LIVED EXPERIENCE AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION:

AN EXPLORATION OF THE PHENOMENON OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

IN THE LIFE WORLD OF YOUNG PEOPLE, PARENTS AND TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

While much research has focused on the processes and practices of inclusion in schools, less is known about how these processes are experienced on a daily basis, and what these experiences mean to young people, parents and teachers.

The development of inclusion in the Scottish education system is examined, to give context and background to this study, as well as the features of Scotland's approach to the education of children with 'additional needs'. A number of more general issues surrounding inclusive education in schools are discussed, identifying barriers, which appear to hold back the enactment of inclusion in schools, as well as difficulties surrounding the conceptualisation of inclusive education and its rôle, alongside the aims of education.

Using a phenomenological approach as both methodology and method, this research seeks to gain a greater understanding of the daily experience of education, which describes itself as 'inclusive'. Based on Husserlian phenomenology, as further interpreted in Merleau-Ponty's theory of embodiment, in depth interviews were used to gain rich descriptions of experience, giving voice to seven young people, together with four teachers, one Learning Assistant and the mothers of two of the young participants, making fourteen in all.

All the young people attended one mainstream, fully comprehensive, non-selective secondary school, for pupils aged between twelve and eighteen years. The young people in this study were identified by the school, as having a range of "additional needs" and might have been educated in alternative provision, prior to the extension to the policies of inclusion in Scotland. A range of methods was used, within the interviews, to enable the voices of those seldom heard in research, to be heard.

The interview data were analysed by reference to Merleau-Ponty's five existentials, and the phenomenological methods of Moustakas and van Manen, to create an eidetic description of the experience of inclusive education. The ethical nature of inclusive education was examined, through the lens of Levinas' theory of alterity.

The findings of the research underline the importance of the human relationship in all aspects of school life. Findings indicate a number of areas, where the characteristics of an inclusive education in a mainstream school, are not experienced as "inclusive". Looking forward, the research findings suggest a need to reconceptualise inclusive education, as an ethical response to a call from the Other, based on Levinas' theory of alterity, in which the unique singularity of each person is accepted and valued, allowing young people to grow and develop in schools, with a true 'sense of belonging'.

LAY SUMMARY

The concepts of inclusion and inclusive education are much talked about, but there is little conceptual clarity as to exactly what it is we describe, when we use these expressions. Young people, teachers and parents experience the effects of the policies and decisions, made in the name of inclusion, and yet there is relatively little research, which can cast light on how those most bound up in inclusive education, experience it on a daily basis, This research aims to gain understanding of how inclusive education is experienced, in a mainstream Scottish secondary school and the manner, in which these experiences affect people's lives and being. The research gives voice to some, whose voices are rarely heard in research, to gain knowledge and understanding of the meaning and experience of the processes and practices, in order that we may build on what is good and identify those hidden aspects, which continue to act as barriers to inclusive education.

As part of this research, in-depth, individual, conversational interviews were held with seven young people, aged between twelve and sixteen, and seven adults, to find out their experiences of life at a mainstream secondary school. These interviews were broad, allowing the participants to express themselves freely, about any issues, which were important to them. This type of approach aims to bring out the depth of personal experience, as it is expressed by each individual, allowing the researcher to glimpse the meaning and essence of those experiences, as free from her own assumptions, as it is possible to be.

The experiences of the seven young people, with different types of additional need, are central to this research, but their worlds and experiences are given greater clarity, by the words of teachers, learning assistants and mothers, who give voice to their own experiences, as well as their understanding of the worlds of the children. After analysis of all the data gathered during the interviews, using an approach drawn from phenomenology, a picture emerges of inclusive education and the manner, in which it is experienced on a daily basis, and of the meaning young people make of their experiences. Findings suggest that some young people continue to feel marginalised in school, and that their voices are not heard, and, on occasion, silenced, and that they do not always feel valued and included in the community of the classroom, or school. This suggests that, not only is it important to look again at the notion of inclusive education, to disrupt our assumptions, but that we must also listen to the words of young people and reassess the extent, to which inclusive education is genuinely "inclusive" for all.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference, or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

5th June, 2019

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INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

In approaching this research, I sought to uncover the manner, in which the processes and practices of inclusive education are experienced by some young people, in a mainstream secondary school. The desire to do this was born from my experience of teaching and working with young people and adults, in mainstream schools and colleges, in units attached to schools and in special schools, as well as with young people and their families, who had chosen to withdraw their children from mainstream education, or who had sought additional support alongside it.

As a teacher, I had seen flashes of brilliance, and the intense dedication of many of my colleagues, and the manner in which some young people flourished in their care. But I had also seen, at times, the systemic structures of schools and the hierarchy of teaching and learning, with its attendant lack of respect for human difference, which continue to pervade our education system. I became aware of gaps between the rhetoric of policies on inclusion, and the realities of the enactment of these policies in daily practice, in the minutiae of everyday encounters and the extent of the effects, not only on young people and their families, but also on teachers. Moving from mainstream classroom teaching to Learning Support and subsequently to Special Education, I experienced these realities myself, where I found myself advising on the implementation of policies on inclusion, only to come across practices, on a daily basis, which fell far short. Attitudes, similar to those found in mainstream education, were often played out in the atmosphere of the special school: a hierarchy within a hierarchy. Ball (2003) writes of the damaging effects of a climate of performativity on teachers, particularly those in Special Education. Perhaps some of these 'terrors' may also spring from a realisation that, at its heart, society does not share the same values, no matter how the rhetoric may seek to obscure that fact.

It was these experiences, together with the realisation that we do not know a great deal about how inclusive education is experienced by young people, particularly those with additional needs, which were the impetus for this research. It arose from the desire to move away from anecdotal knowledge, in order to bring into the open and public forum, the voices and experiences of those who are often on the fringes of school, many of whose voices are heard infrequently, and about whom assumptions may often be made, concerning their needs, or what is better for them, without consultation.

There was, therefore, an inevitable tension in my approach to this research into the experiences of an inclusive education, as it is interpreted in the practices of a secondary

school. Fresh in my mind, as I began, were the images of the profoundly damaging effects that the experiences of mainstream education can have on some children, often those with a range of additional needs, and also on their families, alongside the restorative effect that can be brought about by a change of environment and atmosphere, together with appropriate support and help. This includes, in some cases, transfer to a special school, where young people can find the value and respect lacking in some mainstream classrooms. The implied rejection of exclusion, whether engendered, knowingly or unknowingly, by peers, teachers, schools or even society, can then be turned into a positive present and a hopeful future. This is not to deny, of course, that for many children, a mainstream education provides them with the sense of belonging and happiness, known to be so crucial to success at school. I am constantly reminded that we live in an imperfect world and not in an ideal one, however much we would wish that to be the case.

There are in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, a great many social problems, which are played out in the classrooms of our schools on a daily basis. Education itself faces many challenges, including a significant number of teachers leaving the profession early and fewer entering. Economic austerity adds to the hardships of families, schools and communities, as more must be done with fewer resources, in terms of access to services, support staff and physical resources. Young people struggle with mental health and the damaging effects of social media and image in a consumer society. Young people and their teachers face the constant pressure of performance targets, testing and assessment, which, at times, threaten to take over the education system, leaving little time for the broader aims of education to be fulfilled, or for young people who need a different approach. As the policies of inclusion are enacted in schools, the competing demands of universal social inclusion and high academic achievement for all seem to seek to subvert difference into homogeneity, in which the being of the individual child and adult may be overlooked. We are living in a rapidly changing society, very different, in many aspects, to that of a generation ago. Perhaps, the time has come to assess whether the policies of inclusion, as they are currently interpreted, are the right ones in this social, political and educational climate, and whether this really is the best we can do for all our children. In seeking to find the views of some of those caught in the midst of their education, this research is relevant, at this moment, as a starting point for this open reassessment.

This phenomenological research aims to look at the processes of inclusion in one mainstream secondary school, by giving voice to young people, their families and their teachers, in order to gain insight into, and understanding of, the reality of their lived experience of education. These young people are known to have 'additional support needs',

according to the legal definition in Scotland (Scotland, 2004, 2009). The unique voices of these young people are seldom heard in research, and it is an aim of this research to enable those individual voices, and those of their parents and teachers to be heard. The research aims are to raise awareness, *to expose assumptions* and to increase our knowledge of an education system, which describes itself as inclusive[1] in order that we might better understand those aspects, which work well and seek to improve aspects, which appear to hold back the progress of inclusion. These aspects, or barriers, may be social, systemic or pedagogic, must first be exposed, at the deep level of human experience, before they can be understood, addressed and overcome, in order that all may be able to access the range of opportunities education can offer, as valued members of the community of learning, so that the years of schooling may lead to fulfilling adult lives.

Phenomenology is a methodology particularly appropriate to this type of research as It enables us to see the worlds of others, to reveal individual voices and experiences of which we may not be aware and to gain understanding of the meaning of those experiences. This is done, not through objectivity, but through shared human intersubjectivity, in which the researcher must also become aware of her own assumptions and prejudices and lay these to one side, as she seeks to glimpse the lived experience of others. Husserlian phenomenology challenges the dualism of Cartesian mind and body, which had dominated Western philosophy for so long, by its understanding of the structure of consciousness from the first person view and the Husserlian notion of the intention of all experience: that every experience is directed towards something or someone. Husserl's work opened the door for the further development of phenomenology by Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Levinas, among many others, and had significant influence on many areas of philosophy and research, in its emphasis on the first-person experience and subjective knowledge.

I was drawn inexorably to a phenomenological methodology and method, as I reflected more deeply about how I might lay aside my assumptions, and 'get to the heart of the matter'. It is impossible to identify a moment, but it is as if the very 'call' of which Levinas speaks in a different context, drew me to the works of phenomenologists. Vagle has described phenomenological research in terms of a "craft", a "creative act", which must be "honed, developed, and reflected upon" (2014, p.12), but it is also, in my view, more than that. It

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[1] "We want an education system in Scotland that is inclusive of all pupils, encouraging young people to develop, no matter what additional needs they may have." The words of Fiona Hyslop, Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning in the Scottish Parliament, on the launch of the Framework for Inclusion, in September 2009. (Scottish Government, 2009).

begins with a "basic disposition of wonder" which "dislocates and displaces us" (van Manen, 2014, p.143). It is this basic disposition "which transports us into the beginning of genuine thinking" (Heidegger, cited in van Manen 2014, p.143). Such "genuine thinking" is what van Manen terms "phenomenological questioning", when he writes, "there lies reflective insight, knowledge and narrative ability between wonder and phenomenological questioning" (2014, p.37). Phenomenological research can only be approached with a reflective and contemplative spirit and an openness of mind. It is this, alongside that "basic disposition", which draws me to question the nature of our existence, and how we experience the world of our existence: our 'be-ing' in the world and of the world.

During the years of this research, I sought to understand and develop the "reflective insight, knowledge and narrative ability", through continuing to read the works of phenomenologists; the writings of those who have sought to interpret and develop that work, and those who have crossed the divide between phenomenology as philosophy and phenomenology as research methodology. At the same time, I reflected on my own experience and the events of my life, and I drew on the wisdom of others, be it expressed in literature, art, music or drama: what Ricoeur calls "the imaginative variation that literature carries out on the real" (Ricoeur, cited in van Manen, 2014, p.364).

I have approached this research in a spirit of openness, positioning myself as listener. In using a phenomenological approach, I have laid open my assumptions, examined them and set them aside, in order to allow myself to see 'what is there' and to be open to being surprised. I listened to the voices of young people, their families and their teachers, to hear what they say about the meaning of their experiences of inclusive education, by, "listening for the story", as Welty puts it (1995, p.14). Mindful of Lawrence-Lightfoot's desire for educational research to move away from "documenting failure" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997, p.8), together with the wisdom of Socrates,[2] which advises that the seeing of goodness in others begins with ourselves, this research has been undertaken in a spirit of optimism.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis begins with a chapter on inclusive education, in which I identify and pull together some of the many strands, which go together to create the complexity of the topic. I begin

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[2] This refers to the oft-retold story of the exchange between Socrates and the traveller to Athens or Argos.

with a brief overview of the background to the emergence of inclusion and inclusive education in the United Kingdom, which frame the current position. I identify the variety of ways in which inclusive education has been conceptualised, and show how these different strands are interpreted in national policies and practices. I then bring these together in the form of definitions.

In the next chapter, I cover areas of literature of relevance to this exploration of lived experience, both in terms of inclusive education and also of the contribution that phenomenological research can make in this area. The review concentrates on the literature of the experience of school, to indicate how our knowledge and understanding of the processes and practices of inclusive education have been formed. In doing so, I identify that there is a gap in knowledge about the lived experience of inclusive education in the context of a mainstream secondary school, of pupils with a wide range of additional needs, and which is drawn from the voices of the pupils themselves, alongside those of teachers and parents. I conclude with the research question, which frames this research.

I then turn to a discussion of the methodology of phenomenology, beginning with an overview of aspects of Husserl's descriptive phenomenology, and then a discussion of the manner in which I have drawn on the work of Moustakas and van Manen, in the application of the phenomenological method to research. I then turn to the work of Merleau-Ponty, indicating how I have drawn on the theory of embodiment in the analysis of the interview data. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the work of Levinas, and the ethics of alterity, in connection with the conceptualisation of inclusive education as an ethical project.

In the next chapter, I discuss in detail the methods I used in the fieldwork stage of the research, beginning with my stance as an ethical researcher. I then turn to the steps taken from the first approach to the school, the identification of adult and child participants and the process of data collection through phenomenological interviews.

I then turn to the analysis of the data, which I have divided into two chapters, and begin, in chapter five, to indicate how I became immersed in the data, drawing on aspects of the steps of the method outlined by both Moustakas and van Manen, as I worked with the interview transcriptions. I give examples of my reflective and vocative writing, during the analysis process, identifying how I also used the five existentials of Merleau-Ponty, in the process of enabling themes to begin to emerge from the data.

In the second part of the analysis, in chapter six, I turn to an explication of the three main themes, I identified in the previous chapter: My being, being in the bounds of school, and being in the community of the school. I indicate how I have drawn on my reflections and writing, together with the voices of the participants: the young people, and those of their teachers and parents, to analyse the data along the main themes and sub-themes, as I search for the essence of the experience.

In chapter seven, I discuss the main findings, which emerged from the analysis, dealing with each one in turn, first in the context of the research and subsequently in the wider context of the literature, adding new areas of literature, where these have emerged during the analysis process. I suggest that the findings indicate that a reconceptualisation of inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, in the manner of Levinas, can contribute to our understanding of inclusive education.

I then create an eidetic reduction of the phenomenon of inclusive education, drawing on all the descriptions and the analysis of the data. I conclude the thesis by describing the limitations of the study, together with a suggestion of the contribution this study can make to knowledge, and an indication of areas for future development.

CHAPTER ONE

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

1.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter gives an overview of inclusive education, firstly in relation to Scotland and subsequently in a more general discussion. I identify the relevance of Scotland as the locus of the study, in terms of its unique approaches to education, combined with similarities to the system in England. I trace the historical background and important developments, which have shaped Scotland's interpretation of inclusive education, up to the present day. I then turn to more theoretical aspects associated with the conceptualisation, definition and enactment of inclusive education, identifying barriers to inclusion.

1.2 Scotland: The locus of the study

This research is located in a Scottish context, not only because of the geographical location of the school attended by the participants, but more on account of the manner in which Scotland has had a historically different approach to the notion of equity in education, stretching back many centuries, whereby the importance of universal education for its citizens has been a cornerstone of its view of democracy. While the development of inclusive education in Scotland has many similarities to other systems, it also demonstrates a number of important differences. Scotland, in common with many developed countries, now faces a number of challenges in education, which make it a pertinent and timely locus for this study.

1.3 Historical background to the development of inclusive education in Scotland

1.3.1 The importance of education in a democracy

The education system in Scotland has long taken an independent route to that of the rest of the United Kingdom, but in many respects historical development has run in parallel, until more recent years, where there have been a number of areas of divergence. Long before devolution occurred in Scotland and the establishment of a Scottish Government in 1998, Scotland had a different education system to England. Over the course of the twentieth

century, while the broad movements were similar across the two countries, Scotland had a very particular understanding of the importance of education for the development of the individual in a democracy.

The value of a 'good' education in Scotland had developed through the influence of Scottish Presbyterianism, and the post-Reformation notion of the importance of the spread of literacy, to enable all to be able to read the Bible. This lead directly to the establishment of a large number of parish and burgh[3] schools across Scotland (Hunter, 1972, pp.4-6), from where those with sufficient ability were able to study other subjects and advance directly to university.[4]

As early as 1872, a system of compulsory free elementary education was introduced for children aged five to thirteen, under the terms of The Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which had a significant impact on improved literacy and numeracy, as well as school attendance (Hunter, 1972). Access to education was seen in Scotland as the most important factor in educational democracy (Paterson, 2003, p.3), and such an education was largely perceived as 'academic': the acquisition of knowledge and culture through books and intellectual endeavour. Thus, it was possible, in Scotland, in the years before the advent of comprehensive education in 1965, to obtain a 'broad general education', from the primary years and to university level, for those who were academically able.

The notion of "democratic intellectualism" continued to be the basis of Scottish policy, during the latter part of the twentieth century, whereby an 'academic' education could be available, which was considered valuable and worthwhile in developing individual potential through intellectual struggle, in order to lead a full life and to create a community of people with a common core of shared culture (Paterson, 2003, p.193).

There was, however, little free secondary education, and most left education before they were fourteen, to enter employment. Some fee-paying secondary schools were founded, which provided education for older children from the emerging middle classes. It was not until 1946 that free, universal secondary education was provided, with the school leaving age raised to fifteen, the following year.[5] A two-tier system was put into place, with the introduction of three-year junior secondary schools, alongside the more academic five-year

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[3] In Scotland, a 'burgh' was a town/urban area with certain administrative powers. See https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/guides/counties-cities-and-burghs.
[4] For a brief account of the development of education and teacher education in Scotland, see https://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history/part-one
[5] These changes were brought into legislation in 1936, but delayed until 1946 and 1947, on account of the 1939-1945 World War (Hunter, 1972, p.13).

schools. The majority of young people in Scotland attended the junior secondary schools, which awarded no leaving qualifications, whereas the School Leaving Certificate, awarded at the end of five years of secondary education, enabled university entrance. This system remained largely in place until 1965, when comprehensive schools began to be introduced. Those children and young people for whom the existing educational provision was not considered appropriate, on account of physical or mental impairment, had been gradually brought into the educational system, from the mid-nineteenth century, through successive Acts of Parliament. These provided a different system of education, training or care, alongside the normal route, followed by most children, on the basis of assessments of ability and suitability (Cole, 1989; Great Britain, 1978, pp.8–12; Hunter, 1972). As the twentieth century progressed, significant medical advances and developments in technology, alongside changed societal attitudes, meant that educational opportunities for many young people increased significantly.

The development of the special school, or unit, during the latter part of the twentieth century was intended to bring many young people, previously excluded from education, into school settings, in an effort to provide some form of education for all. The recognition of the importance of the provision of education for (almost) all, through different Acts of Parliament in the UK, developed over the course of the twentieth century, most particularly in 1944, in England, in the Education Act 1944, and 1945, in Scotland, in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945.

1.3.2 1944 onwards: Moving towards the 'presumption of mainstreaming'

Under the 1944 and 1945 Acts, many children previously educated in special schools were no longer to be separated from their peers, for the purposes of education. Where suitable, subject to assessment by the local authority, all but the most severely handicapped children were to be educated in the normal school, in a more flexible approach to education, whereby they were able to share in activities, but also to have different curricula or classes, or periods in a special school, when required.   Thus, the basis for the future notion of the 'presumption of mainstreaming' was implicit within the structure of this Act. The special school retained an important place in the education system, in providing appropriate and specialist day or residential education and treatment for some children, across a range of different categories of "handicap" (Great Britain, 1978, 2.45-2.46).

In Scotland, the process of the 'assessment' of children was broadened to include children with a wider range of impairment and at a younger age, than was previously recognised.

This was made through newly instigated child guidance clinics, whose role, in addition to assessment, was to advise parents and teachers about the most suitable type of education and training, on an individual basis (Great Britain, 1978, 2.44). The numbers of guidance clinics expanded rapidly in Scotland, which allowed for the assessment of a greater number of children by psychologists, which in turn improved the understanding of, and educational placement and provision for, children with a range of emotional difficulties, over the next thirty years (ibid., 2.55). By the mid-seventies, it was clearly recognised that appropriate educational placement could only be made through accurate assessment, involving a range of professionals, some of whom were not medical and which included teachers, as well as parental consultation (ibid., 2.73).

The 1944/1945 Acts also aligned the general aims of education for the "handicapped" with those for the majority, building on the notion of education for all.

> It was officially recognised that the broad purpose of education was essentially the same for handicapped children as it was for their more fortunate contemporaries. The duty of education authorities to provide Special Educational treatment for handicapped pupils became part of the general duty to provide education for all children according to age, ability and aptitude.
>
> (Petrie, 1978, p.2),

The phrase, "Special Educational treatment" for some children indicated a right to appropriate educational provision, within the 'normal' system and as an integral part of it, even where that education might take place in a different location and with different teaching specialists.

By the time of the 1969 Education (Scotland) Act, a large number of special schools and units existed within, or alongside, other mainstream schools for those children who needed something different, or additional, to the norm. However, it is important to note that the notion of universal education was central to the education system and the reduction of special schools was thought, at the time, to be, "a sound principle", with the special school to be seen as "the last resort" by the Scottish Education Department (SED, 1967, cited in Cole, 1989, p.131). Most importantly, in this Act, the notion of fixed disability was removed from the definition of special education, which had previously resulted in a reduction in the educational opportunities for many children.

The 1969 Act defined special education in this way.

> Education by special methods appropriate to the requirements of pupils whose physical, intellectual, emotional or social development cannot, in the opinion of the education authority, be adequately promoted by ordinary methods of education.
>
> (Great Britain, 1969, 27.2.1, p.38)

While this wording does not mention 'needs', it pre-empts later legislation in Scotland about additional learning needs, in recognising that some children *need* different educational approaches in order to be able to flourish, personally and educationally. It was to be several more years before the recognition that there was a need for schools and teachers to change, in order that what was generally available should be made available to all pupils (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011).

1.3.3 Inclusion and the recognition of 'needs'

Numbers of young people moving from special to mainstream education continued to increase in the 1980's, following the publication of the Report of the Committee of the Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People (Great Britain, 1978). Known as, 'The Warnock Report', after its Chairman, it was to have a profound impact on the trajectory of the education of those now identified as having "special educational needs" or, "special needs". These phrases referred particularly to the large number of children and young people, who were not educated at the time in mainstream classes, but for whom it could be possible to be in mainstream settings, for all, or part of, their schooling, and who would only 'need' some specific and individualised additional support in order to do so. The Report went so far as to suggest the proportion of children so affected would be,

> …about one in six children at any time and up to one in five children at some time during their school career will require some form of special educational provision.
>
> (Great Britain, 1978, 3.17)

These figures, although criticised at the time, are broadly similar to those identified today in Scottish schools, as requiring additional support (See Appendix B).

