quickly emphasising that “if, like, he did threaten me again he would get in so much trouble” (Lines 423-424).

Peer relationships therefore seem to encompass both positive and negative aspects. As well as providing valuable support, peers may pose a threat and introduce a pressure to conform. Sophie describes a period of living with her auntie, in which she was compared unfavourably to her cousin, who is the same age as Sophie:

My auntie’s always like, oh look, look what my daughter’s like, look what she’s doing, oh why are you like this. (.) And I’m like, well you’ve no right to say that, like, I choose what I’m like, not you.

(Lines 209-212)

Sophie appears to reject the comparison with her cousin (“I choose what I’m like, not you”) and yet she emphasises that “I genuinely am smarter, I just don’t (.) make the effort to do well in school (.) anymore (.) at all” (Lines 203-204). She explains that, when her cousin moved to England, “that’s when it all stopped (.) like, when I turned thirteen, I just stopped caring about school” (Lines 205-206). This coincides with Sophie forming a new friendship group:

I think I just started, like, hanging around with the wrong people and got into drugs and drinking and all that (.) which was (.) I’m not saying it was peer pressure, because obviously I chose to do it, but I saw, like, everyone around me doing it, oh it was so cool and everything, made me wanna do it.

(Lines 235-238)

Sophie appears keen to assert her agency (“I chose to do it”) while simultaneously introducing the notion of “peer pressure”. She also draws a link between her drug use and subsequent disengagement from school:

I started doing all that, like, from such a young age that (.) like, you know, you still can’t stop (.) when you do it for so long ((sighs)) and it just, like, really (.) messed with my head and I was like, well school doesn’t even matter.

(Lines 238-241)

This contradicts Sophie’s earlier narrative, in which she suggests she has “always been good in school, never had any problems”. Sophie conveys a sense of resignation, her voice echoing wider societal narratives in her reference to being a



“drug user at thirteen” (Line 246). Upon reflection, Sophie considers that “it was just a bit stupid, like, everything that was going on in my head at thirteen, fourteen” (Lines 246-247). She describes her decision to stop taking drugs, briefly recovering a sense of agency, before the effects of withdrawal take hold:

S: But I think (1) s- start of literally January two thousand and sixteen I realised, like, I need to change. So (.) when I did stop everything (.) there’s, well everything that happened on (.) like, the overdose and everything, was (.) twenty-seventh of February it all started

R: Mm hmm

S: And I think (.) because I, I stopped suddenly, it messed with my head so much and (.) it was just like (.) it was just (.) a bad idea to stop suddenly. Cos you need to stop slow but, after about two months, I didn’t know what was going through my head anymore, it was just awful. Couldn’t sleep ((sniffs)) I couldn’t think and (.) it was just a mess, so (1) err, just trying (.) I got help for it off Connect.

(Lines 249-258)

Sophie appears to shift from an agentic position to one of helplessness, as illustrated in the following ‘I poem’:

I think  
I need to change  
I did stop  
I  
I stopped  
I didn’t know  
I couldn’t think  
I got help

Sophie describes how, prior to the involvement from Connect, she received counselling from CAMHS, describing this as “a bit useless”:

S: ... it helps some people speaking to someone but (.) I don’t think, like, speaking to a stranger (.) helps me.

R: Mm hmm

S: Like (.) I need someone (.) that (.) shows they care, like someone close, because sat with someone in a room who’s just writing down everything you tell them and that and not even showing (.) any sympathy ((laughs)) or anything just like right, oh right, okay, and it’s just not very helpful.

(Lines 277-283)

Sophie suggests that she “needs someone (.) that (.) shows they care”, drawing a distinction between this and the support she received from CAMHS, which she describes as “speaking to a stranger”.

### *Reflection*

I wondered how Sophie perceived my role in this situation. I had hoped that she would see me as “someone that shows they care” and yet it struck me that I may have represented yet another “stranger”, who was sitting “in a room... writing down everything you tell them”.

Sophie explains that, following her overdose, “I started doing drugs again” (Line 45). She describes a situation in which her mum finds her to be in possession of drugs:

S: ... she found the spliff and (.) and then she told school, she came into school to speak to Miss Hill (.) and (.) and then obviously, like (.) err, she found, she found out I'd had it in school. I got searched (.) err, I got everything searched (.) but I had nothing on me that day.

R: Mm

S: I had noth-, I had, I just had my makeup, few pictures that I took off my wall before I left home (.) and, and just my books and that (.) and (.) and it was really weird because they ignored everything but just picked up, like, this one picture of a night, like, proper, like, messy night ((laughs)) and, erm, everyone's eyes look massive, everyone looked half dead and the teacher's, like, asking for the names of everyone and I was absolutely terrified, just like, am I gonna get all these in trouble now.

R: Mm hmm

S: Never heard anything from that, though (.) but obviously, like, they knew (.) like, after seeing that picture, they knew I definitely had it in school.

R: Mm hmm

S: So (.) so yeah (.) I got excluded after that.

(Lines 339-355)

### *Reflection*

I felt that this section of the interview was initially characterised by a teacher-pupil dynamic. Sophie appears to be “giving an account” of herself, as if trying to establish her innocence (Butler, 2005, p. 10). Sophie then shifts into the role of a storyteller. She weaves a dramatic tale, building suspense through her tone of voice and body language. As she speaks, Sophie seems to be addressing a wider audience, perhaps intending to shock or impress.

Sophie describes how school staff “obviously... found out I’d had [drugs] in school”, presenting her exclusion in a direct manner. The word “obviously” repeats and yet it remains unclear how staff members arrived at this knowledge.

### *A second chance*

Sophie explains that she initially received a “ten-day exclusion” from school (Line 61). When asked about this later in the interview, Sophie describes being “at home for ages,” pausing before asserting, “I really liked it, to be honest” (Line 360). As Sophie then describes: “I was just having a lot more fun than going to school to be honest. Cos I’d fallen out with all my friends as well (.) so it’d be so awkward to come into school and have no one” (Lines 366-368).

### *Reflection*

I was surprised by Sophie’s comments here. They seemed to contradict the concern that Sophie had previously expressed in relation to “getting the education I needed” (Lines 78-79). Sophie appeared to interrupt herself in order to emphasise the positive aspects of her exclusion, perhaps in an attempt to protect her sense of agency. She repeats the phrase “to be honest” and yet I sensed that there was something of Sophie’s experience that remained unsaid. This is alluded to in Sophie’s subsequent comment: “it’d be so awkward to come into school and have no one”.

Sophie explains that, after the fixed-term exclusion:

I came into school for a meeting with, err, the head teacher and (.) erm (.) it was with my social worker (.) and my mum as well (1) and they said because I’ve always been good in school and just, like, well-behaved and (.) I wouldn’t be able to handle behaviour school (.) that they’d let me (.) they’d let me have managed transfers cos it’d be a second chance, a fresh start, start to, err, and just everything like that. They’d give me (.) err, they give me a second chance ((clears throat))

(Lines 430-436)

In this segment, Sophie appears to speak through the voices of the adults around her, for example in her references to “a second chance” and “a fresh start”. Sophie reveals a more vulnerable side to herself, as one who “wouldn’t be able to handle behaviour school”. She prefaces this with “they said”, distancing herself from the

perceptions of others. Nevertheless, Sophie appears to be resigned to the process of the managed move. Earlier she states that “it was going to happen anyway so I was quite glad that I got a second chance” (Lines 60-61).

Sophie appears keen to justify why she should have been offered “a second chance”:

I know it was my fault but (1) bearing my situation (.) I think it, I should have, like, been given a second chance because it was, I was in a tough situation and school knew that and I would never have done that if I, if I wasn't in a situation like that (.) and I know it's no tolerance for drugs but (1) I've always been good.

(Lines 296-300)

It is unclear whether the “second chance” described here refers to a managed move or to Sophie being allowed to stay at her original school. Sophie depicts a “no tolerance” system that fails to engage with the individual lives of students. She appears to accept accountability for her actions (“I know it was my fault”) and yet this sits uncomfortably alongside recognition of the “tough situation” that she was in:

A mistake I made  
I know it was my fault  
I think  
I should have  
I was  
I would never have  
If I  
If I  
I know  
I've always been good

As it was “taking so long to find a school”, Sophie explains that “I had to come back into Newfold and go into inclusion (.) three, four hours a day (.) err and (.) just (.) revise things in inclusion with no contact with any other students” (Lines 62-64). “Inclusion” features as a place in which Sophie has “no contact” with her peers, mirroring the experiences that she describes in the home environment. Sophie later reiterates this point: “I got to go home early before everyone came out for lunch cos I wasn't allowed contact with anyone (.) so (.) that was just, like (.) a mess, really” (Lines 381-383).

The phrase “I got to” suggests an opportunity, contrasting with the phrase “I wasn’t allowed”. The notion of choice is presented ambiguously in Sophie’s narrative: “I couldn’t go Bexfield so I had to choose another school (.) and I just didn’t like the choices, really” (Line 442-444). Overall, Sophie’s choices appear to be limited. The choice here is one that she “had to” make. Sophie also describes how, after “choosing” Ashgate, the school subsequently “declined”:

So I chose Ashgate obviously (.) and (.) and they spoke to Ashgate, had to wait ages, had a meeting. And then, after everything that went on for over a month (.) they declined and cos (.) they couldn’t have me cos of, they couldn’t sort out a timetable they said (.) which I thought was (1) absolutely silly. ((laughs))

(Lines 445-449)

Sophie’s use of the word “declined” reflects professional discourse, perhaps obscuring a more painful reality. Sophie’s laughter and assertion that it “was (.) absolutely silly” may also serve to obscure, echoing her earlier comment that it was “just a mess really”. As Sophie later explains:

S: And I think it was just an excuse (.) and they didn’t want me (.) cos of (.) cos of what they saw in their file, like everything that went on, they must have thought I was an absolute (.) nightmare but (.) that was only at the time, I was a lot better.

(Lines 463-465)

Sophie’s assertion that “they didn’t want me” invokes a sense of rejection, as expressed in relation to her parents. Sophie displays an awareness of other people’s perceptions (“they must have thought I was an absolute (.) nightmare”). These perceptions appear to be reflected in Sophie’s view of her past self, although Sophie emphasises that she has since changed. In describing a meeting with Ashgate, Sophie portrays a system in which power is unevenly distributed:

R: And what was that meeting like, then, when you’d met with Ashgate?  
S: It was (.) they looked down to me, they looked down to me like, oh we’re so much better than you and (.) they were just very (.) stuck up (.) and snobby and I didn’t like it (.) and my mum did not want me to go there at all, she, she thought (.) she just thought they were awful (.) and, like, it wasn’t just us, it was (.) my social worker as well (.) and she, they just, they just looked down to us.

(Lines 468-473)

Sophie repeats the phrase “looked down to me”, drawing attention to class differences (“they were just (.) very stuck up (.) and snobby”). Later, Sophie comments that “they just looked down to us”. Whereas Sophie’s parents were previously positioned as “them”, Sophie includes her mum in the term “us” in the face of wider structural inequality. Sophie suggests that “it wasn’t just us, it was (.) my social worker as well,” perhaps in an attempt to establish her credibility as a narrator.

Sophie explains that her original school “had to let me back in (.) after a while” (Lines 77-78). Yet this position seems to be characterised by uncertainty:

S: ...I recently got told that (.) erm (.) next year, I’ll be here ’til next year (.) and if Ashgate offer me a place then I can move Ashgate again (.) but I really doubt that will happen. ((laughs))

R: And how would you feel about that, moving to Ashgate next year?

S: I wouldn’t be happy (1) at all, cos I don’t think that’s best for my education (.) cos even though Ashgate would be a better place for me (.) to start over (.) I’ve got all my GCSE options here that I’m, I’ve already started, I’ve already done half the course, to have to catch up a whole year going to a new school (.) preparing for the stuff that happened (.) how long ago

R: Mm

S: That’s, it’s all just like, it’s all ended now, everything’s okay now but (1) I just think it’s a bit of a (.) never-ending punishment.

(Lines 493-505)

Sophie seems to have internalised the discourse of a ‘fresh start’, suggesting that “Ashgate would be a better place for me (.) to start over”. Despite this, she also recognises the implications that this would have in terms of her academic progress, emphasising that she would “have to catch up a whole year”. Sophie’s reference to a “never-ending punishment” stands in stark contrast to the “second chance” or “fresh start” that she describes elsewhere.

When asked whether anything could have been different at school, Sophie replies: “No, I think school did a good job putting up with me and helping me and everything. And trying to help the situation with my mum” (Lines 596-597). In her reference to “putting up with me”, Sophie seems to have internalised the discourses of adults around her, positioning herself as a ‘troublemaker’. Although alluded to elsewhere in her narrative, Sophie does not explicitly reflect on anything that could

have been done differently at her original school, instead making a vague reference to the school “helping me and everything”. When asked specifically about what helped, Sophie hesitates before referring to the support from her pastoral manager and social worker: “Erm (2) Miss Hill ((laughs)) yeah, and my social worker definitely, like ((bell rings)) they tried so hard (.) to sort things out with my mum” (Lines 601-602).

### *Another world*

Sophie explains that she was “really attached” to family members in India, describing her move to Scotland at the age of four:

I didn't really understand cos I was really young and (.) I was really close with my mum's side of the family so (.) I was really attached to my auntie and my uncle and I didn't understand why I was leaving them.

(Lines 520-522)

Age appears to be significant here, with Sophie suggesting that she “didn't really understand cos I was really young”. Despite this, Sophie is able to describe what the move felt like at the time:

S: And (.) we ended up getting on a plane which was, I think, my first time getting on a plane (.) and erm (.) when we got there, it just looked so different, I did not understand, like (.) the difference between Asia and Europe was so big at the time

R: Mm hmm

S: And (.) it just felt like I was in another world, when I was, like, that little.

(Lines 526-530)

Sophie speaks of frequent moves as a child: “[I didn't like it.] I didn't. It was just, like (.) too much, too much moving, like, I just wanted to settle down somewhere” (Lines 552-553). She explains that she “wanted to stay” in Newfold because “that's the only school that, like, I've ever (.) stayed (.) fully in without moving ((laughs)) after a year or two” (Lines 558-560):

I just wanted to settle  
I was always moving  
I never  
I wanted to stay

### *Looking forward*

When asked about her hopes for the future, Sophie describes her aspirations:

S: Erm (1) err (.) I want to stay in school, I want to stay in this school (.) finish my op-, my courses and all my subjects (.) do good in school ((laughs)) and start revising (.) and just hopefully, like, get good grades

R: Mm hmm

S: So I can get into a good college and a good uni (.) and just (.) cos even though I made quite a few mistakes, I do want the best for my future.

(Lines 618-623)

She suggests that she will need “a push from my teachers” (Line 638) in order to realise her aspirations, as well as recognising the importance of her own determination. Sophie’s final segment conveys both hope and uncertainty:

I think  
If I did try  
I’d do quite good

### *Reflection*

Sophie appeared keen to present herself as a powerful and agentic subject, perhaps disrupting normative assumptions about femininity. Nevertheless, Sophie’s narrative points to the limits of her agency, highlighting the ways in which power is structured within institutions. At times, I felt that I was able to glimpse a more vulnerable aspect to Sophie’s subjectivity. Towards the end of her narrative, Sophie seems to outline a position that is both agentic and dependent on others, referring to her own determination as well as her need for support.

### Charlotte

Charlotte is a Year 9 pupil. She lives with her dad and step-mum and is one of four children. There has been previous involvement from social care. When I met Charlotte, she was attending a mainstream secondary school on a trial period, following a managed move from a local high school. Charlotte explains that, after a parental separation, she and her siblings had lived with their mum, who “just put drugs and alcohol before us”. Charlotte describes caring for her younger sister during this time, her other sister having been “kicked out” and her brother having moved



out to live with their dad. When “someone broke in” to their mum’s house, Charlotte and her younger sister also moved to live with their dad and Charlotte “didn’t speak” to her mum for three years. Charlotte details experiences of bullying in her previous school, which she links to anxiety and low school attendance. She describes “self-harming” and a later overdose, for which Charlotte was hospitalised. A managed move was suggested upon Charlotte’s return to school.

### *A normal child*

Charlotte begins by explaining that, at her previous school, she had a “lot of, like (.) issues with people” (Line 12). This points to tensions in Charlotte’s relationships with others, although Charlotte speaks hesitantly and includes only a vague reference to “issues”. Charlotte later describes being bullied:

C: ... in Year 7, it was someone that used to sit next to me and he used to just, like, call me names and stuff.

R: Yeah

C: But he didn’t realise what he was doing (.) erm, and then when I told him how I felt (.) he felt dead bad. And then the second time (.) erm, it was like he used to call me names and (.) he used to get people to laugh at me when I was walking to school and stuff.

R: Mm hmm

C: And then, like (.) people had a go at him (.) and in the end he did stop.

R: Mm hmm

C: But he denies it now, like (.) he just says he didn’t do anything.

(Lines 48-58)

Charlotte initially suggests that the person calling her names “didn’t realise what he was doing”. This could represent a revision, a defence against less comfortable thoughts and emotions. The reference to the bullying happening for a “second time” appears to complicate this notion, although it is unclear whether the pronoun “he” refers to the same person. Despite Charlotte’s reference to “how I felt”, she includes little detail about her emotions. The denial of bullying is emphasised through repetition: “he did say sorry to me, but he’ll deny it to everyone else” (Line 64). Recognition from “everyone else” seems to hold importance for Charlotte and she hesitates when attempting to describe the effects of this being denied: “it does make me feel quite like (.) quite down about it” (Line 66). Elsewhere, Charlotte links her experiences of bullying to anxiety:

C: ...when I first got bullied I was, like, quite anxious but I didn't really know what anxiety was at the time.

R: Mm hmm

C: And then (1) when I was (.) like, the second time it happened (.) I said to people, I was like, I know I have anxiety, like people I was close to, I was like, I know I have it, and then I went to CAMHS and they were like, you have anxiety.

R: Okay

C: So, like, I found out (.) when I went to CAMHS (.) but I kind of already knew.

(Lines 38-45)

Anxiety is presented ambiguously, both as an internal state (“I was, like, quite anxious”) and as something external and unfamiliar (“I didn't really know what anxiety was”). Charlotte appears to draw on a medical model of anxiety in seeking recognition from others (“I said to people, I was like, I know I have anxiety”). Yet Charlotte's account is subject to confirmation from CAMHS, which introduces a tension between knowing and not knowing:

I was  
I didn't really know  
I was  
I said  
I was  
I know  
I have it  
I went  
I found out  
I kind of already knew

Charlotte's experiences of CAMHS seem to be characterised by a sense of alienation:

R: Could you tell me some more about (.) what that was like?

C: Err (.) I didn't like it.

R: Okay

C: Erm (.) yeah cos like (.) the (.) I don't know what it's called, the (.) woman

R: Mm hmm

C: That (.) I had (.) erm (.) she just didn't help me. She just read everything off paper and (.) like (.) I didn't like the way she did things (.) so (.) I stopped going.

R: You said she read everything off (.) paper. What does that

C: Like, she used to come in with sheets of paper with what (.) she had to, like, say to me on it and she never (.) said her opinion or (.) let me give my opinion. She just said what was on the paper.

(Lines 72-82)

Charlotte's assertion that "I stopped going" implies a form of resistance, contrasting with the powerlessness that Charlotte appears to have experienced during the CAMHS sessions. The system is portrayed as distant and impersonal, with manualised treatment programmes replacing human interaction ("she just said what was on the paper"). Charlotte explains that, at one point, the CAMHS practitioner looked into where her anxiety started: "And that's how, like, I got to tell her about what happened, with my mum and things" (Lines 95-96). I notice this and ask whether Charlotte can tell me any more about what was happening with her mum at the time:

C: Erm (.) well (.) her and my dad split up when I was seven and we moved in with her, me and my sister

R: Mm hmm

C: And my other sister and my brother. (1) And then (.) eventually (.) my sister got kicked out (.) and my brother moved out to my dad's.

R: Mm hmm

C: And, like, my mum (.) just put drugs and alcohol before us.

R: Mm hmm

C: And I had to bring my sister up

(Lines 109-117)

Charlotte conveys events in a direct manner. She appears to be detached from her experiences, displaying little emotion. This is evident in Charlotte's assertion that "my mum (.) just put drugs and alcohol before us", which echoes professional discourse. Charlotte adopts the role of caregiver, assuming responsibility for looking after her younger sister. She describes a subsequent move to her dad's house:

C: So (.) And then (.) I moved out (.) when I was ten (.) because someone, like, broke into my mum's and my dad was like (.) well, I'm taking the kids.

R: Yeah

C: So then my dad took us (1) and then, erm (.) yeah it just (.) got a lot better from there, but I didn't speak to my mum for three years.

(Lines 124-128)

Charlotte positions herself as an active subject, for example through the phrase "I moved out". Yet this contrasts with statements such as "I had to" and "my dad took

us”, which suggest limits to Charlotte’s agency. Towards the end of this segment, Charlotte notes that “it just (.) got a lot better from there”, which perhaps functions as a revision. Nevertheless, tensions emerge in the comment that follows: “I didn’t speak to my mum for three years”.

### *Reflection*

I found this section of the interview difficult to listen to. Prior to meeting Charlotte, I had been told that she was “very private” and that she may not wish to discuss her home life. Yet this contrasted with my initial experience of meeting with Charlotte, in which she had discussed her family experiences openly and spontaneously. Although Charlotte had said that she was happy to discuss these events during the interview, I nevertheless approached the topic with caution and, listening back, I can hear the apprehension in my voice. I was careful not to ask too many questions and quickly moved on to another topic, reverting to the relative safety of my interview schedule. On reflection, I wonder how Charlotte perceived my response. It is possible that, in my attempt to ensure that I did not cause distress (and, perhaps, in an attempt to avoid my own distress) I was understood to be saying “what was on the paper” and failing to engage with Charlotte’s experience. This may have wider implications for how adults listen to the views of young people, a theme that reemerges later in the interview.

In reference to this time period, Charlotte explains that:

C: ...when I moved to my mum’s (.) I didn’t really feel anything because, like (.) I was only young, so I didn’t understand.

R: Mm

C: But then (.) when I got older (.) and I moved back to my dad’s (.) I was a lot happier, because I understood the situation more.

R: Mm hmm. So how did that help to make you feel happier?

C: Because (.) I knew I’d be safe with my dad.

R: Mm hmm

C: Like I (.) I just (.) like, I didn’t like my mum (.) and we didn’t (.) have the bond that me and my dad have.

R: Yeah

C: And (.) yeah I just felt a lot safer with my dad.

(Lines 353-364)

This segment points to the traumatic nature of Charlotte's experiences. For example, Charlotte falters when describing how "I just (.) like, I didn't like my mum", emphasising that "I just felt a lot safer with my dad". Yet Charlotte suggests that she "didn't really feel anything" at the time, linking this to her age and her level of understanding:

I moved  
I didn't really feel anything  
I was only young  
I didn't understand  
I got older  
I moved  
I was  
I understood

Charlotte's family experiences appear to take precedence in the CAMHS practitioner's formulation:

C: And she was like, I think your anxiety started there (.) and she was like (.) the only way you'll stop it is by getting over what happened with your mum.

R: Okay

C: But like (.) that's not really something you ever get over, you just learn to live with it, so (.) and I was like, well (.) I wasn't (.) anxious at the time.

R: Mm hmm

C: I was just like (.) a normal child, I didn't know what anxiety was.

R Yeah

C: And it was only when I got bullied that (.) I was really anxious.

(Lines 98-106)

Anxiety is defined in opposition to Charlotte's previous identification as "a normal child". The professional account of Charlotte's anxiety does not reflect the meaning that Charlotte gives to her own experiences. Whereas Charlotte links her anxiety to the experience of being bullied, the CAMHS practitioner appears to disregard this explanation: "she was like, no (.) it's gotta be (.) like (.) more deep or you'd be able to, like (.) get rid of it" (Lines 137-138). Nevertheless, Charlotte draws a distinction between her own views and the perspectives of others, asserting that "I have my opinion and I don't think it came from my mum's" (Lines 142-143). The CAMHS practitioner suggests that Charlotte can "stop" anxiety by "getting over" what happened with her mum. This seems to align with a medical paradigm, with its

emphasis on finding a ‘cure’. In contrast, Charlotte explains how “that’s not really something you ever get over, you just learn to live with it”.