The Report also made recommendations about the "labeling" of children, (Great Britain,1978, section 3.26), recognising that the language currently in use was not only discriminatory and stigmatising, but also misleading, in portraying a child as having "an intrinsic deficiency", rather than a deficiency in "his social or cultural environment". New terms were to be used to replace "educationally sub-normal" (in England) and "mentally handicapped" (in Scotland) with "learning difficulties", and the term "specific learning difficulties" was to be introduced for those children with particular difficulties with elements of education, such as reading. It was decided, however, on balance, that the term "maladjusted" should continue to be used to

describe children with "emotional or behavioural disorders" (Great Britain, 1978, 3.26, p. 44). The main impetus for the change in terminology was to reduce stigmatisation, and negative effects on schools and employment opportunities for children, together with the understanding that many terms described children in terms of permanent deficits, which were inaccurate. The blanket term, "handicapped", was to be replaced with, "a detailed description of special educational need" (ibid., 3.25, p.43).

1.3.4 A partial return to segregation

While the Warnock Report marked the beginning of an increase in the number of young people who were integrated into mainstream schools from special provision, at the same time, and conversely, there began to be a corresponding rise in the number of special schools and units within schools, particularly for those labeled as 'disruptive' in mainstream schools, as teachers found some pupils increasingly difficult to manage within the existing structure of the school (Cole, 1989, p.150).

In Scotland, as in England, in the 1970's and 1980's, there was continuing concern for the lack of discipline in schools, which resulted in disorderly pupils being removed to special units or classes. Those previously 'maladjusted' pupils, recently integrated into mainstream classes, now found themselves once again separated and excluded from their peers. Such units or 'bases' as they are often called in Scotland, continue to exist in many schools, often separated into Behaviour or (Learning) Support Bases, although their existence runs somewhat counter to the notion of supporting all learners in the classroom, which is an important feature of Additional Support Needs legislation and the Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2009; Scotland, 2004). It can be seen how attendance in the special school or unit came to be viewed, by some, in a deficit manner and associated to a certain extent with those who were considered as unsuitable for, removed, or 'excluded' from, mainstream classes, thereby creating an inevitable tension between the processes of inclusion and exclusion in educational provision.

Skidmore (2004) later identified the "discourse of deviance" in schools, whereby those unable to 'fit' into the expected norms of academic achievement or behaviour were to be excluded to alternative 'special' provision, either within the school or elsewhere. This remains an ongoing problem, for example, with pupils who fall under the umbrella term social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (not 'disabilities'), who may be treated according to a punitive or welfarist discourse (Macleod, 2006). Thus, the expectation

continued that children would be able to change, adapt or conform to a classroom system, which, in some respects, remained largely unchanged from an earlier time. It is clear that traditional deficit and limiting views of special education and disability remain, in many cases, "deeply entrenched" in some countries (Hegarty, 2014, p.934) and still prevail in some classrooms and schools in this country, even when describing themselves as 'inclusive'.

The processes of segregation also work subtly in the differentiation of children. In Scotland, as in England and elsewhere, there has been an ongoing increase in state- and privately-funded provision for children with a range of identified 'conditions' and the emergence of what Skidmore referred to as, "a jungle of syndromes" (Skidmore, 2004, p.17). Debate continues about the links between the medicalisation of children's behaviour and the role of the drug companies and other interested parties, who may stand to gain in what Tomlinson has described as the "SEN industry" (2012), which continues to categorise and differentiate between children, on the basis of a narrow range of labels and 'conditions' such as autism, hypersensitivity, ADHD, or specific learning difficulties such as dyslexia, dyscalculia or dyspraxia, in addition to emotional and behavioural difficulties. On another side of this debate, are those children and their parents, who see the mainstream setting as unsuitable, and who do not flourish in that environment and who request a transfer to a specialist facility, where their individual needs are thought to be met more appropriately.

1.3.5 The child at the centre

In common with other areas of the United Kingdom, Scotland faced difficulties in the second half of the twentieth century, with the expansion of universal education. One result of this was the increasing numbers of young people, often boys, and frequently from socially disadvantaged areas, who were disaffected with education. Many of these were 'educated' in Approved Schools, later, 'List D' Schools and Residential Care.[6] Scotland's unique response to these concerns about the extent of "juvenile delinquency" was to establish the Kilbrandon Committee to investigate. The publication of the Kilbrandon Report (Scottish Home and Health Department, Scottish Education Department, 1964) recommended the establishment of The Children's Hearings System (The Children's Panel), through which the needs of the individual child could be heard, and decisions made about child welfare, education and placement on an individual basis.

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[6] See http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2007/11/20104729/20 for an overview of this sector of the education and social work provision for children and young people.

Particularly interesting, is that the Kilbrandon Report recognised that a child, or young offender, must be seen, not only as an individual, but also in terms of the family and environment, and that the child's 'needs' must be recognised and met (Schaffer, 2014, pp.11–12). Interestingly, the voice of the child was not considered in the report, other than through advocacy, but as Shaffer comments, despite the broad recognition of the voice of the child in subsequent reports and legislation, listening to the child's voice is still an issue to be addressed in the youth justice and care systems,

> An immediate challenge for all agencies is to improve the spirit and means by which we listen to children and young people.
>
> (Schaffer, 2014, p.11)

This innovative, child-centred legislation has influenced many of Scotland's policies and initiatives on child care and education, most notably, Getting It Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) (Scottish Government, 2008), which finally brought together the different local and national services to share information in the interests of the child (Schaffer, 2014, p.5) and to work in "partnership" with children and their parents, "to improve outcomes for a child or young person" (Scottish Government, 2008).

To further reinforce the central importance of the child in all matters concerning his or her life, the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, (Scotland, 2014) was passed to demonstrate commitment to UNCRC, (1989) and GIRFEC, with a particular focus on "children" (aged up to 18) and families in need. Using a rights-based approach, the Act clearly states its goal,

> Promoting and securing the full range of children's human rights and places children and young people at the centre of policy development, and the design, delivery and evaluation of services.
>
> (Scotland, 2014, para.29)

For the first time, the Act introduced "wellbeing indicators", to be used by all services, including education, in relation to children, young people and families.[7] The GIRFEC approach is intended to reflect the more equitable approach to care and education, which have been hallmarks of the Scottish system for many years, whereby children have had access to care and education on the basis of need, rather than academic ability, merit, social standing or ability to pay.

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[7] Wellbeing is defined as "a measure of the quality of a child's life" (Scotland, 2014, para. 65), in relation to objective and subjective measures. See Appendix C.

1.3.6 The presumption of mainstreaming and the move to additional needs

The issues surrounding children's 'needs' in education continued to be part of innovative legislation in Scotland, with the move away from the notion of "special educational needs", introduced by the Warnock Report (Great Britain, 1978) to that of "additional support needs", often abbreviated to "additional needs". This followed from the influx of a large number of children with different needs into the mainstream school, under the new policy of the "presumption of mainstreaming" (Scotland, 2000), whereby the mainstream school was considered to be the best educational environment for the majority of pupils, with a small number of caveats[8]. The argument for the inclusion of young people in the mainstream school centred on the notion of better outcomes for young people, than from the special school (Florian, 2018a). The change to "additional needs" was not intended as special education in another guise, but required schools to provide a good and meaningful education for all young people, as a right. It was considered that approximately 1% of the then school population would continue to be educated or cared for, in special schools, units or elsewhere. These were children with the most serious difficulties and impairments, and who were exempt from the policy of the presumption of mainstreaming. This figure has remained largely stable over the last twenty years.

There has been, however, ongoing criticism of the manner in which the policy of the presumption of mainstreaming has been carried out, in a 'one size fits all approach', with some children being placed in schools and classes, which were not suitably resourced or prepared, and which resulted in less than satisfactory experiences and outcomes for the children, which are contrary to the spirit of the policy (Scottish Parliament, 2017). While it is clear that the wording of the Act, most particularly in the caveats to mainstreaming, has given rise to a number of serious problems for schools, teachers, parents and children, it would be incorrect to assert that these are the fault of the legislation, per se, or the ideals which engendered it (Florian, 2018a).

The notion of what constituted an 'additional need' was legalised in 2004, (Scotland, 2004) to include any child who might need additional help or support to 'benefit' from education, for any reason, beyond the narrower scope of physical impairment and learning difficulties, reflecting, perhaps, the perception of Scotland's more equitable approach to redistributive justice in the allocation of resources on the basis of need, rather than merit at the time

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[8]These occur when a mainstream school "(a) would not be suited to the ability or aptitude of the child; (b) would be incompatible with the provision of efficient education for the children with whom the child would be educated; or(c) would result in unreasonable public expenditure being incurred which would not ordinarily be incurred" (Scotland, 2000).

(Florian, 2018a, 2018b,). The Act has had a number of amendments (Scotland, 2009, 2017) under which, the 'list' of additional needs has altered, most particularly to create further categories to reflect the most recent demographic changes, such as migrant and refugee children, clearly reflecting the breadth of the notion of additional needs, well beyond the narrowly educational.[9] It was notable that the right of parents to choose to have their child educated in a mainstream school was recognised, but not the reverse, whereby a parent might express a preference for transfer from the mainstream to special school. The importance of hearing the views of the child was recognised in the original legislation, and this right has been extended in the amendments, most recently in 2017. Children and young people with additional needs have certain restrictions of rights in decisions concerning their education, subject to an assessment of their "capacity" (Scotland, 2017, pp.8-11).

1.4 Education in the present day: The Curriculum for Excellence

Scotland's approach to education from the early years to eighteen is encapsulated in the Curriculum for Excellence, which lays out clearly the aims of education for all young people, in the development of the 'four capacities' (see Appendix C). It is the responsibility of all teachers to give additional support where this is needed, and further individual 'targeted support' is available through a range of other specialist services and professionals. As the notion of additional needs widens to include an ever greater number of young people, decisions have to be made about the distribution of resources, giving rise to criticism concerning the rise of apparent social and educational inequalities in some sectors of the population (Riddell and Weedon, 2016). Since 2010, there has been a huge increase in the numbers of children now described as requiring additional support, but a reduction in the net resources to enable schools and teachers to deliver support (Scottish Parliament, 2017).

A number of difficulties and criticisms surrounds Scotland's policies of inclusive education at present, concerning many aspects. There are significant issues with funding and with the distribution of resources to schools, which appear to penalise some sectors and prioritise others (Florian, 2018a). Despite numerous initiatives and ongoing developments in teacher education in inclusive practices, the interpretation of inclusion in regional and school policies is not universal across Scotland, which leads to variation in provision and practices in many regions and schools. The constant pressure to raise standards and improve performativity targets brings difficulties for managers, teachers and pupils, often expressed in teacher and parental dissatisfaction with the policies of inclusion, and the presence of children with

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[9] See Appendix B for a list of the categories of additional need.

'different' needs in the normal classroom, or the difficulties that children with additional needs experience in school. The ideal of inclusive education is not to deny human difference, but to respond to the needs of all, within the community of learners.

While the Scottish government remains committed to the presumption of mainstreaming, it is clear that there are problems with the manner in which the policy becomes practice, in terms of equity for all. The results of a consultation document are currently under review.[10] The "vision" for inclusive education in Scotland is stated as,

> Inclusive education in Scotland starts from the belief that education is a human right and the foundation for a more just society. An inclusive approach, with an appreciation of diversity and an ambition for all to achieve to their full potential, is essential to getting it right for every child and raising attainment for all. Inclusion is the cornerstone to help us achieve equity and excellence in education for all of our children and young people.
>
> <div align="right">(Scottish Government, 2017)</div>

Thus, it can be seen that inclusive education conflates the goals of social inclusion with the right to educational improvements in raised educational attainment for all pupils, whilst looking towards a time when "all" might achieve their potential through education. The statement shifts between the terms, "inclusive education", "an inclusive approach", and "inclusion" in order to incorporate these different interpretations.

The key features of the inclusion of all children in Scottish schools are encapsulated in the words, "present, participating, achieving, supported" (Scotland, 2017, Section 1, 5), which say little about the everyday experience of education and its personal and emotional impact on any child. It is an aim of this research, to find the extent to which these features are fulfilled in the lived experience of some young people with additional needs, and the meaning they make of their experience. It is the quality of the educational experience, which is the marker of inclusion for young people, their teachers and their families. As the words of the Warnock report had implied, in 1978, education is not merely a right or a need, but an ethical imperative from one generation to the next. "Education, as we conceive it, is a good, and a specifically human good, to which all human beings are entitled" (Great Britain, 1978, 1.7).

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[10] Consultation on Excellence and Equity for All: Guidance on the Presumption of Mainstreaming (Scottish Government, 2017). The link with inclusive education is expressed in this way: "As the implementation of the presumption of mainstreaming requires a commitment to inclusive practice and approaches to be effective, the guidance clearly links inclusive practice with the presumption throughout and includes key features of inclusion and guidance on how to improve inclusive practice in schools."

1.5 Complexities inherent in inclusive education

1.5.1 Conceptualisation

A number of conceptualisations of inclusive education have emerged over the years, from which a range of different policies and practices have developed, both within the United Kingdom and in many countries of the world, according to local customs and necessities. Within these broad conceptualisations, a number of variations also occur, creating a "plethora of conceptions" and "considerable semantic confusion" (Topping and Maloney, 2004, p.4). Thus, it is linked to a number of different discourses, amongst which are philosophical, political, economic, social, medical and procedural, raising issues of human rights, distributive justice, power, equity and choice. So much so, that Graham and Slee (2008, p.283) suggest inclusion is "troubled by the multiplicity of meanings that lurks within the discourses that surround and carry it." A number of ideas have been conflated, under the banner of inclusion, to include those disabled or impaired, different vulnerable and marginalised groups, those affected by disciplinary exclusion, as well as the notion of 'Education for All' and the overall improvement of educational experience, opportunity and attainment for all. Inclusion is also seen by some as the means of creating a more socially just school system and society (Hornby, 2011, p.324; Miles and Singal, 2010; Ainscow et al., 2006).

Inclusive education was to be seen, first and foremost, not as a means of including young people with special needs in the education system, but as a means of changing the system, to one which celebrated the diversity of human beings, and encompassed extending to all learners, what was generally available, through the commitment of teachers, in envisaging what might be possible. Where the aims of inclusive education have not been made clear, a muddying of the water has been allowed to take place, in which it is possible to bend the notion of inclusive education to the will of the most powerful group, just as described by Biesta (2009, p.36).

In the countries of the United Kingdom, in common with many developed countries, significant progress has been made, to include all children in the common educational project. For these countries, the interpretation of inclusion is now often concerned with its processes and practices at a micro level: exactly how these opportunities might be brought about in terms of school organisation, pedagogical approaches and curricula, and how continued barriers to inclusion may be identified and overcome, to enable all children, irrespective of markers of difference, to benefit fully from their educational experience.

These different conceptualisations might be drawn together under broad categories of a rights discourse and a needs discourse. These views are all present within the policies of inclusive education in Scotland and may be evidenced in the variety of practices in schools, at regional, managerial and classroom levels. Inclusion has also been conceptualised as an ethical project (Allan, 2007, 2005), based on the values of difference and justice, rather than on the existing "mantras of inclusion" (Allan, 2007, p. 19). Allan also presents "lines of flight" (2007, p.55), in bringing the work of Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze and Guttari to bear on inclusion, not as a solution to the problems of practice, but rather as a means of presenting "conceptual provocations" into the debates surrounding the conceptualisation of inclusive education (2007, p.161). A further conceptualisation, which builds on the notion of inclusive education as an ethical project, is that of Levinas' theory of the ethics of alterity, to which I shall return.

In a rights-based discourse, inclusive education is viewed in terms of universal rights, aligned with the values of a democratic and just society (Terzi, 2014, p.480), emphasising the rights of all learners to an education, with equal opportunity for "presence, participation and achievement" (UNESCO, 2017, p.13) and the heterogeneity of learners, as 'learners', rather than by the attribution of category (Kiuppis and Hausstätter, 2014, p.3). This view emphasises the common ground between learners, rather than the differences between them, "to reconcile the dual imperatives of commonality and difference" (Dyson, 2001, p.25). Such a "reconciliation" may have been seen as the role of special education for many years, but was also a motivating factor in the development of comprehensive education, and the notion of 'the common school' (ibid., p.25). Significantly, however, this view, while most usually associated with the 'common school' as the most inclusive site for education, also allows for the recognition that an inclusive education need not be confined to one particular type of school, as other settings may adapt to recognise and meet the needs of all learners (UNESCO, 2009, 2008).

There are inherent issues in this approach, as it might seem to deny, or minimise, the reality of the difficulties in differences between learners, in what Cigman calls a "homogenising tendency" (Cigman, 2007, cited in Norwich, 2014), which attempts to remove the very markers of difference, which make us all unique human beings, and thus minmise our identity. The approach raises issues with the aims of education and whether these may be the same for all young people, as well as questions of how diverse needs and difficulties might be met, in the community of all learners.

Under the discourse of needs, inclusive education is viewed in terms of the process of the improvement of education for children with "difficulties and disability" (Norwich, 2014, p.501);

in other words, those for whom a traditional, more fixed approach to education is unsuitable, in terms of locational arrangements, style, pedagogy and curricula, and whose 'needs' fall outwith the 'norm'. In a narrow approach, this is concerned with young people with a range of medical and health-related conditions and disabilities. It is this understanding of inclusive education, which is most strongly linked to special education, both historically and in its flexibility of individual and group approaches to pedagogy and curricula, and which can draw on the knowledge, expertise and experience developed in the Special Education sector over many years. However, it may also give rise to the pathologising of young people, and the continued negative association with the deficit view of the sector.

In a broader approach, the nature of such categories may extend to include young people with difficulties arising from different sets of circumstances. Thus, for example, the effects of poverty and deprivation, mental health issues, adverse home circumstances, as well as ethnic, cultural or language issues may all be recognised as markers of 'difference', which may lead to additional needs, in terms of learning, and to the possibility of marginalisation, or exclusion.

There are difficulties in terms of the acknowledgement and 'labeling' of different types of 'need', balancing issues of equity in the rights and needs of the 'some' against the 'many', as well as the inherent contradiction in recognising, understanding and accommodating the differences between learners, while at the same time, trying not to draw attention to them. This was referred to by Warnock (Warnock and Norwich, 2010, p.13) citing Dyson's words from several years previously, as, "an intention to treat all learners as essentially the same and an equal and opposite intention to treat them as different" (Dyson, 2001, p.25), which is a dilemma with which young people, parents, teachers and schools continue to grapple on a daily basis. There remains the dilemma of the stigmatising effect of labels, to be balanced against the advantages, which can come through knowledge and understanding about conditions and difficulties, associated with learning or social integration. While labels may help identify young people, who need access to particular resources, there is a contradictory effect in that a young person may only be identified in terms of the 'difficulty', and grouped homogenously with others, which can be limiting and mean a loss of individual identity.

In education, the notion of 'inclusion' has become linked with 'inclusive education', and the two expressions are often used interchangeably, both in the research literature and in policy documents and reports at all levels. Implicit in the conceptualisation of inclusion, is the notion that it is, generally, 'a good thing', loosely linked to discourses of human rights, disability rights, diversity, difference, equity and equality, but with little attempt at analysis of the complex way in which these discourses interact or pull against each other, in the field of

education (Dederich, 2014). A further difficulty has beset the notion of inclusive education from the outset of the time it was adopted by the United Nations, and other world bodies, as the marker for the development of fairer societies, but without an indication of the processes, which would be required to deliver such immense change, and to overcome the difficulties already associated with integration (Hausstätter and Jahnukainen, 2014, pp.119–120). Further issues emerge, in that both the expressions, 'inclusion' and 'inclusive education', have become a part of our everyday social knowledge, and appear to be generally accepted as inherently 'good' and desirable in any context in which they are used, most particularly in education, adding a "professional gloss" (O'Hanlon and Thomas, 2004, ix). [Social] "Inclusion generally is constructed as and constructs itself as a 'good' thing, a sign of virtue" (Edwards et al., 2001, p.418) and a "common sense'" belief, which tends to be held as "unquestioningly obvious" (Pring, 2004, pp.103–104). Such assumptions act against a proper and detached assessment of the complex processes of inclusion, in the public's perception, and allow the conflation of numerous concepts to continue largely unchallenged.

1.5.2 Inclusive education and the aims of education

While inclusion in society and in education in particular, may be seen as an inherently 'good' thing in itself, this fails to address the more profound questions of why it may be good, for whom it may be good, and how it fulfills the aims of education, as opposed to its role and "functions" (Biesta, 2009, pp.20,40). The aims of education have long been discussed, and I do not intend to reiterate that discussion here. However, the question must be posed, particularly in respect of inclusive education. While the nature of our schools may have subtly shifted, it is not clear if the aims of education remain the same, or if, by including all young people in schools, those aims are the same for all young people, or for some young people. It would seem that the conundrum of inclusive education is that it does not appear to have a universally accepted goal, thus allowing its appearance in so many guises, suited to national and local requirements, while emerging as the unchallenged means of combatting a wide range of problems, well beyond education.

It is clear that, the limitations of the different conceptualisations notwithstanding, inclusive education is, at heart, an ethical notion, based on the ideal of including all in the "common educational project" (Warnock and Norwich, 2010, p.33) and in the pursuit of certain aims. Perhaps those aims are a move towards the development of an inclusive, more socially just society (Terzi, 2010, p.3), or to embrace human flourishing, as in the common goals of which Warnock spoke, "independence, enjoyment and understanding" (Warnock and Cigman, 2005, pp.12–13). Or, perhaps they are embodied in the pursuit of "excellence and equity"

(Scottish Government, 2016a), or a more "efficient" and "cost-effective" way of managing resources (European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education, 2016), or even in the more narrow aims of schooling, "to gain the knowledge, skills and attributes needed for life in the 21st century" (Education Scotland, n.d.(a)).

> The ultimate goal of education is that each and every child develops a broad range of skills and attributes and gains the qualifications to have choices and be successful in life.
>
> (Scottish Government, 2016b, p.2)

It is not so much my purpose here to answer, as to pose, questions about the purposes of education, as, in many ways, it is not so easy to answer them satisfactorily (Black-Hawkins, 2014, p.446). However, not to do so, has an effect on all in society, but particularly on those most closely embroiled in education, or as Nespor (1997) put it, "tangled up in schools". If governments describe the aims of education in terms of "effectiveness" for whichever is the desired outcome, those aims become disengaged from the value of education per se, and what constitutes a "good" education is no longer clear (Biesta, 2009, pp.35–36). In this way, the purposes of education become loosely aligned with the "common sense view", whereby, as Biesta ruefully points out, "what appears as 'common sense' often serves the interests of some groups (much) better than those of others" (ibid., p.36). There continues to be no answers to the underlying questions about why inclusive education should be so valued above other forms, and whether it may be the only way, in which those ideals can be met. Nor, indeed, is there clarification about what exactly constitutes an 'inclusive education'.

In terms of inclusion, we are also continuing to fail to address, at a conceptual level, the questions posed by Cigman over ten years ago, "included in what?", "excluded from what?" and "excluded by whom?" (Cigman, 2007, xvii) and subsequently reiterated by Black-Hawkins.

> What does being included in or excluded from education mean? Who is included and who is more vulnerable to being excluded? Who decides, and why are these decisions made? And, what are the implications for the lives of children and young people, their families and communities?
>
> (Black Hawkins, (2014, p.445)

To these, I should add a further related question, 'What is it like to be included or to be excluded?' In other words, what is it like to live and experience the results of these educational policies and decisions? How does it feel and what does it mean to individual children and adults? Or, as Stiefel et al., (2018) express it, "does inclusive feel inclusive?" It is the search for the answers to these latter questions, which is the impetus for this research, and to those former questions, which drives forward the constant efforts to improve the processes and practices of inclusive education.

As such, these become moral questions about the ways in which we, as individuals, as teachers and as a society, treat young people, about their development and their rights to a good, independent and full life (Pring, 2007, p.328, cited in Black-Hawkins, 2014, p.446). A view of the aims of education couched in the language of the market economy and consumer society, but which ignores individual and social human development, happiness and fulfilment, leaves little purpose in the education of many of those very young people, brought into the education system under the ideals of inclusion, most particularly, those who will remain dependent on others for the duration of their lives. As Kittay puts it, when describing the beauty and joy of her daughter, Sesha, "the mentally retarded ... have rarely been seen as subjects, as citizens, as persons with equal entitlement to fulfillment" (2001, pp.567–568).

1.6 Towards a definition of inclusive education

While definitions of inclusive education abound, it is clear that there is no one definition of such a broad concept, which is acceptable to all. Definitions come and go, and are frequently bent to the purposes of the speaker. I here offer definitions of integration, inclusion and inclusive education, which seek to encompass the main aspects of each and indicate their inter-relationship, for the purposes of clarity in the present study.

1.6.1 Integration

It is now generally (but not universally) accepted that all children[11] have the right to an education. This right is written into the United Nations Charter (UNICEF, 1989 Art. 23, 28, 29) and is a part of the ongoing movement of Education for All (UNESCO, 2015). Where this participation refers to young people who have previously been educated in different provision, integration is the process whereby they are introduced into the mainstream system, with some adaptations to allow this to happen. This requires a shift in policies to allow the more limited locational, functional and social integration referred to by the Warnock Report (Great Britain, 1978) of young people previously marginalised, or excluded from the educational opportunities of their peers (Florian, 2005). Many children in the world are still waiting to be 'integrated' into education, whereby their visibility and significance within society will be improved (UNICEF, 2014, p.25).

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[11] A 'child' according to the UNCRC, is a young person up to the age of 18 years. (The United Nations, 1989, Art. 1)

Integration, however, does not necessarily confer rights to similar opportunities within the education system. The battle for those rights, by, and on behalf of, different populations, has been long and hard and continues in many societies (UNESCO, 2017, 2016, 2006; Kiuppis and Hausstätter, 2014, p.2; Bines and Lei, 2011). Where education systems and schools change policies and practices to allow equal access to teaching, learning, educational, social, sporting and cultural opportunities for all young people, and where their individual needs are recognised and valued, the process is generally now referred to as 'inclusion'.

1.6.2 Inclusion

For inclusion to take place, a cultural shift is required to enable all to be seen and treated as of equal value in the world of education, at a macro and micro level: from government policies to the smallest classroom community (World Bank and UNESCO, 2016). It requires shifts in thinking about "children, curriculum, pedagogy and school organisation" (UNESCO, 2015), to a starting position where "education is seen as a basic human right and the foundation for a more just society" (Ainscow et al., 2006, p.2) and where diversity is recognised and accepted. It is not merely to open the doors of the school to all young people, but to change policies and practices to ensure that all are able to participate and have access to all the opportunities available at every stage of the educational process. This means recognising the processes and effects of exclusion (Slee, 2011, p.111; Ainscow et al., 2006), identifying and removing barriers to learning, be those barriers physical or in terms of attitude, culture, practice and assumptions, (UNESCO, 2009; Ainscow et al., 2006, p.2) and replacing them with a structure of support, which is integral to teaching and learning, and not imposed upon it. Thus,

> Teachers must develop new ways of believing that all children are worth educating, that all children can learn, that they have the knowledge and skill to make a difference to children's lives.
>
> (Rouse and Florian, 2012, p.10).

Inclusion means changing the view that places young people as deficit, that is, as the location of problems to be fixed, to one of changing schools and school systems to meet the needs of all learners (Mittler, 2000, vii).

1.6.3 Inclusive education

Inclusive education is a process of transformation: of individual hearts and minds, of national perceptions, assumptions and attitudes, long accepted, but not always universally critically

questioned. It calls for a challenge to teachers, management and policy makers, to recognise the value of the individual, to be heard and to participate in the community of the classroom and school. As Ainscow expressed it, it means "reaching out to all learners" (2000, p.4), in recognition of their value in the community of the school. Such a "reaching out" is in itself a moral act, in that teachers must move towards learners, to invite them into the community of the class and school, to become participants in "a dynamic process of social interaction" (Florian, 2014, p.289; Rouse and Florian, 2012, p.19). Inclusive education will thus have the means to transform lives and those lives will change society, to the betterment of all (Ainscow, Booth and Dyson, 2006).

The terms, inclusion' and 'inclusive education', while sometimes used interchangeably, need not refer to the same thing. Inclusion is clearly not merely a question of access to schools, but equity within and between schools, in terms of the processes of enacting, or enabling, inclusion to take place: "the things that people *do* to give meaning to the concept of inclusion" (Florian, 2009, emphasis in the original). It is also the manner in which people experience and understand what happens in schools.

1.7 Barriers to inclusion

1.7.1 Inclusion, exclusion and the 'sense of belonging'

It is sadly true that, worldwide, many young people are still excluded from the 'common educational project', in that they continue to receive no education at all. However, more subtle forms of exclusion occur in classrooms and schools in countries where all young people do have the right to education. Just as with 'inclusion', so there are difficulties with the definition of 'exclusion', which is used in a number of ways and carries different connotations, within schools, regions and countries (Rix and Parry, 2014, pp.103–104; Armstrong et al., 2011; Allan, 2010). This is clearly not just a simple matter of opening school doors to all children, even where there is the will or means to do so, (Rix and Parry, 2014, p.116), but involves complex perceptions of the value of certain individuals and groups of human beings over others (Miles and Singal, 2010), as well as a range of national, social, political and economic issues. The delivery of inclusive education must overcome "a web of ideological positions [and] entrenched interests" (Richardson and Powell cited in Rix and Parry, 2014, p.115). Just as inclusive education might bring a more just and equitable society, so too, of course, can education be used as powerful means of advancing some groups and of disempowering others. Indeed, the enactment of the policies of inclusion can

realise new forms of exclusion (Slee and Allan, 2001), as schools struggle to meet all the different and competing demands imposed upon them.

Warnock had identified a feature of 'inclusion', which is essential to the wellbeing[12] and happiness of many young people: that of "belonging" (Warnock and Cigman, 2005, p.15). This form of belonging is being a valued member of a community, where you are known as an individual. "The concept of inclusion must embrace the feeling of belonging, since such a feeling appears to be necessary both for successful learning and for more general wellbeing" (Warnock and Cigman, 2005, p.15). The sense of belonging has been identified as a significant factor in young people's participation and engagement with school and is significant for academic outcomes (Willms, 2003). It is interesting that in a recent OECD report on Scottish education, the sense of belonging is noted as lacking.

> There are particular challenges confronting secondary schools. Liking school drops sharply among secondary students and reported belonging in school among Scottish teenagers has dropped since 2003. National surveys show a higher incidence of low achievement against expected level among secondary pupils than previously.
> (OECD, 2015, p.10)

Clearly, any young person who does not feel he or she has an equal, valued and rightful place, physically, socially, emotionally or culturally, in a school or classroom, is not experiencing inclusion (Pearson, 2016, p.178). The importance of the sense of belonging is intrinsic and essential to our human being, and its absence can bring very serious consequences. "Social exclusion or rejection ... strikes at the heart of what our psyche is designed for" (Baumeister, cited in Faupel, 2013, p.255).

This form of exclusion is encapsulated by Slee, in his book title, 'Is there a desk with my name on it?' (Slee, 1993).[13] The title, while referring to some of the shortcomings of the policies of integration, might equally well apply to more recent effects of some of the policies of inclusion. There was an assumption in the policies of integration that simply by placing a (metaphorical) extra desk in a classroom, without any recognition of individual learning needs and differences, or changes to school structures, curricula and pedagogy, pupils from special schools and units would seamlessly be woven into the fabric of mainstream schools

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[12] For an unravelling of the complexities of the different discourses of wellbeing, see (Spratt, 2017). I use it here in its most generally accepted sense, which I define as encompassing a stability brought about through living a personally meaningful and valued life, bringing about flourishing and contentment.

[13] The subtitle to this book is, 'The Politics of Integration', placing it in a time-frame as the policies of integration were beginning to shift beyond the mere placement of young people in mainstream schools, and towards the awareness of the emotional aspects of that inclusion.

(Ainscow, 1997, p.3). Ainscow describes the notion of "transplanting special education" onto mainstream school systems, as one unlikely to succeed, as the differences between the two systems are too great (Ainscow, 1997,p.3; 2007, p.4). Biklen had raised this issue in 1989, when he posed the question: "How schools see integration is crucial: is integration understood as an outsider coming in, or as creating a school culture so that it *accepts* all comers?" (Biklen, 1989, cited in Slee, 1993, p.3, emphasis added). The word 'accepts' must imply a moral acceptance of all pupils as of equal value, rather than a begrudging enactment of an imposed policy. Such observations might also be applied to the enactment of the policies of inclusion in some contexts.

It has been this lack of the vision to see the need for change and to effect it, that has seen the failure of integration as an educational end in itself (Jones and Danforth, 2015, p.15; UNESCO, 2005), as pupils were expected to "become like others", (Florian, 2005, p.30); otherwise put, to be 'normalised', according to some ill-defined notion of what 'normal' might be, but which was generally based on perceived academic ability and behaviour, which conformed to that demanded of the system. Such a policy at once denies the individuality of each unique Other. Slee's condemnation of earlier policy is expressed in stronger terms. "Integration requires the *objects of policy* to forget their former status as outsiders and fit comfortably into what remain deeply hostile institutional arrangements" (Slee, 2011, p.107 emphasis added). The reference to young people and their teachers as the "objects of policy" is a sharp reminder to us all that it is people, and not schools, buildings or systems, who are affected by every decision made in education.

In retrospect, it is possible to see that young people deemed 'unsuitable' for, and excluded from, the mainstream school would be unlikely to 'fit' back into that system, under the policies of integration, without some changes to the ethos, aims and practices of a system and society, which had felt able to segregate them (Ainscow, 1997, p.5). We must not assume that such difficulties are a thing of the past in our schools. Unless we are able to see and understand how it feels to be devalued, marginalised or excluded (Slee, 2011, p.107), there can be no genuinely inclusive educational environment. Such lessons seem still unlearnt in some classrooms and schools (Flynn et al., 2012, p.246; McCluskey, 2008).

There is a major difficulty for many young people, where they feel 'emotionally excluded' from the community of learners, although physically included in the classroom. Slee uses the phrase, "collective indifference" to express the kind of emotional neglect with which, we, as

individuals and societies, surround ourselves, and which appears to make us blind, or impervious, to the damage we inflict on others (Slee, 2011, p.38). The lack of recognition of

our collective action or apathy (ibid., p.37) in allowing such indifference to continue, is a barrier to any progress towards inclusion and the development of a community of learners, as an essential part of an inclusive educational environment. It can be the role of research to bring this 'neglect' into the foreground and to challenge the assumptions, which have allowed it to have a place in our schools.

It is important to take account of the fact that while many find it difficult to identify with a large group, a feeling of belonging and being valued can be found in a small community. In terms of education, for some pupils, this may be within a smaller school, or a special group within a school (Mowat, 2010) and refers to the culture and ethos of the school, or classroom, which are recognised as significant factors in the creation of an inclusive environment (Booth and Ainscow, 2011, 2002,). In this sense, the ethos may be described in terms of the values and attitudes in the school, towards all members of the community, and in the recognition of the importance of human relationships: "an ethic of support and solidarity" (Cefai, 2013, p.88). A UK Government document commissioned to look at the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) described it in this way, "a commitment to fostering warm relationships, promoting participation, developing staff and student autonomy" (Weare and Gray, cited in Tew and Park, 2013, p.193).

1.7.2 Marginalisation as a form of exclusion

While there are many groups of young people worldwide who are not included as equals in the education system, we also do not have to look very far to see individuals and groups who are marginalised. As with other terms, the 'everyday' use of this word has become the generally accepted one, which, through a lack of conceptual definition, may serve to deflect some of the associated difficulties.

As with inclusion, we must ask who, or what, is marginalised, how this occurs and how it can be prevented and overcome. In Messiou's analysis, marginalisation is, in effect, any form of emotional, social or physical exclusion from the community of an activity, group, class or school. Those who feel thus marginalised may be aware of it, or may not, and this is also the case for those whose words, actions or demeanour cause marginalisation (Messiou, 2006, p.306).

In any school, even one perceived as 'inclusive', there are groups and individuals who are marginalised, but are nonetheless a part of the community of the school in the literal sense: they are present in the school. We might say they are marginalised 'within' the school

community (Cigman, 2007, xviii). They are not, in this way 'excluded' from the common educational project, but, in the true sense of the word, 'marginalised', may be pushed to the edges of the group: they become less significant, as outsiders looking in from the periphery of the circle, to see what is happening, rather than contributing to it, as valued members. In this context, marginalisation is a form of social, emotional or cultural exclusion, which an individual or group may experience in an ad hoc, or more continuous form.

In a different conceptualisation, marginalisation is viewed as 'abnormality' (Griffiths and Davies, 1995, p.70). Thus a child or adult who is seen as being, behaving or speaking in a way, which is not the perceived norm, according to an official or unofficial set of rules, may be marginalised. Exactly who this might be, depends, of course, on context. In terms of a classroom or school, reasons may be according to a random perception of difference from a more powerful group, or individual, either adult or child, and these perceptions may be subtly encouraged by the culture or ethos of the community. This type of marginalisation may lead to harassment or bullying (ibid., pp.60–75).[14] Such a conception of marginalisation may also be true of adults, either as individuals associated with a school, or in a larger context, as a group of professionals.

Some would argue that there remain subgroups in our society, which are marginalised and derided, as earlier groups, and who are perceived as the different Other, and as "undeserving" (Tomlinson, 2013; Harwood, 2006), disruptive in schools and either prone to laziness or a criminal lifestyle as adults.

It has been only gradually and over a number of years, that the voices of the disabled have been heard increasingly, and discrimination rights, legislation and positive exposure have improved society's attitudes. Nevertheless, discrimination remains a significant factor for many people with disabilities, learning difficulties and conditions whose effects are not easily understood. This is particularly the case amongst young people at school, who may suffer from name-calling, bullying, marginalisation, as well as difficulties with accessing additional support and assessment arrangements, with lasting impacts on their future opportunities. This remains an area of high concern for parents and children.

Within schools, both children and adults are in a position to overcome the barriers created by the types of attitudes, which lead to marginalisation. Overcoming marginalisation, which acts as a barrier to inclusion, is an important feature of the transformation of the school and classroom culture into an inclusive one. Thus, it is not only teachers in inclusive schools

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[14] See Minton (2016, pp.1–37) for a more detailed account of bullying and marginalisation in educational settings

who may act as "agents of change" (Pantić and Florian, 2015; Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011), but pupils too, have a role as agents of inclusion, to ensure that children are accepted as individuals in their own right and where their voices are heard and their opinions and presence are valued, as much by their peers, as by adults in the community of the classroom. In this sense, it is the minutiae of everyday relationships, which create inclusion. It is thus the role of all in the classroom, in,

> elucidating those everyday happenings that constitute social justice: caring, reciprocity in the educational relationship, ordinariness, extraordinariness, intuition and personal shared understanding between the agents of pedagogy. It involves accepting and facilitating 'becomings' rather than beings.
>
> (Goodley and Billington, 2016, p.72)

1.8 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the development of education within Scotland, as the background to the current context of inclusive education. I have then raised some difficulties with the conceptualisation of inclusive education, which give rise to difficulties in the manner in which it is interpreted into practice, identifying significant barriers, which exist in terms of attitudes, marginalisation and exclusion. I now turn in the next chapter to a review of the landscape of aspects of inclusive education, presented in the literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW PART ONE

2.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction to the contextual background

In the previous chapter, I gave an outline of the landscape of inclusive education, in terms of historical development and the current position within the Scottish educational system, as well as discussing some of the difficulties, which have arisen on account of a lack of clarity in the conceptualisation of inclusive education. I now turn to the literature review, with a specific focus on the lived experience of inclusive education in mainstream schools.

Any understanding of the lived experience of an inclusive education, of young people with additional needs in today's educational climate, requires a broad approach to the literature of special education, disability, inclusion and exclusion,[15] in addition to that of mainstream education. From amongst a vast opus on inclusion and inclusive education, I have chosen to focus more closely on literature, which directly concerns the lived experience of inclusive education in the lives of young people, parents and teachers, across a range of educational contexts and through different themes. Much of the earlier research during the 1990's, at the time of the shift from the integration of, what was then, mainly disabled young people into the mainstream remains relevant today, and for that reason, I also draw on it in this study. It can act as a reminder to us of the difficulties many disabled young people and their families faced, in their efforts to gain the right to a place in mainstream schools. At the same time, it can act as a timely reminder that, although the labels, language and policies may have changed, some barriers remain at all levels.

The first part of the review is concerned with several important aspects of education of young people with additional needs in the mainstream school, which show the complexities of inclusive education in practice. I focus on a range of topics linked to the themes of this study, identifying how the concepts of 'voice' and 'listening' run through the research, and examine a number of studies of particular interest, showing the importance of human interaction and relationships. I then give an overview of some research which demonstrates how a phenomenological methodology can be applied to a range of empirical methods, showing the depth of this approach to understanding lived experience in education. I end the chapter with the identification of the gap in our knowledge and understanding, and a statement of the research question, which this study seeks to answer.

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[15] See, for example, Göransson and Nilhom (2014) for a review of the range of research in these fields.

2.2 Thematic exploration of the literature.

This section of the review is concerned with several important aspects of the education of young people with additional needs in the mainstream school, showing the importance of human interaction and relationships. The section begins with the theme of 'voice'.

2. 2.1 Different voices

The presence of voice is central to the ethical nature of this research, in allowing the individual voices of the participants to emerge, as young people, teachers, learning assistants and as family members. The theme of voice runs through all the literature, notable either by its absence, or by the strength of its presence.

A significant body of research is now concerned with the theoretical background and practical development of 'voice', listening and silence, and its recent development as a more democratic and participatory approach to education. Of particular interest here is the notion of voice (Fielding, 2001; Rudduck and Flutter, 2000) and its immediate perception in some areas as an issue in the balance of power for teachers (Clarke et al., 2011; Arnot and Reay, 2007; Cook-Sather, 2006; Flutter, 2006; McIntyre et al., 2005; Rudduck and Flutter, 2004), which counterbalances the participation and empowerment of young people (Rose and Shevlin, 2004; Mitra, 2001) and the role of voice in improving learning and teaching in schools (Mitra, 2007). Curtis et al. (2004) raise an interesting point, concerning listening and hearing, in their study of young people and health care, noting that professionals chose to ignore young people's views, having invited them, while Boggis (2011) notes practical and theoretical points about the voices of those who are inarticulate.

The benefits of seeking the views of young people and their families in decisions about education is widely recognised in international and national legislation, reports and research studies. By giving 'voice', we give 'authority' to the "missing perspectives of those, who experience daily the effects of existing educational policies in practice" (Cook-Sather, 2002), which should be seen, alongside "those of practitioner or researcher, as not in competition but standing together in the construction of dialogues, in which there is mutual respect, active participation and the negotiation and co-construction of meaning" (Pascal and Bertram, 2009, p.254). As Parsons and Lewis (2010) point out, not only is there a need to hear the views of young people, but to hear those more absent voices of disabled young people, as well as those of their families. However, we cannot invite views and then ignore or "subvert" them (Lewis, Davison, et al., 2007, p.195), if they do not fit our purposes, and,

furthermore, the issue of the inherent difficulties of allowing those voices to be heard, is no reason not to seek them.

The voices of parents are heard less in education research studies: less, that is, both in relation to the voices of teachers and young people, and less in relation to earlier studies. Significantly, there are more studies involving the parents of young children with a medical disability, than with other parents. A number of studies concern the difficulties parents voice in their dealings with professionals, some of whom may be teachers. Bjarnason (2009a, p.123) points out that young people with special needs are involved with a huge range of professionals over the years in a relationship, which is generally supposed to work in the best interests of the child. However, this is a relationship of support, rather than of empowerment of parents and children, which "involves increasing one's control over one's own life and taking action to get what one wants" (ibid., p.123). Her studies of parents' narratives show a range of interaction with, and reaction to, professionals from different fields. As more young people with special needs enter the mainstream school, so the important interaction and relationship between parents and teachers must become more valued and participatory, and an integral part of an inclusive education. These narratives, and others which Bjarnason cites, are important in enabling teachers to reconsider their position in this relationship.

Rix (2003) writes movingly of his relationship with his young son, who has Down Syndrome (sic), and of the hopes he has for him in the future. Rix speaks of the possibilities of his son's future through his different conflicting voices as parent, as teacher and as researcher, weighing up the issues of a mainstream education, and of participation and acceptance in the community of his peers. His words are powerful.

> "I do not feel that humans have changed as much as legislation and good practice may lead us to believe. My son is a very few steps from cruelty, from being teased and demeaned and isolated"

(Rix, 2003, p. 85).

A small study in the United States on parental voice (McKenna and Millen, 2013) defines parental engagement in their children's education, both in terms of the voicing (and hearing) of their views and their presence in educational decisions and processes. All eight participants were mothers, already actively involved in parent education programmes.[16] They

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[16] There was a deliberate choice to include mothers from low-income, ethnically diverse families, a group traditionally perceived by teachers in the United States as having a low status, in order to challenge assumptions held by educators about the ability of some

were very vocal across a number of themes, in the important relationship between home and school. Although not in agreement on all issues, they unanimously supported the notion of the importance of open channels of communication between school and home, well beyond primary education and through the secondary years, recognising that opportunities and types of participation would differ, as their children went through the education system (McKenna and Millen, 2013, p. 42).

The main method used was a single focus group interview, which generated much discussion in the supportive atmosphere. An additional element was that the parents were invited to write a letter to a hypothetical teacher. Additional support was available to do this, but was not used by any of the mothers. The researchers reported that by allowing a different means of expression, new themes emerged. In all cases, the mothers expressed their high hopes for their children, and their support for the children's teachers and school, and their understanding of the importance in the reciprocal relationship between home and school. This was counterbalanced by their unhappiness at the manner in which their efforts at communicating with the school were overlooked (McKenna and Millen, 2013, pp. 41–42).