### *Reflection*

I perceived a tension between structure and agency in this section. On the one hand, Charlotte appears to assert her agency in differentiating her opinion from the view of the CAMHS practitioner. Yet Charlotte also seems to have internalised medical discourse, for example in commenting that “I was really anxious”. The reference to “getting over” what happened with Charlotte’s mum implies an unproblematic separation between the past and present. Nevertheless, Charlotte disrupts this notion, highlighting the impossibility of “getting over” the past and instead suggesting a need to “learn to live with it”. This has implications for the notion of the ‘fresh start’ upon which managed moves are predicated, challenging the extent to which young people can move on from the past simply by moving schools.

Charlotte describes her initial encounter with CAMHS:

C: Well (.) like (.) at first (.) like, nobody knew what was wrong with me. And then I told one of the teachers that I self-harmed (.) and she rang my dad and told my dad (.) but then I lost trust in her because everything I told her she told my dad.

R: Okay

C: And they didn’t really do anything, like (.) they referred me to CAMHS

R: Mm hmm

C: But (.) CAMHS didn’t (.) really (.) like (.) do anything (.) because (.) I was on a waiting list (1) and then (.) I took an overdose (.) and then (.) everyone (.) like, helped me. That’s when everyone started to care.

R: Mm hmm. So what happened after that, when (.) after you’d taken the overdose?

C: Err, I went into hospital (.) and then (.) the next day, like, I woke up and there was just this woman at my bed (.) and she was like, erm (.) I’m from CAMHS (.) and that was (.) who, like (.) dealt with me.

R: Yeah

C: And she was like (.) you’ve been put straight to (.) like, the top of the list (.) because of (.) like, how serious (.) your (.) like (.) mental state is (1) but that did annoy me quite a bit because I did (.) ask (.) for help (.) a lot (.) and I never got it until then.

(Lines 152-169)

Charlotte presents herself in pathological terms, commenting that “nobody knew what was wrong with me”. She explains that “I self-harmed”, although professionals

“didn’t really do anything” until she “took an overdose”. As Charlotte comments, “CAMHS just didn’t care (.) until my life was at risk” (Lines 176-177). Charlotte explains that she did “ask (.) for help” but “never got it until then”.

### *Reflection*

I was struck by the sense of hopelessness that Charlotte conveyed in this section. Charlotte seemed to be appealing for someone to care and yet this was understood to emerge only when her “life was at risk”. Her references to the “waiting list” and the “woman... who, like (.) dealt with me” contribute to her portrayal of an impersonal support system and I wondered what this “help” may have represented for Charlotte.

### *Uncomfortable tellings*

Charlotte expresses ambivalence over the role of staff members at her previous school. Although she comments that “they didn’t really do anything”, Charlotte later explains that “I told the teachers how I felt, like, one teacher (1) erm, and she just, like (.) she referred me to CAMHS so she did her best” (Lines 175-176). Charlotte seems to acknowledge limits to the teacher’s role. This could reflect the dominance of the medical model, which may serve to disempower teachers in addressing ‘mental health’ issues. Safeguarding procedures also appear to play a significant role. As Charlotte describes, she “lost trust” in her teacher “because everything I told her she told my dad” (Line 154). The importance of trust is emphasised in Charlotte’s narrative, introducing a contrast between telling and not telling. Nevertheless, trust alone does not seem to provide sufficient grounds for Charlotte to speak:

C: But my dad, like (.) I trust him with anything, it’s just (.) I don’t feel like I can speak to him because he doesn’t have a clue.

R: Mm hmm

C: And he doesn’t try to understand, cos I don’t think he wants to.

R: What do you mean, you don’t (.) you don’t think he wants to?

C: I don’t (.) like (.) cos it gets me down that much sometimes, I don’t think he wants to know (.) like (.) cos it hurts him

R: Mm hmm

C: Much worse than it hurts me.

(Lines 601-609)

### *Reflection*

I found Charlotte's comment that "I don't think he wants to know" particularly poignant. Rather than demonstrating a lack of care, Charlotte understands that it "hurts" her dad to listen to her experiences, highlighting the difficulties inherent in knowing and caring. I wondered whether this could also apply to the professionals working with Charlotte, as well as Charlotte's capacity to know herself.

Charlotte explains that she began to trust her teacher again because "she stopped telling my dad things (.) err, cos I asked her to (.) and she did help me a lot" (Lines 184-185). She appears to value the personalised support that the teacher offers:

C: ...she'd listen to me (.) and then she'd think of, like (.) ways to help me (.) like, she'd just (.) like, cos I used to draw a lot

R: Yeah

C: To calm myself down and she'd be like, right, you can just sit in here and draw (.) but you've got to go back to your lessons (.) like, after this

R: Mm hmm

C: And she'd just find ways to help me

R: Mm hmm

C: Without, like, pressuring me back into lessons.

(Lines 190-198)

The notion of feeling "pressured" recurs throughout Charlotte's narrative:

C: Well a lot of the teachers just used to, like (.) tell me, like, to get back into lessons and (.) err (.) like (.) there was this (.) it was like a calm room

R: Yeah

C: Where you can go if like (.) like, if you're like me, like you have anxiety and things (.) or you're just ill (.) and I used to go in there but she used to pressure me back into lessons (.) and then (.) I used to, like (.) in the end (.) I stopped (.) going (.) like (.) to the calm room

R: Mm hmm

C: And then (.) that was (.) like (.) a big thing that stopped me from going into school as well because she pressured me a lot.

R: Mm hmm

C: And then if I'd go and get my work from class, the teacher would be like, you really need to get back in class, you're missing out on everything.

R: Yeah

C: And it's just, like (.) they didn't really care about me, they cared about my education.

(Lines 202-217)



Charlotte reaffirms her position as an ‘anxious’ student (“if you’re like me, like you have anxiety”). There seems to be a tension between the supportive role of the “calm room” and the pressure to “get back in class”. Charlotte explains that, in the end, she “stopped going” to the calm room, citing this as “a big thing that stopped me from going into school”.

### *Reflection*

I felt that the teachers’ anxiety was palpable in this segment and this, in turn, seems to heighten Charlotte’s anxiety. This perhaps reflects the pressures of a neoliberal education system, with its focus on academic achievement and competition. As Charlotte later describes, “some teachers, in my old school, they’d look at me like (.) well (.) you’re just like an essay... like they had to complete my education, they didn’t care about my mental health” (Line 520-528). This is mirrored in Charlotte’s experience of CAMHS, in which there appears to be an incentive to follow “what was on the paper” rather than demonstrating care for Charlotte as an individual.

Charlotte considers that anxiety “has, like, had a big impact on my education” (Line 246). She explains that, if she was required to answer a question during class discussions, “even if I knew it, I was still scared I was gonna get it wrong and everyone would laugh, so I just wouldn’t answer the question. And it’d annoy quite a lot of teachers” (Lines 323-325). Charlotte considers that teachers may have misinterpreted her silence: “I think they just thought, like (.) I was being lazy” (Line 327). There is an apparent overlap between the provision of support and the application of disciplinary systems. This is illustrated in the following segment, in which Charlotte describes her experience of a panic attack during a maths lesson, along with the teacher’s response:

C: ...I couldn’t really breathe and I couldn’t speak to her (.) and then, err, she was like, well get out of my classroom (.) and she didn’t let me go back in to that class.

R: Okay. So what happened after that?

C: I just had to go in, like, the calm room. I couldn’t go back into maths because she wouldn’t let me.

R: Mm hmm. And did it happen on any other occasions, then?

C: Err (.) I’d walked out of a few other classrooms, like RE and English but (.) they always let me back in.

R: Mm hmm

C: Because, like (.) I don't know. They just let me back in.  
(Lines 258-268)

Anxiety once again functions to silence Charlotte ("I couldn't speak"). The "calm room" is previously depicted as a provision that students "can" access as needed and yet here it forms part of a disciplinary process, a place to which Charlotte "had to go". When asked if this had happened on any other occasions, Charlotte comments that she had "walked out of a few other classrooms". In this way, Charlotte shifts the focus away from being told to "get out" of the classroom, perhaps in attempt to reassert her agency. Charlotte explains that, on these occasions, the teachers "always let me back in", juxtaposing this against the actions of her maths teacher. In trying to account for this disparity, Charlotte appears to interrupt herself: "Because, like (.) I don't know. They just let me back in".

#### *Reflection*

Listening back, I recognised that Charlotte's repetition of "they just let me back in" may have represented an attempt to close down the conversation, perhaps as a protective strategy. During the interview, however, I pose a further question and Charlotte replies "I think it's because, like, an email had been sent round to say, like (.) I had anxiety" (Lines 271-272). Yet this leads Charlotte to consider that her maths teacher must also have received the email: "So they must have known what was going on, because there was an email sent around, but (.) I don't know (.) just (.) they've got that many kids, they probably didn't care ((laughs))" (Lines 281-283). This seems to be a difficult concept for Charlotte to narrate, as reflected in her laughter and repetition of the phrase "I don't know".

Over time, it appears that Charlotte is increasingly subjected to disciplinary measures. She describes receiving her first detention in Year 7:

C: ((laughs)) Erm (1) I think, like (.) I can't remember what it was (.) but I know (.) I'd answered the teacher back and got a detention (.) and I was really scared (.) and I started crying.

R: Mm hmm

C: But then, like (.) compared to my detentions in Year 8, like, I didn't care in Year 8 because (.) I'd had that many (.) so I just stopped caring.

(Lines 295-300)

Initially, Charlotte seems to be struggling for words: “I think, like (.) I can’t remember”. Her emotional response to the initial detention contrasts to the responses she describes on subsequent occasions, which convey a sense of resignation: “I’d had that many (.) so I just stopped caring”. I ask Charlotte what she perceives to have changed:

C: Err (.) I’m not sure, really, like (.) Quite a few was cos I never did my homework (.) cos I’d get back and I just (.) wouldn’t do it (.) like I was (.) really down and I never did anything, I just used to sit in my room

R: Mm hmm

C: And I’d just keep my bag downstairs and I wouldn’t even open it to look what homework I had.

R: Mm hmm

C: And then, I stopped bringing my equipment into school a lot (.) cos I just (.) couldn’t be bothered buying any (.) And then answering back as well.

R: Can you remember a time that you answered a teacher back?

C: Err (10). No, I can’t think. I’m trying to think.

(Lines 303-313)

The comment “I’d answered the teacher back” suggests a form of resistance, positioning Charlotte as an active subject. Yet Charlotte hesitates when I ask for a specific example:

I stopped  
I just  
I can’t think  
I’m trying to think

This introduces ambiguity, revealing a more vulnerable aspect to the identity that Charlotte is performing. Indeed, the phrase “I was really down and I never did anything” implies that anxiety was a factor in Charlotte not completing her homework. Furthermore, Charlotte’s assertion that “I stopped bring my equipment into school a lot (.) cos I just (.) couldn’t be bothered buying any” might function as a smokescreen, diverting attention away from other possible explanations.

### *Reflection*

Charlotte’s assertion that “I couldn’t be bothered” echoes her earlier comment that “I just stopped caring”, perhaps reflecting a defensive response. Charlotte’s hesitation in providing an example of having “answered the teacher back” relates to an earlier

point in the interview, in which she describes having a different opinion to her CAMHS worker and yet struggles to articulate this: “Err (5) ((laughs)) (10) I can’t think” (Line 86). It was as though, in attempting to establish herself as an agentic subject, Charlotte repeatedly encountered the boundaries of what she was able to say.

### *A chance to change*

When asked about how the managed move first came about, Charlotte explains that “a few teachers and my dad were asking me to move” (Line 418). There seems to be a blurred distinction between Charlotte’s voice and the voices of adults around her. For example, Charlotte initially describes feeling “pressured” into moving schools (Line 462): “I didn’t like the idea of it, like, I didn’t want to leave my friends” (Lines 421-422). She considers that “I just wasn’t (.) strong enough (.) like (.) I didn’t (.) believe in myself enough at the time (1) and (.) I just didn’t really like that people were asking me to move” (Lines 465-467). In this segment, Charlotte is positioned as a vulnerable subject. Charlotte then appears to change her mind about the managed move:

C: I was (.) quite annoyed (.) that (.) like (.) I felt like everyone just wanted me to get out the school (.) and (.) do something I didn’t wanna do. But then (.) they did stop asking me eventually because they knew I didn’t want to.

R: Mm hmm

C: And then I thought about it and I actually did want to.

(Lines 486-490)

### *Reflection*

I wondered about the extent to which this represented a genuine choice for Charlotte. She appears to have internalised the discourse of a ‘fresh start’, commenting that “it was a chance to change, like (.) what everyone thought of me... I could just be whoever I wanted to be” (Lines 437-439).

Charlotte notes that “I was going to do a straight transfer but they said to try a six-week (.) trial (.) just in case I wanted to go back” (Lines 423-425). This seems to communicate a sense that Charlotte will always be welcome at her previous school. Nevertheless, this contrasts with Charlotte’s comment that “everyone just wanted me

to get out” (Line 486-487). It also omits reference to the fact that others may make this decision on Charlotte’s behalf, as revealed in the segment that follows:

I have to go to a meeting (.) and then (.) they look at my attendance and my behaviour and how well I’ve done (.) and they decide whether I can stay or not. And then I decide whether I want to stay or not.

(Lines 538-540)

Charlotte’s use of the pronoun “they” depicts professionals as a remote body. Charlotte emphasises that she wants to stay at the receiving school, asserting that “since I’ve moved, I have been a lot better, so (.) I do wanna stay here” (Line 552). Nevertheless, Charlotte expresses doubt over whether “they” will “let me stay”, noting concerns over her attendance: “because of (.) like, the time I’ve been here (.) it has dropped (.) like, really low”. This contradicts the notion that Charlotte has been “a lot better” since her managed move. Charlotte initially hesitates when attempting to account for her non-attendance, however she then links this to anxiety: “I was (.) literally like (.) I just (.) broke down (.) and I couldn’t (.) like, I couldn’t bring myself to come into school”.

### *Reflection*

In this segment, anxiety seemed to represent something unintelligible and uncontrollable. Indeed, Charlotte explains that “sometimes (.) if, like, I’m having a panic attack (.) I can calm myself down... But then there’s other times I can’t” (Lines 237-239). I wondered about the implications this may have for the notion that Charlotte can be “whoever I want to be”.

The managed move seems to reflect a sense of helplessness amongst school staff: “some teachers would say, like, just move because (.) we don’t know whether it’s going to get any better or not (.) like, cos I’d just refuse to go into school” (Lines 479-481). The phrase “I’d just refuse” appears to place responsibility on Charlotte. Yet Charlotte also acknowledges external factors:

C: ...my dad wanted me to move because he said I had a bad past there and he thought that was what was dragging me down.

R: Mm hmm

C: Which is probably right, because I do get on really well here (.) err (1) cos, like, I’d go in and I’d think about what had happened.

R: Mm hmm

C: And even though I'm, like, close to the people that bullied me, I still look at them and remember what they've done.

R: Yeah

C: And even though I have forgiven them, I can't forget what they've done  
(Lines 469-478)

Charlotte initially suggests that her dad is “probably right, because I do get on really well here”. Earlier in the interview she explains that, at her original school, “everyone knew that I got bullied and stuff so (.) it just made things worse” (Lines 34-35). Yet Charlotte explains that she is still “close to the people that bullied me”. Her assertion that “I can't forget what they've done” is voiced in the present tense, problematising the notion that Charlotte has escaped her “bad past” in moving schools. A similar tension is reflected in the opening segment, in which Charlotte compares her experiences before and after the managed move:

Charlotte (C): Erm (2) It was like (.) It was scary at first (.) and everyone just stared and (.) like, obviously I had a lot of anxiety but now, like, I really get on with everyone

R: Yeah

C: And I've got a lot of support and I find it a lot better than Stapleton.  
(Lines 3-7)

Charlotte emphasises the notion that she finds her new school “a lot better” than her previous school. Nevertheless, Charlotte begins by describing the managed move as “scary”, explaining that she “had a lot of anxiety”. In this way, the shift towards highlighting the positive aspects of her managed move could be understood as a revision. Indeed, a similar pattern emerges in a later segment of the interview:

R: ...And then, the move from Stapleton to Bridgford School, could you tell me a little bit about that?

C: Mm, that was really scary (.) Like, I just (.) I was really, really scared.

R: Mm hmm

C: But I've settled down now (.) and (.) it's (.) a lot better than Stapleton.  
(Lines 383-387)

Charlotte draws a distinction between the transition to high school and her subsequent managed move:

C: [Er, I guess it was like], when I moved (.) to high school, everyone else was moving with me. I knew people and it was the normal thing to do.

R: Mm hmm

C: But (.) moving (.) like (.) from a high school to a high school (.) nobody else was moving.

(Lines 392-396)

Charlotte once again defines herself in relation to a construct of “normal”. In contrast to the transition to secondary school, in which Charlotte moved with “everyone else”, the managed move seems to represent an alienating experience. Charlotte explains that, when she moved, “people would stare (.) because (.) they thought (.) like (.) they were like who is she? Why has she moved? And a lot of people said it was weird” (Lines 403-405). This seems to mirror Charlotte’s experiences at her previous school, in which “I just didn’t feel like I fit in because (.) like, I would go into class and everyone would look at me like I was, like, a completely different person, like I was new” (Lines 30-32). Charlotte expresses similar concerns over ‘fitting in’ at her new school:

C: I was scared that people weren’t gonna like me.

R: Okay

C: But I don’t care any more. ((laughs))

R: And why’s that?

C: Because, like (1) quite a lot of people here like me

R: Mm

C: So, like, obviously there’s always gonna be people that (.) don’t like me so

R: Yeah

C: I just (.) get on with it.

(Lines 14-22)

Charlotte appears to dismiss her initial fears (“I don’t care any more”). Yet relationships with peers in her new school are presented ambiguously. Charlotte considers that “quite a lot of people here like me” while acknowledging “people that (.) don’t like me”. Her comment that “I just (.) get on with it” conveys a sense of passivity. This is echoed in Charlotte’s later reference to keeping her “head down”:

I just got my head down and came in (.) and if people asked questions, like (.) why did you move, I’d just say (.) cos I didn’t like my old school (.) and, like (.) barely anyone knows why I moved.

(Lines 452-454)

Charlotte describes forming a new friendship group who “don’t really know everything (.) but I do trust them and I’ve told them bits” (Lines 557-558). Charlotte

speaks hesitantly and seems to maintain a distance between herself and her peers, complicating her earlier comments that “I really get on with everyone” (Lines 4-5) and “everyone knows who I am really” (Line 415).

### *Reflection*

On the one hand, Charlotte’s managed move offers her the chance to form new relationships with peers who are not aware of her “bad past”. Nevertheless, the past continues to haunt Charlotte, she “can’t forget”. I was reminded of Charlotte’s previous comments about the denial of bullying and I wondered whether the managed move might also represent a form of denial. In addition, moving schools seems to mirror Charlotte’s previous experiences of not ‘fitting in’. Her response to this is to keep her “head down”, revealing little of her experiences to anyone else. I considered that this might have been reflected in Charlotte’s silences and hesitations during the interview. I was intrigued by Charlotte’s comment that “everybody knows who I am really”. It conveyed the notion of a fixed identity, in contrast to Charlotte’s earlier statement that “I could just be whoever I wanted to be”, and I wondered what Charlotte’s sense of who she “really” was might have been.

### *I just need myself*

Charlotte appears to value the support of others in facilitating the managed move (“that helped me a lot, that everyone was, like, supporting me”, Line 514). She highlights the support of staff in her original school (“they were like, I hope you do well and everything”, Lines 505-506) in addition to support from her new pastoral manager: “She just supports me (.) and she’ll speak to me about things” (Line 518). Charlotte also alludes to peer support (“My friends have helped”, Line 555), as well as support from her dad:

And my dad, like (.) helped me a lot because, like (.) he was just calm about it, like he didn’t mind spending the money on me for my uniform and (.) like (.) usually he’ll moan about me buying like (.) something for two pound  
(laughs))

(Lines 506-508)

Nevertheless, in outlining the support from her dad, Charlotte also seems to hint at possible tensions by referring to the financial implications of the managed move. A



similar tension is evident when Charlotte describes support from outside agencies: “I got discharged from CAMHS and (.) they were meant to refer me to (.) Kaleidoscope, which they didn’t, but this school (.) have done and (.) I got accepted, so (.) I’ll be starting that soon (.) and I think that’ll help me a lot” (Lines 587-589). Indeed, there is a discrepancy between Charlotte’s description of CAMHS and her comment that Kaleidoscope (a community CAMHS project) will “help me a lot”. On reflection, Charlotte considers that:

C: I think (1) if I’d have, like (1) got more support from, like (.) CAMHS

R: Mm hmm

C: And learned how to control my anxiety (.) then (.) it wouldn’t have got (.) as bad as it did

R: Mm

C: And I would have, like (.) been able to help myself (.) and it wouldn’t have come to moving schools.

(Lines 631-637)

Charlotte’s reference to being “able to help myself” suggests a desire to protect her autonomy. This is reflected in the sense of determination that Charlotte conveys when sharing her hopes for the future: “I wanna go to college and then (.) university (.) and I either want to be a counsellor or a (.) a general practitioner” (Lines 619-620). I ask Charlotte what will help her to realise her aspirations:

R: Fantastic, that sounds really good. And what support will you need to help you to get there, then? Or what will you need to help you to get there?

C: Err (.) I just need myself, to like (.) push myself really because (.) like (.) college I’m fine about (.) but it’s university that I’m really worried about because of my anxiety (.) but it’s something that I’m willing (.) to try.

R: Mm hmm

C: Because I do really wanna do well for myself.

(Lines 621-627)

Charlotte’s comment that “I just need myself” contrasts with the need for support that she outlines elsewhere. Yet this segment appears to be marked by ambivalence:

I just need myself

I’m fine

I’m really worried

I’m willing to try

### *Reflection*

I perceived Charlotte's desire to present herself to me as an autonomous subject and I was keen to respect this position. This is evident in the rephrasing of my original question, which I was concerned might imply that Charlotte was in need of support. It is possible that Charlotte responded accordingly, emphasising that "I just need myself". Yet I wondered whether this might also have been a response to feeling that others did not care. Throughout the interview, Charlotte appeared to me as both agentic and vulnerable. Her narrative seemed to reflect an ongoing struggle between remembering and forgetting, or else telling and not telling. The uncertainty that is conveyed in the final segment of this interview was mirrored in my final meeting with Charlotte, in which we reviewed the interview transcript together. Charlotte told me that her trial period had been extended twice due to her low attendance and she was unsure whether she would be able to stay at the receiving school. On my way out of the school building, I saw Charlotte alone on the tennis courts. "My PE teacher's got me out here collecting cones," she called to me, "she said I was making a bad reputation for myself".

### Wendell

Wendell is a Year 9 student who is one of five children. He lives with his mum and has regular contact with his dad. There has been previous involvement from social care. When I met Wendell to complete the mind map activity, he was attending a mainstream secondary school on a trial period, following a managed move. After our initial session, it was considered that Wendell's managed move had been successful and he was admitted on roll at the receiving school. Wendell describes his experiences at his original school as "horrible". He explains that his older siblings had previously been excluded from the school and considers that teachers treated him differently as a result, implementing sanctions in a disproportionate manner. Over time, Wendell seems to have become increasingly detached from the school, culminating in him being "put on a managed move".