Lewis, working with a number of other researchers, has done a considerable amount of research into the views of different groups of children and adults, by conducting surveys (Parsons and Lewis, 2010; Lewis, Parsons and Robertson, 2007; Lewis, Davison, Ellins et al., 2006; Lewis and Lindsay, 2000). These surveys have sought out the views of the parents of disabled children, as well as those of the children themselves. Particular amongst these, I mention the study with the parents of children on the autistic spectrum (Parsons, Lewis and Ellins, 2009), which gained the views of parents on a number of issues. The findings indicate that this group of parents has similar concerns and issues with education, as all other parents. The inference is then, surely, that all parents have the right to have their voices heard alongside those of their children, and full participation in decisions, which affect their everyday lives at school, as well as at times of transition and change. The extent to which parents felt their views were heard, outside of the survey, was not included.

A small number of research projects have included interviews with parents, young people and teachers. One major study (Davis, Ravenscroft and Bizas, 2015) looks at transition, inclusion and partnership across a number of European countries, contrasting pupil, parent and professional views on several topics. This study is interesting in its methodology, as well as its findings on the privileging of knowledge between the different groups and recommendations about child- and parent-led activities to promote inclusion and a positive

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minority groups to engage meaningfully in their children's education (McKenna and Millen, 2013, p. 44)

ethos. The role of families and communities in education and learning is very much a part of the definition of inclusion drawn up by the UN (UNESCO, 1994). With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the authors recognise that such an approach might mean that the parents become the real "conduits for change" rather than the children themselves (Davis et al., 2015). This gives an indication of how complex and delicately balanced the processes of inclusion may be. The suggestion that educational settings might become, "community learning networks, where participants recognise the strengths, assets and capabilities of pupils, parents and professionals", is an interesting one, but may not be easy to achieve, given the "power politics of inclusion" (ibid., 2015, p.46).

The views of parents are also considered in research on inclusion (Doménech and Moliner, 2014; Frederickson et al., 2004; Leyser and Kirk, 2004), or the home-school/parent-professional partnership aspects of inclusion (Forlin and Rose, 2010; O'Connor, 2008; Feiler et al., 2008). Much of this research uses a range of qualitative research methodologies and methods, including interviews, focus groups, small-scale studies and surveys, as well as auto-ethnographic and narrative approaches. Many studies are quantitative or mixed-method, generating valuable data from Likert-type scales and statistical evidence and indices (Riddell and Weedon, 2014; Riddell and McCluskey, 2013; Scottish Government, 2012). Sherwood and Nind (2014) set out to go beyond finding the 'views' of parents, to identify how parents of some young children experience the support they receive. While the benefit of parents working with professionals, in matters concerning their children's education, is long recognised in legislation, it had been unclear how this relationship is experienced. Research has shown that parents are not always satisfied with the support they receive (Wright et al., 2012; Winter and O'Raw, 2010; Lamb, 2009). Sherwood and Nind (2014) sought to get away from what bell hooks had described as the "colonising" (hooks, 1990 cited in Sherwood and Nind, 2014, p.459) of others' stories, and a participatory methodology was developed to allow the co-construction of stories between researcher and parents, which showed how support can become meaningful and more effective, where there is greater listening, respect and understanding between parents and professionals, as they work together to find solutions to difficulties their children encounter.

However, as Wright et al., (2012) found in their case studies of dispute resolution in the English and Scottish educational contexts, there is ongoing dissatisfaction from some parents, often those whose children have additional needs, in the manner in which they feel a sense of powerlessness in decisions made about their children and in the resolution process. The parents in the study were all involved in their children's education, and considered good support from school and other professionals an essential factor, even where compromise was needed, but in many cases, relationships with teachers deteriorated

over time, through a number of factors, leading to ongoing stress and difficulty. While it should be noted that the parents in these case studies were all in disputes with schools or councils, there is indication in the research, that this might be avoided, if a better approach to parental involvement had been adopted earlier, to resolve issues and prevent the escalation.

Parsons and Lewis (2010) conducted an online survey into the views of parents who had chosen to educate their children with SEN/disabilities at home. In most cases, children had been removed from mainstream schools on account of the 'push' factors of parental dissatisfaction and concern about their children's educational experiences, and their needs not being met. Amongst the group surveyed, children with ASD were in the majority (Parsons and Lewis, 2010, p.82). In their own earlier research, (Lewis, Davison et al., 2007; Lewis, Parsons, et al., 2007; Lewis et al., 2006), the findings had suggested that parents of children in special schools were more satisfied with their children's education, than those in mainstream. Interestingly, the parents in this later research (Parsons and Lewis, 2010) felt they were an 'invisible' group, whose voices had not been heard in the debates about the provision of education for those with SEN. The findings suggest that, while exact numbers are unknown, there may be a larger number of families who have decided to withdraw their SEN children from formal education, on account of dissatisfaction, than has previously been recognised (Parsons and Lewis, 2010, p.69).

Harris and Goodall (2008) sought to disentangle the "web of variables", which surrounds parent-school engagement, and found a significant number of barriers for parents, particularly in the secondary school phase, which included the physical barrier presented by a large school, the large numbers of staff, with differing roles and interactions with their children and the manner in which school communicated with parents (ibid., p.285) and the "culture and context" of some families (ibid., p.286). The research identifies the benefits of parental involvement in their children's education, in terms of achievement and behaviour. However, there was a distinction noted between support given at home, as the most important, and actual involvement within the school (ibid., p.277).

An interesting approach taken by Aaltonen (2016) investigated the influences of parents and siblings on young people's educational decisions, identifying the strength of the (generally older) sibling influence. This research cites a study by Gillies and Lucey (2006), which looked at the lived experience of being a sibling, in the lives of forty-four young people, with particular reference to the "generation and sustenance" of social capital in caring relationships (Gillies and Lucey, 2006, p.483). Their findings show the complexity and changing nature of the relationship, but also point to the importance of sibling ties as sources of care and protection, noting particularly the importance of this aspect in the context of

school, where older siblings play a significant role in enabling the world beyond the home to be understood and negotiated (ibid., pp.489,491).

2.2.2 Additional needs and the challenges for teachers

Much of the research in inclusion and groups of children with particular additional needs indicates that inclusion may pose particular challenges for teachers and difficulties for some children, which calls for a more flexible, nuanced and individual approach. While teachers may indicate that there is a range of challenges inherent in the inclusion of pupils with additional needs in the mainstream school, recent research conducted in nineteen Scottish secondary schools and six special schools (Boyle, Topping and Jindal-Snape, 2013) indicated that, generally, teachers had positive attitudes to inclusion, particularly when there was adequate support and resources in place. Exactly what constituted 'adequate' support, in the eyes of teachers, was unclear. Interestingly, however, in an earlier study (Boyle et al., 2012) peer support between teachers had been found to be the most significant factor in terms of support, identified by the teachers. This research was conducted with forty-three teachers in three secondary schools in Scotland, and may, therefore, reflect particularly strong collaborative relationships between teachers in these three schools. In the later study, (Boyle, Topping and Jindal-Snape, 2013), in addition to finding that positive attitudes to inclusion drop off after only one year of teaching, it was found that there was little evidence of any further training (even a short CPD module) in special or inclusive education, which has been shown to improve teacher attitudes towards inclusion (ibid., p.538), suggesting the need for ongoing training and support in inclusion for all teachers.[17] Findings from their literature review suggest that while inclusive education requires a shift to a more "collaborative-consultation model", some teachers have not made the changes in their mindset, which this requires (ibid., p.528).

An area of particular difficulty for teachers is the range of "interventions" available for young people on the autistic spectrum[18] (ASD), which require a degree of specialist knowledge and

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[17] The Scottish government has recognised the need for training for support assistants in their important role, but there is little evidence as to the take up, or effectiveness of this (https://education.gov.scot/improvement/Pages/kr2-support-assistants.aspx).

[18] A difficulty occurs with the descriptors used by researchers and others, such as, 'on the autistic spectrum' where individual people see their own autism as a part of their being 'an autistic person' and not as a person with autism' (Ravet, 2011, p.670; Cigman, 2007, xv–xxviii). Jordan 2006 (cited in Ravet, 2011 p.671) suggests that "AS condition" is more

may not be evidence-based in the school environment (Parsons et al., 2013). It is particularly the case with ASD, as there is no 'one-size-fits-all' and the range of individual differences is extensive, that there is a need for more school-based research and collaboration between researchers and practitioners, to reflect the reality of the lives of young people, as well as of teachers (Parsons et al., 2013). Of course, the question of evidence in educational research is not confined to ASD, and remains an important and sometimes controversial topic in inclusive education (Florian, 2014; Hammersley, 2007; Thomas and Pring, 2004). However, wide research formed the basis of the Autism Toolbox (Dunlop et al., 2009), which brings together strategies for teachers in mainstream schools, to recognise and address the particular difficulties that may be faced in the inclusion of young autistic pupils.

While many teachers are now positive towards inclusion, pupils with ASD continue to be seen as a particular area of difficulty (Humphrey and Symes, 2013; Ravet, 2011). Humphrey and Symes (2013) found that the behaviour traits associated with ASD posed daily difficulty for classroom teachers in mainstream secondary schools, but that management and learning support staff/SENCo's[19] were more positive, as they were able to see the advantages of inclusion, in the light of "the bigger picture". Difficulties with social communication and interaction and imagination, meant that teachers found it more difficult to create meaningful relationships with pupils on the autistic spectrum, which they felt could affect learning outcomes. Interestingly, teachers were also aware of the difficulties, which mainstream schools could pose for ASD pupils, noting bullying from other pupils, stress and social isolation particularly, as well as a lack of understanding and tolerance of ASD-type behaviour by teachers and pupils.

Emam and Farrell (2009) had found similar difficulties, concluding that teachers made decisions on the learning support to give to ASD pupils, based on the type of relationship they had with individual pupils. Teachers in their study found difficulties with the apparent non-neurotypical nature of the facial and body responsiveness of the ASD pupil, which affected their own emotional responses to pupils, and disrupted their teaching, as well as their manner of being as teachers, on account of a gap in emotional understanding between themselves and the ASD pupil. The management of unpredictable behaviour, which had a negative impact on the learning of other pupils and social interaction with them, was also a source of tension for teachers. In a similar way, Humphrey and Lewis (2008a, 2008b) had also reported a gap in understanding, which affected the teacher-pupil relationship, but it

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appropriate. I have used ASD, or 'on the autistic spectrum', as the most usual expressions, intending no disrespect.
[19] SENCo is the Special Educational Needs Coordinator in schools in England. The equivalent Scottish term is generally Head of Learning Support (See Appendix C).

was one reported by pupils, who felt that teachers were unable to see things from their (ASD) perspective. Robeyns (2016), drawing on the narrative and (auto)-biographical accounts of ASD people and others with additional needs, notes that the capability to be understood is an essential, but often overlooked, element of the lives of many with communication difficulties.

Teachers stressed the importance of teaching assistants as, "indispensable" (Emam and Farrell, 2009, pp.407, 416) to the understanding and management of the tensions created between teacher and individual pupils. Teachers were more positive about the inclusion of pupils with ASN, when support was available to them (as teachers), in the classroom. In other research, the Support staff (both teachers and teaching assistants) were found to be more positive in their views of inclusion, than other teachers (Humphrey and Symes, 2013; Symes and Humphrey, 2012).

Lacey (2001), in her study of learning assistants supporting young people with severe learning difficulties[20] (SLD and PMLD) found that their support was seen as crucial, across a range of different types of educational provision, enabling both learning and social inclusion to take place. However, this was not possible without a great deal of forward planning by teachers, learning assistants and, on occasion, parents. The learning assistants themselves reported a number of issues, concerning the time given to them for preparation and the lack of continuity about their role, across all teachers[21].

2.2.3 The challenges of social, emotional and behavioural issues

Many young people with additional needs have difficulties with social, emotional and behavioural issues, which can bring them into conflict with teachers and school authorities and have a negative impact on their learning experiences and outcomes. In a large literature on (S)EBD (Cole, Daniels and Visser, 2012; Visser, Daniels and Cole, 2012) across a wide range of topics, a number of particular studies stand out, as of importance to this research.

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[20] In the UK, the wide range of learning difficulties/disabilities is generally referred to as mild to moderate (MLD), severe (SLD) and profound and multiple (PMLD). There may be slight differences in terminology between educational contexts and those of health and social care. The language is not universal in other jurisdictions, however. In the US, 'difficulties' is generally replaced by 'disability', where it refers to 'intellectual impairment'. See http://www.bris.ac.uk/media-library/sites/cipold/migrated/documents/learning-disability-criteria.pdf [online] Accessed 22 June, 2008

[21] This is another area where the Scottish government has recognised the need for training for support assistants (footnote 17). See (https://education.gov.scot/improvement/Pages/kr2-support-assistants.aspx).

Research has shown that the ethos, policies and practices of the inclusive environment are beneficial for young people, who have experienced social and educational exclusion, in increasing engagement in education, building self-esteem and participation. The nature of relationships between teachers and young people with emotional and attachment issues is particularly important, and recognition of this has been in the SEAL framework (Humphrey et al., 2008; Garner, nd; Department for Education and Skills, 2007), whereby emotional and empathetic skills can be acquired to enable mainstream teachers to engage better with young people, in a meaningful way (Koundourou, 2012). Boyle, Topping and Jindal-Snape (2013) investigated the attitudes of secondary teachers in mainstream secondary and special schools in Scotland. Their findings indicate that policies of inclusion in schools need to be more in line with teacher views, in order to be effective. Overall, it would seem that where there was more knowledge and experience of inclusion (such as in Support for Learning departments), attitudes were more favourable.

Research on the development and practice of nurture groups in schools in the UK, as well as on wellbeing, has become a part of the literature on inclusion, as each area draws on the research bases. The growth of Nurture groups in secondary schools has been documented (Couture, 2013; Colley, 2009), building on the earlier success of the model in primary schools. Reynolds, MacKay and Kearney (2009) found that amongst younger children (aged 5-7) in a number of Scottish primary schools, those who attended nurture groups were reported as having improved emotional and behavioural profiles. Couture (2013) noted that these findings replicate others in a number of small scale projects, but points out that an Ofsted report (2011) indicated that not all nurture groups were as successful as others, defining a number of required characteristics. While it is noted that secondary schools are unable to offer the "classic" nurture group structure, the most significant aspects are "a response to young people at their developmental level, the provision of a predictable setting and a secure base through which warm relationships with dedicated adults" can be developed (Couture, 2013). As yet, there is relatively little research on the effectiveness of the nurture group in the secondary school context, but a small study by Garner and Thomas (2011) sought to address this, in a study of three secondary schools in England, using focus groups to access the views of nurture group staff, mainstream teachers and parents, alongside individual interviews with pupils. Their findings indicate that membership of the nurture group was beneficial on a number of levels, but in a different way to the primary groups, given the older ages of the young people. It was felt that young people were able to use the secure and trusting base of the nurture group as a means of "developing social and emotional skills to enhance independence in coping with difficulties experienced in school and life" (ibid., p.221), in some cases, making up for a lack of early nurturing experiences.

Particularly important were the ongoing and open relationships between parents and the nurture group staff.

Mowat (2010) reported on the impact of "Support Groups" in the Scottish secondary school, in which she established them, to try to move beyond "strategies" used with pupils with SEBD issues. An important feature of the groups was the establishment of a "significant other" in the lives of the pupils: one adult with whom they could make a meaningful and constant relationship based on trust and listening (ibid., pp.638-639). The views of the pupils themselves, as well as those of class teachers and parents were sought. While most pupils reported that their relationships with their teachers had improved, some parents noted that not all teachers were supportive, indicating that "reputation" continued to influence the way their children were perceived (ibid., p. 640). Significantly, Mowat found that some teachers considered that some SEBD pupils did not "deserve" to be in mainstream education, on account of their poor behaviour (ibid., p.641). She notes that these pupils received significantly less learning support than others, as well as lower teacher expectations.

A negative attitude towards some SEBD pupils, who were seen as "undeserving", was also noted by Harwood (2006), and this acts in a similar way to the increased medicalisation of young people, to "obscure" other possible interpretations of understanding young people's behaviour (Allan and Harwood, 2014, p.416). However, Allan and Harwood also found that some professionals in Scotland act to "disrupt" this process of medicalisation of young people, in order to steer young people away from the negative implications of diagnosis, which links behaviour to social disadvantage (ibid., p. 428). Benjamin (2002b) noted in her study of girls at a mainstream English school, that some SEN pupils were seen in a more accepting light than others, whose behaviour was perceived as more "challenging". Thus "Cassandra" is accepted as "vulnerable", while the much louder, but autistic, "Cheryl" is perceived as "naughty, not vulnerable" (Benjamin, 2002b, p.316). Cheryl is subsequently removed to a segregated specialised provision, arguments for which, Benjamin concludes, hid "a strong subtext of dislike and despair" (ibid., p.318).

2.2.4 Marginalisation and exclusion

Research with marginalised and excluded groups, or individuals is an essential aspect of the literature on inclusion and is interesting, both in the manner, in which the policies and practices of inclusion have an impact and in the nature and perceptions of those who are, or

feel themselves to be, marginalised. The thread of marginalisation runs through much of the research into inclusion.

Harwood's research on "disorderly children" (2006) and with those who see themselves as marginalised from educational opportunity, looks at the experience of school of nearly 300 young people from areas of social disadvantage, using their own narrative to show the impact of this background on their aspirations towards higher education (Harwood et al., 2017). Harwood's other work, on The Lead My Learning initiative (Harwood, 2017) is with groups of people in low economic status settings in Australia, including indigenous peoples, who feel alienated from the education system, to bring extended family members into the education process from the early years, to develop aspirations and build a future for young people. The importance of the involvement and respect for family and community in the educational process is a significant factor in changing entrenched negative views of educational opportunity, not only by family members themselves, but also by educational practitioners and policy makers, to recognise and respect the learning that takes place in informal, non-traditional 'educational' settings (Harwood, 2017; Murray and Harwood, 2016). This project used a social marketing approach, adapted from the health sector, involving consultation for over a year with leaders and members of the Aboriginal communities, in which the researchers viewed themselves as learners, to build relationships of trust and respect, to counter deficit assumptions on both sides, allowing genuine collaboration.

In other research with a marginalised and voiceless group seen as disengaged from education, Flecha and Soler (2013) worked with Roma communities and families in Spain, in a manner which enabled them to engage in a variety of "learning spaces". This study was informed by the findings of Europe-wide research projects, to show how existing local school and community resources can be used to improve educational outcomes for some young people. The four-year longitudinal participatory research was in a primary school, located in an area of high deprivation, with a 90% Roma population, and which was experiencing a critical level of challenges associated with so-called "ghetto schools" (ibid., pp.452-3). The researchers used a dialogic learning approach to interact with the community and with families, to overcome deficit assumptions and barriers, which existed on both Roma and non-Roma sides, creating opportunities for egalitarian interactions. These were particularly significant for Roma children, who experience less interaction with peers and with other adults, on account of segregation. Particularly interesting amongst the range of methods used, is that of "communicative life stories", which gave participants a "voice", as well as the inclusion of members of the Roma community as volunteers in classrooms, respected for their cultural knowledge, irrespective of their own level of formal education. Participants were also involved in decisions about what should be changed in the school, through sharing

ideas about their "dream" school (ibid., p.456). As dreams and aspirations became realities, individual members of the community, both children and adults, gained a "sense of belonging" and ownership, which was a part of the transformation process of the school community, leading to a number of positive educational and social outcomes (ibid., p.464).

It is interesting to note, that in this type of research, with groups who are marginalised, either by choice, through disenchantment with the system, or by being viewed as a deficit 'other', it is the transformation in understanding, which leads to the removal of educational, cultural or structural barriers, which in turn allows inclusion to emerge. It is only when we attend to the voices of those 'others', that such change can be made. Where we do not allow marginalised voices to speak, the barriers of negative assumptions will continue to act against inclusion: a point noted by Riddell (2009, p.286) in respect of "disabled children and their parents", in the Scottish context. Riddell particularly notes the voices of the "sharp-elbowed middle class", which resulted in a disproportionate advantage in resources to support dyslexia in higher education for their sons, while less advantaged groups were unable to articulate and advocate for their children's needs (ibid., p.286).

2.3 Research studies

In this section I identify in more detail a number of older and more recent studies of particular relevance to this research, in terms of method, findings, and the issues, which they raise.

Allan (1998) conducted research with 11 young people with "special needs" in Scottish secondary schools. Although from the title of this work[22] it might be inferred that young people were active agents in the process of their inclusion, this is not borne out in the research. The young people concerned are set apart as 'other' from their peers and identified by a range of labels and descriptors, which appear to diminish their value in the structures of the schools. In addition, the assumptions behind the methods[23] used to gain the views of the 'special needs' pupils were different to those used with others, which would seem to reinforce the notions, not only of 'difference' but also of 'less'.

The voices of the young people are heard alongside those of their mainstream 'peers', as well as teachers and families, which are used to provide a kind of commentary to the words of the young people. This approach showed the complexity of the issues, where the

[22] Actively Seeking Inclusion: Pupils with Special Needs in Mainstream Schools
[23] See, for example, the description of the implied "essentialist position", used with "mainstream" (i.e., not special needs) pupils, "aimed at inciting the pupils to discourse" (Allan, 1998, p.2).

accounts of the young people were not to be "treated as indicative of how things *really* are, …. but as part of a complex power/knowledge knot which is not supposed to be unravelled" (Simon, cited by Allan, 1998, p.1, italics in original). Allan identifies many strands of this "knot" and calls upon all involved, including researchers, to begin to unravel it, as an "ethical project" (ibid., p.113). This links closely to my research, in that, in seeking to hear the voices of young people, as they speak about their education, I hope to respond to that ethical call, in order that we may move a step closer to 'unravelling' the knot at the centre of inclusive education, in order to see what is there.

Of particular interest in these accounts, are the differences between all the pupils, who emerge very much as individuals, with identities. However, these identities may shift, according to the interaction and power relations in different contexts, in much the same way as for all pupils in schools.[24] In this sense, all the pupils were active, to some degree, in constructing their own identities, but the special needs pupils were, at the same time seen as "passive subjects" (Allan, 1998, p.3). Both the pupils with special needs and those pupils and teachers, who were consulted about them, had their own ideas about what was 'right' and needed for each pupil. This emphasises the necessity of differentiating clearly between what Noddings (2005) has called "inferred needs and expressed needs", to guard against the tendency to assume that we, as educators, are able to make judgments about what is 'right' for young people, particularly where their needs have not been expressed, sought or listened to, or where their voices have been effectively silenced.