*They didn't see me*

Reflecting on his experiences of his original secondary school, Wendell explains that “it was horrible (.) err (.) cos I have, like (.) a few (.) err, siblings in the school who are (.) kind of naughty” (Lines 44-45). He speaks hesitantly, pausing before describing his siblings as “kind of naughty”. In doing so, Wendell draws on the discursive frame of the ‘naughty’ student, although his inclusion of the phrase “kind of” points to a gap between saying and meaning. Wendell notes that his older brother “got to Year 11 then, err, didn’t do the exams cos he didn’t want to (.) err, my other two sisters, they got kicked out the school for just not being very nice” (Lines 201-203). Wendell’s reference to his siblings being “not very nice” perhaps functions as a smokescreen, obscuring a more complex reality. He considers that he had acquired a reputation before arriving at secondary school:

Cos it wasn’t like I was a new student, they, they knew who my family was, but they didn’t know (.) who I was and they didn’t really care about who I was (.) they thought I was just going to be another naughty Robinson.  
(Lines 74-76)

Professionals appear at a distance, depicted through the pronoun “they”. Wendell seems to be appealing for someone to “care about who I was” and yet he is perceived as “another naughty Robinson”. Naming features as a significant theme in Wendell’s narrative. Later, Wendell comments that “they all knew my name but they didn’t know (.) what I am, who I am, they didn’t actually take me for me” (Lines 208-209). This serves to deny Wendell’s subjectivity, rendering him invisible to those working with him: “it’s like they didn’t see me, they didn’t see me for who I am” (Line 157). Wendell appears to draw a distinction between others seeing him “for who I am” and merely ‘being seen’, suggesting that staff members would “always have, like, an eye on me, they’d always make me feel a lot different to everyone else” (Lines 71-72). The phrase “kept an eye on me” reoccurs later in the interview, with Wendell describing how staff members “kept, like, putting me on reports and stuff (.) to see how I was doing” (Lines 192-193). Rather than demonstrating “care”, this gaze seems to represent a form of surveillance, fulfilling a disciplinary objective (Foucault, 1977). Wendell considers that he was treated differently to his peers:

Erm (.) they'd always give me (.) detentions really, really easily (.) so if I forgot a pencil I'd get one (.) or an after-school detention, err, while my friends wouldn't. If they hadn't got a pencil they'd just give them another one (.) and wouldn't say anything about it but (.) I was treated differently, apparently (.) I don't know why (1) I'm gonna guess it was cos of my brothers and sisters.

(Lines 82-86)

The phrase “I don't know why” could again represent a smokescreen, indicating a topic that Wendell does not feel comfortable in talking, or thinking, about. He then appears to place blame on his brothers and sisters. Later, this blame shifts to his teachers:

Erm (1) and it was kind of like they picked on me sometimes cos (.) I was treated completely different, it made me feel extremely different to everyone else and I hated it (1) it was (.) like, err (2) it was awful, really, err (.) I had a behaviour log (.) and I was put on report all the time (.) err, to see what I was up to, even if it said I was fine, they'd keep me on it (.) err (.) don't even know

(Lines 161-165)

### *Reflection*

I was struck by the sense of alienation that Wendell depicted in this segment. Wendell seemed to be looking for someone to blame, perhaps struggling to make sense of his experiences. The phrases “it was horrible”, “it was awful” and “I don't know” recur throughout Wendell's narrative, pointing to the limits of what Wendell is able to say.

Wendell describes the implementation of disciplinary measures, such as isolation and exclusion, which appear to intensify the sense of being “different”. In describing isolation, Wendell comments that “you, erm, have to come in at a different time to everyone else... and you have to sit outside the head teacher's office for the whole day” (Lines 113-118). He feels that he “got (.) isolation (.) really easily”:

W ... There was one time where the pastoral manager came to get me cos (.) erm (.) he, he wanted to ask me about the lesson before

R: Mm hmm

W: And then he started shouting at me because, err (.) I can't remember what we did but (.) I felt like we hadn't really done much (.) I think it was something like, erm (.) throwing paper in the bin. He was saying it's not acceptable, that's like (.) there that's called, err, missiles and I can get

isolation for that, so I walked, I walked off (.) and then, err (.) he threatened to exclude me and give me isolation.

(Lines 121-129)

Wendell portrays an inflexible and impersonal system, which categorises “acceptable” and “not acceptable” behaviour and implements sanctions accordingly. The phrase “I walked off” implies a form of agency, contrasting with the phrase “he threatened to exclude me”. When I ask whether Wendell had ever received an exclusion, he pauses before replying:

Only on one occasion (1) which was, err (.) a fight (.) between another student (.) which also (.) I got (.) really heavily (1) shouted at and done for (.) even though it wasn't me who started anything.

(Lines 134-136)

Wendell highlights discrepancies in the system, commenting that “I got all the, err (.) I got done for it even though he started the fight (.) he didn't get anything” (Lines 141-142). This seems difficult to reconcile with the knowledge that “in any instance, fighting is meant to be, err, an exclusion” (Line 151). Wendell appears to hold little power in the situation overall:

I got  
I got done  
I got excluded  
I  
I was just  
I was treated completely different  
I hated it

### *Reflection*

In this segment, Wendell seems to speak through the voices of others. His assertion that “in any instance, fighting is meant to be... an exclusion” echoes the voices of his teachers. Later, Wendell assumes the voice of a parent, commenting that his mum “was appalled. She, she hates the school already but (1) she felt it was completely unfair (.) erm (2) she (.) hated it, the same as me” (Lines 154-155). It felt as though Wendell was “giving an account” of himself (Butler, 2005, p. 10). For example, in describing his actions leading up to the isolation, Wendell comments that “I can't remember what we did” (Line 125). Later, Wendell appears keen to

emphasise that “it wasn’t me who started anything” (Lines 136). I wondered whether this could be understood as a protective strategy, alongside Wendell’s tendency to allocate blame.

Wendell makes an explicit link between the use of sanctions and a sense of isolation, commenting that “I was sort of popular in the school but (.) it was just really hard to do that when I was never, like, actually with my friends cos I’d always be in, like, lunch detentions” (Lines 58-60). Later, Wendell comments that:

I was actually, like (.) I was quite, I’ve been quite clever, I’ve been in top sets for, err, like the whole time (.) err (.) I, I was on the football team, I was quite sporty, I was captain of a (.) football team once (.) a few times

(Lines 214-216)

### *Reflection*

Wendell appeared to perform the role of the ‘good’ student. He speaks in the past tense, suggesting a distinction between his past and present self. I felt that Wendell’s hesitations and use of the term “actually” implied suspicion on the part of the listener and I was uncertain as to whether Wendell was addressing a wider audience or me.

Wendell explains that “in Year 7 and 8 I got high marks. I mean, even though I was having a horrible time, I kind of (.) I wasn’t gonna let that get in the way of my education” (Lines 268-271). A similar sense of determination is illustrated through Wendell’s example of trying out for the school football team:

I went to football, I tried really hard with it (.) cos my dad wanted me to do sports and stuff so I did but then (.) I remember, erm (.) the (.) the person who does the football team, the (.) PE teacher, he said, err, what’s your name again, I went Wendell Robinson, he went (.) oh right, are you William’s brother, and he was like (.) oh yeah, and then I didn’t get on the PE team, the, the football team (.) and then I kept trying (.) and there was a different teacher doing it and then he said, err (.) right, err, you’re up for, err, captain, err, the next matches (.) so it was alright.

(Lines 218-225)

Wendell’s name once again appears to be significant, with the PE teacher questioning “what’s your name again”. After a new teacher assigns Wendell the position of captain, Wendell suggests that “it was alright”, a statement that perhaps conceals more difficult thoughts and feelings. Yet Wendell considers that, while “I

did try my hardest (.) to (.) get a good first impression... it never really worked” (Lines 54-55). He describes how his attendance “dropped” in Year 9 “cos it, kind of, was (.) and I hated it and (.) that’s when it was (.) getting in the way of my education” (Lines 270-271). This conveys a sense of resignation, contrasting with Wendell’s earlier comment that “I wasn’t gonna let that get in the way of my education”. Wendell explains that:

I’d had enough of, of the, erm (.) just grief by teachers and (.) it was like I was kind of kicking back and I’d changed friend groups, I’d moved to, erm (.) a group of people who were also very naughty (.) I’d, err (.) started being not the (.) cleverest and well-behaved student ever, cos I’d just had enough  
(Lines 173-176)

Wendell’s use of the term “kicking back” implies a form of resistance. Peer relationships appear to play a significant role, as Wendell describes a change in “friend groups” to peers who are depicted as “also very naughty”. Wendell’s use of the term “also” implies that he considers himself in a similar way and yet he does not use the label ‘naughty’ to describe himself, instead relying on negative terms (“not the (.) cleverest and well-behaved”). Wendell explains that:

I’d had, I’d had thirty-eight sanctions, twelve isolations and two exclusions (1) erm (.) made me, it made me feel like it was all my fault (.) and maybe it was my fault, but (1) I probably wouldn’t have been like that if it weren’t for my (.) brothers and sisters  
(Lines 178-181)

Wendell appears to be struggling with the notion of accountability. While he considers that “maybe it was my fault”, he seems to place blame on his siblings and, elsewhere, his teachers. Wendell also comments that his dad “had a big part to it”:

W: Erm (3) well it all, kind of, did change in, like, halfway through Year 9, that’s when (.) that’s, like (.) done, couldn’t be bothered (.) with anything (.) so (.) and then (.) it wasn’t just school as well, I mean, my dad had a bit of a part to it, cos he always kept saying, like, he shouted at me saying, I told you, you’re just gonna be just like your brother, you’re gonna be lazy, you’re gonna be horrible. So, I mean, I, I just (.) didn’t want to do anything any more (.) so I just stopped (.) trying as hard as I was  
R: Mm  
W: And let it all go.  
(Lines 281-288)

### *Reflection*

Wendell's portrayal of himself as a "popular" and "clever" student sits uncomfortably alongside a sense of feeling isolated and "not the cleverest and well-behaved". This latter concept appeared to be more difficult for Wendell to articulate and it was as though he could not bear to use the term 'naughty' in relation to himself. I wondered about how the narratives of others might have shaped Wendell's sense of self. Gaining the approval of his dad seems to hold importance for Wendell, as highlighted in his earlier comment that "I tried really hard" with football "cos my dad wanted me to do sports and stuff" (Lines 218-219). In this light, the negative comments that Wendell receives from his dad assume particular significance. Wendell provides a glimpse into family life, which otherwise features as a notable absence in his narrative.

Wendell considers that some teachers held a more positive view of him. For example, he describes the teacher who gave him a place on the football team. Wendell explains that this teacher "was new" and "didn't know" who Wendell's siblings were. Yet Wendell also describes teachers who, despite knowing his siblings, "weren't bothered about my family, they, they were bothered about me, they saw me for who I was (.) they thought I was a very good student" (Lines 232-234). I attempt to explore this notion further:

R: And how could you tell that they thought that?

W: Well one of my PE teachers, in Year 9 (.) he said, err, cos, cos I was getting in really late, he saw me all the time and he was keeping track of me cos I was being late and he asked why I was late and, err (1) I just kept saying, like, making excuses up for it and he said, err, Wendell, this isn't good enough, you're head boy material, you know that (.) for the school, so (1) I did kind of respect him but he also respected us, so

R: Mm hmm

W: I really liked him.

R: And why was it, at that time, that you kept being late?

W: (1) I really didn't want to come in to school, it was (.) horrible for me. It was an awful time, I hated it.

R: Mm, okay. And then can you tell me a little bit about what primary school was like?

(Lines 235-248)

Wendell's relationship with his PE teacher seems to be based on mutual respect, with the teacher communicating positive expectations of Wendell ("you're head boy



material”). In this context, the idea of the teacher “keeping track of me” seems to reflect care, rather than the disciplinary gaze of the teachers who “kept an eye on me” (Line 192).

### *Reflection*

Wendell seems to speak around the topic of “getting in really late”. He hesitates when describing his response to the teacher’s question of why he was late, noting that “I just kept saying, like, making up excuses for it”. When I posed a further question, Wendell appeared to close down, commenting that “I really didn’t want to come into school, it was (.) horrible for me. It was an awful time. I hated it”. I felt that Wendell had reached the limit of what he was able to say and responded by changing the subject, anxious not to cause distress.

Wendell also describes a positive relationship with his head teacher at primary school:

W: ... I loved primary school. I was clever; I was captain of the football team the whole time.

R: Mm hmm

W: The head teacher loved me, he, he called me Dell, my nickname.

R: Mm

W: Like all the time, in my report, my end of year report, it, he called me Dell in it as well, he didn’t call me by my actual name (.) err, I called him Mr M., we gave him a nickname (.)

(Lines 249-256)

Wendell emphasises that the head teacher “didn’t call me by my actual name”, marking a distinction to the teachers who viewed him as “another naughty Robinson” (Line 76). The words of the head teacher appear to hold significance for Wendell, as illustrated in his recital of his end of year report:

...he gave me a brilliant report, he said, err (.) he said, erm (1) he’s been a brilliant (.) he’s, he’s been a brilliant (.) clever lad, we loved him here (.) err, I wish him the best of luck in (.) high school. He said, erm (1) he’s made an impact on me and the school, it’s been brilliant having him (.) I can’t remember exactly what he put (.) summat like that.

(Lines 261-265)

### *Reflection*

Nicknames seem to function as a metaphor for being understood differently and I wondered whether this was reflected in the keen interest that Wendell displayed in choosing his own pseudonym for the study. I found Wendell's description of his head teacher's report particularly moving. Wendell's voice was filled with emotion, revealing a more vulnerable aspect to his identity. The word "loved" repeats, invoking notions of care and belonging. Nevertheless, Wendell quickly reverts to his previous persona, perhaps in an attempt to distance himself from this memory ("I can't remember"). The reference to the head teacher wishing Wendell the "best of luck in (.) high school" stands in stark contrast to the experiences that Wendell describes following this transition. As Wendell comments, "my mum did tell me to be prepared for Year 7, it probably will be quite hard, sort of, and then it was" (Lines 189-190).

### *Another naughty kid*

The decision to move schools is presented ambiguously, with Wendell suggesting that:

I really wanted to move school. I, I'd been telling people, right, I'm probably gonna move school soon. My mum wanted me to move schools and some teachers overheard something (.) and they were like, oh right, well (.) might as well move him out, then (.) err, I don't really think the teachers wanted me there anyway, that's what it felt like, anyway, erm (1) so (.) when I, when (.) I was moving, like, I remember going to pastoral office saying that, erm (1) err (2) you're getting put on a managed move, I was like, oh right, okay. My mum got a phone call home earlier that day saying, like (.) you're gonna get moved, err (.) and then, in about a few days' time, someone came to ask me about, like, what school I'd prefer to go to (1) and why.

(Lines 292-301)

Wendell initially suggests that "he really wanted to move schools", although his later comment that "I don't really think the teachers wanted me there" complicates the notion of choice. His explanation that "some teachers overheard something" allows Wendell to maintain an agentic position and yet this is disrupted by his reference to "getting put on a managed move", which implies that Wendell held little power in the situation overall. When asked about his new school, Wendell comments that:

It's great. It's a lot better than the previous school. It's, err (1) a lot easier for me here as well. It's, err (.) although it has been hard (.) cos, err, I've had to (.) do a lot of things by myself that (.) I wouldn't have had to do (.) if I was on a straight move but now, cos I'm on a (.) managed move, it's been a lot harder for me

(Lines 3-6)

Wendell appears keen to emphasise that his new school is “great”, presenting it in binary opposition to his previous school. Yet subtleties begin to emerge in Wendell’s acknowledgement that “it has been hard”. Wendell draws a distinction between a “straight move” and a “managed move”, later emphasising that “I’ve had to do everything by myself really, but (.) I don’t think you would have had to do that if you went on a straight move” (Lines 33-34). Wendell reflects on the possible reasons for this:

W: (1) I, I don’t know. It’s (.) like (.) I think it’s like, if you’re on a managed move, it’s, kind of like, you’re put at the bottom of the list and people who are (.) on a straight transfer (.) they get a lot more, like, effort put into them.

R: Mm hmm. And have you got any thoughts about why that might be?

W: Well they think you’re naughty ((laughs)) so they don’t think you’re worth anything, they don’t think you’re worth the effort (.) don’t know, really.

(Lines 37-42)

### *Reflection*

In this segment, Wendell speaks in the second person and avoids referring explicitly to himself as being ‘naughty’. Wendell seems to be struggling to express the notion that “they don’t think you’re worth anything”, as indicated through his laughter and repetition of the phrase “I don’t know”.

Later, Wendell suggests that he had “mixed feelings” about his managed move “cos I, I just was (.) worried and anxious, I thought it would be the same” (Lines 305-306). Referring to the teachers, he explains that “if it says I’m on a managed transfer they’re gonna think that I’m naughty, but they didn’t, it was actually quite good” (Lines 23-24). Yet Wendell suggests that, when he first moved, the teachers “just thought I was another naughty kid who’d been, like, kicked out of a school” (Line 472). Wendell links this to the teachers’ perceptions that “I wasn’t the cleverest” (Line 380). He explains that “when they looked at, like, my levels and

stuff they were like, oh you're actually quite a bright lad, aren't you", noting that "it's been alright apart from that" (Lines 380-384).

### *Reflection*

In reflecting on the difficulties of his managed move, Wendell speaks hesitantly, revising previously expressed knowledge through phrases such as "it was actually quite good" and "it's been alright". I wondered how Wendell perceived my role, particularly as someone who also worked on behalf of a local authority. It is possible that, in emphasising the positive aspects of his managed move, Wendell was telling me what he thought I wanted to hear.

Wendell suggests that, in some ways, the managed move "actually kind of gave me a good social status", noting that "people think you're good if you're naughty" (Lines 10-14). He appears keen to emphasise his "good social status", suggesting that "everyone kinda liked me" when he first joined the school (Lines 352-357).

Wendell's peers seem to provide valuable support in his managed move, as evident in the friend who "showed me round the school" and "let me stay with them the whole time" (Lines 364-365). Nevertheless, Wendell also describes "a good social situation" in his previous school (Line 55). The managed move therefore entails a sense of loss: "I had kind of, err (.) the social situation ripped away from me, really" (Lines 64-65).

Furthermore, the "social status" that Wendell acquires in his new school appears to be dependent on a perception of Wendell as 'naughty', an identification that he previously resists. Rather than offering a 'fresh start', the managed move seems to be instrumental in creating a reputation for Wendell, mirroring the experiences in his previous school. Wendell's description of teachers in his new school also echoes the account of his original school, containing a similar appeal for adults to "care":

I would have liked them to (.) care a bit more, because they never, kind of (.) checked up on me, they never helped me do anything, they never asked me what I needed or (.) they never helped me with parent pay, with scanning my finger print, never got me a (.) timetable for, like, the first two days.

(Lines 374-377)

Wendell details the practical implications of the managed move, such as accessing timetables and setting up payment accounts. He also highlights the impact on his family, commenting that “mum and dad weren’t very happy cos it was costing a lot of money on uniform again”. I ask Wendell whether he feels that a managed move could have been avoided:

W: Erm (2) I think, I mean, I was having a hard time there but (1) I was doing good, my grades were good and I was happy in school with my friends (.) erm (.) so that’s when, like, my mum wanted me to move out the school but I di-, I didn’t want to move cos I didn’t, like, wanna go to a new school.

R: Mm

W: I’m kind of a bit shy (1) so ((yawns)) it was kinda hard (.) moving schools (1) at that point, so then I didn’t (2) so I thought I was doing alright there but then (.) it got too much (1) for me.

R: It got too much for you

W: Hmm?

R: It got too much for you

W: The, the, like, pressure and just (.) grief from teachers and stuff, it was too much.

(Lines 390-401)

### *Reflection*

Wendell contradicts his earlier statement that “I wanted to move” (Line 310), as well as disrupting the notion that his original school was entirely “awful” (Line 78). Wendell suggests a more vulnerable aspect to his identity (“I’m kind of a bit shy”), although he seems to perform indifference, yawning as he speaks. Wendell then appears to interrupt his answer with the assertion that “it got too much (1) for me”. This again positions Wendell as vulnerable, and yet I was intrigued by his response to my repetition of this phrase. It was as though Wendell was hearing his own words spoken for the first time. Perhaps this points to the realm of the unconscious, “the language that speaks through us rather than the language we speak” (Homer, 2005, p. 44).

### *Leaving everything behind*

In reflecting on significant transitions, Wendell explains that “we nearly moved house completely”:

We nearly moved to the other side of the country, to Southcliffe, cos my mum hated it here, she hated the school, she hated everything around (.) Newstead kind of (.) so (.) She still is trying to move to Southcliffe but (1) At first I wanted to move completely, I was willing to just leave everything behind and go (1) erm (.) but now it, if it, now, if she does move to Southcliffe, I'll, I'll stay here with someone, I don't know (1) with some family member (.) if they go to Southcliffe, I don't want to move.

(Lines 404-410)

This segment is characterised by a tension between the desire to move and a desire to stay:

I wanted to move  
I was willing to just leave  
I'll  
I'll stay here  
I don't know  
I don't want to move

### *Reflection*

Wendell once again hints at tensions within the family. During the mind map activity, Wendell had commented that “mum’s psychiatrist said [moving] would be running away from our problems”. I wondered whether a managed move might also represent a form of “running away” and what this might mean for the young people who encounter them.

### *On track*

Wendell displays optimism when talking about the future:

W: ...at the moment, on the way it's going, I, I think it's doing really well. (.)  
At the moment, I'm already, erm (.) heading for, like, A\*s and everything (.)  
on all the subjects (.) err (.) that's my, err, GCSE

R: Mm hmm

W: Err, target (2) so (1) I'll probably be on track.

(Lines 428-432)

He is able to articulate his aspirations, noting that “I just want to do (2) the opposite of what, kind of, happened to me in school (.) I'd like to be, like, a doctor (.) or (.) even a teacher (1) but I want to be, like (.) a good teacher” (Lines 435-437). Wendell reflects on what it would mean to be “a good teacher”, outlining the values that he would demonstrate towards students:

I wouldn't judge them by anything, I'd treat them as like (.) the same as everyone else, completely new (.) err, I wouldn't go so hard on kids and I wouldn't, I wouldn't (.) be err (.) I wouldn't be giving them half an hour detentions for not having a pencil but then (.) there would have to be that respect (.) for me and the respect for them (1) so like they, they weren't being, they weren't running around loose, they weren't (.) all being dead naughty (.) so like they, they realise, if I'm gonna be nice to them, they have to be nice to me.

(Lines 450-456)

### *Reflection*

In contemplating the future, Wendell seems to have internalised the discourse of a neoliberal education system, with its focus on tracking and meeting academic targets. Throughout the interview, I felt that Wendell was keen to present himself as an active subject and yet he appears to be entangled in the dominant constructs of 'good' and 'naughty', resulting in an ongoing struggle between structure and agency. In the final segment, Wendell outlines an ethical position for educational professionals, in which relationships with young people are based on mutual respect. Wendell emphasises that, if he were a teacher, a student would be "completely new to me, even if I knew a tiny bit about them, say family" (Lines 447-448). It seems important to Wendell to be both recognised by others and met without judgment. I reflected on the implications for managed moves, which appear to perpetuate the notion that a young person must move to a different setting in which little is known about them in order to be considered as "new".

### Summary

In this chapter, I presented my analyses of individual narratives, considering how participants made sense of their experiences and the implications for subjectivity. In the next chapter, I focus on how the narratives relate to one another, highlighting points of convergence as well as points of difference (Gilligan et al., 2006).

## **Chapter 5: Further Discussion and Conclusions**

### Overview

In the first section of this chapter, I consider the individual narratives in relation to one another and to the existing literature base, responding explicitly to my research questions. I then reflect on how findings might inform practice, with particular reference to the role of the educational psychologist. Finally, I outline the strengths and limitations of this study, before suggesting possible directions for future research.

### How do participants make sense of their experiences?

I was struck by the diverse experiences that Sophie, Charlotte and Wendell depict through their narratives. This could suggest disparities in the practice of managed moves, as well as in the overall categorisation of ‘problem’ behaviour (Ainscow, 2005; Visser, 2003). Nevertheless, there are also points of convergence in participants’ stories. For example, the narratives highlight tensions in family relationships, which seem to coincide with difficulties in school. Peer relationships also play a significant role, perhaps reflecting their increasing importance during adolescence (Jarvis, 1999). Relationships with peers are multifaceted, offering valuable support while also introducing a pressure to conform. Participants describe a sense of alienation in their original schools. This mirrors the findings of Bagley and Hallam (2016), who cite social isolation and bullying as contributing factors in a managed move.