Slee's (1993) choice of accounts of research into the processes of integration and inclusive education across a number of countries, serves again as a reminder of the struggles involved in generating change in societies, which have made educational decisions based on "centuries of devaluation" (Uditsky, 1993, p.90 cited in Slee,1993). The process of inclusive education may take, as Uditsky says, "generations before it is properly understood and practised" (Uditsky, 1993, p.90). These accounts also remind us of the complexity of inclusion, on account of the range of "strong interest groups" which exist, resulting in "some sort of uneasy truce" in education, rather than clear resolution of differences (Marks, 1993, p.159, in Slee, 1993). The approach of illustrating theoretical issues of the debate with the words of professionals, parents and young people, recounting their experiences of educational policy in practice, is particularly relevant for my research. This underlines the power of a single voice to add the reality of lived experience, to challenge assumptions and

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[24] Here, for example, a deaf pupil was able to choose to identify herself as part of the hearing community of girls, while at school, and with the deaf community at home; whereas, another pupil was not able to assume the identity necessary to become an accepted part of the community of 'normal' boys, which underlined his isolation in the school community (Allan, 1998, particularly chapters 3 and 7).

to bring us up short, as it were. The close analysis of the interview concerning the "Enrolment and Placement" of a child is a particularly telling example of the sidelining of parents by "experts" and "professionals", in decisions regarding their children. Its placement, however, alongside the principals' and teachers' accounts of their difficulties in including parents in the process, only serves to underline some of the complexity of the realities of the enactment of participatory policies (Marks, 1993, pp.169–179).

Particularly interesting are the accounts in the Learning Without Limits project (Hart et al., 2004), where the researchers' observations are set against the words of the teachers, illuminating their thinking and understanding of the pedagogical processes. Set apart from the teachers' accounts are the observations of the young people involved in the project. This is a participatory approach to the research, in that the views of the young people are considered a valuable contribution to the teaching and learning process of the project, and the recognition by both sides that the power of teaching and learning to change lives must lie in the ability of both teachers and learners to work together. Fielding refers to this as a need to "construct more imaginative and fulfilling realities" (Fielding, cited in Hart et al., 2004, p.223). Five of these accounts are set in secondary schools, which is of particular relevance to my research.

Skidmore's case studies (2004) of two schools allow us to view differing approaches to the everyday realities of inclusive education, and exemplify how differing discourses can affect enactment of policies across the whole school. His discourses of "inclusion" and "deviance" show how complex these narratives are, in the manner in which teachers work within them and in which young people place themselves. Skidmore notes that teachers, who "internalised a sense of personal responsibility" to respond pedagogically in their practice to the 'diversity of pupil aptitude' (ibid., pp.91-92), found within themselves the confidence to recognise, and the skills and experience to respond to, student need. His research showed that improvement could take place at an institutional level, building on the actions and flexibility of individual teachers, in much the same way as Pantić and Florian (2015) viewed teachers as "agents of change". Skidmore also found that a whole school commitment, which fostered a pedagogically inclusive approach, shared by all teachers, enabled institutional change to take place. Pantić (2017) stressed the importance of the "belief" of teachers in their own agency to effect change for social justice, as "role implementers" (ibid., p.229), alongside the relationships with other groups (colleagues, pupils, families and other agencies) and a real sense of meaningful participation in decision-making. Such relationships foundered where they were based on a "them and us" attitude, rather than on mutual trust and respect (ibid., p.227). This participatory case study was located in a Scottish primary school, using a range of "complementary" methods (ibid., p.222).

Ainscow's approach to research, as that of "collaborative enquiry" of "insiders and outsiders", aims to identify strategies to solve issues faced by schools (Ainscow, 2005). He describes a number of studies which used a range of strategies within schools, to generate evidence in order to "provide *interruptions* that help to make the unfamiliar familiar", to generate discussion, rather than to suggest ways that inclusive practice may be developed (ibid., p.116, emphasis in original). It is not only the challenging of assumptions, which is important, but also the conflicting notions of what "counts as evidence", and what exactly is being shown by different types of evidence, particularly in view of subsequent discussion (Florian, 2014).

Research conducted by Humphrey and Symes (2013) identifies the importance of the role of teachers in the success of inclusion for young people with autistic spectrum disorders, particularly in terms of a whole school approach to inclusion, and "staff attitudes, knowledge and experience" (ibid., p.34). The research highlights a number of areas where there are perceived barriers to inclusion in general, which makes it relevant, beyond the education of young people on the autistic spectrum. As this is referred to as one of the most "complex and poorly understood areas of education" (ibid., p.34), the implications of the findings of this research reach out to teachers in all schools, and call for further training of teachers and managers. Teacher voices are present here, in the form of responses to specific questions and these are analysed for patterns and trends. It is interesting to note that, while teaching assistants were considered very important by teachers, this was not the view generally shared by managers (ibid., p.42), and their voices are correspondingly absent from this research.[25] While, it is heartening to note, that the authors concluded that teacher attitudes to the inclusion of this group of young people were more positive than they had noted some ten years earlier, this is not universally borne out in other research.

An interesting study (Parry et al., 2014) revisited two educational settings, where research had taken place some ten years earlier to identify changes in the process of inclusion over time. Their findings suggest that the initial positive attitudes and hopes of the earlier study had not been realised in the ensuing ten years. The head teachers of two of the schools had earlier demonstrated contrasting views of inclusion, with one envisaged as the social inclusion of pupils with disabilities, and the other school perceived as a hub in the local community of families, employers, medical and social amenities and services. It was clear from the later research, that the visions, practices and organisation of both schools had been forced to adapt and that these changes had come from policy and events largely outside the schools' control (Parry et al., 2014, p.393). Rebuilding in both schools at first appeared to

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[25] For an interesting account of the views of the learning support assistants on inclusion, told through their own voices, see Roaf (2003).

enhance inclusion, but the views of teachers and support staff indicated that the opposite was the case. The increase both in the numbers of pupils attending the support unit and the complexity of their needs, took up a greater share of available resources, which in turn put further pressure on the way, in which other pupils could be supported in mainstream classes. Additional pressure came from the local authority policy to increase inclusion (by decreasing exclusion), which meant the school had to find "alternative ways" of educating some young people, with a variety of labels (ibid., p.392). The two schools justified their responses to these pressures in different ways. Further difficulties were caused by the emphasis on achievement, and the "ebb and flow" of national and local policy decisions. The views of parents and young people appear briefly in the research, but the emphasis here is on the views of teachers. This research gives an overall picture of some of the realities of enacting inclusion, as an "interplay of political, pedagogical and social dynamics within the schools" (ibid., p.396).

In a similar manner, Florian, Rouse and Black-Hawkins (2016; Black-Hawkins et al., 2007) revisited schools in their research on inclusion and achievement, to identify changes over a ten-year period. The question of the perceived tension between achievement and inclusion, has worked as a barrier to inclusion, and teachers and parents have expressed dissatisfaction. Florian et al. (2017) were able to show a positive picture, indicating that high achievement is not incompatible with inclusion per se, but that the greater influence on achievement is through the nature of the opportunities for learning, which the inclusive school can provide.

A large study (Daniels et al., 2003) on excluded pupils is particularly interesting from a methodological perspective and also because its findings give an overview of some of the immense challenges, which underlie any move towards a 'one school for all' inclusion policy. The study used qualitative and quantitative methodology, often in counterpoint, to present evidence. For example, quantitative data on drug use amongst the cohort was set beside vignettes, using the young people's words from semi-structured interviews, interwoven with a researcher's narrative (ibid., p.18). Elsewhere, the voices of parents, teachers, young people and educational 'officials' are juxtaposed. This emphasises the difficulties of bringing together the views of what Marks (1993) calls the "strong interest groups", but, on a much more human scale, it reminds us that behind the data and the rhetoric are human beings, struggling to make their way through difficult situations in their lives. Also interesting are the practical difficulties faced by the researchers to gain access to the young people and their families on repeated occasions over the two years of the study, and the compromises and solutions which were used.

Cefai and Cooper (2010) brought together a number of small scale qualitative projects based in Malta, with secondary school students with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. These studies were across a number of schools, and semi-structured interviews were the main method of data gathering. The voices of the young people clearly express their feelings about their treatment in the schools, both by some teachers and by their peers and the manner, in which decisions were made about them without consultation. At the same time, they are realistic about their own behaviour, but have opinions about how they can work with teachers to engage more in education.

The voices of these young people are seldom heard in the research, reflecting perhaps the perceived difficulty of working with them, as well as their low status in schools. I include these studies here, as many young people in the United Kingdom have poor educational experiences on the basis of their behaviour, but, as Cefai and Cooper point out, hearing their voices will not only allow them to express their side of the story, but also allow a better resolution of difficulties encountered in classes and schools (ibid., pp.183–4). Furthermore, it is important that no group of young people is ignored, marginalised and silenced, but it should also be noted that to assign a collective 'voice' to a group of young people is to assume it is one voice, which represents a homogenous group, which overlooks the importance of the single, individual and unique voice of the Other.

The research project carried out by McCaleb (1997) brings the participatory methodology, inspired by the work of Freire (1970) into the classroom and school. McCaleb's work with the parents of young children in the school gave them voice through dialogues in their own first language (English or Spanish), about their own education, family and community experiences, as a means of increasing their participation in the lives of their children at school. Central to this was the understanding that families are of the utmost importance to children's wellbeing, that early learning takes place in the context of the home (or extended family home), and that this relationship must not be overlooked. The research lives out the notion that communities of learners are made up of young people, teachers and families.

Her account of this research is full of vignettes, stories, dialogues, photographs and drawings, many of which were collected together in a "community book", to which all in the project were invited to contribute.

2.4 Phenomenological research studies

In this section, I mention briefly, some phenomenological studies, to illustrate the depth and variety of this approach, described as "a new way of enquiring" (Dall'Alba, 2009, p.2), in studies concerned with lived experience. These studies show a range of methods, drawing on different approaches to phenomenology, to show the close relationship between phenomenology and education.

An interesting study in the United States (Ganeson and Ehrich, 2009) with sixteen participants, used a phenomenological approach in order to gain a "deeper understanding of human experience" (ibid., p.81). The participants were asked to "explore" any experience of the first weeks after their transfer to high school, and record their thoughts and insights in a journal, which the researchers then analysed according to Giorgi's four-step process. There were no other sources of data, and the participants were not interviewed or questioned in any way about their accounts. This study is interesting, not only in terms of the findings about student experiences after transfer to high school, but also in its methodology. The authors draw particular attention to the "moral dimension" of phenomenological research, in this instance described as, "the moral responsibility of educators to find out more about students' experience of phenomena in order to facilitate and better support their learning and development" (ibid., p.81), which is also an important dimension to my research.

Cross, Stewart and Coleman (2003) use a phenomenological methodology and method in their study of the lived experience of gifted students in an American elementary school. These students see themselves as "different" to their peers, who, in turn, view them as "other". The phenomenological approach was used as a means of giving "voice" to the research participants, and to allow the "invariant structures" of human experience to emerge. The study is interesting in the phenomenological interviews and the two-staged approach to analysis, including the tallying of statements from the students and the researcher, leading to the emergence of themes.

Alerby (2000) used a phenomenological approach to "visualise children's thoughts" about the environment, through the use of their drawings, and their spoken reflections about what they were thinking as they were drawing. In this manner, Alerby was able to allow the meaning of the phenomenon to emerge from the children, in a way that a description of the drawing would not have done. In a later study, Alerby (2003) extended this approach, using creative drawing as the basis for conversation about the broader topic of "school". While this later study is concerned with mainstream school students, at the top end of the elementary school (aged 11 years), it is particularly interesting on account of the use of drawings, as an

extension of language and as a means of personal expression, when viewed as a whole with each student's words about his or her drawing. Using this approach, themes emerged which were similar to those from research using different phenomenological approaches. However, it is interesting to note it was that the fact that each student talked of her experience of school, as depicted in the drawing, which allowed the themes to emerge to the researcher, rather than the researcher interpreting the drawings, with no participant talk. The findings stress the nuances of the lived experience of school, across five broad themes. Interestingly, this research was conducted particularly as pupil experience is considered important in Swedish educational policy and practice. The title of the paper reflects the general overall more positive experience of the pupils participating in the study.

Roberts and Whiting (2011) undertook a phenomenological study in order to understand better the experiences of children with epilepsy in schools, particularly as epilepsy, along with other chronic health conditions, is known to have negative effects on educational outcomes. The research is interesting in the methods used to give voice to parents and caregivers, as well as in the findings. The objectives were to learn of the experiences of the principal caregivers of the children, as well as the relationship between the families and the school to support and accommodate the children. There were seven caregivers/parents for the children, who were all aged between five and eleven years old. Interestingly, the views of the children per se were not sought, but were 'voiced' through the parents. The findings indicate a range of experience, but all stressed the importance of a strong and supportive relationship between home and school, with good communication and flexibility of approach by the school, in listening to the parents and in responding to what they indicated, both in terms of their children's medical issues, as well as with social and learning issues. Poor communication between school and home resulted in particular difficulties for parents and children, which could often be serious, on account of the unpredictable nature of the illness. Parents spoke of difficulties and anxiety caused by the children's additional medical and learning needs, particularly when away from the parents and in the care of the school. When the children were at school, the parents felt a loss of control over their children's lives, but a continued responsibility for all aspects of their wellbeing. They felt they must advocate for their children's rights and become their voice, in many issues in their children's lives at school. Parents spoke of the difficult balance between normalcy and the difference, which the illness brought to their children, which could result in poor outcomes in terms of social inclusion and learning, but that a proactive teacher was a positive influence on their overall experience, when there was also strong support in the school from management.

In the context of teacher education, Giles, Smythe and Spence (2012) researched the lived experience of student-teacher relationships. This study is interesting in the hermeneutic

phenomenological methods of researcher reading, reflection, writing and re-writing, "to understand", in the manner that van Manen describes as the "bringing to speech of something" (van Manen, 1990, p.32), to allow new meanings to emerge. The findings suggest that it is part of the being of both student and teacher to be in a relationship, which moves and changes, and that the teacher-student relationship matters, even when this is unacknowledged. The ways in which the relationship matters may not be the same to student as to teacher, which may lead to conflict of understanding, and of the meaning of being-a-student, or being-a-teacher. Where the relationship matters to the teacher, it continues beyond the immediacy of the classroom context, into other parts of her life, and is a part of her being. In a similar way, where the relationship matters to the student, it becomes meaningful and reciprocal. On occasion, the researchers found that the relationship did not matter to the teacher, who appeared to the students as uncaring, leading them to question the teacher's reasons for the lack of care, and her right to be a teacher, or be as-a-teacher. This type of relationship is likened to Buber's description of the "I-it" relation, whereby the presence of the individual is not seen as important, rather than the more intersubjective, "I-Thou" (Buber, 1933/1970). Such a relationship is both disempowering and leads to feelings of loss of meaning for the student.

An interesting approach to phenomenological research draws on the notion of embodiment and of our being in a particular space, as an important aspect to lived experience. This is an important aspect of my research, as has been used in different ways by three researchers, Folke (2016), Lilja (2013) and Hamelock and Friesen (2012).

Folke (2016) researched the lived experiences of inclusion of new immigrants (aged fourteen and fifteen), to a Swedish mono-lingual school, focusing on the embodied intersubjective experiences of inclusion. This approach brings meaning to the experience of inclusion through the concept of "being in line" with others, or "out of line", previously developed by Ahmed (2006, p.6), where the notion of the stranger moves beyond the unknown person, to one who is recognised, but "pushed away". While Ahmed's work concerns diversity, and Folke's (2016) research is particularly with immigrants, Folke describes the lived experience of embodiment in the social space of the school, across different learning contexts. In addition to interviews, Folke used significant periods of observation, with the fieldwork period extending to a full academic year. Amongst the findings is that students try to minimise their differences, in order to feel included in the mainstream classes and in the social spaces of the school, but at the same time feel marginalised and treated as 'other' by other pupils and teachers, on account of those differences, which form part of their being. Folke also noted that the practices of the school, which existed to promote inclusion (such as an initial separate class for non-Swedish speakers), could themselves create exclusion (ibid., p.835).

Lilja (2013) also researched student-teacher relationships, through a phenomenological methodology, using the existentials of body, space and time, to identify the nature of the "trusting relationship" between teacher and student. This draws on the work of Merleau-Ponty (1945/2002) in a similar manner to aspects of my analysis. The methods used by Lilja were those of close observation and dialogue about selected episodes, which reveal through hermeneutic circle analysis, the teacher's awareness and understanding of the lived experience of herself and each student, through which teaching and learning can best take place. The trusting relationship is an ethical one, in which the teacher is constantly attuned to, and returning to, the being of the student.

Hamelock and Friesen (2012) approach the concept of student silence through a phenomenological methodology, which challenges the normal assumptions, which surround student silence in the classroom. Using an auto-phenomenological approach, Hamelock analyses her experience of silence through the four existential life-worlds of time, space, body and relation, in the form of anecdotes. Her findings indicate that silence is multi-faceted, and sits both immediately post an experience and prior to another, with intention to both, in the manner that Meyer-Drawe calls, "between no longer" and "not yet" (cited in Hamelock and Friesen, 2012, p.8) in the context of learning, in a relationship of experience, anticipation and horizon (Mitgutsch, 2012, p.577).

Elsewhere, Friesen's work (Friesen, 2009) on the nature of silences, particularly in the context of learning and in the classroom, reveals the ethical relationship with the Other. It is in the silence in the face of the Other, in Levinas' thought, that the call is made to each of us, to which we must respond. In the classroom, silence is not merely the space between communication, but it is also a form of expression and communication in the embodied relationship between teacher and student, and between students. This approach to research, using the work of Levinas to express the nature of the relationship between teacher and pupil, is similar to aspects of my own.

2.4.1 Phenomenological studies in the Scottish context

Amongst a number of phenomenological studies in education in the Scottish context, these are of particular interest, for their researcher stance, methods and evidence of the processes of inclusion.

Thurston's (2014) study of albinism, inclusion and support, is particularly interesting in terms of her use of open questions to explore participants' perceptions of inclusion, but it is a very

small study with just two participants, (reflecting the low incidence of albinism in the population). The use of open questions means that the researcher does not 'direct' or limit the participants perceptions in any way, and is an approach similar to my own.

Thorburn (2007) noted that the approach of phenomenology could give "detailed insights" to empirical research on the practical experiences of physical education teachers in training. He noted that personal reflective narratives could be used as teaching and learning tools. Rippon and Martin (2006, p.312) use a phenomenological approach to uncover the lived experiences of new teachers and to "turn the volume up on some of the submerged voices". Interestingly, of the 271 participants in the initial group, only ten made the full commitment to the research: a point emphasised by Moustakas, (1994, p.107). It is also interesting to note that, less common in this type of research, group interviews were used, in order to maintain anonymity, and to gather rich data in the social context.

Thorburn and Marshall (2014) use a phenomenological philosophical approach in their research on cultivating lived-body consciousness in outdoor learning, recognising that phenomenology "can provide the methodological foundation for experiences (thoughts, perceptions, feelings) which help us to look better *at* the world we live in" (ibid., p.118, emphasis in the original). This research is an example of what Dall'Alba is referring to when she talks of the ways in which phenomenology, "can inform a broad range of aspects of educational theorising and practice" (Dall'Alba, 2009, p.3).

Graham (2012) identifies a phenomenological approach in his work on school ethos and student voice, using a participative approach, set in an anonymised school in Scotland. Participants were given a role in decision-making about the "explicative themes" and received feedback from it (ibid., p.343). The method used was "conversational" interviews, where Graham identified five themes, from which he created a composite narrative. Interestingly, in research on "voice", Graham adopts a purposive sampling approach, where one criterion for selection was that participants should "have something to say about it". I suggest that this is an approach, which would overlook those whose voices had not been heard, or those who were silent, ignoring those who are hard to reach, or "yet to be voiced", as Bernstein had expressed it (Arnot and Reay, 2007, p.318 cited in Graham, 2012). This can be seen as an (albeit unintentional) exclusionary approach to research, and serves to remind us that exclusionary practice can exist in both research and in schools.

2.5 Research question and summary of the chapter

This review of literature has sought to show some aspects of the range of research into inclusion and inclusive education, on the central theme of pupil experience, together with that of teachers and parents. It is clear, that there are aspects of school experience, about which we know a great deal, but perhaps we know less about how those most closely affected by the policies and practices of inclusion experience these, and their impact and effects on an everyday basis.

As the numbers increase of young people with a range of additional needs attending the mainstream school for most, or all, of their education, so there is relatively little research on the lived experience of that education. There is research on some groups of young people, with particular labels or diagnoses, but there are many young people in the secondary school context, who do not 'fit' a particular category, but who have significant additional needs. All these young people, whether they belong to a 'group' or not, are individuals, who experience and make meaning from those experiences every day. It is their voices that can tell us the realities of inclusive education, and to which we must attend.

Schools are complex places, where human beings must interact closely, and it is also the experience of teachers, and of family members, which can cast more light on our understanding of how inclusive education is experienced by pupils in schools.

This research sets about to understand more about inclusive education, through the lives of individual young people, as they negotiate their being in the school and through relationships with others, in order that we may see more clearly those aspects, which create and build inclusion and those which act against it. Gaining such knowledge and understanding should enable us to be ready to act to make changes, where change is needed, to improve the lives of young people.

 The research question I have sought to answer is:

> How do young people with additional needs, their families and their teachers, experience inclusive education in a Scottish secondary school?

This question is broad, as I intend to spread a 'blank canvas' before the participants, enabling them to foreground any aspect of their experience of school, which is important to them, and of the meaning of those experiences. In this way it may be possible to gain knowledge and understanding of how inclusion 'feels' and what it means to young people in

school. Such knowledge may enable us to see more clearly the hidden aspects of inclusive education.

Having given background about inclusive education, and a review of the landscape of the literature of the experience of education, in the lives of young people, teachers and families, I identified a gap in knowledge, which this research seeks to address through the single research question. I now turn in the next chapter to my chosen methodology of phenomenology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction to the methodology

In the previous chapter I gave an overview of the literature surrounding inclusive education, and identified a gap in our knowledge and understanding of the ways in which young people experience and make meaning of the processes and practices of inclusive education in schools.

This chapter concerns the phenomenological basis to this research. I begin with a brief overview of the importance of phenomenology to research on lived experience, before outlining Husserl's descriptive phenomenology, as it concerns the nature of being and of knowledge. I introduce Husserl's 'phenomenological method' as a means of accessing human experience, identifying how it is particularly appropriate as a conceptual basis to the study of lived experience.

I then turn to two major themes of the research: embodiment and alterity, in the work of Merleau-Ponty and Levinas, respectively. I discuss Merleau-Ponty's concept of embodiment and the manner in which he describes our presence in, and engagement with, the world, through the existentials of relationality, materiality, corporeality, spatiality and temporality. I have used these during the analysis stage of this project, as a lens through which to focus on the meaning of lived experiences in the lives of the participants.

I then outline the work of Levinas on alterity and the notion of the ethical nature of our human being and intersubjectivity, showing its importance in any understanding of inclusive education. I have drawn on these concepts, as a theme in my analysis of the research data, as well as in my stance as an ethical researcher, and in the manner in which I wish to disrupt the discourses of inclusion and reconceptualise inclusive education.

In the next section of this chapter, I indicate how Husserl's phenomenological method is appropriate to research in the modern context. I discuss the manner in which it has been interpreted and adapted in the work of two phenomenologists: Moustakas, in the interpretation of methodology into research methods, and van Manen, in the manner in which conceptual phenomenology is linked to the practice of research in the professional domain, making it particularly suited to the exploration of lived experience in inclusive

education. I have used elements of each of their methods in data collection, analysis and writing, following the structure, to allow greater insights to emerge from the data.

In conclusion, I return briefly to the research question, to indicate the link to phenomenological methodology.

3.2 Phenomenology and the influence of Husserl

The conceptual basis of this qualitative research is the descriptive (or transcendental) phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, which is also known as a transcendental phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994, p.22). Transcendental, in this sense, implies a 'reaching out' beyond itself, and there are features of this methodology, which make it particularly suitable for research into the lived experience of inclusive education.

There are a number of approaches to phenomenology, most particularly, Heidegger's hermeneutic, interpretivist approach, which exists as a strand, which runs alongside, and sometimes intersecting, the descriptive phenomenology of Husserl, and both strands have been developed by many other philosophers. Perhaps it would be more true to say there are many "phenomenologies" and many different ways of applying phenomenological methods to research (Dowling, 2007), or as Vagle describes it, a "philosophical and methodological proliferation of approaches to phenomenology" (2014, p.40). In this project, I have drawn on the richness of these different approaches.

Husserl's lasting influence, in restating the nature of mind and body away from Cartesian dualism[26], has found expression in phenomenology's emphasis on our relation to the world around us, and the manner in which we experience it, through our bodies and our senses[27], our lived and living body (*Leib*), making it appropriate as a methodology for this research.

Husserl's work on the phenomenology of knowledge, which he described as "the theory of the essence of the pure phenomenon of knowing" (Husserl, 1907) is important to this research, as it examines the nature of knowledge, and the means we have of gaining access

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[26] This is most frequently expressed in Descartes' words, "je pense, donc je suis". This was originally written in French as, "Je pense, je suis", and rendered in Latin as, 'cogito ergo sum", and in English as, "I think, therefore I am" or, "I think, therefore I exist".

[27] In phenomenology, the English word, 'body' is taken to mean all aspects of our experience, and is not limited to the physical body. In German, the two words, *"Leib"* and *"Korper"* express this distinction. See Carman (1999), for an overview of this topic.

to knowledge within the experience of others. Husserl's approach was called "phenomenology", in a new understanding of the words, *phenomenon* and *logos*, to mean, "to give an account" (Sokolowski, 2000, p.13), and intended to be a descriptive philosophy of the "essences of pure experience" (van Manen, 2014, p.89). Husserl's descriptive phenomenology and phenomenological method inform subsequent phenomenological philosophy, and form a basis for the application of phenomenology in research and many other fields.

Husserl's emphasis was to put the theory of knowledge on a firmly scientific basis, and identified that there were two epistemological stages to the process. Firstly, the nature of knowledge must be established, as pre-phenomenology, to answer the questions, 'what is knowledge?' and 'what do we know?' or, 'what is there to be known?' Once established, this is followed by the question, 'how do we know what we know?' or, to express it another way, 'how does the world appear to our consciousness?' It is this question, which leads Husserl into the second main area of his philosophy: the ontological question of the nature of our existence, or being, and its relation to the world, whether real or imagined. Husserl's concern was the manner in which "*objective* truth could be constituted in and through "*subjective* acts of consciousness", which he termed, "the enigma of subjectivity" (Moran and Mooney, 2002, p.61). The manner in which Husserl addressed these issues, is contained in his "phenomenological method", which he continued to refine over a number of years[28] and which refers to the three elements of the natural attitude, the reduction and the phenomenological attitude.

3.2.1 The natural attitude and the lifeworld

Phenomenology is concerned with human experience, in order to find the true nature of our individual experience and the meaning each of us makes of our experience. Thus, it is concerned with *how* things appear to each of us, and places each person at the centre of her world. Each of us makes meaning of the world, through our experiences in and of the world. These experiences, and the meanings we make of them, make up our own lifeworld, or "*Lebenswelt*" [29], as Husserl termed it. The lifeworld is the "pre-reflective" world of the

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[28] For an overview of the development of Husserl's theories, see Moran and Mooney, 2002.
[29] In his earlier work, Husserl referred to the world of experience, as the "Erfahrungswelt", refining the notion later in the expression, "Lebenswelt", as the domain of pre-knowledge, which we can access only through the phenomenological reduction. In some of Husserl's work published posthumously, the term, "Umwelt" is used, to refer to the environment which surrounds us (Moran, 2000, pp.181–182).

everyday around us, which we experience directly through the medium of our bodies, and absorb, as it were, without question, thought or reflection, and where knowledge is "the thing most taken for granted" (Husserl, 1907/1980, p.16). Husserl named this everyday manner of thinking, "the natural attitude" and the phenomenological method was the means of accessing the lifeworld of the natural attitude.

> The *natural attitude* of the mind is not concerned with the critique of knowledge. In such an attitude, our attention is turned – in acts of intuition and thought – to *things* given to us, and given as a matter of course, even though they are given in different ways and in different modes of being according to the sources and level of our knowledge of them.
>
> (Husserl, 1907/1980, p.16, emphasis in the original).

The notion of the lifeworld was later refined by Heidegger, who developed the notion of "being-in the world", *"In-der-Welt-sein"* (Heidegger, 1953) to express the manner in which we are always caught up in the everyday world. It is only through the world that we are able to make sense of the world. Our existence is in the world and is part of the world and cannot be any other. To be human, is to be in the world.

3.2.2 The phenomenological attitude and the reduction

Husserl uses the phrase "phenomenological attitude" to indicate a deliberate move away from the safe, natural attitude, in order to be able to focus on everything in the natural attitude and question and describe all its aspects, including all the, "scientific, philosophical, cultural and everyday assumptions" (Moran, 2000, p.11), which go to make up our world belief. Husserl describes this process of the suspension, or laying aside of our natural attitude as the "reduction", referring to the Latin root of the verb, "*reducere*", meaning, to lead back, to withhold, or to withdraw. This process is also known by the Greek term, *"epoché".*[30] In a similar manner, Husserl also refers to "bracketing" our beliefs about the world, just as in a mathematical sense, we might put brackets around certain parts of a formula or equation, and examine them separately.[31] This suspension of the natural attitude, to enable us to view experiences without distortion, is at the centre of Husserl's phenomenology (Moran, 2000, p.12). For Husserl, it is the phenomenological attitude, which enables us to see, "what is to

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[30] The Greek word, '*epoche*' is transliterated variously as 'epoche', 'epochē' or 'epoché'. I have used the form, 'epoché, , as that most frequently used in the authors I cite.
[31] The three terms, the reduction, epoché and bracketing are used by Husserl in slightly different ways, to describe aspects of the process, but, the meaning remains essentially the same, and many authors seem to use them interchangeably (Cogan, n.d.).

be seen" (Husserl, 1907/1980, p.35), things as they are, as it were; the very things which are echoed in the much quoted phrase, „*zu den Sachen selbst!*", usually translated as, "[back] to the things themselves!"

3.3 Descriptive phenomenology and research on lived experience

Phenomenology is, then, firmly grounded in the everyday. From here, we must ask, in what ways do these everyday experiences affect lives and shape being? How can we, as researchers, then set about finding out about these experiences? A phenomenological approach to research can give the self and others a glimpse of those inner worlds, as people draw close to their experiences, not just by recalling them to memory when asked, but by reliving them, returning to them, to experience them almost as they first did, in the manner of the natural attitude, as Husserl suggests. Phenomenological research aims to be able to access and understand that lifeworld, or lived experience, through stepping back from it, and setting aside, or "bracketing" assumptions, and pre-conceived ideas. It is this conceptual "method" which has been adapted by many phenomenologists to different purposes, in a wide variety of settings.

Phenomenological research calls for a questioning, of what "may be there", out in the world and an openness to issues of our being in the world, together with "the basic disposition of wonder [which] dislocates and displaces us", as van Manen describes it (2014, p.37). It was this same "basic disposition" which, Heidegger declared, "transports us into the beginning of genuine thinking" (Heidegger, cited in van Manen, 2014, p.37) and leads down a path of discovery, described by van Manen as "phenomenological questioning" (2014, p. 37). Such questioning enables the researcher to become open to what lies beneath the data, presented in the voices of the participants and to reflect, thoughtfully and intuitively, on its meanings.

Rather than seeking causality, explanation or quantification of those experiences, the questioning may enable the researcher a glimpse the "now of our lived experience" (van Manen, 2014, p.55), before we can begin to reflect on those experiences. It is this approach, which will enable me to be able to 'see' how the daily experiences of inclusive education affect the lives of these young people, and how they create meaning from, and are shaped by, those experiences.

The immensity of lived-experience cannot be underestimated. What may appear as fleeting, unimportant moments in life to one person may have a profound effect on another. These experiences arouse in us strong emotions, which can still affect us viscerally, many years later. Such experiences, and the meaning we make of them, are a universal part of our humanity. Phenomenological research affords the opportunity to look 'beyond' or 'behind' experience, to find the true nature of our experiences and the meanings we make of them.

Phenomenology, as a research methodology, is intricately bound up with language. One might argue that the clarity of the meanings of words is crucial to any philosophical enterprise, and of course, that is the case, but much of phenomenology is expressed in terms, which are very particular. Where words did not exist to represent the precise nature of being, and of our relation to the world, as he described, Husserl found new ways of expressing these ideas, using existing words, turned to his own meanings. Heidegger then extended and adapted this approach, using his knowledge of classical and modern languages, to create words to express greater nuances. As Sokolowski expresses it, "the things in question cannot be properly brought to light without the words that name them" (2000, p.61). At each new turn, expressions had to be found for the nuances, and the words were rooted in Greek, Latin, German, and later French. Thus, in phenomenology, the researcher can draw on a well of linguistic richness, as she attempts to understand and express, in words, the subtlety and depth of human experience.

At the same time, however, the researcher is called upon to write phenomenologically. This is not the objective writing of positive research, but writing, which is called to reflect the human experience and our engagement with the world. We must be fully engaged with the world, in order to be able to write about it. In this sense, the words we use are tools with which we express our humanity. "Phenomenological reflection is writing" (van Manen, 2014, p.365) and the processes of research and reflection, reading and writing are strongly linked in phenomenology, as in other branches of philosophy, even perhaps indistinguishable (van Manen 2014, p. 364). The writing is not just conveying thoughts onto the page, but the very act of writing is also the act of thinking. Sartre said in an interview, in 1975, "I would write out what I had been thinking about beforehand, but the essential moment was that of writing itself" (Sartre, 1978). He expressed in that interview, that no longer being able to physically write, on account of his loss of sight, as he grew older, meant that his thinking was also limited. Other, more recent researchers, working in the field of education, have echoed the links between reading, writing and thought (Fulford and Hodgson, 2016). It is a particular challenge, but also a strength of phenomenological research, to engage closely with phenomenological literature, to read and re-read, to question, to seek answers, to reflect, to

listen to inner voices and unspoken thoughts, to write, and, slowly, to begin to engage in a conversation with the lived experience of the Other.

3.4 Merleau-Ponty and the theme of embodiment

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who was a direct contemporary of Sartre, and of de Beauvoir, amongst others, built on the work of Husserl and Heidegger, by clarifying some of the concepts and developing others, particularly the manner in which we are caught up "in the world", "In-der-Welt-sein" as Heidegger had termed it (1953/2010). Merleau-Ponty emphasises the importance of the individual's subjective experience of the world, through the body, which is distinct to how we experience inanimate objects (Moran, 2000, p.13). At all times, he grounded his work in subjective human existence, as the starting point for all other experience, including the world of scientific knowledge. In the Preface to Phenomenology of Perception Merleau-Ponty makes this very clear.

> The whole universe of science is built upon the world as directly experienced…
> My existence does not stem from my antecedents, from my physical and social
> environment; instead it moves out towards them and sustains them, for I alone
> bring into being for myself … the tradition which I elect to carry on.

(Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, ix),

Merleau-Ponty criticises the limitations of the scientific view, as "naive and at the same time dishonest", for not mentioning what he calls, "the other point of view", namely that of consciousness. He recalls Husserl's "return to the things themselves" as a return "to that world which preceded knowledge, of which knowledge always *speaks"* (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, x, emphasis in orig.), as the world as we experience it in "pre-reflective perception" (Matthews, 2006, p.135).

Merleau-Ponty clarifies the notion of the reduction, on which Husserl had continued to work throughout his life. He describes our inability to 'see' the world as it is, as arising from the fact that, "we are through and through compounded of relationships with the world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, xiv). This "close relationship" means we take so much for granted, that we must step back in order to be able to see more clearly.

> Reflection does not withdraw from the world towards the unity of consciousness as the world's basis; it steps back to watch the forms of transcendence fly up like sparks from a fire; it slackens the intentional threads which attach us to the world and thus brings them to our notice.
>
> (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, xv).

Thus, to Merleau-Ponty, the natural attitude and the phenomenological attitude are not an 'either-or' position, as Husserl had envisaged. It is not possible for us to withdraw completely from the world. "The most important lesson which the reduction teaches us is the impossibility of a complete reduction" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, xv). Husserl's insistence on the "return to the things themselves" is a "return to the world of actual experience" and phenomenology is seen,

> as a disclosure of the world … Phenomenology's task was to reveal the mystery of the world and of reason.
>
> (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, pp. xxiii-iv).

Merleau-Ponty's work is of particular relevance to this research, as it concerns our manner of being in the world and of the ways, in which we experience and come to know and understand that world. Each of us experiences the world through the uniqueness of the senses of our own body, and yet the world is one we share with all others. Merleau-Ponty's work brings greater meaning to the five "existentials" of relationality, corporeality, temporality, spatiality and materiality and how they encompass the manner, in which we are in, and engage with, the world around us. Each of the participants in this research is a being in their own world, but also in that of the school and in the world beyond the school gates, and it is these different aspects of being, which we may glimpse in the research. I have drawn extensively on the work of Merleau-Ponty, as I seek to understand the lived, bodily experiences of the participants, using the existentials as a focus and a means of analysis.

The knowledge which, "always speaks" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, x) is the knowledge, or understanding of the world, which is given to us, prior to reflection, through perception. We *know,* that is, we experience and understand, *things from the world,* by means of our experience through sensation, and know what these things are. The physical world has reached out to us, and we have taken it: we have heard it "speak". "The world is always already there", as van Manen expresses it (2014, p.127), and the manner in which we experience the world first, is through our bodies, rather than through reason: it is a direct contact (Matthews, 2006, p.35). The knowledge we have of our world, through our bodily existence in, and as part of the world, comes to us through perception.

This perception takes place in a pre-knowing way; we do not have to 'think about it'. I am in a relation with all aspects of the world, be that with other human beings, or with objects, and this is an inescapable part of my being, and it is only in this relationship that I can come to know myself. It is the role of phenomenology, according to Merleau-Ponty, to "lay bare" that world of perception (Matthews, 2006, p.135).

As we are embodied in the world, we are both a part of the world and in the world. We engage with the world, as part of the world, and in response to it. Merleau-Ponty sees this as a kind of "dialogue", in which we both give to the world and take from the wider reality of the world. The world is both there before I experience it, and related to my experience of it (Mathews, 2006, p.92). The world is neither an objective nor a subjective reality, but it is both simultaneously. The human is both in the world, and it is only through the world that we can know ourselves (ibid., p.80).

Being-in-the-world is also relevant for our own experiencing of our being, as an individual, which Merleau-Ponty names the "phenomenal body" (Matthews, 2006, p.89). Thus, I am the only one who experiences my body in this way, and makes meaning of the world, through my direct experience of it and interaction with it. In this sense, the world only has a meaning, because I have given it a meaning, and it is the horizon against which meaning is made.

As it is through our bodies that we experience the world, Merleau-Ponty's work emphasises the importance of the senses to us, in making meaning of the world, through the sensual appearance of things. Thus we may touch, or see things or others, or things may touch or see us, both literally and metaphorically. In these actions, we are subject or object. But we may also touch our own self, or reflect about our own self, where the subject and object become the same, in the sense that I am the thinking subject and the object of that reflection.

Sensations, as all acts of consciousness, are sensations 'of' something, which is in the world. "A sensation would be no sensation at all, if it were not the sensation of something" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, p.252). The absence of a bodily sense, such as in blindness, does not mean that a person is no longer able to 'see', as seeing is not merely dependent on the action of the eyes. So another layer of perception is revealed: how we "translate" what we perceive though the senses, into meaning, and how we use our senses to make meaning of the world. It is language, which makes this possible.

Language is the medium through which we express our perception of the meanings of things, and it is also the expression of our thought. The words and syntax we use, as part of language, and the way in which we use them, must be able to convey the shared meanings of things in a way, which we can generally agree, in order to be able to communicate. Such language, however, is not just words, but all forms of verbal and non-verbal expression. Language and the words we use, take on different meanings, according to how we use them, and that in turn, is a result of our experience of the world (Matthews, 2006, p.18). Thus, similar objects, expressed by a word, can take on individual significance and greatly different layers of meaning for each of us (Matthews, 2006, p.35).

There is a further dimension to human expression, which includes works of visual art, of music or literature, which have their own phenomenology of appearance (Moran, 2000, p.131), and which, in a different form of perception, allow us to see, or make meaning of, our world. These creations, be they painting, music or poetry, for example, may express a different type of truth to that conveyed by the ordinary use of language or expression, and can allow us to see the world differently. In other words, they may allow us to stand back from the natural attitude.

3.5 Levinas and the theme of alterity and the ethical responsibility

In this research on inclusive education, the role of the Other is of major importance. Inclusive education declares amongst its purposes the bringing about of more just societies, where all people have access to education of quality and meaning, and where the rights of all as individuals are to be recognised and met (UNESCO, 2009). In these senses, inclusive education is an ethical concept, in which the importance of the individual is paramount. Education is concerned with the relationships between people, who are engaged in living, learning and developing together as human beings. Teachers are called to "reach out to all learners" (Ainscow, 2000) and as such, we are all drawn into the lives of others, as we respond to them and interact with them, in the social world of the school. But what if that Other is not like myself? Much of the development of inclusive education has been in response to the need for recognition of that Other, in whatever form that 'strangeness' may be perceived. Levinas is concerned with the manner in which we encounter that other

person. In his description of the intersubjective life, the Other[32] addresses me: he or she calls me, and I must respond to this summons.

The work of Levinas allows me, as a researcher, a unique approach to understanding the relationship to, and responsibility for, each Other, which should be at the heart of our lives in schools, as elsewhere, and adds a further dimension to the phenomenological reduction: the Ethical Reduction of Alterity. While both Husserl and Heidegger, in their different approaches, were concerned with the primacy of the being in the world, it was Levinas who maintained that in order to understand human existence, it is necessary to understand the meaning of what is not as myself: what is otherwise than being (Van Manen, 2014, p.232). Levinas' "going beyond" the self, to answer the call of the Other, is the reduction, in the sense that it allows us to see beyond our selves and the world, to see the essence of our being in the world. In encountering the Other, we are in an ethical relationship, in the pre-reflective world of our being.

Levinas developed and built on the work of Bergson, Husserl, and for a time, Heidegger, and also on the notion of the I-Thou (Ich-Du) relationship described by Buber (1933/1970). The events of his life had a profound effect on his writing and informed all his work, as he reexamined the nature of evil in humankind and continued to develop his ethics of the Other. The main impulse behind Levinas' extensive and complex œuvre, is that of the neglect, or suppression of the human and non-human other in Western thought, as he sees it (Davis, 1996, p.1) and his work has focused on the ethical standing of the Other, and the relation of each of us to that Other, in terms of our being. Levinas moves beyond Husserl's idea, that even where the intention is a form of reaching out to another, it still ignores the most important aspect of that intentionality: the singularity of the other, to which we must continuously reach.

Levinas' approach to ethics deviates from the traditional view of ethics in Western philosophy, which has its emphasis on seeking justification for certain forms of behaviour (Moran 2000, p. 320), by asking the questions of "What should I do?" or "How should I live?" (Perpich, 2008, p.2). This latter approach has emphasised the relation to self, through shared traits, in determining the ethical relationship we have with others. In so doing,

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[32] Levinas uses two different expressions for the 'other', (l'autre and l'autrui') with and without capitalisation, to make nuanced distinctions of meaning. The fact that he did not always seem to use the expressions consistently, has added to the difficulties for readers and for translators (Davis, 1996, p.6; Levinas,1969, translator's footnote, p.25). See Galetti (2015) for a detailed discussion of the four different uses, and the ways in which their use has been interpreted in the work of the major translators. I have used the convention of capitalisation to distinguish the Levinasian understanding of Other, from other uses of 'other'.

according to Levinas, the Other, that is, the one is who is not like myself, and the Other's being have been completely overlooked. For Levinas, this ethical relationship, is the overarching element, the true *prote philosophia*, or first philosophy, and all other branches of philosophy, such as logic, epistemology and ontology, are subordinate to it (Perpich, 2008, p.7; Moran 2000, p. 320).

Levinas' concern with personal responsibility begins with the very notion of being. He writes, that even in speaking in the first person, "one has to respond to one's right to be", as,

> my being-in-the-world, 'my place in the sun', my being at home, have these not also been the usurpation of spaces belonging to the other man whom I had already pressed or starved, or driven out into a third world?
>
> (Levinas, Ethics as First Philosophy (EFP) IV 1984, p.82)

It is that Other, whose place I may already have so cruelly taken, and whose face now haunts my very being and which turns to me and calls me, reminding me of my responsibility. This responsibility towards, or for, the other,

> goes beyond what I may or may not have done to the Other or whatever acts I may or may not have committed, as if I were devoted to the other man before being devoted to myself. Or more exactly, as if I had to answer for the other's death even before *being*.
>
> (ibid.,p.83, emphasis in the original).

This responsibility for the other is therefore an essential part of my being: it pre-existed my actual being, and is not conditional on who or what I am. In other words, it cannot be escaped or avoided. It pre-dates all time, "before any present". In this way, Levinas has put the 'Other', before and above all others. The relationship to that other is first and foremost, and it is in their recognition that we are human.

> The human is the return to the interiority of non-intentional consciousness, to *mauvaise conscience*, to its capacity to fear injustice more than death, to prefer to suffer than to commit injustice, and to prefer that which justifies being over that which assures it.
>
> (ibid., p.85, emphasis in the original).

We are required to act against injustice and suffering, as part of our being. The question to ask of our existence, as he puts it, is not whether there is something rather than nothing, but "how being justifies itself" (EFP VII,1984, cited in Hand, 1989, p.86). Such a demand of being, is uncompromising and challenging, and directs our intentionality towards the Other, in an ethical relationship, over and above all else. Levinas writes In Otherwise than Being,

that, "the word *I* means *here I am*, answering for everything and for everyone" (1991, p.114, emphasis in the original). This is not only as a kind of universal responsibility, but also in the sense of my preoccupation with myself. My being and that of the other are intertwined, as "I exist through the other and for the other" (ibid.,1991, p.114).