Feelings of isolation appear to be intensified by the implementation of disciplinary measures, such as detention, isolation and fixed-term exclusion. As in previous studies, tensions are also highlighted in relationships with professionals, with participants citing various examples of professional inaction (Araújo, 2005; Bagley & Hallam, 2016; Freire et al., 2009; Hamill & Boyd, 2002; Macleod, 2006; Sellman et al., 2002). Descriptions of target setting, monitoring and competition contribute to the portrayal of a neoliberal education system, which serves to deny pupils’ subjectivity. This is alluded to in a study by Bagley and Hallam (2015), in which



professionals perceived an inverse relationship between educational league tables and the inclusion agenda. Narratives also depict systems in which power is unevenly distributed. This has implications for the view of managed moves as a collaborative process, complicating the notion of choice (Abdelnoor, 2007). It also corresponds to research papers by Bagley and Hallam (2015, 2016), which comment on the power imbalance in decision-making processes around managed moves.

Charlotte and Wendell initially draw a distinction between their experiences before and after a managed move, emphasising the positive aspects of this transition. This appears to support the findings of previous studies, which note improvements in behaviour, attainment and relationships following a managed move (Bagley & Hallam, 2016; Harris et al., 2006; Vincent et al., 2007). Nevertheless, concerns are raised in relation to the managed moves process. For example, Sophie describes a period of time in which she was not attending school while waiting for a managed move to be arranged. Meanwhile, Charlotte and Wendell comment on the financial implications of their managed moves. These concerns relate to the findings of previous studies, which highlight a gap in educational provision, as well as family stress pertaining to managed moves (Bagley & Hallam, 2016; Harris et al., 2006).

Over time, tensions emerge in the accounts that Charlotte and Wendell present of their managed moves. For example, both participants describe positive relationships in their original schools. A managed move therefore seems to invoke feelings of rejection and loss. This could link to the findings of Harris et al. (2006), who note that all pupils experienced difficulty in the transition between schools as part of a managed move. Charlotte and Wendell also depict the gaze of others in their receiving schools, mirroring past experiences of alienation. The trial period represents a precarious situation, once again drawing attention to the power disparities inherent in decision-making processes. This is emphasised by one parent in the study by Bagley and Hallam (2016), who felt that school staff did not engage fully with her child due to the provision of a trial period. These claims present a challenge to the conceptualisation of managed moves as a “positive solution” to school exclusion (Bagley & Hallam, 2016, p. 211). Furthermore, following an unsuccessful managed move, Sophie appears to have been offered a ‘second chance’

at her original school, raising the question as to whether a change in provision is necessary.

Participants seem to appeal for care and recognition from others (Butler, 2004). Nevertheless, their narratives also illustrate the difficulties of caring and knowing, whether in relation to the self or another. This is suggested through the negations, revisions, smokescreens and absences that recur throughout the narratives, which point to the presence of the unsayable (Rogers, 2007).

### What implications do managed moves have for subjectivity?

Narratives are characterised by multiple voices and shifting identity positions. Participants appear to speak through the voices of others, reflecting the three meta-discourses of “criminology, psychiatry and patronage” as identified by Wright (2009, p. 287). The discourse of criminology is evident in the depiction of the ‘naughty’ student who is to be held accountable for their actions, thus justifying the use of sanctions (Wright, 2009). This again reflects neoliberal policy, with its emphasis on individual responsibility (Lingard et al., 2014). Participants seem torn between accepting responsibility for their actions and acknowledging the difficult circumstances with which they are faced. There appears to be an overlap between the application of sanctions and the provision of support, as exemplified in the ambiguous portrayal of managed moves. For example, Wendell considers that others perceive his managed move as a sanction, positioning him as a ‘naughty’ student. Bagley and Hallam (2015, 2016) also note the negative narratives surrounding young people who have experienced a managed move. Despite this, participants also seem to have internalised the discourse of a ‘fresh start’. This echoes the voices of adults around them and perhaps functions as a smokescreen, concealing more difficult thoughts and feelings.

Participants’ accounts appear to be shaped by the binary constructs of ‘good’ and ‘naughty’. The conceptualisation of the ‘good’ student seems to be rooted in particular notions around ‘cleverness’ and ‘appropriate’ behaviour. It could be seen to represent the Lacanian *ego-ideal*, an ideal that is constituted through the internalisation of social norms, determining the subject’s identifications with the

symbolic order (Evans, 1996). Participants appear keen to perform the role of the ‘good’ student and yet this enactment sits uncomfortably alongside accounts of behaviour that fall outside of these norms. Overall, the terms ‘good’ and ‘naughty’ do not seem adequate in conveying participants’ experiences and yet they offer a way of seeking recognition from others (Kenny, 2012). As Butler (1997, p. 104) describes, “called by an injurious name, I come into social being... I am led to embrace the terms that injure me because they constitute me socially”. This has particular resonance for marginalised young people, whose experiences are less likely to be reflected in mainstream cultural narratives (Butler, 2016; Marris, 1991; Polkinghorne, 2004). Consequently, the young people in this study appear to both embrace and reject the terms that are given to them by others.

Medical discourse is evident in the narratives of Sophie and Charlotte, who both describe periods of hospitalisation following an overdose. Watson (2005) considers that medical discourse may contribute to exclusionary processes in suggesting the presence of needs that educational professionals feel unable to meet. This seems pertinent to the experiences of Sophie and Charlotte, whose managed moves were initiated shortly after their return to school from hospital. The safeguarding agenda, with its emphasis on risk, might also play a role in determining the extent to which professionals attempt to engage with young people, as well as pressures in terms of time and resources. Furthermore, in labelling particular students as ‘vulnerable’, professionals may deny individual agency (Butler, 2016; Ecclestone & Goodley, 2014). The discourse of vulnerability is evident in participants’ accounts, for example in Charlotte’s reference to not being “strong enough” (Line 465) or in Wendell’s assertion that his original school got “too much” for him (Line 397). Such comments appear to reflect the voices of professionals, perhaps revealing unconscious processes.

In contrast, while listening to participants, I perceived a desire to present the self as an agentic subject. Butler (2016, p. 24) describes a “psychic resistance to vulnerability” that “wishes... it were never the case that discourse and power were imposed on us in ways that we never chose, and so seeks to shore up a notion of individual sovereignty”. I wondered whether participants’ resistance to vulnerability might also be influenced by hegemonic assumptions about masculinity and

femininity. For example, while Charlotte and Sophie described adverse family experiences, Wendell's narrative seemed to circle around an absence. This was also the case for the pilot interviews, which included male participants. Conversely, Sophie's anger seemed to evoke suspicion from the professionals around her and I wondered whether this too might have been shaped by gender norms. Butler (2016, p. 25) suggests a need to challenge the opposition between vulnerability and agency, proposing this as a "feminist task". She argues that "political resistance relies fundamentally on the mobilisation of vulnerability, which means that vulnerability can be a way of being exposed and agentic at the same time" (Butler, 2016, p. 24).

Following negative experiences in their original schools, participants describe an increase in behaviours that are considered to be disruptive, yet may function as a form of resistance (Bottrell, 2009). Nevertheless, this results in an increase in disciplinary power, demonstrating the limits of participants' agency. Over time, participants seem to become increasingly detached from education, as described in a previous study by Berridge et al. (2001). There is a palpable sense of resignation, for example in Wendell's assertion that "I just stopped (.) trying" (Line 286), as well as in the comment "I just stopped caring" that appears in the narratives of both Sophie (Line 206) and Charlotte (Line 300). This might again represent a form of resistance. Yet it could also function as a defensive strategy, protecting participants against feelings of helplessness.

The practice of managed moves seems to draw on the notion of individual resilience, encouraging independence and autonomy. This is highlighted in Wendell's comment that "I've had to do everything by myself" (Line 33), as well as Charlotte's assertion that "I just need myself" (Line 623). Bracke (2016, p. 70) considers that "the rise of resilience fosters a particular understanding of vulnerability, that is centred on its overcoming". This can be perceived in Charlotte's repeated references to keeping her "head down" following a managed move (Line 452). Similarly, Harris et al. (2006, p. 30) describe a student who adopted an "introverted stance" following a managed move as a way of managing his "vulnerability". This has implications for the criteria by which managed moves are deemed a 'success'. Indeed, what presents as a "positive, wholesale re-evaluation of self" might instead be considered as a form of repression, in which less desirable aspects of the self are forgotten, at least

temporarily (Bagley & Hallam, 2016, p. 223). Drawing on the work of Freud, Lacan describes the “return of the repressed”, in which what is forgotten reappears (Evans, 1996, p. 165).

At the same time, it feels important to maintain a sense of hope for young people who have encountered a managed move. Significantly, participants conveyed optimism in outlining their aspirations for the future. Frankham and Edwards-Kerr (2009, p. 420) propose a need to hold onto both the past and the future, commenting that “work which allows young people... a more ‘open’ future must also take into account the past and work with that past, while not letting it proscribe the future”. For Frosh (2013, p. 169), recognition of the relationship between the past and present represents “an ethical and maybe a political imperative”. He links this to the notion of unconscious, the “ghostly remainders... that are left over from past happenings, or left out of conscious recognition” and return to haunt us (Frosh, 2013, p. 3). Frosh (2013, p. 169) proposes that “it is only when we bring these hauntings to consciousness that we become fully alive ourselves, in possession of our own histories as well as allowing scope for those of others”.

### Implications for practice

In the following section, I consider how findings might inform practice. In doing so, I am mindful of the need to resist the “call for ‘comfortable tellings’, for neat solutions, in a context which... is neither amenable to the ‘quick fix’ nor served well by educational pundits who suggest this is the case” (Frankham & Edwards-Kerr, 2009, p. 419). Rather, I hope to unsettle dominant ways of thinking, creating space for other possible viewpoints and inviting further reflection and debate.

This research corresponds to the findings of previous studies, which outline the importance of positive relationships with staff and peers in supporting pupils through a managed move (Bagley & Hallam, 2015, 2016; Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016; Harris et al., 2006; Vincent et al., 2007). Participants’ narratives also highlight possible areas for improvement within the managed move system, such as ensuring that information about the receiving school is shared with pupils in advance, as suggested by Flitcroft and Kelly (2016). In addition, findings indicate a need to reduce the time

pupils spend out of education, as well as considering ways in which to increase transparency and mitigate the financial implications for families. The trial period appeared to represent a significant source of anxiety for participants and there was evidence of disparities in practice, for example in Charlotte's trial period being extended on two occasions. This supports the findings of Bagley and Hallam (2016, p. 224), who appeal for "regulations... by which to hold schools to account". At present, managed moves can be implemented without having to be documented on school records, resulting in a possible distortion in school exclusion figures.

Bagley and Hallam (2016) emphasise the need for professionals to pay attention to the power differentials in decision-making processes, ensuring that the views of young people are taken into account. Nevertheless, the findings of this research problematise the notion of voice, pointing to a gap between saying and meaning. In particular, the discourse of a 'fresh start' seems to promote a covering over. This might affect young people's capacity to make sense of their experiences, producing traumatic effects. It also has implications for the emphasis that is placed on a "positive language and attitude" in previous studies (Bagley & Hallam, 2016; Flitcroft & Kelly, 2016, p. 11). In contrast, it might be considered necessary for professionals to provide space for young people to reflect on adverse experiences, acknowledging the difficulties that have been encountered.

Previous studies have tended to focus on potential facilitators and barriers to successful managed moves, without critically examining this practice. Nevertheless, in this study, managed moves appear to operate in a way that could be considered analogous to exclusion, invoking similar feelings of alienation and loss. Furthermore, it could be argued that the emphasis on how to develop the practice of managed moves detracts attention from the need to enact change at a systemic level. Fox, Prilleltensky and Austin (2009, p. 16) emphasise the need to integrate *ameliorative* approaches, which respond to those in need, with *transformative* approaches that address wider structural inequalities. Indeed, in drawing attention to adverse experiences in their original schools, participants' narratives might support a "deconstructive stance", highlighting possibilities for change (Priyadharshini, 2011, p. 127).

As in the study by Priyadharshini (2011), participants' narratives suggest a need to reexamine the use of sanctions. Practices such as detention, isolation and fixed-term exclusion seem to contribute to a sense of alienation, as well as perpetuating the notion of individual accountability. Bracke (2016, p. 72) denounces the "neoliberal social ontology that revolves around the individual", advocating a "shift to a social ontology centred in relationality and interdependence". She argues that it is necessary to abandon the project of individual resilience and instead embrace the notion of vulnerability: "vulnerability... brings us to the question of social transformation, while resilience further separates us from it, even though transformation might be part of its cruel promise" (Bracke, 2016, p. 70). Butler (2016, p. 21) proposes vulnerability as a universal position, emphasising that we are all "vulnerable to one another". As Kenny (2010, p. 860) describes, "if, in seeking a reflection of ourselves in another, we find nothing, we are rendered other to ourselves". In seeking recognition, we risk becoming "undone by another" and yet this is precisely what "constitutes our chance of becoming human" (Butler, 2005, p. 136).

Recognition features as a central theme in participants' narratives. While dominant discourses offer scope for recognition, this study has explored the ways in which the voices of others might influence subjectivity, suggesting a need to reflect on the language we use when working with young people (Billington, 2000; Law & Davies, 2000; MacLure et al., 2012). Lacan, (2006b, pp. 247-248) proposes this as an ethical responsibility, noting that:

If I call the person to whom I am speaking whatever name I like, I notify him of the subjective function that he must take up in order to reply to me, even if it is to repudiate this function. The decisive function of my own response thus appears, and this response is not... simply to be received by the subject as approval or rejection of what he is saying, but truly to recognise or abolish him as a subject.

Yet Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 92) remind us that "recognition is not about reassurance, if that is based on the avoidance of distress and therefore unreliable in telling the truth". The findings of this research point to the difficulties inherent in listening to and coming to know another, highlighting the importance of reflexive practice. These considerations call to mind the questions that Billington (2006, p. 8) raises in relation to the practice of critical educational psychology:

- How do we speak of children?
- How do we speak with children?
- How do we write of children?
- How do we listen to children?
- How do we listen to ourselves (when working with children)?

A psychoanalytic approach stands in contrast to the prevailing emphasis on short-term, manualised psychological interventions, which seem to respond to a demand for a ‘quick fix’ rather than allowing space for reflection and curiosity (Frankham & Edwards-Kerr, 2009; Frosh, 2012). This perhaps reflects the current sociopolitical context, in which services are operating under increasingly limited resources. Fox et al. (2009) suggest a need for critical psychologists to participate in wider political debate in order to influence change. Educational psychologists might also engage in transformative research, promoting a broader conceptualisation of evidence-based practice, which takes into account the contextualised knowledge produced by qualitative methodologies. In addition, Gergen (2015, p. 171) outlines the importance of “practice-based evidence” that is grounded in reflection.

### Reflections on the research process

This research project is concerned with the position of marginality, inhabiting the spaces between inclusion and exclusion, saying and meaning, self and other. It draws on a narrative methodology in considering how young people who have encountered a managed move make sense of their experiences, as well as incorporating poststructuralist and psychoanalytic approaches in an attempt to understand the implications for subjectivity.

This study has had a significant influence on my practice, highlighting the value of dialogic and psychoanalytic approaches. It has shaped the ways in which I listen to young people, focusing my attention on ambiguities and contradictions. Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 165) link this to Keat’s concept of *negative capability*, which is “based on negation of certainty, control and dominance of logic, when these are imposed on complexity, paradox, provisionality, changeability and unpredictability”.



They argue that, as “it is the latter that characterise ordinary people’s lives”, this should also characterise “the research processes that attempt to understand them” (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013, p. 165). Nevertheless, this invoked anxiety for me as a researcher, particularly in my position as a trainee educational psychologist, in which I felt there was an expectation to demonstrate my knowledge and understanding. I also consider that the research process increased my sensitivity to thoughts and feelings that may otherwise have remained outside my conscious awareness, which I found difficult at times. As Frosh (2012, p. 238) asserts, “psychoanalysis asks painful questions of reality and insists we do not back away from the answers”. Furthermore, I have found a psychoanalytic approach difficult to reconcile with the demands of professional practice. Miller et al. (2008, p. 483) recognise that, in educational psychology practice, “there is invariably a need to pretend that all can be contained in words, for example, in the diagnosis, the definition or explanation. A discourse analytic method that extends beyond words is thus messy and awkward for the professional”.

Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 166) suggest that “emotional experience (in research encounters) requires careful reflection; for which time, containment, and the support of others is valuable”. Throughout this study, reflection has been facilitated through the practice of keeping a reflexive diary and engagement in the supervisory process. Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 166) consider that these measures can “help researchers to reflect when their thinking is in danger of being compromised by their anxieties”. Yet, while striving to remain attentive to my emotional responses, I acknowledge the impossibility of understanding the full impact of my own subjectivity on the research (Butler, 2005; Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). As Rogers (1999, p. 104) cautions, the “limits of the sayable can take many forms”, encompassing not only “limits within the speaker to know” but also “limits within the listener to hear, and limits within the context that affect both speaker and listener”. It is possible that, during the interviews and subsequent analysis, I have neglected aspects of participants’ experiences that evoked more difficult thoughts and feelings. I am also aware that my position as a trainee educational psychologist working on behalf of a local authority will have influenced the narratives that were told.

Throughout the research process, I maintained a commitment to ethical practice. Establishing informed consent was considered as an ongoing process and I met with participants following the interview stage in order to review transcripts. While I recognised the need to ensure parental/carer consent, I was also aware of the tensions that this presented in terms of the philosophical position of my research, which emphasises the importance of enabling the voices of young people. As I relied on local authority staff to provide details of potential participants, it is also possible that professionals acted as ‘gatekeepers’, further limiting the transformative potential of this project (O’Connor et al., 2011). In addition, the methodological emphasis on verbal language might have served to exclude participants from the study, as well as overshadowing non-verbal aspects of human experience.

#### Recommendations for future research

In this research study, I have included reflexive accounts that explore emotional aspects of my encounters with participants. Prior to the interviews, I also met with participants to create mind maps in an attempt to elicit experiences that could not easily be put into words (Bagnoli, 2009). Nevertheless, if the research project was to be repeated, I feel that the use of visual methods could be extended, for example using photographs, film or collage (Reissman, 2008). It may also be possible to incorporate visual narrative analysis, whereby images are interpreted as “texts” (Reissman, 2008, p. 142). In addition, psychoanalytically informed observation could be used alongside research interviews (Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). This has the potential to “go beyond an exclusive methodological focus on text towards a focus on practices and embodied, affective expressions of states of mind and relationship as they are enacted and change through time” (Hollway, 2009, pp. 463-464).

Due to time constraints, I was only able to spend a short period of time with participants. Future research could explore long-term outcomes for young people who have encountered a managed move, considering how subjectivity develops over time (McLeod, 2000). There might also be scope for clinical case study research, which could begin to identify patterns associated with unconscious processes. In addition, the research methods detailed in this study might be usefully applied to

other topic areas, particularly those relating to the experiences of marginalised populations.

### Closing thoughts

I propose that, as practitioners, we have an ethical responsibility to engage critically with the notion of subjectivity, allowing for the human subject who is both “acted upon and acting” (Butler, 2016, p. 24). This understanding of complex subjectivity has implications for the practice of managed moves, disrupting the claim to a “fresh start” in which young people can “reinvent themselves” (Bagley & Hallam, 2015, p. 442). Indeed, the promise of a “fresh start” seems to insist on a forgetting of the past; moving on entails a leaving behind. This is considered as a form of repression, in which the past will inevitably return. It is argued that we need to find a way in which to “return and move forward at the same time” (Frosh, 2013, p. 170). This demands a different way of working with young people, in which we question who it is that we recognise, and who is left behind.

## References

Abdelnoor, A. (2007). *Managed Moves: A Complete Guide to Managed Moves as an Alternative to Permanent Exclusion*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Ainscow, M. (2005). Developing inclusive education systems: What are the levers for change? *Journal of Educational Change*, 6, 109-124.

Allen, J., Brown, S., & Riddell, S. (1998). Permission to speak? Theorising special education inside the classroom. In C. Clarke, A. Dyson & A. Millward (Eds.), *Theorising Special Education* (pp. 21-320). London: Routledge.

Alvesson, M., & Deetz, S. (2006). Critical theory and postmodernism: Approaches to organisational studies. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Organisation Studies* (pp. 255-183). London: Sage.

Aranda, K., Zeeman, L., Scholes, J., & Morales, A. S. M. (2012). The resilient subject: Exploring subjectivity, identity and the body in narratives of resilience. *Health*, 16, 548-563.

Araújo, M. (2005) Disruptive or disrupted? A qualitative study on the construction of indiscipline. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 9, 241-268.

Armstrong, D. (2014). Educator perceptions of children who present with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties: A literature review with implications for recent educational policy in England and internationally. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 18, 731-745.

Armstrong, D., Armstrong, A. C., & Spandagou, I. (2011). Inclusion: By choice or by chance? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 15, 29-39.

Armstrong, D., & Hallett, F. (2012). Private knowledge, public face: Conceptions of children with SEBD by teachers in the UK - a case study. *Educational and Child Psychology*, 29, 77-87.

Arseneault, L., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Taylor, A., Rijdsdijk, F. V., Jaffee, S. R., & Measelle, J. R. (2003). Strong genetic effects on cross-situational anti-social behaviour among 5-year-old children according to mothers, teachers, examiner-observers, and twins self-reports. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 44, 832-848.

Atwool, N. (2006). Attachment and resilience: Implications for children in care. *Child Care in Practice*, 12, 315-330.

Bagley, C., & Hallam, S. (2015). Managed moves: School and local authority staff perceptions of processes, success and challenges. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 20, 432-447.

Bagley, C., & Hallam, S. (2016). Young people's and parent's perceptions of managed moves. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 21, 205-227.

Bagnoli, A. (2009). Beyond the standard interview: The use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research*, 9, 547-570.

Benjamin, J. (1998). *Shadow of the Other*. London: Routledge.

Berridge, D., Brodie, I., Pitts, J., Porteus, D., & Tarling, R. (2001). *The Independent Effects of Permanent Exclusion from School on the Offending Careers of Young People*. London: Home Office.

Billington, T. (2000). *Separating, Losing and Excluding Children: Narratives of Difference*. London: Routledge.

Billington, T. (2006). *Working with Children: Assessment, Representation and Intervention*. London: Sage.

Blos, P. (1967). The second individuation process of adolescence. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 22, 162-186.

Bottrell, D. (2009). Understanding 'marginal' perspectives: Towards a social theory of resilience. *Qualitative Social Work*, 8, 321-339.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss: Volume I: Attachment*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and Loss: Volume II: Separation Anxiety and Anger*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Bowlby, J. (1979). *The Making and Breaking of Affectional Bonds*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited.

Bowlby, J. (1981). *Attachment and Loss: Volume III: Sadness and Depression*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A Secure Base*. London: Routledge.

Bracke, S. (2016). Bouncing back: Vulnerability and resistance in times of resilience. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in Resistance* (pp. 52-75). London: Duke University Press.

British Psychological Society (2009). *Code of Ethics and Conduct*. Leicester: BPS.

British Psychological Society (2010). *Code of Human Research Ethics*. Leicester: BPS.

Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1993). Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development. *Feminism and Psychology*, 3, 11-35.

Bruner, J. S. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (2004). The narrative creation of the self. In L. Angus & J. McLeod (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative and Psychotherapy: Theory, Practice and Research* (pp. 3-14). London: Sage.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

Butler, J. (2005). *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Butler, J. (2016). Rethinking vulnerability and resistance. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in Resistance* (pp. 12-27). London: Duke University Press.

Carlile, A. (2012). An ethnography of permanent exclusion from school: Revealing and untangling the threads of institutionalised racism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15, 175-194.

Clegg, J., Stackhouse, J., Finch, K., Murphy, C., & Nicholls, S. (2009). Language abilities of secondary age pupils at risk of school exclusion: A preliminary report. *Child Language Teaching and Therapy*, 25, 123-139.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2008). *Improving Behaviour and Attendance: Guidance on Exclusion from Schools and Pupil Referral Units*. London: DCSF.

Department for Education (2012). *A Profile of Pupil Exclusions in England*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2014a). *The Equality Act 2010 and Schools*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2014b). *Behaviour and Discipline in Schools*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2014c). *School Behaviour and Attendance: Research Priorities and Questions*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2015a). *Exclusion from Maintained Schools, Academies and Pupil Referral Units in England*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2015b). *Mental Health and Behaviour in Schools*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2015c). *Special Educational Needs and Disability Code of Practice: 0 to 25 Years*. London: DfE.