The I of the self must turn away from itself, from its being, and find its being with the Other,

> breaking up the *principle* of being in me…. It is the impossibility to come back from all things and concern oneself only with oneself.
>
> (ibid, 1991 p.114, emphasis in the original).

Levinas is concerned with the alterity of the Other, but this is not merely the difference between people from a different background or cultural milieu. It addresses the singularity of the Other and the uniqueness of the lives of others, rather than the manner in which otherness is expressed or seen as 'difference' to myself (Perpich, 2008, p.186). It is not possible to 'reduce' that unique individual to a description, or representation of her attributes, thereby losing her moral status (ibid., p188). It is when human beings are reduced to labels, and descriptors, that we may begin to lose sight of them as that unique vulnerable Other, for whom we are responsible. This Other is represented by the "face", the countenance. The concept of the "face" is one, which seems to call to us: it is not "what" we see, but "who" (sic) we see, and to whose call we respond. "Singularity of the face is enacted in the I-Other relationship. Singularity is not what this relationship *recognises*, but what it *produces*." (Perpich, 2008, p189, emphasis in the original). It is as a result of the ethical recognition and relationship to the other, that uniqueness is present. Thus, it would seem that it is a further responsibility on each of us, to allow that singularity to be present. Failure to recognise and respond ethically to the Other, would otherwise diminish and exert control over the Other.

Thus, in Levinas' notion of our being, not only are we called by the presence of the Other, to respond and to continue to respond and to take responsibility for that Other's being, but we can only bring the uniqueness of the Other into being, by our response to it. Levinas has not attempted to construct an ethical system by which we might live, but has shown us that the nature of our being itself is ethical.

The lasting effect of Levinas' work on ethics, has been to bring into sharp focus, the issue of the nature of our relationship as human people, to all others, human and non-human. The challenges to our notion of what it means to be human cannot be ignored. It is that relationship with the self and the Other, through phenomenological research, which finds expression in the ethical dimension of Levinas' philosophy and Buber's, 'I and Thou' (Buber,

1933/1970). The ethical call is to seek to "see beyond" what is before me, to the "real" person behind: that Other, who is both like me, and unlike me.

In an extension of ethical phenomenology, this research is ethical: it is concerned with the being of the Other and with the ethical relationship we must have to the Other: any and all Other. Thus, research into lived experience is not research 'on' others, but 'with' others, in a ethical relationship, in which the researcher is invited to share in the expression of that lived world, given by the participant. Most particularly, education described as "inclusive" should set at its heart the being and wellbeing of the Other.

To my mind, there is no doubt that Levinas' understanding of our identity, intentionality and intersubjectivity can be seen as an ethical one. Levinas himself, in a sense answers his own critics on this point, when he states that his "task is not in constructing ethics; I only try to find its meaning" (Levinas, 1985, p.90). Thus, I have not only taken a stance as an ethical researcher, but I have also sought to conceptualise inclusive education as ethical, in a Levinasian sense.

3.6 The application of the phenomenological method to research in the modern world

Husserl describes in detail the "phenomenological method", but this is not a "method" in the understanding of the manner, in which the details of research projects are conducted and are given in the methods literature. As with all qualitative research, there are of course, stages, which must be followed, and these are well documented in the methods literature, but within this very broad framework, there lies a different approach, which seeks to uncover the depth of human experience, which can reveal aspects of the phenomenon under study. Phenomenological research can move forward in a more intuitive manner, allowing for a depth of reflection by the researcher, and recognising the importance of human subjectivity, at all stages of the research process.

Research conducted from a phenomenological methodology is very diverse, reflecting perhaps both the importance and breadth of phenomenology, and also the range of human experience and the strength of this methodology in uncovering unknown truths of our inner lives. To use a phenomenological approach to research is to engage very closely with the literature and central concepts of this philosophy. I have also drawn from the works of Moustakas and van Manen on the manner in which the phenomenological method can be used in research on lived experience, and outline here their two distinct, but similar

approaches. These approaches have informed both the methodology and methods I have used in this research, as a means of allowing knowledge and understanding about human experience to emerge at every stage of the research process, in an ongoing and iterative manner.

3.7 Moustakas' approach to the phenomenological method

Moustakas (1994, p.105) identifies five basic "characteristics" of phenomenological research, which he describes as its focus on the "essences and meanings" of human experience, which are to be uncovered through close, qualitative, descriptions of behaviour, in a field of research, which holds both "social meaning and personal significance" for the researcher. In addition to this must be close adherence to the accepted ethical principles of research with human participants.

Moustakas then describes the essential steps of the phenomenological reduction, as research process (1994, p.97). This must begin with "bracketing", in order that the research is focused on the phenomenon in question. The researcher must then accept that each statement from the participant is "of equal value", in a process Moustakas names, "horizonalizing", which is then refined by the researcher, as she seeks to eliminate any statements, which are not relevant to the phenomenon, leaving only "horizons". This is then followed by drawing the horizons together into themes, and the final step of producing a "coherent textual description" of the phenomenon' (ibid., p.90). It is to these steps that I shall now turn.

3.7.1 Bracketing

The researcher must have "freedom from suppositions" (Moustakas, 1994, p.85), in a phrase he has taken directly from Husserl, when he discusses the *epoché.* In this manner, we seek to distance ourselves from the "everyday habits of knowing things, people and events", in order that we may see what is "really there" (ibid., p.85). This distancing does not seek to deny the existence of everything, but by bracketing off any "facts", which we have accumulated, allows us to ignore what may prevent us from seeing things as they really are. Moustakas expresses it as a two-fold experience, in which we must first set aside those, "predilections, prejudices, predispositions" (the epoché), in order to be open to the possibility

of seeing people, in a new way, (the reduction), "not being hampered by voices of the past that tell us the way things are or voices of the present that direct our thinking." (ibid., p.85).

We are challenged to recognise our assumptions, for what they are, before we can seek to disentangle ourselves from them. They have come from all sides, and from all of our life, from "whatever has been put into our minds by science or society, or government, or other people, especially one's parents, teachers and authorities, but also one's friends and enemies" (Moustakas, 1994 p.86). It is only then that we will be able to perceive life in a "pure" manner. This manner of looking, then, with new eyes, as it were, allows us to see things as they really are, and accept them as true and real, in the manner of a learner, approaching the a new topic, as a beginner.

One might ask if it is possible to "set oneself free" from all that one is. Surely my being is made up from all those experiences of my life so far, and I am inextricably bound up with them? Husserl recognises that the "pure Ego" of the consciousness is still the "I" that is exercising the epoché, and that the challenge is, as Moustakas expresses it, "to silence the directing voices and sounds, internally and externally" (1994, p.88). To do this, one must be involved in periods of reflection, "sustained attention, concentration and presence", (ibid., p.88) on the phenomenon, over periods of time. Thus, the epoché is not a once-and-for-all event, but something to which we must return, again and again, during the process of the research.

3.7.2 The reduction

The second phase of the phenomenological method, that of the reduction, is the describing of "what one sees" in written form. (Moustakas, 1994, p. 90). This "describing" in the written form of the language goes beyond mere physical description of what is seen, to "the internal act of consciousness, the experience as such, the rhythm and relationship between phenomenon and self" (ibid, p. 90). Moustakas describes how this process is iterative, as the writer returns again and again, to look and again to describe the "varying intensities" of shape, size, colour and temporality, from every angle, "thrown into relief", against the world, as Schutz has put it, (1967, cited in Moustakas, 1994, p.91). In research, we may turn our gaze away from what is in front of us, in the being of the participant, to turn inwards to our internal reflection, but never lose touch with that being, as we seek to explain the essential nature of the experience.

3.7.3 Horizons: The emergence of themes

The process of the phenomenological reduction, which allows us to glimpse the essence of experience, is not just a method of looking, by "perceiving, thinking, remembering, imagining, judging", but it is also listening (Moustakas, 1994, pp.91-92). This listening is consciously open to hearing what may be there. This reflective process, using the senses, allows us to look at the experience in the smallest of details, and then to draw backwards and focus on the whole once again, "in a never-ending process" (ibid, p.95), which Moustakas describes as "horizonalization". In this process, the researcher must examine each statement made by the participant, now in textual form, in the light of the researcher's approach to it. It is only in this way, through the epoché, that the researcher may become aware of the hidden meanings of the text.

3.7.4 The imaginative variation and the synthesis

The final stage of Moustakas' approach, is the production of a text, which draws together all the horizons and themes the researcher has reached, "the 'how' that speaks to conditions that illuminate the 'what' of experience." (Moustakas,1994, p.98). The writing of such a text is by a process of "imaginative variation" in which the researcher may leave behind the "facts and measurable entities" of the world, in order to express the meanings and essences of the experience, in the understanding that there are "countless possibilities" in that expression (ibid., p.98). These essences have a universal meaning for us all, in terms of our relation to time, space, the material world and our bodies in it, and to other people in the world. Moustakas terms this final text, "the synthesis of meanings and essences" (ibid., p.100).

Thus, the researcher is called upon to follow the steps of this method, but in an intuitive and personally responsive way, dwelling as long as necessary on any and each stage, and returning to reflect again and again, during the process. There may be many texts that the researcher creates, as she reflects on different statements and horizons of the interview text, on her way to the creation of the synthesis, and indeed, the meanings to be drawn are limitless.

3.8 Van Manen's approach to the phenomenological method

Van Manen recognises the epoché and reduction as the "great finds" of Husserl's phenomenology, but he also recognises that it is difficult for the researcher to translate Husserl's ideas into the complexities of human phenomena (2014, pp.215-216). The epoché itself is, "the manner in which we need to open ourselves to the world, as it is, and free ourselves from its suppositions", whereas the reduction allows us to "reachieve a direct and primitive contact with the world as we experience it or as it shows itself", which is the "pre-reflective lifeworld" (ibid., p. 220-221). The two stages thus form the phenomenological attitude, of which Husserl speaks, but this attitude is not a permanent state, but one, which must be "sustained by wonder, attentiveness, and a desire for meaning" (ibid, p.220). Thus, as with Moustakas' approach, the process is a two-stage one, which is on-going.

3.8.1 The epoché and the reduction

Van Manen describes an approach to the epoché and reduction, by means of a personal account of walking home one day, which "transports" him, in all his senses, back to a similar event in his childhood. He explains how he can understand the event from the point of view of different types of explanations, such as from psychology, or he can attempt to recognise these and lay them to one side, and open himself to "the experience of that moment", (van Manen, 2014, p.217).

> In this childhood memory I am transported into a reality that resonates with inarticulated significances: my sense of self as a child, the wondrous sensibility of self-identity: the self-touching itself as it was, as it is, and as it is becoming. The past and present intermingle in the sensation of the brittle leaves under my feet; the awareness that my life and my being are exactly this brittleness.
>
> (van Manen, 2014, p.217)

Van Manen describes the epoché as, "disturbing, shattering" the attitude of "taken-for-grantedness" (2014, p.223), which awakens a "profound sense of wonder". This is the wonder, "in the face of the world" which Merleau-Ponty mentions, using Fink's words, as, "stepping back and let things speak to us" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, xv), but which, and at the same time, excites us to question the meaning of lived experience (van Manen, 2014, p.223.   This ongoing "disposition of wonder" works with openness, which is to be willing to overcome all one's own prejudices and preferences, in order to be open to the possibility of seeing what might be there, "to let speak that which wishes to speak" (ibid., p.224).

For van Manen, the reduction is the process of reflecting on the "basic structures of the lived-experience of human existence", which have been revealed through bracketing (van Manen, 2104, p.222). The vivid and sensory evocation of the event cannot be recalled at will, but appears, or comes into our consciousness, when there is a certain disposition of openness and reflection. In this way, the reduction is not to be seen as a process, or procedure to follow, but rather as, "a certain attitude of attentiveness and style of thinking" (ibid., p.221). "The reduction is an attentive turning to the world when in an open state of mind, effectuated by the epoché" (ibid., p.218). It is the purpose of the epoché and reduction is to try to "make contact with the world as we experience it" (ibid., p.222). Van Manen identifies different varieties of reduction, or means of reflection, which can be used, but all begin in a similar way, through the aspects of wonder, openness, "concreteness" and approach (ibid., p.225). The "concreteness" of experience, is the term that van Manen uses to differentiate the immediacy of prereflective experience, from the abstract theorising we do about our experiences. "Experience is what presents itself immediately, unmediated by subsequent thought, image or language" (van Manen, 2014, p.225). Phenomenology seeks to find the meaning of this "concrete experience", which is elsewhere also referred to as the lived experience.

Van Manen identifies the eidetic reduction, as that most close to Husserl's own meaning in the reduction. It is similar to the "imaginative variation" described by Moustakas. This reduction seeks "to describe *what* shows itself in the experience or consciousness and *how* something shows itself" (van Manen, 2014, p.229, emphasis in the original). The *eidos is* the essence of a thing or experience: that part which makes it what it is, "without which it could not be what it is" (ibid, p.229), and the eidetic reduction eliminates all other possible variants, until only the eidos remains. Thus, phenomenology seeks to reveal, and describe, the single essence of a lived experience, in such a way that the language of the description 'evokes' the lived meaning of that experience. While Merleau-Ponty had recognised that it may not be possible to perform a complete reduction, it remains an "ambition to make reflection emulate the unreflective life of consciousness" (1945/2002, xvii). The eidetic reduction is "the determination to bring the world to light as it is" (ibid., xvii), but he wrote much later, in 1968, that the essence of a phenomenon "may always elude us", as van Manen expresses it (2014, p.231).

While our experiences are by no means bound by language, the researcher must find a way to express human experience, through the medium of language, in a written text. Because there is no single way to approach research in phenomenology, van Manen stresses the need for an approach to the creation of a text, which is appropriate to the type of research.

While phenomenological approaches to the lived experience of people are subjective, the accounts must move away from the individual subject and become objective, as they deal with the essences of human being. There must also be the understanding that no particular "outcome", or knowledge can be anticipated, in the following of a research design or plan (van Manen, 2014, p.228). It is in the nature of phenomenology, that the very outcome must be unknown, even if the phenomenological attitude has been adhered to, at every stage of the research. It is just such a "freedom" from specific methods, which moves this type of research beyond the restrictions of other research. The researcher is able to be creative in the production of a text, in which the meaning of lived experience is strongly "embedded" and richly evocative, in both a subjective and an objective way (van Manen, 2014, p.227). Thus, while the researcher attempts to create a text, which gives meaning to the essences of the meanings of our lived experiences, these texts may always fall short of the mark, as we attempt to write both subjectivity and objectively about our place in the world.

While the reduction may allow us to glimpse the essence, or *eidos*, of the meanings of our lived-experience, the researcher must also seek to express that essence, in writing. Phenomenological writing must aim to, "express the noncognitive, ineffable, and pathic aspects of meaning that belong to the phenomenon" (van Manen, 2014, p.240). It is this "thoughtful attentiveness" and reflection through language, which allow us to glimpse the "hidden, invisible, originary aspects of meaning" (ibid, p.221), and for van Manen, that language is written. This writing aims to portray the meanings of our life and experience. It is writing, which 'calls' out to us, in which we understand and see ourselves, and have an emotional response to the words. He names this form of writing "vocative" (van Manen, 2014, p.221) and as a form of "poeticizing", which speaks to the world, rather than of the world, in order to bring experience "vividly into presence", in a way which allows us to "discover what lies at the ontological core of our being" (ibid., p.241).

3.9 Phenomenological research and the research question

Phenomenological research has developed in different ways, and has been used in a variety of professional settings, where personal experience is of paramount importance, and where the research describes human experience, "in the context of a particular situation" (Moustakas, 1994, p.22) and it is this that makes it particularly appropriate for the educational context of my study, as I seek to reveal, and describe, what may be there. It is phenomenology, which can reveal to us the depth of human experience and allow individual voices to emerge, through our shared human subjectivity.

In seeking to address the gap I have identified, in our knowledge and understanding of how inclusive education is experienced, I bring the focus onto the research question I have asked:

> How do young people with additional needs, their families and their teachers experience inclusive education in a Scottish secondary school?

The question asks us to 'look again' at the lived-experience of education, and the nature of being-in-that-world: the "Lebenswelt" of the school. That "looking again", must really be a "looking differently", as we seek to find what may be there. Husserl's phenomenological method may allow us to set aside out common assumptions and any knowledge we may take for granted, in the manner of "bracketing", and to look again, with fresh eyes, into the lifeworld of the school. Thus, as researcher, I must seek to recognise my own assumptions, accepted thoughts and prejudices, prior knowledge and experience, and lay them to one side. At the same time, I must enable the research participants, too, to lay aside their own accepted views of their lives, and to find again those experiences and feelings, before they began to analyse them and form opinions about them. This may be achieved by means of the phenomenological interview.

It is this relationship between phenomenology and the individual subjectivity that makes this particularly appropriate as a methodology for seeing the life-worlds of those at the margins of the school. This approach will allow each individual voice to reveal his or her unique world, and the manner in which experiences affect and shape that world. The phenomenological method will enable the researcher to glimpse the experiences of others, freed from her own assumptions, as far as this is possible, not through an objectivity, but through a shared human subjectivity.

In using phenomenology as methodology, I am also able to use this approach as method, in the research, giving a greater unity to the approach. During the data collection and analysis stages of this project, I remained guided by the methodology, in my stance as an ethical researcher, and approaching the project in a manner, which was "open to what may be there" from the outset. There were two stages to this: the epoché, in which I became aware of, or brought to mind, any preconceived ideas and assumptions I held, most particularly from my professional life as a teacher, and secondly, in the reduction, by laying these to one side, in order to try to approach the data collection and analysis stages of the project, in "the phenomenological attitude". I drew on the work of Moustakas and van Manen, in reflecting on the manner in which the phenomenological attitude could be adopted, through the

exercise of wonder, questioning and in different forms of writing, and in the construction of texts to express, not only the depth of human experiences, but also the essence or synthesis of their meaning.

3.10 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have outlined the philosophical background to the phenomenological methodology of this study, in the descriptive phenomenology of Husserl, and discussed how I have drawn on Merleau-Ponty's theory of embodiment and Levinas' theory of alterity. I then discussed the manner, in which I have adapted the work of van Manen and Moustakas, in their interpretation of the phenomenological method to research in the educational context. I have outlined how phenomenology informs all aspects of this project, both as methodology and method, and it is to the application of the philosophical concepts of phenomenology to research in the context of the school, and to the methods of data collection, to which I now turn.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS: AN OPENNESS TO TURNING TO THE THINGS THEMSELVES

4.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction

This chapter describes the processes of the fieldwork stage of the project, in which data is gathered by means of qualitative phenomenological interviews, within a mainstream secondary school setting. I discuss a range of ethical considerations, which inform all aspects of the process and run as a theme through the project, in terms of my stance as an ethical researcher, and in ensuring that all aspects of this fieldwork were carried out to a high ethical standard, with the wellbeing of the participants at its core. I discuss the selection process for the participants, and the manner and style of the interviews, giving particular attention to two, which stand out as significantly different to others. I conclude this chapter with an overview of the feedback interviews, which occurred some months after the main interviews.

The method I have used in this research is that of descriptive phenomenology, which has developed from Husserl's phenomenological method (Husserl, 1907/1980). It is a strength of this approach that phenomenology can be methodology and method in research, giving a coherence to the whole. This method has many features in common with other phenomenological approaches, in that it focuses on the whole experience rather than any individual part of that experience. This approach is concerned with gaining first person accounts of experience through informal interviews, or conversations, with the recognition that personal experience is valid for understanding human behaviour, and thereby illuminating the phenomenon under investigation. Such first person accounts, and the reflections of the researcher, are used to gain access to the meanings that individuals attach to the experiences they have. Many of the methods of qualitative research are similar to those used here: interviews, data collection or 'gathering', analysis and interpretation, the emergence of themes or insights and the writing. However, phenomenological methods call for different approaches to these activities. In this sense, different terms may be used in phenomenological research, to identify nuances of meaning. Thus, it is more usual to talk of "data gathering" rather than "collection" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.172), as it comes closer to expressing the ethical stance, whereby the researcher engages with the participants, in an intersubjective relationship, allowing them to give freely, rather than 'mining' for information in a more objective way. This openness of this approach is supported

by the open-ended direction of the conversations, during the interviews, which gives participants more freedom in the matter and manner of sharing their experiences.

This research focuses on fourteen individuals, both adults and young people, who are connected with one particular school, in one area in Scotland. The issues raised in this study, are, I believe, ones that many will recognise. Here are the words of young people at school, of teachers, of parents at home, and of teachers, who are also parents: these are people, whose inner lives are like ours. In many ways, though, this **is** a snapshot in time: a few days in the lives of a few people in one place, in 2016. But, just as a photograph or a poem may record a single personal moment, but speak in some way to many, these individual and personal experiences may have meaning for us all.

My reading of the literature had indicated that there is a great deal of research on what goes on in schools, and indeed, 'what' happens to young people, teachers and parents in the educational process. There is less research that focuses on the personal experience of school life: 'how' people understand what happens to them, and how these day-to-day experiences affect people, and how they are shaped and informed by these experiences.

This research is to try to fill this gap and as such, I wanted to meet some young people for whom school is not a straightforward experience, as well as parents and teachers in their school. Young people, such as some of these, might previously have been placed in a special school or unit, for all or part of their education. Others might have been excluded, or have been absent from school for periods of time, or have had difficulty in mainstream classrooms. Under the policy of the "presumption of mainstreaming", these young people are now educated in mainstream classrooms, with additional "targeted support" if it is needed (Scotland, 2017; 2009). These young people may often be some of those who may benefit greatly from learning in an 'inclusive' environment, but, at the same time, feel marginalised in school, and it was their voices that I wished to hear, together with those of their teachers and parents.

As a teacher myself, I had entered this research project with a respect for those in schools, and with a recognition that schools, which are dynamic and complex, are run as "competent systems" (Florian, Rouse and Black-Hawkins, 2016, p.2), by individuals, who work as agents to ensure that all might flourish in the school. It seemed to me, during my interaction with the school, that those working in this school recognised and dealt with the complexities of people's lives every day, in a rapidly changing environment, as best they could, within the constraints of national and local legislation, and of school events and resources, on any

given day. Teachers and other staff found solutions to problems, 'on the hoof' and reacted, often swiftly and of necessity, without the benefit of a long consultative process, to the particular challenges and areas of compromise, and were realistic in what was possible within their own system and parameters.

4.2 Ethical considerations

Ethics in this research are not seen as a "set of rules to be followed" (Stern, 2009, p.136), but as a thread running through the process from start to finish. Stern (ibid., p.147) calls for "virtuous research", where the research and the researcher display the virtues of, "sincerity, trust, courage, kindness, modesty, humility, truthfulness, openness to criticism and respect", in a similar manner to Pring (2000), when he talks of the "attitudes, dispositions and virtues" of the researcher. I have endeavoured to be that "virtuous researcher", with particular awareness of "vicious research", with its dangers of "stealing or ignoring souls" (Stern, 2009, p.139), through misrepresenting people and their private selves, and ignoring "the ambiguity of the response" and the "complexity of the human search for meaning" (ibid., p.141).