Department for Education (2016). *Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions in England: 2014 to 2015*. London: DfE.

De Pear, S., & Garner, P. (1996). Tales from the exclusion zone: The views of teachers and pupils. In E. Blyth & J. Milner (Eds.), *Exclusion from School: Inter-Professional Issues for Policy and Practice* (pp. 149-158). London: Routledge.

Dodge, K. A., & Pettit, G. S. (2003). A biopsychosocial model of the development of chronic conduct problems in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 39, 349-371.

Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. S. (2008). What can be known and how? Narrated subjects and the Listening Guide. *Qualitative Research*, 8, 399-409.

Ecclestone, K., & Goodley, D. (2014). Political and educational springboard or straitjacket? Theorising post/human subjects in an age of vulnerability. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 1-14.

Emerson, P., & Frosh, S. (2009). *Critical Narrative Analysis in Psychology: A Guide to Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Evans, D. (1996). *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge.



Flitcroft, D., & Kelly, C. (2016). An appreciative exploration of how schools create a sense of belonging to facilitate the successful transition to a new school for pupils involved in a managed move. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 21, 1-13.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. London: Penguin.

Fox, D., Prilleltensky, I., & Austin, S. (2009). Critical psychology for social justice: Concerns and dilemmas. In D. Fox, I. Prilleltensky & S. Austin (Eds.), *Critical Psychology: An Introduction* (pp. 3-19). London: Sage.

Frankham, J., & Edwards-Kerr, D. (2009). Long story... Beyond 'technologies' of knowing in case study work with permanently excluded young people. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 13, 409-422.

Freire, S., Carvalho, C., Freire, A., Azevedo, M., & Oliveira, T. (2009). Identity construction through schooling: Listening to students' voices. *European Educational Research Journal*, 8, 80-88.

Frick, P. J., & Morris, A. S. (2004). Temperament and developmental pathways to conduct problems. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 33, 54-68.

Frosh, S. (2007). Disintegrating qualitative research. *Theory and Psychology*, 17, 635-653.

Frosh, S. (2010). *Psychoanalysis Outside the Clinic: Interventions in Psychosocial Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. (2012). *A Brief Introduction to Psychoanalytic Theory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frosh, S. (2013). *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and Ghostly Transmissions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Frosh, S., & Baraitser, L. (2008). Psychoanalysis and psychosocial studies. *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society*, 13, 346-365.
- Frosh, S., & Emerson, P. D. (2005). Interpretation and over-interpretation: Disputing the meaning of texts. *Qualitative Research*, 5, 307-324.
- Garcia, S.B., & Guerra, P.L. (2004). Deconstructing deficit thinking: Working with educators to create more equitable learning environments. *Education and Urban Society*, 36, 15-168.
- Gazeley, L. (2010). The role of school exclusion processes in the re-production of social and educational disadvantage. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 58, 293-309.
- Gazeley, L., Marrable, T., Brown, C., & Boddy, J. (2015). Contextualising inequalities in rates of school exclusion in English schools: Beneath the 'tip of the ice-berg'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 63, 487-504.
- Gergen, K. (2015). *An Invitation to Social Construction*. London: Sage.
- Gerhardt, S. (2004). *Why Love Matters*. London: Routledge.
- Gilligan, C. (2015). The Listening Guide method of psychological inquiry. *Qualitative Psychology*, 2, 69-77.
- Gilligan, C., & Eddy, J. (2017). Listening as a path to psychological discovery: An introduction to the Listening Guide. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, 6, 76-81.
- Gilligan, C., Spencer, R., Weinberg, K., & Bertsch, T. (2006). On the Listening Guide: A voice-centred relational method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Emergent Methods in Social Research* (pp. 253-272). London: Sage.

- Graham, L. J. (2008). From ABCs to ADHD: The role of schooling in the construction of behaviour disorder and production of disorderly objects. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 12, 7-33.
- Hamill, P., & Boyd, B. (2002). Equality, fairness and rights: The young person's voice. *British Journal of Special Education*, 29, 111-117.
- Harris, B., Vincent, K., Thomson, P., & Toalster, R. (2006). Does every child know they matter? Pupils' views of one alternative to exclusion. *Pastoral Care in Education: An International Journal of Personal, Social and Emotional Development*, 24, 28-38.
- Health and Care Professions Council (2016). *Guidance on Conduct and Ethics for Students*. London: HCPC.
- Hollway, W. (2009). Applying the 'experience-near' principle to research: Psychoanalytically informed methods. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 23, 461-474.
- Hollway, W. (2011). Through discursive psychology to a psycho-social approach. In N. Bozatzis, & T. Dragonas (Eds.), *Social Psychology: The Turn to Discourse* (pp. 209-240). Athens: Metaixmio.
- Hollway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2013). *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: A Psychosocial Approach*. London: Sage.
- Homer, S. (2005). *Jacques Lacan*. London: Routledge.
- Horgan, G. (2007). *The Impact of Poverty on Young Children's Experience of School*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Jarvis, C. (1999). Adolescence: A personal identity in a topsy-turvy world. In D. Hindle & M. Vaciago Smith (Eds.), *Personality Development: A Psychoanalytic Perspective* (pp. 116-137). London: Routledge.

Jefferson, G. (2004) Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation* (pp.13-32). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage.

Kearns, S. (2014). Working reflexively with ethical complexity in narrative research with disadvantaged young people. *Qualitative Social Work*, 13, 502-521.

Kenny, K. M. (2010). Beyond ourselves: Passion and the dark side of identification in an ethical organization. *Human Relations*, 63, 857-873.

Kenny, K. (2012). ‘Someone big and important’: Identification and affect in an international development organization. *Organization Studies*, 33, 1175-1193.

Kofman, S. (1998). *Smothered Words*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Lacan, J. (1990). Television. In J. Copjec (Ed.), *Television: A Challenge to the Psychoanalytic Establishment* (pp. 3-48). New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (2006a). The mirror stage as formative of the *I* function as revealed in psychoanalytic experience. In B. Fink, H. Fink & R. Grigg (Eds.), *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (pp. 75-81). New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (2006b). The function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis. In B. Fink, H. Fink & R. Grigg (Eds.), *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (pp. 197-268). New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (2006c). Seminar on “The Purloined Letter”. In B. Fink, H. Fink & R. Grigg (Eds.), *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (pp. 6-48). New York: Norton.

Laws, C., & Davies, B. (2000). Poststructuralist theory in practice: Working with 'behaviourally disturbed' children. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13, 205-221.

Levitas, R. (2012). *There May Be Trouble Ahead: What We Know About Those 120,000 Troubled Families*. Swindon: ESRC.

Lindsay, G., Dockrell, J. E. & Strand, S. (2007). Longitudinal patterns of behaviour problems in children with specific speech and language difficulties: Child and contextual factors. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 77, 811-828.

Lingard, B., Sellar, S. & Savage, G. C. (2014). Re-articulating social justice as equity in schooling policy: The effects of testing and data infrastructures. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35, 710-730.

Luthar, S.S. (2006). Resilience in development: A synthesis of research across five decades. In D. Cicchetti & D. J. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology: Risk, Disorder and Adaptation* (pp. 739–795). New York: Wiley.

Macleod, G. (2006). Bad, mad or sad: Constructions of young people in trouble and implications for interventions. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 11, 155-167.

MacLure, M., Jones, L., Holmes, R., & MacRae, C. (2012). Becoming a problem: Behaviour and reputation in the early years classroom. *British Educational Research Journal*, 38, 447-471.

Madill, A., Jordan, A., & Shirley, C. (2000). Objectivity and reliability in qualitative analysis: Realist, contextualist and radical constructionist epistemologies. *British Journal of Psychology*, 91, 1-20.

Marks, D. (1996). Constructing a narrative: Moral discourse and young people's experiences of exclusion. In E. Burman, G. Aitken, P. Alldred, R. Allwood, T. Billington, B. Goldberg, A. Gordo Lopez, C. Heenan, D. Marks & S. Warner, *Psychology, Discourse, Practice: From Regulation to Resistance* (pp. 114-130). London: Taylor and Francis Ltd.

Marris, P. (1991). The social construction of uncertainty. In C. M. Parkes, J. Stevenson-Hinde & P. Marris (Eds.), *Attachment Across the Life Cycle* (pp. 77-90). London: Routledge.

McIntyre, D., Pedder, D., & Rudduck, J. (2005). Pupil voice: Comfortable and uncomfortable learnings for teachers. *Research Papers in Education*, 20, 149-168.

McLean, K. C., Wood, B., & Breen, A. V. (2013). Reflecting on a difficult life: Narrative construction in vulnerable adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 28, 431-452.

McLeod, J. (2000). Subjectivity and schooling in a longitudinal study of secondary students. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21, 501-521.

Mertens, D. M. (2010). *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology*. London: Sage.

Miller, A., Billington, T., Lewis, V., & DeSouza, L. (2008). Educational psychology. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Psychology* (pp. 472-488). London: Sage.

Mills, C. (2008). Reproduction and transformation of inequalities in schooling: The transformative potential of the theoretical constructs of Bourdieu. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29, 79-89.

Mishler, E. (1990). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. *Harvard Educational Review*, 60, 415-443.

Munford, R., & Sanders, J. (2008). Drawing out strengths and building capacity in social work with troubled young women. *Child and Family Social Work*, 13, 2-11.

Munn, P., & Lloyd, G. (2005). Exclusion and excluded pupils. *British Educational Research Journal*, 35, 205-221.

Nind, M., Boorman, G., & Clarke, G. (2012). Creating spaces to belong: Listening to the voice of girls with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties through digital visual and narrative methods. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16, 643-656.

O'Connor, M., Hodkinson, A., Burton, D., & Torstensson, G. (2011). Pupil voice: Listening to and hearing the educational experiences of young people with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD). *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 16, 289-302.

Office of the Children's Commissioner (2013). *Always Someone Else's Problem*. London: OCC.

Orsati, F. T., & Causton-Theoharis, J. (2013). Challenging control: Inclusive teachers' and teaching assistants' discourse on students with challenging behaviour. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 17, 507-525.

Parker, I. (1994). Qualitative research. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor & C. Tindall (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods in Psychology: A Research Guide* (pp. 1-16). Buckingham: Open University Press.

Parker, I. (1997). Discourse analysis and psychoanalysis. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36, 479-495.

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

Parker, I. (2014). Negotiating text with Lacan: Theory into practice. In I. Parker & D. Pavón-Cuéller (Eds.), *Lacan, Discourse, Event: New Psychoanalytic Approaches to Textual Indeterminacy* (pp. 52-65). London: Routledge.

Parsons, C. (2009). *Strategic Alternatives to Exclusion from School*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Pomeroy, E. (1999). The teacher-student relationship in secondary school: Insights from excluded students. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, 465-482.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (2004). Narrative therapy and post-modernism. In L. Angus & J. McLeod (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative and Psychotherapy: Theory, Practice and Research* (pp. 53-61). London: Sage.

Pollard, R. (2008). *Dialogue and Desire: Mikhail Bakhtin and the Linguistic Turn in Psychotherapy*. London: Karnac Books.

Priyadharshini, E. (2011). Counter narratives in 'naughty' students' accounts: Challenges for the discourse of behaviour management. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 32, 113-129.

Ragland, E. (1995). *Essays on the Pleasures of Death: From Freud to Lacan*. London: Routledge.

Reissman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. London: Sage.

Reissman, C. K., & Quinney, L. (2005). Narrative in social work: A critical review. *Qualitative Social Work*, 4, 391-412.

Rettew, D.C. (2008). Temperament and child psychopathology: Beyond associations. In J.J. Hudziak (Ed.), *Developmental Psychopathology and Wellness: Genetic and Environmental Influences* (pp. 67-84). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Publishing.



Rogers, A. G. (2007). The unsayable, Lacanian psychoanalysis and the art of narrative interviewing. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *The Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology* (pp. 99-118). London: Sage.

Rutter, M. (1979). Protective factors in children's responses to stress and disadvantage. In M. Kent & J. Rolf (Eds.), *Primary Prevention of Psychopathology: Social Competence in Children* (pp. 49-74). Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Sameroff, A. J., Seifer, R., Baldwin, A., & Baldwin, C. (1993). Stability of intelligence from preschool to adolescence: The influence of social and family risk factors. *Child Development*, 64, 80-97.

Sayer, D. (2004). Incognito ergo sum: Language, memory and the subject. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21, 67-89.

Schonberg, M. A., & Shaw, D. S. (2007). Do the predictors of child conduct problems vary by high- and low-levels of socioeconomic and neighborhood risk? *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 10, 101-136.

Schoon, I., & Bynner, J. (2003). Risk and resilience in the life course: Implications for interventions and social policies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6, 21-31.

Sellman, E., Bedward, J., Cole, T., & Daniels, H. (2002). A socio-cultural approach to exclusion. *British Educational Research Journal*, 28, 890-899.

Smith-Chandler, N., & Swart, E. (2014). In their own voices: Methodological considerations in narrative disability research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 24, 420-430.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.

Stavrakakis, Y. (2010). Symbolic authority, fantasmatic enjoyment and the spirits of capitalism: Genealogies of mutual engagement. In C. Cederström & C. Hoedemaekers (Eds.), *Lacan and Organisation* (pp. 59-100). London: Mayfly Books.

Strand, S., & Demie, F. (2007). Pupil mobility, attainment and progress in secondary school. *Educational Studies*, 33, 313-331.

Sullivan, P. (2012). *Qualitative Data Analysis Using a Dialogical Approach*. London: Sage.

UNICEF (1989). *UN Commission on the Rights of the Child*. Geneva: UNICEF.

Ungar, M. (2014). Practitioner review: Diagnosing childhood resilience: A systemic approach to the diagnosis of adaptation in adverse social and physical ecologies. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 1-14.

Vincent, K., Harris, B., Thomson, P., & Toalster, R. (2007). Managed moves: Schools collaborating for collective gain. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 12, 283-298.

Visser, J. (2003). *A Study of Young People with Challenging Behaviour*. London: Ofsted.

Watson, C. (2005). Discourses of 'indiscipline': A Foucauldian response. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 10, 55-65.

Werner, E. (2000). Protective factors and individual resilience. In J. P. Shonkoff & S. J. Meisels (Eds.), *Handbook of Early Intervention* (pp. 115–132). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*. London: Norton.

Winslade, J. M., & Monk, G. D. (2007). *Narrative Counseling in Schools*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Wortham, S. (2001). *Narratives in Action: A Strategy for Research and Analysis*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Wright, A. M. (2009). Every Child Matters: Discourses of challenging behaviour. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 27, 279-290.

Žižek, S. (2006). *How to Read Lacan*. London: Granta Books.

## **Appendix I: Literature Search**

I conducted a comprehensive search for literature relating to my proposed research topic. The University of Sheffield online library catalogue was used to search for relevant book chapters and peer-reviewed journal articles. I began by exploring a broad topic area, combining search terms such as ‘education’, ‘exclusion’, ‘at risk’, ‘behaviour’, ‘psychology’, ‘narrative’, ‘discourse’, ‘identity’, ‘subjectivity’, ‘psychosocial’, ‘psychodynamic’ and ‘psychoanalytic’. Quotation marks (“ ”) were used to search for exact phrases and the truncation symbol (\*) was used to search for alternative word endings, such as plurals. Boolean operators (AND, OR) were also used to narrow or broaden searches as appropriate and the wildcard symbol (?) was used to search for alternative spellings, for example when searching for ‘behaviour’.

Further literature was introduced and discussed through supervision. I also searched for sources that cited, or were cited by, key texts. In addition, I used Google Scholar to search for relevant books and the British Library E-theses Online Service (EThOS) to search for theses that explored similar topics. Over time, I refined the focus of my search. In the second phase of my critical literature review, I conducted a specific search for peer-reviewed journal articles pertaining to ‘managed moves’ using the online library catalogue. This included a search for ‘managed transfers’, as the two terms are often used interchangeably.

I decided to focus specifically on the topic of managed moves rather than exploring the literature pertaining to transition in general. Transition represents a broad topic area and pupils might move schools for diverse reasons, including a family move, school closure, or as part of the transition between key stages. In contrast, managed moves involve a unique set of circumstances that are likely to affect pupils’ experiences, such as the provision of a trial period that must be successfully completed before a pupil is admitted on roll at their new school. In their study of pupil mobility, Strand and Demie (2007) conclude that the circumstances surrounding a change in educational provision are significant in determining pupil outcomes, and not necessarily the change of provision in itself.

While reading, I recorded my thoughts and reflections alongside key quotations, keeping a careful note of references and page numbers. I then grouped works into categories before editing these and presenting ideas in a logical order.

## **Appendix II: Information Letter**

Dear

My name is Sarah Murphy and I am training to become an educational psychologist at the University of Sheffield. I am writing to ask whether you would like to take part in my research project. Please read this information with your parent or carer so that you can decide together whether this is right for you.

### **What is the research project?**



The research project involves listening to the experiences of young people during the 'trial phase' of a managed move. I believe that your views are important and that they can help to improve support for young people.

### **What will this involve?**



If you decide to take part, I would like to talk to you about experiences that have been important to you, both in and out of school, and your ideas for the future. This is likely to take place over two or three meetings, each lasting around one hour.

I hope that taking part in this research will be a positive experience, however I understand that some things might be upsetting to talk about. If you decide to take part, you can choose which experiences you would like to talk to me about. You can also stop the conversation or decide that you no longer want to take part in the research at any time.

### **What will happen to my information?**



I would like to audio record our conversation so that I can write down what is said. As soon as I have written this information, the recording will be deleted. The information that you give me will only be included in my research with your permission. I will not include your real name in the research and all other names of people and places will be changed.

### **What happens if something goes wrong?**



If you feel unhappy at any point, I hope that you will feel able to talk to me. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr Antony Williams, at the University of Sheffield (telephone; email).

### **What happens next?**



If you decide that you would like to take part, both you and your parent/carer will need to sign and return a consent form. If you would not like to take part, you do not need to do anything and you do not have to give a reason why.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. Please contact me (Sarah) if you would like any more information (telephone; email).

## Appendix III: Young Person Consent Form

### Young Person Consent Form

**Research Project:** Listening to the experiences of young people during the 'trial phase' of a managed move.

**Researcher:** Sarah Murphy

I have read the information letter and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research.

I understand that it is up to me whether I take part in the research. I can decide to stop taking part at any time and I do not need to explain why.

I understand that my interview will be audio recorded. What I say will be written down and may appear in the research.

I understand that my real name will not appear in the research and that all other names of people and places will be changed.

I understand that my parent or carer will also need to give their permission before I can take part in the research.

**I agree to take part in the research project.**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

## Appendix IV: Parent/Carer Consent Form

### Parent/Carer Consent Form

**Research Project:** Listening to the experiences of young people during the 'trial phase' of a managed move.

**Researcher:** Sarah Murphy

I have read the information letter and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research.

I understand that my consent is voluntary. I can withdraw consent at any time and I do not need explain why.

I understand that the interview with my child will be audio recorded. What they say will be written down and may appear in the research.

I understand that my child's real name will not appear in the research and that all other names of people and places will be changed.

**I agree to my child taking part in the research project.**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Parent/Carer

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature



## Appendix V: Ethics Approval Letter

Downloaded: 23/03/2016

Approved: 21/03/2016

Sarah Murphy

Registration number: 140109399

School of Education

Programme: Doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology

Dear Sarah

**PROJECT TITLE:** In the Space Between: Listening to Young People At Risk of Exclusion

**APPLICATION:** Reference Number 007980

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 21/03/2016 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 007980 (dated 14/03/2016).
- Participant information sheet 1016146 version 2 (14/03/2016).
- Participant consent form 1016150 version 1 (06/03/2016).
- Participant consent form 1016149 version 1 (06/03/2016).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

*- Rewrite the information letter - it isn't really very 'young person' friendly and the phrase 'known to the [Name of Service]' actually sound threatening. - Make some provision for safeguarding of both researcher and participants during and around the interviews - Ensure that other professionals working with the participants are given anonymity and are not potentially compromised in the enquiry process.*

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

Professor Daniel Goodley

Ethics Administrator

School of Education

## **Appendix VI: Managed Moves Protocol**

In the local authority in which the study took place, managed moves can be initiated for secondary-aged pupils whose school placement is considered to be at risk, either as an early intervention strategy or as an alternative to permanent exclusion. In some cases, a managed move may be suggested following an in-year transfer request if there are concerns over whether the transfer will be successful. Guidelines state that managed moves should never be issued under the threat of permanent exclusion and should not be used as a sanction for pupil behaviour.

Schools are required to submit evidence to support a referral for a managed move, including behaviour, attendance and attainment records; relevant safeguarding information; pupil support plans; and details of involvement from external agencies. A local authority officer will contact the school to discuss the referral and a meeting is typically held with pupils and parents, who must provide their consent for a managed move to take place. A referral must then be agreed at a multi-agency panel meeting before a request for a managed move is submitted to the proposed receiving school, which is expected to respond within three days.

Once a managed move has been agreed, an admission meeting takes place at the receiving school, in which pupils, parents, school staff and a local authority officer meet to discuss the managed moves process and set a start date for the trial period. Guidelines recommend that the trial period should last for approximately six weeks before a decision is made on whether the managed move has been successful, however the trial period may be extended following consultation with a local authority officer.

## **Appendix VII: Pilot Study**

I trialled my research methods during a pilot study, which took place over two phases. In the first phase of the pilot study, I worked with Liam, a Year 10 pupil who had recently started the trial period of a managed move. I met with Liam to create a mind map of his experiences before scheduling an individual interview. Following each session, I recorded reflexive field notes, as well as asking Liam about his thoughts and feelings. During the mind map activity, Liam appeared to be apprehensive, speaking hesitantly and frequently leaving sentences unfinished. I had initially planned for the conversation to be unstructured in the hope that this would elicit spontaneous narratives, however I found that it was helpful to provide prompts. I therefore devised a prompt sheet that I could use on future occasions (Appendix IX).

I felt that the time between the initial meeting and subsequent interview was useful in providing an opportunity for Liam to reflect on the experiences that he had shared, in line with the ethical aims of the research. At the beginning of our second session, for example, Liam identified a topic that he did not wish to discuss during the interview. By the second session, Liam and I seemed to be more comfortable in one another's presence, however I felt that the atmosphere changed once I switched on the audio recorder. As a researcher, I felt that much was at stake in the pilot interview, and this change in dynamic perhaps reflected my anxiety as well as Liam's. I had developed an interview schedule for the pilot interview (Appendix VIII) and I felt that, at times, I moved quickly from one question to the next, without exploring Liam's answers in depth. There were points at which I found Liam's responses difficult to listen to and the changes of topic perhaps represented a defensive strategy on my behalf.

Reflecting on his experiences of the research process overall, Liam explained that the initial session had helped him to feel more comfortable and that it was useful to have the mind map to refer to during the interview. He said that he had enjoyed the research process and found it helpful to speak about his experiences, on one occasion commenting that "I've never told anyone that before". Liam noted that he found it easier to talk about specific events, suggesting that I asked about a participant's

current school in my opening question, rather than experiences of education in general. He also suggested specific questions in relation to a participant's last day in their original school and first day in their receiving school. I adapted my interview schedule accordingly, including Liam's suggestions and adding narrative prompts in order to facilitate a more detailed exploration of participants' responses (Appendix IX).

While I had initially planned just one pilot interview, I felt that it would be helpful to trial my adapted resources before commencing the main study. I therefore conducted a second phase of my pilot study with John, a Year 10 pupil who had been on the trial phase of a managed move for four months. I found the prompt sheet helpful in eliciting John's views during the timeline activity. As with Liam, I felt that John initially presented as apprehensive, frequently shrugging his shoulders and commenting "I don't know". By the time of our second meeting, John appeared more relaxed, including greater detail in his responses. I also felt more comfortable during this session, having already familiarised myself with the interview process. I found the narrative prompts particularly helpful in eliciting rich accounts, for example in focusing on specific examples. Following my interview with Liam, I was conscious of the need to allow pauses in order to provide space for reflection. Nevertheless, there were still points at which I spoke too readily, directing the conversation in a particular way.

John indicated that he had enjoyed the research process overall. He said that he had found it easier to talk as time had progressed and that it had been useful to have a session to reflect on his experiences before the interview. John did not suggest any changes to the process. Following the interview, I practised transcribing and analysing interview segments. I became more attuned to listening for languages of the unsayable, which seemed to illuminate additional layers of meaning. Overall, the pilot study provided me with a valuable opportunity to trial methods, practise my interview technique and make necessary adaptations prior to the main study.

## **Appendix VIII: Pilot Interview Schedule**

1. Tell me about your experiences of school so far...
2. Tell me about any moves or changes that you have experienced...
  - Have there been any moves or changes that you looked forward to?
  - Have there been any moves or changes that you found more difficult?
3. Tell me about your experience of a managed move...
  - Was there anything that helped you in the move?
  - Is there anything else that might have helped?
  - How might things have been different?
4. Where do you see yourself in a year's time?
5. What are your hopes for the future? What will help you to get there?
6. Are there any questions that you wish I had asked you, or anything else you would like to tell me?

## Appendix IX: Final Interview Schedule

### Prompts for mind map activity

- Can you remember times when things were good?
- Can you remember times when things were not so good?
- Have there been any moves or changes that you have looked forward to?
- Have there been any moves or changes that you have found more difficult?
- Where do you see yourself in a year's time?
- What are your hopes for the future?

### Prompts for interview

1. Tell me about your current school...
  - Staff
  - Curriculum
  - Friendships
2. Tell me about your previous experiences of school...
  - Primary
  - Secondary
3. Tell me about any moves or changes that you have experienced...
  - Have there been any moves or changes that you looked forward to?
  - Have there been any moves or changes that you found more difficult?
4. Tell me about your experiences of a managed move...
  - Can you describe your last day at your previous school?
  - Can you describe your first day in your current school?
  - Was there anything that helped you in the move?
  - Is there anything else that might have helped?
  - How might things have been different?

5. Where do you see yourself in a year's time?

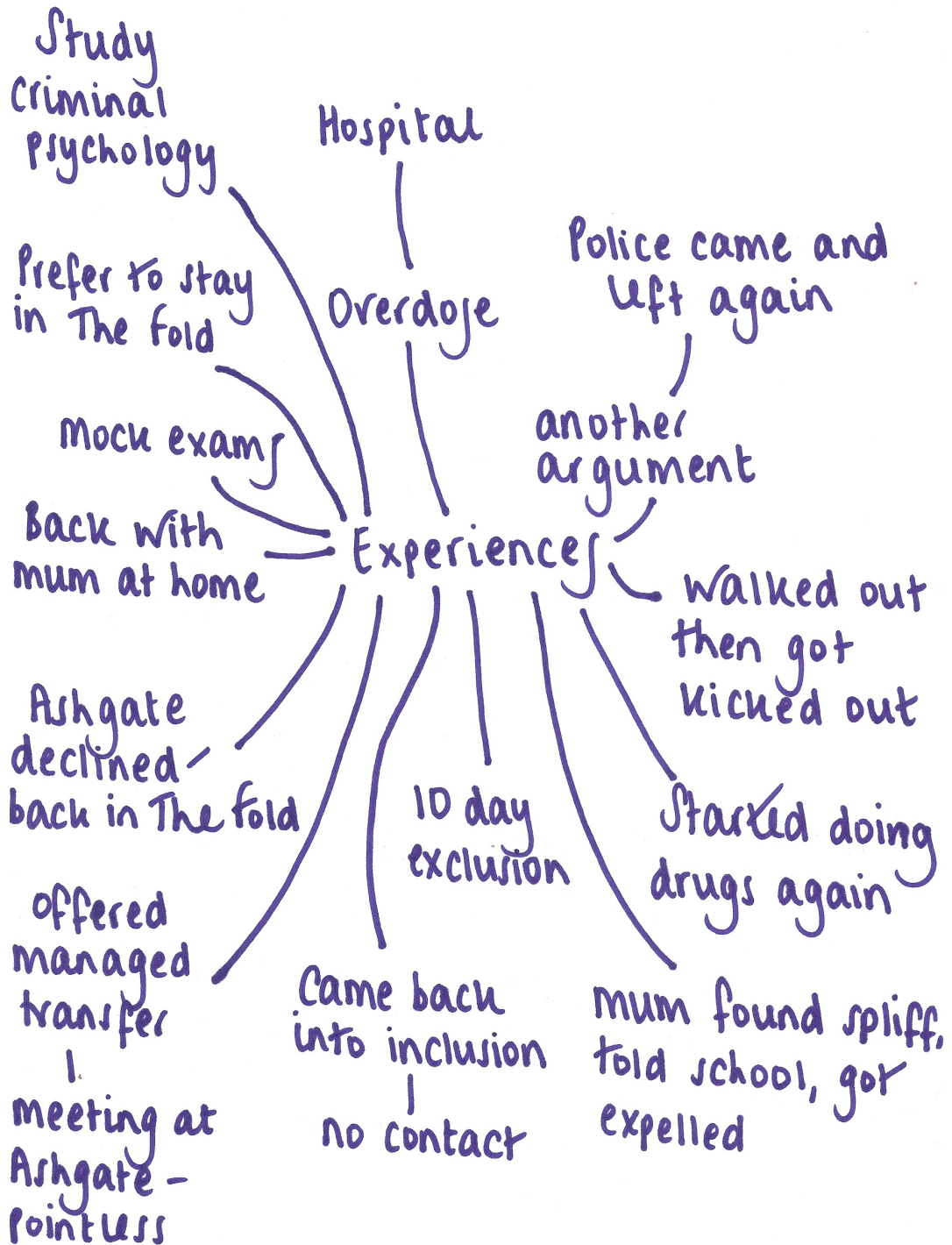
6. What are your hopes for the future? What will help you to get there?

7. Are there any questions that you wish I had asked you, or anything else that you would like to tell me?

*Narrative prompts*

- Can you provide an example?
- What makes you think that?
- How did you feel?
- What effect(s) did that have?
- Did anyone else notice?
- Did anyone see things differently?
- Were there any exceptions?

Appendix X: Sophie's Mind Map





Appendix XI: Charlotte's Mind Map

scary ↙ ↗ on my own  
Moving to Bridgford

Support from the teacher.  
Lost trust at first because  
she told my dad personal things.

Nursery to  
Primary → friendship

Moving to  
live with mum

Charlotte

Looked after little sister

Bullying in Year 7 and 8  
Referral to CAMHS for  
self harm. Put on a  
waiting list, no support.

Only got helped when I  
was took into hospital.  
People wanted to understand  
at home and help but  
couldn't. What people say  
affects me.

Year 7 detentions.  
Anxiety in class  
if teachers picked  
me out, felt angry.

Got more detentions  
in Year 8, stopped  
caring.

Moving back to  
live with dad.

CAMHS - hated it. Read  
everything off paper,  
didn't let me have my  
say. Said my anxiety  
was from moving in  
with my mum.

People thought it was  
a good idea to move  
school but I wanted  
it to be my decision.  
Felt like I didn't belong  
at Stapleton any more.

Appendix XII: Wendell's Mind Map



### Appendix XIII: Transcript of Interview with Wendell

- 1 Researcher (R): So if you begin by telling me a little bit about what it's like (.) at  
2 Oakwood School
- 3 Wendell (W): It's great. It's a lot better than the previous school. It's, err (1) a lot  
4 easier for me here as well. It's, err (.) although it has been hard (.) cos, err, I've had  
5 to (.) do a lot of things by myself that (.) I wouldn't have had to do (.) if I was on a  
6 straight move but now, cos I'm on a (.) managed move, it's been a lot harder for me  
7 (.) err (2) when I came I thought I would (.) be, like, err, judged by teachers and (.)  
8 maybe a few other people
- 9 R: Mm
- 10 W: Cos I was on a managed move but (.) in some ways it actually kind of gave me a  
11 good social status.
- 12 R: Can you tell me what you mean by that?
- 13 W: Err, people have wanted to speak to me about it, like, err (.) I mean (.) sometimes  
14 it is kinda like (.) people think you're good if you're naughty (.) but I'm not  
15 particularly naughty because, err (.) I've been moved on a managed move, it's been  
16 okay.
- 17 R: Okay. And can you tell me a little bit more about what you meant when you said  
18 you were worried you'd be judged?
- 19 W: Err (1) well, I thought that, by going on a managed transfer, it wouldn't really (.)  
20 make much of a difference from the previous school from being, like (1) teachers,  
21 kind of, not being very nice cos (.) they think you're really naughty when you're not.
- 22 R: Mm hmm
- 23 W: Cos, like, if it says I'm on a managed transfer they're gonna think that I'm  
24 naughty, but they didn't, it was actually quite good.
- 25 R: Mm hmm, okay. And you said some things have been harder for you
- 26 W: Err (.) well I've had to do a lot of stuff by myself, like, I still don't know what  
27 my options are at the moment
- 28 R: Mm
- 29 W: And it's been six weeks.
- 30 R: Mm hmm
- 31 W: Erm (1) I've had to do all my (.) err, pay pal, parent pay accounts and stuff.
- 32 R: Mm

33 W: I've had to do everything by myself really, but (.) I don't think you would have  
34 had to do that if you went on a straight move, I'm pretty sure they would have done  
35 it all for you.

36 R: Okay. And why's that, do you think?

37 W: (1) I, I don't know. It's (.) like (.) I think it's like, if you're on a managed move,  
38 it's, kind of like, you're put at the bottom of the list and people who are (.) on a  
39 straight transfer (.) they get a lot more, like, effort put into them.

40 R: Mm hmm. And have you got any thoughts about why that might be?

41 W: Well they think you're naughty ((laughs)) so they don't think you're worth  
42 anything, they don't think you're worth the effort (.) don't know, really.

43 R: Okay. And can you tell me about your experiences of school before Oakwood?

44 W: Err (.) it was horrible (.) err (.) cos I have, like (.) a few (.) err, siblings in the  
45 school who are (.) kind of naughty.

46 R: Mm hmm

47 W: I'd kinda been tarred with the same brush by teachers, they all thought I was (.)  
48 dead naughty, they thought (.) I was another Robinson, didn't know who I actually  
49 was.

50 R: Mm hmm

51 W: I was called by my second name cos they thought we were just, like, all the  
52 same, from the same family, but we weren't.

53 R: Mm

54 W: I did try my hardest (.) to (.) get a good first impression but it never really  
55 worked (.) none of the teachers really liked me (.) I did have a good social situation  
56 but that kinda got (.) ruined because of teachers and I had to get, I had to move.

57 R: Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

58 W: Erm (1) well (.) I mean, I was sort of popular in the school but (.) it was just  
59 really hard to do that when I was never, like, actually with my friends cos I'd always  
60 be in, like, lunch detentions with teachers cos (.) they just put me on them all the  
61 time

62 R: Mm hmm

63 W: Err (.) cos I didn't like the school, I hated it, and cos of the move, cos of (.)  
64 teachers again, I think (.) I had kind of, err (.) the social situation ripped away from  
65 me, really.

66 R: Mm, okay. And you said you felt like teachers (.) saw you as a Robinson

67 W: Yeah

68 R: Can you think of an example, where that was the case?

69 W: Err, in Year 7, when I came into the school, they'd a-, they'd call me, like, Mr  
70 Robinson, they'd ask me about my brothers and sisters (.) they'd, err (.) always like,  
71 after that, they'd always have, like, an eye on me, they'd always make me feel a lot  
72 different to everyone else.

73 R: Mm

74 W: Cos it wasn't like I was a new student, they, they knew who my family was, but  
75 they didn't know (.) who I was and they didn't really care about who I was (.) they  
76 thought I was just going to be another naughty Robinson.

77 R: And how did that feel?

78 W: It was awful, like, I felt completely isolated and different to everybody else (1) it  
79 was horrible.

80 R: Mm, okay. And you mentioned about, erm, lunchtime detentions and things.  
81 Could you tell me a little bit more about that?

82 W: Erm (.) they'd always give me (.) detentions really, really easily (.) so if I forgot  
83 a pencil I'd get one (.) or an after-school detention, err, while my friends wouldn't. If  
84 they hadn't got a pencil they'd just give them another one (.) and wouldn't say  
85 anything about it but (.) I was treated differently, apparently (.) I don't know why (1)  
86 I'm gonna guess it was cos of my brothers and sisters.

87 R: Mm, okay. And can you remember an example of when you'd got a detention?

88 W: (1) Erm

89 R: When you felt that was easily, you got a detention easily?

90 W: (1) There was one that, it was (.) it wasn't easily, there was, there was no  
91 apparent reason for it (.) err, we were in music and I walked into the lesson, didn't  
92 say anything to the teacher cos I didn't want to, just, do anything, didn't, I just (.)  
93 wanted to get on with the lesson, didn't want to get into any trouble.

94 R: Mm

95 W: But as soon as I walked in he asks for my planner and I, I ask him why (.) and  
96 then he says, erm, is that a refusal, are you talking back to me, well now you've got  
97 yourself sanctioned. I was like, and I wanted to say, well why did you want my  
98 planner first (.) and then he said, err, cos I was giving you a warning (.) which is  
99 what you get before you get (.) a sanction, which is a thirty, hour after-school  
100 detention.

101 R: Mm hmm

102 W: Err (.) and he wouldn't tell me why (.) so I said, I'm, I'm not doing anything, I'm  
103 not gonna leave until you tell me why (.) I got that warning, and he wouldn't tell me  
104 and then (.) as soon as I took my coat off, about half an hour through the lesson, he  
105 said, that's why you've, err, got your detention, because you didn't have a tie on (.)  
106 but with the coat on you couldn't see my tie for the first half an hour and, as soon as  
107 I walked in, he asked for my planner, he wouldn't give me any reason at all, it's like  
108 he kind of set me up for a detention (.) and for all that, as well, I got a day in, err,  
109 isolation.

110 R: So from that, from that event?

111 W: Yeah

112 R: And what was that, then, the day in isolation?

113 W: You, erm, have to come in at a different time to everyone else, you have to come  
114 in at, like, later, at nine, and then you get to leave (.) at quarter to four (.) err, the  
115 school so, so you're there for the whole day

116 R: Mm hmm

117 W: But just an hour later and you have to sit outside the head teacher's office for the  
118 whole day.

119 R: Okay and did, did that happen on any other occasions, where you had (.)  
120 isolation?

121 W: Erm (.) I felt like I got (.) isolation (.) really easily. There was one time where the  
122 pastoral manager came to get me cos (.) erm (.) he, he wanted to ask me about the  
123 lesson before

124 R: Mm hmm

125 W: And then he started shouting at me because, err (.) I can't remember what we did  
126 but (.) I felt like we hadn't really done much (.) I think it was something like, erm (.)  
127 throwing paper in the bin. He was saying it's not acceptable, that's like (.) there  
128 that's called, err, missiles and I can get isolation for that, so I walked, I walked off (.)  
129 and then, err (.) he threatened to exclude me and give me isolation.

130 R: Mm hmm. He threatened to exclude you

131 W: Yeah (.) for like, err, like exclusion, it lasts up to, like, three days, I think it is (1)  
132 sometimes it can be, like, seven days (.) depending on what you did.

133 R: And did that ever happen?

134 W: (1) Only on one occasion (1) which was, err (.) a fight (.) between another  
135 student (.) which also (.) I got (.) really heavily (1) shouted at and done for (.) even  
136 though it wasn't me who started anything or did (.) I, I, the person who I, it was with  
137 R: Mm

138 W: The, the teachers all love him cos he's always in the office, he's always telling  
139 teachers what people are up to, he's a snitch basically

140 R: Mm

141 W: So (.) I got all the, err (.) I got done for it even though he started the fight (.) he  
142 didn't get anything (.) so I got excluded and my mum wanted to know (.) what (.)  
143 what he got for it, cos he started the fight and he was also saying stuff about me on  
144 social media and stuff

145 R: Mm hmm

146 W: Which made me feel quite bad as well. So, say, he lying about me and everything  
147 (.) he started having a go at my sister as well (.) so, err, that fe-, made me feel bad.  
148 My sister had a go at me for, err (.) that (.) So then I got excluded for that and they  
149 wouldn't tell my mum (1) what he would get (.) and they just said that he would  
150 have an appropriate sanction for it. All he got was, like, half an hour after school (.)  
151 even though in any instance fighting is meant to be, err, an exclusion, like at this  
152 school.

153 R: So what did your mum think about that?

154 W: She was appalled. She, she hates the school already but (1) she felt it was  
155 completely unfair (.) erm (2) she (.) hated it, the same as me.

156 R: Okay. So the teachers at your last school, then, how do you think they saw you?

157 W: (1) It's like they didn't see me, they didn't see me for who I am, they saw, like,  
158 me for my, err, my brothers and sisters, they thought I was just gonna be another  
159 horrible (.) person like my (.) brothers or sisters, cos they were naughty.

160 R: Mm hmm

161 W: Erm (1) and it was kind of like they picked on me sometimes cos (.) I was treated  
162 completely different, it made me feel extremely different to everyone else and I  
163 hated it (1) it was (.) like, err (2) it was awful, really, err (.) I had a behaviour log (.)  
164 and I was put on report all the time (.) err, to see what I was up to, even if it said I  
165 was fine, they'd keep me on it (.) err (.) don't even know, I hated the school, like, it  
166 made my attendance drop (.) massively and my levels cos I didn't want to go in cos I  
167 hated it, the teachers.

168 R: So when did that start to happen, then, your attendance started to drop?  
169 W: About halfway though Year 9.  
170 R: And what was going on at the time, can you think?  
171 W: Erm, it was like I, I'd had enough.  
172 R: ((knock on door)) Hello? (???)  
173 W: I'd had enough of, of the, erm (.) just grief by teachers and (.) it was like I was  
174 kind of kicking back and I'd changed friend groups, I'd moved to, erm (.) a group of  
175 people who were also very naughty (.) I'd, err (.) started being not the (.) cleverest  
176 and well-behaved student ever, cos I'd just had enough, err ((knock on door)) (???)  
177 ((audio paused while we move rooms)) err (1) they gave me this behaviour log. I'd  
178 had, I'd had thirty-eight sanctions, twelve isolations and two exclusions (1) erm (.)  
179 made me, it made me feel like it was all my fault (.) and maybe it was my fault, but  
180 (1) I probably wouldn't have been like that if it weren't for my (.) brothers and  
181 sisters (.) giving me quite a hard time (.) I don't think I would have had much cos the  
182 start of Year 7 I didn't get one (.) erm (.) one sanction, like halfway through the year.  
183 R: Mm hmm  
184 W: I tried really hard then (.) err, when I did get that sanction, though (.) that's when  
185 I, that's when it, kind of (.) I got annoyed cos it felt like it was my brothers and  
186 sisters.  
187 R: Okay. So can you tell me a little bit more about the beginning of Year 7, when  
188 you said you tried really hard?  
189 W: Erm (2) my mum did tell me to be prepared for Year 7, it probably will be quite  
190 hard, sort of, and then it was. When I first got there, every teacher who saw me like  
191 you're, err, Jade Robinson or William Robinson's brother (.) err, so I was like, yeah  
192 I am, I was like, oh right, and then they all kept an eye on me, kept, like, putting me  
193 on reports and stuff (.) to see how I was doing (.) I had to see the pastoral manager a  
194 few times to see how I was doing even though, like, I'd done nothing wrong, he just  
195 wanted to see how (.) I was going (.) what I was doing.  
196 R: Mm hmm  
197 W: Erm (.) so I, I did try really hard but it was, kind of, just getting really annoying  
198 and I was fed up of it.  
199 R: Okay. And you said your brothers and sisters were giving you a hard time. Can  
200 you tell me what (.) a little bit more about that?



201 W: Because (.) err (.) my older one, he got to Year 11 then, err, didn't do the exams  
202 cos he didn't want to (.) err, my other two sisters, they got kicked out the school for  
203 just not being very nice (.) so all the teachers knew who they were.

204 R: Mm hmm

205 W: They all (.) they, then, when I came into the school, they all knew who I was but  
206 they didn't know (.) who I actually was, they knew (.) what family I came from.

207 R: Mm

208 W: So they all knew my name but they didn't know (.) what I am, who I am, they  
209 didn't actually take me for me (.) it's like they didn't actually care, they, they  
210 weren't bothered about me, it's like, oh we're just gonna have to keep an eye on him  
211 cos he's another Robinson (.) they didn't want anything to do with me, they didn't  
212 actually, like (.) see who I was

213 R: Mm

214 W: Cos (.) I, I was actually, like (.) I was quite, I've been quite clever, I've been in  
215 top sets for, err, like the whole time (.) err (.) I, I was on the football team, I was  
216 quite sporty, I was captain of a (.) football team once (.) a few times, so

217 R: When was that, when you were captain of the football team?

218 W: Erm (.) Year 7 when I, I went to football, I tried really hard with it (.) cos my dad  
219 wanted me to do sports and stuff so I did but then (.) I remember, erm (.) the (.) the  
220 person who does the football team, the (.) PE teacher, he said, err, what's your name  
221 again, I went Wendell Robinson, he went (.) oh right, are you William's brother, and  
222 he was like (.) oh yeah, and then I didn't get on the PE team, the, the football team  
223 (.) and then I kept trying (.) and there was a different teacher doing it and then he  
224 said, err (.) right, err, you're up for, err, captain, err, the next matches (.) so it was  
225 alright.

226 R: So that different teacher, then (.) did you feel like he saw you in a

227 W: Yeah, he didn't actually know who William and Jade were, think he, he was new  
228 (.) he didn't know who any of them were so (1)

229 R: And were there any other teachers that you felt saw you differently?

230 W: Yeah, there, there was a few and I really liked some of them because th-, they did  
231 know who my brothers and sisters were, they taught them, worked very closely  
232 with them, but (.) they, erm (1) they weren't bothered about my family, they, they  
233 were bothered about me, they saw me for who I was (.) they thought I was a very  
234 good student.

235 R: And how could you tell that they thought that?

236 W: Well one of my PE teachers, in Year 9 (.) he said, err, cos, cos I was getting in  
237 really late, he saw me all the time and he was keeping track of me cos I was being  
238 late and he asked why I was late and, err (1) I just kept saying, like, making excuses  
239 up for it and he said, err, Wendell, this isn't good enough, you're head boy material,  
240 you know that (.) for the school, so (1) I did kind of respect him but he also  
241 respected us, so

242 R: Mm hmm

243 W: I really liked him.

244 R: And why was it, at that time, that you kept being late?

245 W: (1) I really didn't want to come in to school, it was (.) horrible for me. It was an  
246 awful time, I hated it.

247 R: Mm, okay. And then can you tell me a little bit about what primary school was  
248 like?

249 W: Erm (.) It (.) I loved primary school. I was clever; I was captain of the football  
250 team the whole time.

251 R: Mm hmm

252 W: The head teacher loved me, he, he called me Dell, my nickname.

253 R: Mm

254 W: Like all the time, in my report, my end of year report, it, he called me Dell in it  
255 as well, he didn't call me by my actual name (.) err, I called him Mr M., we gave  
256 him a nickname (.) err, he liked me, he'd always use me as an example in class, like  
257 (.) he'd say, erm, if we went on a trip, he'd come onto the bus and say, like (.) be,  
258 like, behave, be good and, err (1) err, just, err, use Dell as an example, err, see how  
259 polite he is, be polite like that.

260 R: Mm hmm. And then you mentioned about your report as well

261 W: Yeah on the report, he gave me a brilliant report, he said, err (.) he said, erm (1)  
262 he's been a brilliant (.) he's, he's been a brilliant (.) clever lad, we loved him here (.)  
263 err, I wish him the best of luck in (.) high school. He said, erm (1) he's made an  
264 impact on me and the school, it's been brilliant having him (.) I can't remember  
265 exactly what he put (.) summat like that. He called me Dell in it, gave me like, I got  
266 really high marks in (.) the year (.) for (.) for report.

267 R: Mm hmm

268 W: In Year 7 and 8 I got high marks. I mean, even though I was having a horrible  
269 time, I kind of (.) I wasn't gonna let that get in the way of my education (.) but in  
270 Year 9, that's when it dropped cos it, kind of, was (.) and I hated it and (.) that's  
271 when it was (.) getting in the way of my education.

272 R: Mm hmm. So it was getting in the way of your education. Can you say a bit more  
273 about that?

274 W: Well because (.) of all, like, the grief I'm getting from, like, teachers and stuff I  
275 didn't wanna go in

276 R: Mm

277 W: And, as I wasn't going in, I was getting lower marks and (.) like, err, all my  
278 levels (.) dropped. I think my attendance was below seventy percent at the end of it.

279 R: Mm, okay. And then, looking back, can you think about any moves or changes  
280 that you've (.) experienced?

281 W: Erm (3) well it all, kind of, did change in, like, halfway through Year 9, that's  
282 when (.) that's, like (.) done, couldn't be bothered (.) with anything (.) so (.) and then  
283 (.) it wasn't just school as well, I mean, my dad had a bit of a part to it, cos he always  
284 kept saying, like, he shouted at me saying, I told you, you're just gonna be just like  
285 your brother, you're gonna be lazy, you're gonna be horrible. So, I mean, I, I just (.)  
286 didn't want to do anything any more (.) so I just stopped (.) trying as hard as I was

287 R: Mm

288 W: And let it all go.

289 R: And then how did the managed move first come

290 W: Erm

291 R: About

292 W: I really wanted to move school. I, I'd been telling people, right, I'm probably  
293 gonna move school soon. My mum wanted me to move schools and some teachers  
294 overheard something (.) and they were like, oh right, well (.) might as well move him  
295 out, then (.) err, I don't really think the teachers wanted me there anyway, that's  
296 what it felt like, anyway, erm (1) so (.) when I, when (.) I was moving, like, I  
297 remember going to pastoral office saying that, erm (1) err (2) you're getting put on a  
298 managed move, I was like, oh right, okay. My mum got a phone call home earlier  
299 that day saying, like (.) you're gonna get moved, err (.) and then, in about a few  
300 days' time, someone came to ask me about, like, what school I'd prefer to go to (1)  
301 and why.

302 R: Mm hmm

303 W: (1) Erm

304 R: And what was that like, then?

305 W: Erm (.) I dunno, I had, erm, mixed feelings cos I, I just was (.) worried and

306 anxious, I thought it would be the same, and I was kind of angry that I was about to

307 move schools cos I, I did, I did, I hated it there but (.) my social situation was

308 actually (.) quite good.

309 R: Mm hmm

310 W: So (1) I wanted to move a lot (.) but it was just a bit annoying (.) cos I was losing

311 a lot if I did move.

312 R: Mm

313 W: So

314 R: So what happened next, then, you were asked which schools you wanted to go to

315 W: Err, my first option was Newstead School, second was Oakwood and I didn't

316 have a third option

317 R: Mm hmm

318 W: Cos I didn't really want to go to any other schools (2) but I got into Oakwood (.)

319 and I was happy about it. I was kind of worried, cos I didn't want to be judged again

320 R: Mm hmm

321 W: Erm (.) but then, again, none of them knew who my siblings were, so (.) it was

322 okay.

323 R: And can you remember you last day at (.) Linvale?

324 W: Erm (.) yeah. I got moved within two weeks of, like, the person coming (.) and I,

325 I wasn't in much those two weeks but I came in on the last day (.) to say bye to

326 teachers that I did like and say bye to everyone (.) erm (2) I, I was (.) I was happy at

327 the end of the day cos I had a good day (.) The teachers kind of left me alone, I

328 didn't have to do anything (1) Err, my friends were all disappointed to see me go,

329 though (1) which made me feel a bit bad but (.) I was happy that I was moving from

330 that school.

331 R: Mm hmm. And then did you start at Oakwood straight away?

332 W: Err, yeah. I had to go in (.) on the Monday, came in, I sat in the Reception and

333 they said, you're gonna go and see, err, err, the teacher's gonna come and get you in

334 a second (.) so then, Miss Taylor came (.) and got me (.) err, she said (2) that (1) err,

335 she's my head of (.) house, she'll come and, err ((yawns)) tell me a bit about the

336 school, she'll get me started (.) but then, that whole day, I was sat in the office, cos I  
337 didn't have a timetable and, in the end, I just went into my friend's last lesson (.) so  
338 it was okay.

339 R: So can you remember how you were feeling on that first day?

340 W: Erm, I thought I'd be a lot more nervous but I wasn't, I was a lot happier, I was,  
341 like, I was (.) quite excited for it.

342 R: Mm hmm. And was there anything that helped you in the move, from Linvale to  
343 Oakwood?

344 W: No, not really. I didn't really get any help at all (.) err (.) mum and dad weren't  
345 very happy cos it was costing a lot of money on uniform again (.) but, err (.) no it  
346 was okay (.) erm

347 R: You said mum and dad weren't very happy

348 W: No, cos they had to spend loads more money on me (.) but I didn't really get any  
349 help (.) from anything, I've done it all independently (.) so I've had to get settled in  
350 myself but not really been (.) nothing's really happened (.) for me (.) err, but, I mean,  
351 it's been a lot better, I'm all settled in now (.) I've got a good friend group and stuff  
352 and (.) got a good social status again (.) err

353 R: What do you mean by that, a good social status?

354 W: I'm kinda liked around the school, I mean (1) a few people already did know  
355 who I was, I didn't know who they were, but they knew who I was from social  
356 media and stuff but (.) I didn't know them. I'd come into the school and they'd all be  
357 asking me, like, are you Dell? Yeah I am (.) Everyone kinda liked me when I first  
358 came into the school.

359 R: Mm hmm, okay. And is there anything else that might have helped, then, in the  
360 move from Linvale to here?

361 W: (1) Erm (6) I don't know, really. Anything that helps, like, err (2) anyone or?

362 R: Is there anything that anyone could have done, or that could have been in place,  
363 that would have made things better?

364 W: Well one of my friends, err (2) they showed me round the school, they, err, let  
365 me stay with them the whole time (.) I'd go round with them, they'd show me  
366 around, like, about everything, tell me about everything, about classes and stuff (.)  
367 but (1) that's about it (.) I think.

368 R: Is there anything that you would have liked to have happened, that didn't happen?

369 W: Erm (3) I would have preferred to get (.) more help from (.) staff cos I didn't  
370 really get any.

371 R: Mm

372 W: Err

373 R: And what, what would you have liked them to do?

374 W: I would have liked them to (.) care a bit more, because they never, kind of (.)  
375 checked up on me, they never helped me do anything, they never asked me what I  
376 needed or (.) they never helped me with parent pay, with scanning my finger print,  
377 never got me a (.) timetable for, like, the first two days.

378 R: Mm

379 W: Erm (3) when I first moved, they didn't actually, like (.) they thought, cos I was  
380 on a managed transfer, I was naughty and I wasn't the cleverest, but when they  
381 looked at, like, my levels and stuff they were like, oh you're actually quite a bright  
382 lad, aren't you (2)

383 R: Mm

384 W: Err (2) it's been alright apart from that.

385 R: Okay. And looking back, can you think of a way where things might have been  
386 different, where it didn't lead up to your moving schools?

387 W: Like in Linvale where I got, if I was doing good in Linvale, like I didn't want to  
388 move schools?

389 R: ((nods))

390 W: Erm (2) I think, I mean, I was having a hard time there but (1) I was doing good,  
391 my grades were good and I was happy in school with my friends (.) erm (.) so that's  
392 when, like, my mum wanted me to move out the school but I di-, I didn't want to  
393 move cos I didn't, like, wanna go to a new school.

394 R: Mm

395 W: I'm kind of a bit shy (1) so ((yawns)) it was kinda hard (.) moving schools (1) at  
396 that point, so then I didn't (2) so I thought I was doing alright there but then (.) it got  
397 too much (1) for me.

398 R: It got too much for you

399 W: Hmm?

400 R: It got too much for you

401 W: The, the, like, pressure and just (.) grief from teachers and stuff, it was too much.

402 R: Mm, okay. And, aside from your managed move then, can you think about any  
403 other moves that you've had?

404 W: Erm (.) it was, we nearly moved, we nearly moved house completely. We nearly  
405 moved to the other side of the country, to Southcliffe, cos my mum hated it here, she  
406 hated the school, she hated everything around (.) Newstead kind of (.) so (.) She still  
407 is trying to move to Southcliffe but (1) At first I wanted to move completely, I was  
408 willing to just leave everything behind and go (1) erm (.) but now it, if it, now, if she  
409 does move to Southcliffe, I'll, I'll stay here with someone, I don't know (1) with  
410 some family member (.) if they go to Southcliffe, I don't want to move.

411 R: What's changed then, where

412 W: I'm a lot happier. It's miles better, at Oakwood (.) I'm happy (.) it's, the best  
413 thing going for me is school now, really.

414 R: Okay, that's good to hear. And, thinking about, like, previous moves of schools,  
415 so the move from primary up to secondary (.) What was that like?

416 W: Erm, we were all kind of excited, all, me and my friends going to, err (1) high  
417 school but it was kind of a nervous time, I was anxious moving up (.) erm (.) but (3)  
418 I didn't really think it would be so hard, like, with my brothers and sisters, cos  
419 they've been there. I thought that they'd be there to kinda look out for me but  
420 apparently not (.) erm (3) it was (2) good really, moving from there cos we all were  
421 excited, we all thought we were (.) becoming (.) big

422 R: Mm

423 W: But, cos we all thought we were a lot older than that ((sighs)) but when you do  
424 get there and you see the Year 11s and everything, you realise you're not that old.  
425 ((knock on door))

426 R: Hmm, okay. Hello? (???) So then, looking ahead, erm, to the future, where do you  
427 see yourself (.) this time next year?

428 W: Erm (3) probably (1) just (.) at the moment, on the way it's going, I, I think it's  
429 doing really well. (.) At the moment, I'm already, erm (.) heading for, like, A\*s and  
430 everything (.) on all the subjects (.) err (.) that's my, err, GCSE

431 R: Mm hmm

432 W: Err, target (2) so (1) I'll probably be on track.

433 R: Well that's fantastic. And how about after that, then, what are your hopes for the  
434 future?

435 W: Erm, I don't know. I like helping people and I, I just want to do (2) the opposite  
436 of what, kind of, happened to me in school (.) I'd like to be, like, a doctor (.) or (.)  
437 even a teacher (1) but I want to be, like (.) a good teacher, I mean, if I was gonna be  
438 a teacher, I would probably be like (.) a science or maths teacher.

439 R: Mm hmm

440 W: So, they're two of my better subjects and I prefer them a lot, I like them two  
441 subjects, and there was one teacher who kinda did inspire me, it was my games  
442 teacher who did say I was, like, head boy material, the teacher, he was just really  
443 good, he was respectful, he was nice to everyone, he respected the students and  
444 everyone liked him.

445 R: Mm hmm. So what would you do, then, to make yourself a good teacher?

446 W: I'd, erm (4) well firstly, I'd never judge a student by anything (.) that, that, the  
447 student (.) if they were new to me (.) they were completely new to me, even if I  
448 knew a tiny bit about them, say family

449 R: Mm

450 W: I, I wouldn't (.) I'd, I wouldn't judge them by anything, I'd treat them as like (.)  
451 the same as everyone else, completely new (.) err, I wouldn't go so hard on kids and  
452 I wouldn't, I wouldn't (.) be err (.) I wouldn't be giving them half an hour detentions  
453 for not having a pencil but then (.) there would have to be that respect (.) for me and  
454 the respect for them (1) so like they, they weren't being, they weren't running  
455 around loose, they weren't (.) all being dead naughty (.) so like they, they realise, if  
456 I'm gonna be nice to them, they have to be nice to me.

457 R: Mm hmm. Well that makes sense. So that's your hope for the future, then, it'll be  
458 [a]

459 W: [Yeah] or an accountant, cos I mean, I am very good at maths and (.) it, you get,  
460 like, quite a bit of money being an accountant, so (1) but if I was a teacher then, I  
461 mean, I'm not there for the money (.) I'm there cos I enjoy it.

462 R: Mm hmm. Okay, that sounds good. And of (.) the things we talked about then, is  
463 there anything you (.) would like to add to that?

464 W: Erm (5) well, first, when I first moved to Oakwood as well, I had a meeting just  
465 before I came into the school (1) erm (3) but, like I said before, cos I was moved on  
466 a managed move, they, they didn't actually look at, they didn't look at any of my,  
467 err, information, they just said, like, oh you're Wendell Robinson so you're going on  
468 a managed move, why do you want to go on a managed move (1) and, right at the



469 end of the thingy, they opened, like, my information, kind of thing (.) and then they  
470 were looking at it and then they kinda looked (2) they looked stunned (1) they were  
471 wondering why I was on a managed move, looking at all my information (.) cos they  
472 just thought I was another naughty kid who'd been, like, kicked out of a school (1)  
473 so

474 R: And what do you think surprised them?

475 W: My grades and (.) erm (.) a few reports off a few teachers that were really good  
476 (.) erm, the fact that I'm on a managed move (.) I don't look like a student who  
477 should be on one.

478 R: What were those reports, the good reports, what did they say?

479 W: Erm (1) in Year 7, we have like a report (.) effort, grade, homework grade and (.)  
480 erm, like a level grade, kind of, and it goes from one to four. Four being (.) bad

481 R: Mm hmm

482 W: One being good (.) and they'd all be ones and a couple of twos in there (.) and  
483 they'd have, like, things inside saying like (.) Wendell's effort is amazing, he always  
484 goes a hundred percent, above and beyond and stuff, so, like, they'd be wondering  
485 why (.) I'm on a managed move. They'd be expecting, like, all fours really.

486 R: Mm, okay. And is there anything else, any questions you wish I'd asked you?

487 W: Err, no not really, I don't think so.

488 R: That's all?

489 W: ((nods))

490 R: Well thank you very much for (.) chatting with me.

**Appendix XIV: Analysis of Interview with Wendell**

Transcript	Comments
<p>Researcher (R): So if you begin by telling me a little bit about what it's like (.) at Oakwood School</p> <p>Wendell (W): It's great. It's a lot better than the previous school. It's, err (1) a lot easier for me here as well. It's, err (.) although it has been hard (.) cos, err, I've had to (.) do a lot of things by myself that (.) I wouldn't have had to do (.) if I was on a straight move but now, cos I'm on a (.) managed move, it's been a lot harder for me (.) err (2) when I came I thought I would (.) be, like, err, judged by teachers and (.) maybe a few other people</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Cos I was on a managed move but (.) in some ways it actually kind of gave me a good social status.</p> <p>R: Can you tell me what you mean by that?</p> <p>W: Err, people have wanted to speak to me about it, like, err (.) I mean (.) sometimes it is kinda like (.) people think you're good if you're naughty (.) but I'm not particularly naughty because, err (.) I've been moved on a managed move, it's been okay.</p> <p>R: Okay. And can you tell me a little bit more about what you meant when you said you were worried you'd be judged?</p> <p>W: Err (1) well, I thought that, by going on a managed transfer, it wouldn't really (.) make much of a difference from the previous school from being, like (1) teachers, kind of, not being very nice cos (.) they think you're really naughty when you're not.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Cos, like, if it says I'm on a managed transfer</p>	<p>Smokescreen?</p> <p>How did Wendell perceive my role?</p> <p>Independence</p> <p>Distinction between "straight move" and managed move</p> <p>Prejudice</p> <p>Importance of "social status"</p> <p>Perceptions of others; use of second person</p> <p>Resisting label of 'naughty'</p> <p>Negation; revision</p> <p>Perceptions of others; use of second person</p>

<p>they're gonna think that I'm naughty, but they didn't, it was actually quite good.</p>	<p>Perceptions of others 'Naughty'</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm, okay. And you said some things have been harder for you</p>	<p>Revision</p>
<p>W: Err (.) well I've had to do a lot of stuff by myself, like, I still don't know what my options are at the moment</p>	<p>Independence Uncertainty</p>
<p>R: Mm</p>	
<p>W: And it's been six weeks.</p>	
<p>R: Mm hmm</p>	
<p>W: Erm (1) I've had to do all my (.) err, pay pal, parent pay accounts and stuff.</p>	
<p>R: Mm</p>	
<p>W: I've had to do everything by myself really, but (.) I don't think you would have had to do that if you went on a straight move, I'm pretty sure they would have done it all for you.</p>	<p>Independence Second person Distinction between "straight move" and managed move</p>
<p>R: Okay. And why's that, do you think?</p>	<p>Smokescreen</p>
<p>W: (1) I, I don't know. It's (.) like (.) I think it's like, if you're on a managed move, it's, kind of like, you're put at the bottom of the list and people who are (.) on a straight transfer (.) they get a lot more, like, effort put into them.</p>	<p>Second person Distinction between "straight transfer" and managed move</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm. And have you got any thoughts about why that might be?</p>	
<p>W: Well they think you're naughty ((laughs)) so they don't think you're worth anything, they don't think you're worth the effort (.) don't know, really.</p>	<p>Second person Distancing? Perceptions of others</p>
<p>R: Okay. And can you tell me about your experiences of school before Oakwood?</p>	<p>Revision</p>
<p>W: Err (.) it was horrible (.) err (.) cos I have, like (.) a few (.) err, siblings in the school who are (.) kind of naughty.</p>	<p>Siblings Voices of others ("naughty")</p>

<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: I'd kinda been tarred with the same brush by teachers, they all thought I was (.) dead naughty, they thought (.) I was another Robinson, didn't know who I actually was.</p>	<p>Family reputation</p> <p>Perceptions of others</p> <p>Subjectivity</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: I was called by my second name cos they thought we were just, like, all the same, from the same family, but we weren't.</p>	<p>Significance of name</p>
<p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: I did try my hardest (.) to (.) get a good first impression but it never really worked (.) none of the teachers really liked me (.) I did have a good social situation but that kinda got (.) ruined because of teachers and I had to get, I had to move.</p>	<p>Determination</p> <p>"Social situation"</p> <p>Blame</p> <p>Powerlessness: "I had to"; interruption</p> <p>'The popular student'</p>
<p>R: Can you tell me a little bit more about that?</p> <p>W: Erm (1) well (.) I mean, I was sort of popular in the school but (.) it was just really hard to do that when I was never, like, actually with my friends cos I'd always be in, like, lunch detentions with teachers cos (.) they just put me on them all the time</p>	<p>Isolation</p> <p>Use of sanctions; 'they'</p> <p>Powerlessness</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Err (.) cos I didn't like the school, I hated it, and cos of the move, cos of (.) teachers again, I think (.) I had kind of, err (.) the social situation ripped away from me, really.</p>	<p>Places blame with teachers</p> <p>Separation and loss</p>
<p>R: Mm, okay. And you said you felt like teachers (.) saw you as a Robinson</p>	
<p>W: Yeah</p>	
<p>R: Can you think of an example, where that was the case?</p>	
<p>W: Err, in Year 7, when I came into the school, they'd a-, they'd call me, like, Mr Robinson, they'd</p>	<p>Significance of name</p>

<p>ask me about my brothers and sisters (.) they'd, err (.) always like, after that, they'd always have, like, an eye on me, they'd always make me feel a lot different to everyone else.</p>	<p>Surveillance; "they" Alienation</p>
<p>R: Mm W: Cos it wasn't like I was a new student, they, they knew who my family was, but they didn't know (.) who I was and they didn't really care about who I was (.) they thought I was just going to be another naughty Robinson.</p>	<p>Subjectivity Perceptions of teachers</p>
<p>R: And how did that feel? W: It was awful, like, I felt completely isolated and different to everybody else (1) it was horrible.</p>	<p>Isolation/alienation Repetition</p>
<p>R: Mm, okay. And you mentioned about, erm, lunchtime detentions and things. Could you tell me a little bit more about that?</p>	
<p>W: Erm (.) they'd always give me (.) detentions really, really easily (.) so if I forgot a pencil I'd get one (.) or an after-school detention, err, while my friends wouldn't. If they hadn't got a pencil they'd just give them another one (.) and wouldn't say anything about it but (.) I was treated differently, apparently (.) I don't know why (1) I'm gonna guess it was cos of my brothers and sisters.</p>	<p>Use of sanctions Injustice Alienation Smokescreen? Struggling to make sense of his experiences - looking to allocate blame?</p>
<p>R: Mm, okay. And can you remember an example of when you'd got a detention?</p>	
<p>W: (1) Erm</p>	
<p>R: When you felt that was easily, you got a detention easily?</p>	
<p>W: (1) There was one that, it was (.) it wasn't easily, there was, there was no apparent reason for it (.) err, we were in music and I walked into the lesson, didn't say anything to the teacher cos I didn't want to, just,</p>	

<p>do anything, didn't, I just (.) wanted to get on with the lesson, didn't want to get into any trouble.</p>	<p>Determination</p>
<p>R: Mm W: But as soon as I walked in he asks for my planner and I, I ask him why (.) and then he says, erm, is that a refusal, are you talking back to me, well now you've got yourself sanctioned. I was like, and I wanted to say, well why did you want my planner first (.) and then he said, err, cos I was giving you a warning (.) which is what you get before you get (.) a sanction, which is a thirty, hour after-school detention.</p>	<p>Disciplinary procedures Reconstructing event</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm W: Err (.) and he wouldn't tell me why (.) so I said, I'm, I'm not doing anything, I'm not gonna leave until you tell me why (.) I got that warning, and he wouldn't tell me and then (.) as soon as I took my coat off, about half an hour through the lesson, he said, that's why you've, err, got your detention, because you didn't have a tie on (.) but with the coat on you couldn't see my tie for the first half an hour and, as soon as I walked in, he asked for my planner, he wouldn't give me any reason at all, it's like he kind of set me up for a detention (.) and for all that, as well, I got a day in, err, isolation.</p>	<p>Resistance Powerlessness</p>
<p>R: So from that, from that event? W: Yeah R: And what was that, then, the day in isolation? W: You, erm, have to come in at a different time to everyone else, you have to come in at, like, later, at nine, and then you get to leave (.) at quarter to four (.) err, the school so, so you're there for the whole day R: Mm hmm</p>	<p>Use of isolation</p>

<p>W: But just an hour later and you have to sit outside the head teacher's office for the whole day.</p> <p>R: Okay and did, did that happen on any other occasions, where you had (.) isolation?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) I felt like I got (.) isolation (.) really easily. There was one time where the pastoral manager came to get me cos (.) erm (.) he, he wanted to ask me about the lesson before</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: And then he started shouting at me because, err (.) I can't remember what we did but (.) I felt like we hadn't really done much (.) I think it was something like, erm (.) throwing paper in the bin. He was saying it's not acceptable, that's like (.) there that's called, err, missiles and I can get isolation for that, so I walked, I walked off (.) and then, err (.) he threatened to exclude me and give me isolation.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. He threatened to exclude you</p> <p>W: Yeah (.) for like, err, like exclusion, it lasts up to, like, three days, I think it is (1) sometimes it can be, like, seven days (.) depending on what you did.</p> <p>R: And did that ever happen?</p> <p>W: (1) Only on one occasion (1) which was, err (.) a fight (.) between another student (.) which also (.) I got (.) really heavily (1) shouted at and done for (.) even though it wasn't me who started anything or did (.) I, I, the person who I, it was with</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: The, the teachers all love him cos he's always in the office, he's always telling teachers what people are up to, he's a snitch basically</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: So (.) I got all the, err (.) I got done for it even</p>	<p>Smokescreen?</p> <p>'The system'/power</p> <p>Resisting position of 'naughty'</p> <p>Accounting for oneself</p> <p>Categorisation</p> <p>Interruption</p>
--	--

<p>though he started the fight (.) he didn't get anything (.) so I got excluded and my mum wanted to know (.) what (.) what he got for it, cos he started the fight and he was also saying stuff about me on social media and stuff</p>	
<p>R: Mm hmm</p>	
<p>W: Which made me feel quite bad as well. So, say, he lying about me and everything (.) he started having a go at my sister as well (.) so, err, that fe-, made me feel bad. My sister had a go at me for, err (.) that (.) So then I got excluded for that and they wouldn't tell my mum (1) what he would get (.) and they just said that he would have an appropriate sanction for it. All he got was, like, half an hour after school (.) even though in any instance fighting is meant to be, err, an exclusion, like at this school.</p>	<p>Repeated phrase</p> <p>'The system'</p> <p>Speaking through the voices of others</p> <p>Parent views</p>
<p>R: So what did your mum think about that?</p>	
<p>W: She was appalled. She, she hates the school already but (1) she felt it was completely unfair (.) erm (2) she (.) hated it, the same as me.</p>	
<p>R: Okay. So the teachers at your last school, then, how do you think they saw you?</p>	
<p>W: (1) It's like they didn't see me, they didn't see me for who I am, they saw, like, me for my, err, my brothers and sisters, they thought I was just gonna be another horrible (.) person like my (.) brothers or sisters, cos they were naughty.</p>	<p>Lack of recognition</p> <p>Voices of others ("naughty")</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm</p>	
<p>W: Erm (1) and it was kind of like they picked on me sometimes cos (.) I was treated completely different, it made me feel extremely different to everyone else and I hated it (1) it was (.) like, err (2) it was awful, really, err (.) I had a behaviour log (.) and I was put</p>	<p>'They'</p> <p>Injustice</p> <p>Repeated phrase</p> <p>Powerlessness</p>



<p>on report all the time (.) err, to see what I was up to, even if it said I was fine, they'd keep me on it (.) err (.) don't even know, I hated the school, like, it made my attendance drop (.) massively and my levels cos I didn't want to go in cos I hated it, the teachers.</p> <p>R: So when did that start to happen, then, your attendance started to drop?</p> <p>W: About halfway though Year 9.</p> <p>R: And what was going on at the time, can you think?</p> <p>W: Erm, it was like I, I'd had enough.</p> <p>R: ((knock on door)) Hello? (???)</p> <p>W: I'd had enough of, of the, erm (.) just grief by teachers and (.) it was like I was kind of kicking back and I'd changed friend groups, I'd moved to, erm (.) a group of people who were also very naughty (.) I'd, err (.) started being not the (.) cleverest and well-behaved student ever, cos I'd just had enough, err ((knock on door)) (???) ((audio paused while we move rooms)) err (1) they gave me this behaviour log. I'd had, I'd had thirty-eight sanctions, twelve isolations and two exclusions (1) erm (.) made me, it made me feel like it was all my fault (.) and maybe it was my fault, but (1) I probably wouldn't have been like that if it weren't for my (.) brothers and sisters (.) giving me quite a hard time (.) I don't think I would have had much cos the start of Year 7 I didn't get one (.) erm (.) one sanction, like halfway through the year.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: I tried really hard then (.) err, when I did get that sanction, though (.) that's when I, that's when it, kind of (.) I got annoyed cos it felt like it was my brothers and sisters.</p> <p>R: Okay. So can you tell me a little bit more about the</p>	<p>Surveillance</p> <p>Repeated phrase</p> <p>Smokescreen?</p> <p>Repetition: "I hated it"</p> <p>Resignation</p> <p>Resistance</p> <p>Peer relationships</p> <p>Negation</p> <p>'Naughty'</p> <p>Accountability</p> <p>Siblings</p> <p>Determination; past tense</p> <p>Repeated phrase; smokescreen?</p>
--	--

<p>beginning of Year 7, when you said you tried really hard?</p> <p>W: Erm (2) my mum did tell me to be prepared for Year 7, it probably will be quite hard, sort of, and then it was. When I first got there, every teacher who saw me like you're, err, Jade Robinson or William Robinson's brother (.) err, so I was like, yeah I am, I was like, oh right, and then they all kept an eye on me, kept, like, putting me on reports and stuff (.) to see how I was doing (.) I had to see the pastoral manager a few times to see how I was doing even though, like, I'd done nothing wrong, he just wanted to see how (.) I was going (.) what I was doing.</p>	<p>Surveillance</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Erm (.) so I, I did try really hard but it was, kind of, just getting really annoying and I was fed up of it.</p> <p>R: Okay. And you said your brothers and sisters were giving you a hard time. Can you tell me what (.) a little bit more about that?</p>	<p>Determination</p> <p>Resignation</p>
<p>W: Because (.) err (.) my older one, he got to Year 11 then, err, didn't do the exams cos he didn't want to (.) err, my other two sisters, they got kicked out the school for just not being very nice (.) so all the teachers knew who they were.</p>	<p>Exclusion</p> <p>Smokescreen</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: They all (.) they, then, when I came into the school, they all knew who I was but they didn't know (.) who I actually was, they knew (.) what family I came from.</p>	<p>Lack of recognition</p>
<p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: So they all knew my name but they didn't know (.) what I am, who I am, they didn't actually take me for me (.) it's like they didn't actually care, they, they</p>	<p>Lack of recognition</p>

<p>weren't bothered about me, it's like, oh we're just gonna have to keep an eye on him cos he's another Robinson (.) they didn't want anything to do with me, they didn't actually, like (.) see who I was</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Cos (.) I, I was actually, like (.) I was quite, I've been quite clever, I've been in top sets for, err, like the whole time (.) err (.) I, I was on the football team, I was quite sporty, I was captain of a (.) football team once (.) a few times, so</p> <p>R: When was that, when you were captain of the football team?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) Year 7 when I, I went to football, I tried really hard with it (.) cos my dad wanted me to do sports and stuff so I did but then (.) I remember, erm (.) the (.) the person who does the football team, the (.) PE teacher, he said, err, what's your name again, I went Wendell Robinson, he went (.) oh right, are you William's brother, and he was like (.) oh yeah, and then I didn't get on the PE team, the, the football team (.) and then I kept trying (.) and there was a different teacher doing it and then he said, err (.) right, err, you're up for, err, captain, err, the next matches (.) so it was alright.</p> <p>R: So that different teacher, then (.) did you feel like he saw you in a</p> <p>W: Yeah, he didn't actually know who William and Jade were, think he, he was new (.) he didn't know who any of them were so (1)</p> <p>R: And were there any other teachers that you felt saw you differently?</p> <p>W: Yeah, there, there was a few and I really liked some of them because th-, they did know who my</p>	<p>Surveillance</p> <p>Address? Interruption</p> <p>Past tense</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Determination</p> <p>Significance of name</p> <p>Determination</p> <p>Revision</p> <p>'Fresh start'</p>
--	---

<p>brothers and sisters were, they taught them, worked very closely with them, but (.) they, erm (1) they weren't bothered about my family, they, they were bothered about me, they saw me for who I was (.) they thought I was a very good student.</p> <p>R: And how could you tell that they thought that?</p> <p>W: Well one of my PE teachers, in Year 9 (.) he said, err, cos, cos I was getting in really late, he saw me all the time and he was keeping track of me cos I was being late and he asked why I was late and, err (1) I just kept saying, like, making excuses up for it and he said, err, Wendell, this isn't good enough, you're head boy material, you know that (.) for the school, so (1) I did kind of respect him but he also respected us, so</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: I really liked him.</p> <p>R: And why was it, at that time, that you kept being late?</p> <p>W: (1) I really didn't want to come in to school, it was (.) horrible for me. It was an awful time, I hated it.</p> <p>R: Mm, okay. And then can you tell me a little bit about what primary school was like?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) It (.) I loved primary school. I was clever; I was captain of the football team the whole time.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: The head teacher loved me, he, he called me Dell, my nickname.</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Like all the time, in my report, my end of year report, it, he called me Dell in it as well, he didn't call me by my actual name (.) err, I called him Mr M., we</p>	<p>Belonging/recognition</p> <p>Perceptions of teachers</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>"Keeping track of me"</p> <p>as distinct from surveillance</p> <p>Hesitation</p> <p>External narratives</p> <p>Mutual respect</p> <p>Repeated phrase</p> <p>Closed body language</p> <p>Changing the subject</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Belonging/acceptance</p> <p>Significance of name</p> <p>Could this link to the</p>
--	---

<p>gave him a nickname (.) err, he liked me, he'd always use me as an example in class, like (.) he'd say, erm, if we went on a trip, he'd come onto the bus and say, like (.) be, like, behave, be good and, err (1) err, just, err, use Dell as an example, err, see how polite he is, be polite like that.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. And then you mentioned about your report as well</p> <p>W: Yeah on the report, he gave me a brilliant report, he said, err (.) he said, erm (1) he's been a brilliant (.) he's, he's been a brilliant (.) clever lad, we loved him here (.) err, I wish him the best of luck in (.) high school. He said, erm (1) he's made an impact on me and the school, it's been brilliant having him (.) I can't remember exactly what he put (.) summat like that. He called me Dell in it, gave me like, I got really high marks in (.) the year (.) for (.) for report.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: In Year 7 and 8 I got high marks. I mean, even though I was having a horrible time, I kind of (.) I wasn't gonna let that get in the way of my education (.) but in Year 9, that's when it dropped cos it, kind of, was (.) and I hated it and (.) that's when it was (.) getting in the way of my education.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. So it was getting in the way of your education. Can you say a bit more about that?</p> <p>W: Well because (.) of all, like, the grief I'm getting from, like, teachers and stuff I didn't wanna go in</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: And, as I wasn't going in, I was getting lower marks and (.) like, err, all my levels (.) dropped. I think my attendance was below seventy percent at the end of it.</p>	<p>interest Wendell had displayed in choosing a pseudonym?</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>This moment struck me as particularly poignant</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Belonging</p> <p>External narratives</p> <p>Revision</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Smokescreen</p> <p>Determination</p> <p>Silence</p> <p>Places blame with teachers</p> <p>Attendance</p>
---	---

<p>R: Mm, okay. And then, looking back, can you think about any moves or changes that you've (.) experienced?</p> <p>W: Erm (3) well it all, kind of, did change in, like, halfway through Year 9, that's when (.) that's, like (.) done, couldn't be bothered (.) with anything (.) so (.) and then (.) it wasn't just school as well, I mean, my dad had a bit of a part to it, cos he always kept saying, like, he shouted at me saying, I told you, you're just gonna be just like your brother, you're gonna be lazy, you're gonna be horrible. So, I mean, I, I just (.) didn't want to do anything any more (.) so I just stopped (.) trying as hard as I was</p>	<p>Absence of pronoun</p> <p>Resignation</p> <p>Relationship with dad</p> <p>External narratives</p> <p>Impact on Wendell's subjectivity?</p>
<p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: And let it all go.</p>	<p>Resignation</p>
<p>R: And then how did the managed move first come</p> <p>W: Erm</p> <p>R: About</p>	
<p>W: I really wanted to move school. I, I'd been telling people, right, I'm probably gonna move school soon. My mum wanted me to move schools and some teachers overheard something (.) and they were like, oh right, well (.) might as well move him out, then (.) err, I don't really think the teachers wanted me there anyway, that's what it felt like, anyway, erm (1) so (.) when I, when (.) I was moving, like, I remember going to pastoral office saying that, erm (1) err (2) you're getting put on a managed move, I was like, oh right, okay. My mum got a phone call home earlier that day saying, like (.) you're gonna get moved, err (.) and then, in about a few days' time, someone came to ask me about, like, what school I'd prefer to go to (1) and why.</p>	<p>Choice</p> <p>Smokescreen</p> <p>Rejection</p> <p>Powerlessness</p> <p>Notion of choice</p>

<p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: (1) Erm</p> <p>R: And what was that like, then?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) I dunno, I had, erm, mixed feelings cos I, I just was (.) worried and anxious, I thought it would be the same, and I was kind of angry that I was about to move schools cos I, I did, I did, I hated it there but (.) my social situation was actually (.) quite good.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: So (1) I wanted to move a lot (.) but it was just a bit annoying (.) cos I was losing a lot if I did move.</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: So</p> <p>R: So what happened next, then, you were asked which schools you wanted to go to</p> <p>W: Err, my first option was Newstead School, second was Oakwood and I didn't have a third option</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Cos I didn't really want to go to any other schools (2) but I got into Oakwood (.) and I was happy about it. I was kind of worried, cos I didn't want to be judged again</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Erm (.) but then, again, none of them knew who my siblings were, so (.) it was okay.</p> <p>R: And can you remember you last day at (.) Linvale?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) yeah. I got moved within two weeks of, like, the person coming (.) and I, I wasn't in much those two weeks but I came in on the last day (.) to say bye to teachers that I did like and say bye to everyone (.) erm (2) I, I was (.) I was happy at the end of the day cos I had a good day (.) The teachers kind of left me alone, I didn't have to do anything (1) Err,</p>	<p>Ambivalence</p> <p>Anxiety</p> <p>Anger</p> <p>Repetition: "I hated it"</p> <p>Belonging; peer relationships</p> <p>Smokescreen</p> <p>Loss</p> <p>Choice</p> <p>Smokescreen</p> <p>Anxiety</p> <p>Revision</p> <p>Powerlessness</p> <p>Emotion in voice</p> <p>Revision</p>
---	---

<p>my friends were all disappointed to see me go, though (1) which made me feel a bit bad but (.) I was happy that I was moving from that school.</p>	<p>Smokescreen/revision</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm. And then did you start at Oakwood straight away?</p>	
<p>W: Err, yeah. I had to go in (.) on the Monday, came in, I sat in the Reception and they said, you're gonna go and see, err, err, the teacher's gonna come and get you in a second (.) so then, Miss Taylor came (.) and got me (.) err, she said (2) that (1) err, she's my head of (.) house, she'll come and, err ((yawns)) tell me a bit about the school, she'll get me started (.) but then, that whole day, I was sat in the office, cos I didn't have a timetable and, in the end, I just went into my friend's last lesson (.) so it was okay.</p>	<p>Performing indifference?</p> <p>Revision</p>
<p>R: So can you remember how you were feeling on that first day?</p>	
<p>W: Erm, I thought I'd be a lot more nervous but I wasn't, I was a lot happier, I was, like, I was (.) quite excited for it.</p>	<p>Negation</p> <p>Repetition</p> <p>Excitement/hope</p>
<p>R: Mm hmm. And was there anything that helped you in the move, from Linvale to Oakwood?</p>	
<p>W: No, not really. I didn't really get any help at all (.) err (.) mum and dad weren't very happy cos it was costing a lot of money on uniform again (.) but, err (.) no it was okay (.) erm</p>	<p>Lack of support</p> <p>Financial implications</p> <p>Revision</p>
<p>R: You said mum and dad weren't very happy</p>	
<p>W: No, cos they had to spend loads more money on me (.) but I didn't really get any help (.) from anything, I've done it all independently (.) so I've had to get settled in myself but not really been (.) nothing's really happened (.) for me (.) err, but, I mean, it's been a lot better, I'm all settled in now (.)</p>	<p>Repetition</p> <p>Independence</p> <p>Revision</p>



<p>I've got a good friend group and stuff and (.) got a good social status again (.) err</p> <p>R: What do you mean by that, a good social status?</p> <p>W: I'm kinda liked around the school, I mean (1) a few people already did know who I was, I didn't know who they were, but they knew who I was from social media and stuff but (.) I didn't know them. I'd come into the school and they'd all be asking me, like, are you Dell? Yeah I am (.) Everyone kinda liked me when I first came into the school.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm, okay. And is there anything else that might have helped, then, in the move from Linvale to here?</p> <p>W: (1) Erm (6) I don't know, really. Anything that helps, like, err (2) anyone or?</p> <p>R: Is there anything that anyone could have done, or that could have been in place, that would have made things better?</p> <p>W: Well one of my friends, err (2) they showed me round the school, they, err, let me stay with them the whole time (.) I'd go round with them, they'd show me around, like, about everything, tell me about everything, about classes and stuff (.) but (1) that's about it (.) I think.</p> <p>R: Is there anything that you would have liked to have happened, that didn't happen?</p> <p>W: Erm (3) I would have preferred to get (.) more help from (.) staff cos I didn't really get any.</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Err</p> <p>R: And what, what would you have liked them to do?</p> <p>W: I would have liked them to (.) care a bit more, because they never, kind of (.) checked up on me,</p>	<p>Importance of "social status"</p> <p>Subjectivity</p> <p>Social media; reputation</p> <p>'The popular student'</p> <p>Peer support</p> <p>Need for support from staff</p> <p>Importance of care "Checking up" as</p>
---	---

<p>they never helped me do anything, they never asked me what I needed or (.) they never helped me with parent pay, with scanning my finger print, never got me a (.) timetable for, like, the first two days.</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Erm (3) when I first moved, they didn't actually, like (.) they thought, cos I was on a managed transfer, I was naughty and I wasn't the cleverest, but when they looked at, like, my levels and stuff they were like, oh you're actually quite a bright lad, aren't you (2)</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: Err (2) it's been alright apart from that.</p> <p>R: Okay. And looking back, can you think of a way where things might have been different, where it didn't lead up to your moving schools?</p> <p>W: Like in Linvale where I got, if I was doing good in Linvale, like I didn't want to move schools?</p> <p>R: ((nods))</p> <p>W: Erm (2) I think, I mean, I was having a hard time there but (1) I was doing good, my grades were good and I was happy in school with my friends (.) erm (.) so that's when, like, my mum wanted me to move out the school but I di-, I didn't want to move cos I didn't, like, wanna go to a new school.</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: I'm kind of a bit shy (1) so ((yawns)) it was kinda hard (.) moving schools (1) at that point, so then I didn't (2) so I thought I was doing alright there but then (.) it got too much (1) for me.</p> <p>R: It got too much for you</p> <p>W: Hmm?</p> <p>R: It got too much for you</p>	<p>distinct from surveillance</p> <p>Practical arrangements</p> <p>Perceptions of teachers</p> <p>Negation</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Revision</p> <p>Revision: Passive to active position?</p> <p>Contradicts earlier narrative</p> <p>Choice</p> <p>Contradicts earlier statement</p> <p>Vulnerability</p> <p>Performing indifference</p> <p>Vulnerability</p> <p>As if unaware of what had been said. The unconscious?</p>
--	---

<p>W: The, the, like, pressure and just (.) grief from teachers and stuff, it was too much.</p> <p>R: Mm, okay. And, aside from your managed move then, can you think about any other moves that you've had?</p> <p>W: Erm (.) it was, we nearly moved, we nearly moved house completely. We nearly moved to the other side of the country, to Southcliffe, cos my mum hated it here, she hated the school, she hated everything around (.) Newstead kind of (.) so (.) She still is trying to move to Southcliffe but (1) At first I wanted to move completely, I was willing to just leave everything behind and go (1) erm (.) but now it, if it, now, if she does move to Southcliffe, I'll, I'll stay here with someone, I don't know (1) with some family member (.) if they go to Southcliffe, I don't want to move.</p> <p>R: What's changed then, where</p> <p>W: I'm a lot happier. It's miles better, at Oakwood (.) I'm happy (.) it's, the best thing going for me is school now, really.</p> <p>R: Okay, that's good to hear. And, thinking about, like, previous moves of schools, so the move from primary up to secondary (.) What was that like?</p> <p>W: Erm, we were all kind of excited, all, me and my friends going to, err (1) high school but it was kind of a nervous time, I was anxious moving up (.) erm (.) but (3) I didn't really think it would be so hard, like, with my brothers and sisters, cos they've been there. I thought that they'd be there to kinda look out for me but apparently not (.) erm (3) it was (2) good really, moving from there cos we all were excited, we all thought we were (.) becoming (.) big</p>	<p>Pressure</p> <p>Vulnerability</p> <p>Mirroring managed move process?</p> <p>Smokescreen</p> <p>Repetition</p> <p>Excitement/hope</p> <p>Anxiety</p> <p>Reflective</p> <p>Revision</p> <p>Reflective</p>
---	--

<p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: But, cos we all thought we were a lot older than that ((sighs)) but when you do get there and you see the Year 11s and everything, you realise you're not that old. ((knock on door))</p> <p>R: Hmm, okay. Hello? (???) So then, looking ahead, erm, to the future, where do you see yourself (.) this time next year?</p> <p>W: Erm (3) probably (1) just (.) at the moment, on the way it's going, I, I think it's doing really well. (.) At the moment, I'm already, erm (.) heading for, like, A*s and everything (.) on all the subjects (.) err (.) that's my, err, GCSE</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: Err, target (2) so (1) I'll probably be on track.</p> <p>R: Well that's fantastic. And how about after that, then, what are your hopes for the future?</p> <p>W: Erm, I don't know. I like helping people and I, I just want to do (2) the opposite of what, kind of, happened to me in school (.) I'd like to be, like, a doctor (.) or (.) even a teacher (1) but I want to be, like (.) a good teacher, I mean, if I was gonna be a teacher, I would probably be like (.) a science or maths teacher.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: So, they're two of my better subjects and I prefer them a lot, I like them two subjects, and there was one teacher who kinda did inspire me, it was my games teacher who did say I was, like, head boy material, the teacher, he was just really good, he was respectful, he was nice to everyone, he respected the students and everyone liked him.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. So what would you do, then, to make</p>	<p>Reflective</p> <p>Hope/optimism</p> <p>Link to neoliberal education system:</p> <p>Monitoring and target setting</p> <p>Hope; future tense</p> <p>Aspirations</p> <p>Influence of teacher</p> <p>Mutual respect</p>
---	--

<p>yourself a good teacher?</p> <p>W: I'd, erm (4) well firstly, I'd never judge a student by anything (.) that, that, the student (.) if they were new to me (.) they were completely new to me, even if I knew a tiny bit about them, say family</p> <p>R: Mm</p> <p>W: I, I wouldn't (.) I'd, I wouldn't judge them by anything, I'd treat them as like (.) the same as everyone else, completely new (.) err, I wouldn't go so hard on kids and I wouldn't, I wouldn't (.) be err (.) I wouldn't be giving them half an hour detentions for not having a pencil but then (.) there would have to be that respect (.) for me and the respect for them (1) so like they, they weren't being, they weren't running around loose, they weren't (.) all being dead naughty (.) so like they, they realise, if I'm gonna be nice to them, they have to be nice to me.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. Well that makes sense. So that's your hope for the future, then, it'll be [a]</p> <p>W: [Yeah] or an accountant, cos I mean, I am very good at maths and (.) it, you get, like, quite a bit of money being an accountant, so (1) but if I was a teacher then, I mean, I'm not there for the money (.) I'm there cos I enjoy it.</p> <p>R: Mm hmm. Okay, that sounds good. And of (.) the things we talked about then, is there anything you (.) would like to add to that?</p> <p>W: Erm (5) well, first, when I first moved to Oakwood as well, I had a meeting just before I came into the school (1) erm (3) but, like I said before, cos I was moved on a managed move, they, they didn't actually look at, they didn't look at any of my, err, information, they just said, like, oh you're Wendell</p>	<p>Non-judgmental approach</p> <p>'Fresh start'</p> <p>Treating people as "completely new" is not dependent on moving schools</p> <p>Equity; non-judgmental approach</p> <p>Mutual respect</p> <p>Importance of not being "naughty"</p> <p>Aspiration</p> <p>Powerlessness</p>
--	--

<p>Robinson so you're going on a managed move, why do you want to go on a managed move (1) and, right at the end of the thingy, they opened, like, my information, kind of thing (.) and then they were looking at it and then they kinda looked (2) they looked stunned (1) they were wondering why I was on a managed move, looking at all my information (.) cos they just thought I was another naughty kid who'd been, like, kicked out of a school (1) so</p> <p>R: And what do you think surprised them?</p> <p>W: My grades and (.) erm (.) a few reports off a few teachers that were really good (.) erm, the fact that I'm on a managed move (.) I don't look like a student who should be on one.</p> <p>R: What were those reports, the good reports, what did they say?</p> <p>W: Erm (1) in Year 7, we have like a report (.) effort, grade, homework grade and (.) erm, like a level grade, kind of, and it goes from one to four. Four being (.) bad</p> <p>R: Mm hmm</p> <p>W: One being good (.) and they'd all be ones and a couple of twos in there (.) and they'd have, like, things inside saying like (.) Wendell's effort is amazing, he always goes a hundred percent, above and beyond and stuff, so, like, they'd be wondering why (.) I'm on a managed move. They'd be expecting, like, all fours really.</p> <p>R: Mm, okay. And is there anything else, any questions you wish I'd asked you?</p> <p>W: Err, no not really, I don't think so.</p> <p>R: That's all?</p> <p>W: ((nods))</p>	<p>Notion of choice</p> <p>'Naughty'</p> <p>Distinction between others' perceptions and sense of self</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Not fitting stereotype</p> <p>'The good student'</p> <p>Perceptions of others</p>
---	--

R: Well thank you very much for (.) chatting with me.	
---	--

## Appendix XV: Composition of Analyses

Each analysis was structured around the first listening for the plot. The composition was informed by the structure of participants' narratives, although links were also made across the text in bringing the layers of listening together and exploring the interplay of different voices.

### Composition of analysis: Sophie