If inclusive education is based on what Veck (2014) calls "the ethical imperative" to include others, it would follow that research into the processes and practices of inclusion, should be similarly ethical. However, it is important to note, as Roberts (2000) makes clear, in respect of research with children, that such research, "does not necessarily place researchers on the moral high-ground", and at all points I have attempted to maintain humility towards the project and towards the participants, valuing and respecting their knowledge and understanding of their own worlds, and the right of each, as an individual, to every opportunity to flourish, as all others, at school.

While engaging conceptually with the work of Levinas and the ethics of the Other and our personal response to, and responsibility for, that Other in this research, it becomes an ethical imperative that I encounter and respond to those Others, expressed as the more close and intimate, "encounter with the face of the other", explored by Levinas (Morgan, 2011, p.85).

 Although Stern may state that ethics is not a "set of rules" to follow (Stern, 2009), part of an ethical approach to research is to follow official guidelines, in order to develop what Silverman calls, "thoughtful, well-informed ethical practice" (2010, p.164). As such, this research is in accordance with four sets of main guidelines (British Educational Research Association (BERA), 2018 and 2011; University of Edinburgh, College of Humanities and

Social Science, 2008; Ethical Research Involving Children (ERIC), n.d.), to ensure an ethical basis to the research and that I fulfil all responsibilities (BERA, 2011; Israel and Hay, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln, 1984; Ryen, 2004), most particularly in respect of children (Alderson and Morrow, 2011; Bjarnason, 2009b; Morrow, 2008; Cashmore, 2006; Stalker, 1998). The overriding consideration of the research was the safety and wellbeing of the participants, and that, for the young people, they had the right to be "properly researched" (Beazley et al., 2009), that is, based on an international standard of Children's Rights (United Nations, 2007).

From the guidelines, I identified a number of areas, of which I should be particularly aware in relation to this research: consent, anonymity and confidentiality; vulnerability and power; beneficence, and non-maleficence. At the same time, I was aware that researchers should be able to respond to ethical dilemmas which occur during the research, through developing "moral imaginations" (Israel and Hay, 2006; Hay, 1998) and a philosophical approach to ethical considerations, whereby their decisions are not merely a response to guidelines, but involve a personal responsibility and agency (Hay and Israel, 2009; Hay, 1998).

4.2.1 Consent

This research is with three distinct groups of people, (young people, families and teachers), which calls for different format and wording in all documents given to participants, using age- and stage- appropriate language, avoiding ambiguity and jargon, to ensure that there is absolute clarity about the research, about my motives in doing it, that there is no "hidden agenda" (Vanderbeck, 2006, pp.158–159). This is to ensure that all are fully aware of the nature of the research, the processes, the possible outcomes and, as far as I am able, the implications and commitment of their voluntary participation in it, giving, "a clear and truthful account" (Silverman, 2010, p.178). To have different explanations about the research and forms of consent, is not to seek to marginalise or be disrespectful to some participants, but is a recognition of differences and of the researcher's responsibility to make "workable local adaptations" and be responsive to the individual needs of participants (Ryen, 2004, p.221). It was ensured, as far as possible, that the full implications of people's personal participation in, and commitment to, the research was understood, prior to gaining signed consent. For minors, the signed consent of the parent/carers was obtained, even where these were not involved in the research themselves, as well as the signed consent of a member of the school management team, prior to interviews.

While it can never be possible to predict fully the outcomes of any research, given unforeseen outcomes of consequences, information concerning the different stages of the research process were clarified, including how the research would be written up and that it would be included in a thesis, which other researchers could access and use.

Exactly what constitutes 'informed' consent is much debated, and the use of the word 'informed' carries with it the implication of competence to make judgements (Vanderbeck, 2006, p.158). As the process of gaining informed consent should be "dynamic and continuous" and renegotiable (Israel and Hay, 2006, p.64), it was made clear to each participant, at several points in the process, that each was entitled to withdraw from participation, at any time, should they wish to do so, with no penalty to themselves.

Given that all the interviews took place in the school setting, I was aware from the outset, of the "stratified hierarchy of consent" (Ryen, 2004, p.220), which may affect the extent to which people feel free to give, or withhold, their consent. While coercion would seem unlikely in this setting, I remained particularly aware of the subtlety of persuasion, which may take place between members of families, teachers or peer groups within school. (Israel and Hay, 2006, p.10).

4.2.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

All the participants were informed that I would "endeavour to maintain anonymity" (Israel and Hay, 2006, p.155) for all those involved, in order to protect them and any personal information they may have revealed about themselves. This encapsulates the understanding that it may not always be possible, or desirable, to guarantee complete anonymity in all situations. I ensured that it was clearly understood that I would only pass on information, if it were unavoidable, as in considerations of child protection. Where this might have an impact on information people were willing to share with me, then the protection of the vulnerable would take precedence. Some teachers were concerned about their anonymity, which might be revealed, for example, through distinctive career paths or professional reputation, but I ensured that I would not reveal any detail or distinctive information, which might allow identification. Young people were also aware of this, asking on several occasions if they could "use real names" or if I would "tell teachers". At each stage, I reiterated my approach to confidentiality. In terms of the young participants, where I perceived an issue, I asked the participant's permission to talk to a third party, explaining precisely my reasons, with whom I would talk and that I would inform them of the content of that proposed conversation. On all occasions, the participants agreed to this approach.

I was also aware that the anonymity of the individual school may not be guaranteed, as it has certain distinctive characteristics, and therefore obtained the opinion and permission of the Gatekeeper concerning these identifiers. Geographic descriptions were general, adding an additional layer of anonymity to individuals, beyond the pseudonym assigned to each, and the removal of all proper names, and identifiable references from the transcriptions, "to allay the informants' fears" (Vanderbeck, 2006, p.156).

Issues about anonymity are not always clear-cut, as, while some participants may wish their contribution to be acknowledged in the thesis, others might have concerns about how their anonymised information may be used (Silverman, 2010, p.167). This is as true of individuals, as it is of the school, per se. There is also something of a paradox in anonymising research, which aims to empower those whose voices have not been heard and who have been marginalised. Some may wish their participation in the process to be known, particularly for example, where their involvement may be celebrated, or they address a group in the school or community, whereas others may wish to remain anonymous. As with all issues, the wellbeing and protection of the participants, overode all other considerations (Israel and Hay, 2006, p.148). In line with ethical practice, (BERA, 2011), it was agreed prior to the start of interviews, that I would inform the school of the findings of the research, once the thesis was in the public domain. This approach retains the anonymity of the individual participants.

4.2.3 Vulnerability and power

 In this research, there are particular concerns on account of the age of the participants (young people between the ages of 12 and 16), the additional needs of some of the young people, and also for some of the adults. An imbalance of power may occur, arising from a range of factors, such as reduced literacy skills, learning difficulties, health difficulties or association with criminal activity, for example. There may also be a question of the balance of power in the relationships between the management of the school and teachers in unpromoted posts; between the school lives of young people and their home lives (Duncan et al., 2009); within families; and between families and school staff.

Another source of vulnerability can occur in the balance of power in the relationship between myself, as researcher, and the participants. This may arise from how I am perceived, and 'whose side' I may appear to be on, having come from elsewhere to 'do' research. As my access to the school had been gained through the 'gatekeepers' of the local authority, and

members of the senior management of the school, it was possible that I would be perceived as being 'with' them. Conversely, of course, these very people also held a position of power over me, as researcher, as they controlled my access to participants and to the life of the school. The way I was perceived might fluctuate between insider and outsider, depending on whom I was with at any time, although I endeavoured to prevent that being the case. Conscious of these potential difficulties, I worked to gain the trust of people, understanding that they may have a natural reticence to talking to me about some issues, on account of whom I might tell about their lives, or how I might react or perceive them.

In this type of research, people may find themselves reliving experiences from their past which they have not articulated previously, and which may be emotionally difficult (Stern, 2009, p.139). This is a particular type of vulnerability, which must be understood by a sensitive researcher. It was made clear to each participant, that they must not feel any compulsion to share information with me, and that they may stop at any time, either for a short time or completely. As researcher, I was aware of the space that people are in, both emotionally and physically, and remained responsive to their wellbeing at all times. This meant that I ensured that I veered away from topics or conversations, which seemed to be difficult, or emotionally demanding in some way, providing the participants with an 'escape', through a moment of silence, a change of topic, or activity.

Vulnerability was also an issue I was aware of, in respect of my personal wellbeing, or safety, arising, for example, from personal difficulties people might share with me, to which I must remain sympathetic, without allowing them to affect me emotionally. I was in some way prepared for this, after many years of working in mainstream and special schools, with young people and their families, who have experienced much difficulty and sadness in their lives. While there were moments during the interviews, when I was emotionally affected by others, there were no situations which were too difficult or personally demanding. At all times, I remained aware of my position as a guest in the school and with people who have chosen to share aspects of their lives. I hoped that by my manner and demeanour and by being true to what I said I would do, that my empathy and respect was communicated at all times to the participants.

In many ways, all research may be viewed as in some way "political" (Robson, 2002, p.72; Benjamin, 2002a; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p.159; Hammersley, 1995), in that it is inevitably bound up with the complexity of people's lives, as they are played out within societies. As I planned this research, I did not wish to be "naïve", in assuming that what I was doing was going to be "smooth and unproblematic", but rather I was aware that it might

be full of "political perils and ethical pitfalls" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p.159). As someone, who was conducting this type of research for the first time, I was aware of my own potential vulnerability in this and remained open to advice from others, such as my Supervisors, or the Ethical Committee, were I to be faced with a complex ethical dilemma. In the context of the school, I remained in touch with the gatekeeper, or his deputy, ensuring that I made personal contact with them at each visit, to share my concerns and allay any they might have. In the event, while the interviews were, at times, personally demanding, I did not feel I encountered difficulties, which could not be managed. This was in part due to the sound ethical basis of the research, which acted to guide all my decisions, and partly due to the open and fair ethos of the school, which was evident in all aspects of my interaction with members of the community of the school, most particularly in the presence of the gatekeeper.

4.2.4 Beneficence

As the overriding consideration, this should be behind all difficult ethical decisions and situations which may arise during the research process (Silverman, 2010). Although it is I who undertook this research, as part of my doctoral work, I did not do so for my own gain, as my aims indicate. The community of the school and the neighbourhood may be able to benefit from gaining 'new' knowledge about people's previously unspoken experiences. New channels of communication could open between different groups in school/home and by widening participation a new, shared partnership approach to inclusion could be developed to the benefit of all in the community. However, it may not always be clear exactly what might constitute benefit, or be perceived as of benefit, to a community (Diniz, 2003, p.204). Individual participants might gain benefit from engaging in the process, as well as the outcomes of the research in different ways, in the opportunity to voice their views, in reflecting on events, or reconsidering emotional responses. Young people might gain personally in becoming aware of the research process, or in being viewed as competent, and having influence in their own lives (Lundy and McEvoy, 2012). At all times, the young people were at the heart of this research, and were viewed as competent individuals, whose views were valuable and unique, and as major contributors to adults' knowledge and understanding of their lives.

 Wider beneficence may arise through a contribution to the Academic community, and to other researchers who may be able to continue this work, or develop it in a different direction. It is hoped that schools might uncover new ways of working, and of understanding pupils, that may benefit pupils, as well as teachers and families. The research aims to

benefit not only the participants, but other young people, families and teachers in schools, unknown to me.

4.3 Location of the research

It had been my intention, as I first approached this research, to gain understanding from a broad spectrum of experience from young people and adults across three different secondary schools. It was made clear to me early on in the process, that such an approach would generate too much data and be too time-consuming for phenomenological research, undertaken by one person. The strength and importance of the phenomenological methodology lie in the unique access it may give to the depth of individual experience, and thus it was important to limit the research to personal in-depth interviews, with a small number of people in one school. In this context of doctoral research, a larger study with a greater number of participants from a number of schools would be more suited to a different methodology and would not address my research question or aims. Phenomenological methodology and the methods which arise from it were particularly appropriate, as I sought answers to my research question and were in line with my aims of revealing the nuances of the lived experience of inclusive education, and of gaining understanding of the meaning of those experiences, in the words of those seldom heard in research. For these reasons I decided to I locate the research in one school.

As part of the bracketing process, in order to distance myself from any prior knowledge of people or place, I had decided to work in an area in Scotland, with which I was unfamiliar, both professionally and personally. As I had connections with some areas and Local Authorities, I felt it was important that I did not begin with any assumptions about a particular school, however 'unconscious' these may have been. My hope was to find an 'average' mainstream secondary school, serving a socially and geographically mixed area. 'Average' in this sense was, to my mind, a school, which was generally similar to others, had neither a reputation as a 'good' school, nor as a not so good school, and was not perceived as doing particularly well, or badly, in terms of its approach to inclusion.

Located within the central area of Scotland, the region has a mixed urban, semi-urban and rural population, with most of the population living in a number of small towns, and one larger town. Local transport links are good, and the countryside is easily accessible for leisure and outdoor activities, as well as a number of historic sites of importance. The area has previously had some considerable difficulties with long-term unemployment and lack of

opportunity, due to the closure of important local industries, particularly mining, but is now beginning to move forward from older forms of employment, as a result of a number of initiatives at governmental and local level. A number of military bases in the area provide opportunities for employment and also impact on schools in the area, in terms of numbers and transience. The area is socially mixed, across the range, including some areas of continuing high deprivation, as well as pockets of moderate affluence. The good transport links allow access to nearby larger towns for further education and employment opportunities in service industries. Several institutions of higher education are within reasonable daily travelling distance, as well as employability and apprenticeship opportunities, through schemes and initiatives for adults and young people.

Gaining access to the school required three stages and took several weeks. Initially, I approached the Regional Education Department by telephone and email, and submitted their request form, which I was sent, along with my research proposal and research request. I was then granted permission to proceed and was invited to send the information about the project to the Head Teachers of all secondary schools in the area. I did this by email, outlining the nature of the research, and what I was asking of schools and individual participants, including the approximate number of interviews, how these were to be conducted and the timeframe I envisaged for my involvement with the schools. Subsequently, I received one very positive expression of interest, together with the school's agreement to participation in the research and I made arrangements to meet the Deputy Head of the school, in person, at the school. During this initial meeting, we talked extensively about the project, about what I was hoping to achieve, as well as the commitment, in terms of time and possible disruption, for the school. The Deputy Head asked me a number of questions and listened to all I said. He spoke at length and with feeling about the school's interpretation of, and approach to, inclusion, and of the range of issues and difficulties he felt that the staff were facing, as well as the initiatives that had been put in place. I accepted the school's invitation to undertake research with members of the school community, and the Deputy Head agreed to act as the 'gatekeeper' for my time in the school. At all times, he was generous with his time and commitment to the project, and in full support of the research, laying open all aspects of the school to me, and inviting me to comment and suggest areas, which might be improved, in the school's approach to inclusion.

In many ways, Lochanview Community High School (a pseudonym) fitted my criteria exactly. It is a state, non-denominational, non-selective secondary school of about 700 pupils, aged 11-18. It occupies a single building, built more than thirty years ago, surrounded by a large, open public space, located about half a mile from a small town, serving a socially mixed

population. It is known as a 'community' school and in this capacity, the school is used by local residents, adults and young people, as a learning, sporting and leisure centre, for the area. Community classes are held in the school buildings and using the school facilities, but Lochanview is not, however, a community school in the genre of those from the 1970's and 1980's, with their particular ethos and philosophy.[33] Community classes are run by a different set of professionals, and the community section has its own administration.[34]

The School's website is the main source of information about the school, with further official documents and reports available, as with other Scottish schools, from regional and national sources. The school normally performs well in national assessments, and the vast majority of school leavers go on to "positive destinations", such as higher or further education, training or employment (Scotland, 2016). Currently a very small number of pupils from the school live in some of the most deprived areas of Scotland, and there is a spread across all the other deciles, with the mean occurring slightly above the national average.[35] The number of pupils with the entitlement to Free School Meals is below the national average. Approximately 5% of pupils do not speak English as their first language, and 30% of all pupils are recorded as having additional support needs, across twenty categories.[36] (See Appendix B).

The School Handbook sets out the school's aims and information for pupils and parents. It states that partnerships with parents and with pupils are an important priority, and communicates with parents regularly through information evenings, the school website, emails and newsletters, and invites feedback on various issues. In addition, a Parents' Committee runs social events, and is used as a forum to raise and discuss issues of concern. The school operates an 'open door' policy for parents to contact the school. Pupils are all encouraged to be involved in the life of the school, and to participate in a wide range of clubs, activities and events which take place. The school has a high profile of presentation in local and national events, and celebrates the achievements of pupils. In

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[33] For an overview of the history and development of the Community School movement, see Smith, (2014).

[34] Interestingly, this was one area of regret I heard expressed from one adult participant: that some young people could benefit from interaction with some of the caring and interested adults who attend during the day, but that such meetings were difficult to arrange, with barriers arising from the need for registration with the Protection of Vulnerable Persons scheme, an additional Safeguarding Policy, as well as the need for additional staff to supervise, and a time commitment from the visitors.

[35] These figures are from SIMD: The Scottish Indicators of Multiple Deprivation. (See Appendix C).

[36] The government documents outline broad areas of additional need entitlement, including difficulties arising from social, emotional, behavioural, health, environment, disability, family environment and learning reasons. (See Appendix B, for more details).

addition, pupils are encouraged to engage with the local community, in work experience, or in supporting charitable events. There is a Pupil Council with representation from each year group in the school and a House Council, for each 'House' in the school, where issues of importance may be raised and discussed and passed on to the school management team. The school has recognised the importance of 'student voice' as an area for development. A number of statements clarify the school's emphasis on learning, developing potential and the importance of relationships, as it seeks to be an equitable and inclusive community of support, care and respect, offering opportunities for all.

An important feature of inclusion in schools in Scotland, is that a number of young people, who might previously have been educated in alternative provision, are now in mainstream classrooms, as well as those in need of additional, 'targeted' support, and this school is no exception (Scotland, 2000 Section 15). There is an active Support Department and currently seven Learning Assistants, in addition to teaching staff. The Guidance system is very active and works closely with the Learning Support and the Behavioural Support departments. The school does not have a Support Base (see Appendix C), as some similar schools do, as it tries to support pupils within the classroom, or through individualised timetables, in line with the policy on inclusion.   Relations with the feeder primary schools and a nearby special school are good, and this means that there is some flexibility in the transition of young people into the secondary school, including arrangements for some to have a 'split site' for their education, attending both the special school and the secondary school during each week. The school also takes a number of young people every year, on placement requests[37] and works with neighbouring secondary schools, to admit pupils on a temporary and occasional basis for a few weeks, to assist in a crisis situation, and to help avoid the likelihood of school exclusion.

4.4 Preparation for the interviews

4.4.1 Information, consent and ethical approval

Following the initial meeting with the gatekeeper, I gave him the information sheets I had prepared for the pupils and for interested parents, as well as the consent forms. The information sheet I had prepared for staff was to be circulated to all teachers and learning

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[37] Young people normally attend the named secondary school in their geographic area, known as the catchment area. Parents may request a place for their child at a different school (See Appendix C).

assistants in the school. I had prepared three different types of information sheet about the project (see Appendix A), which had been a requirement of the Ethics Committee, and in accordance with recommended ethical guidelines, particularly with respect to the safe storage of personal data (BERA, 2011). There were specific information sheets for Parents and Guardians, for Teachers and Teaching Assistants, and for Pupils. This latter was age-appropriate, for all pupils, including for those who might be unable to read, using clear language and an uncluttered format, which could be read by, or read to, students, in accordance with the ethical principle that all aspects of the research process should be fully accessible to child participants (Lundy and McEvoy, 2012). The information gave a brief background to the project, its aims, and what involvement would entail. Each participant would be interviewed once, for no longer than about an hour. A second, much shorter meeting would be held with each participant, several months later, in order to give feedback, to give or read a transcription, and for participants to have the opportunity to check its accuracy. I included information about privacy and a short paragraph about myself, as well as my contact details. In order to make the information accessible to those with different additional needs, I had also prepared for the possibility of a translator, if some people were not able to express themselves freely in English, or a Braille translation. In the event, neither was needed, at any point.

For ethical reasons and for clarity, I had four types of Consent Form (see Appendix A) and these were given to the participants by the gatekeeper, who also collected the signed copies and handed them to me, prior to any interviews taking place. The different consent forms were for Teachers and Teaching Assistants; Young People taking part in the research; Parents and Guardians of Young People taking part in the research; Parents and Guardians participating in the research. In each case, there were a number of clearly worded statements, to which agreement was shown by means of a tick, a name, date and signature. On account of the vulnerability of the young people, there was also the option of having an assistant or supporter present at the interviews, and the form included a section for the latter's name and signature. This option was chosen by three participants. The statements concerned participants' understanding of the project, the option to leave at any point, confidentiality and anonymity, the possible future publication of the report (thesis), and a clause to allow me as researcher to inform a third party, if I became aware, during the interviews, of any danger or abuse which might affect the participant. All consent forms were signed, well in advance of the interviews. As a further measure, at the start of each individual interview, I showed the participant his or her own signed consent form and checked again that it had been understood and willingly signed, and I reiterated the main points, particularly that they were free to leave at any point.

4.4.2 Personal preparation for the interviews

As part of my personal preparation for this phase of the project, I kept a reflective diary, and continued to do this throughout the fieldwork phase of the research. The diary gave detailed descriptions of my observations on each of the days of interviewing and I used them extensively in the analysis stage of the project.

I had read considerably on interviewing and in particular on the phenomenological interview (Van Manen, 2014, 1990; Vagle, 2014; Englander, 2012; Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008; Kvale, 2007; Groenewald, 2004; Moustakas, 1994), as well as a number of accounts of research interviews, and familiarised myself with the very particular approach to such a 'conversation' and my role as a listener within the conversation, to allow the voice of the participant to emerge. I was aware of the power imbalance in the interview situation, and this is heightened where some of the participants are vulnerable, not only on account of their age, but also because of their additional needs, and I kept this at the forefront of my mind, at every stage (BERA, 2011; Corbin and Morse, 2003; Stalker, 1998; Booth and Booth, 1994).

The aim of the phenomenological interview, or conversation, was that each person may allow me to gain access to, and glimpses of, their experience, as a means of understanding more about the phenomenon of inclusive education (van Manen, 2014, p.299). I was to keep my gaze fixed, as it were, on the 'how' of the experience, rather than the 'what' and 'why'. As a preparation, I formulated some notes about the ways in which pupils, teachers and parents might feel about school, in certain situations. These arose from my experience as a teacher and also as a learner. I used these as a starting point for understanding that these were examples of my assumptions and bias, and would prevent me from seeing the truth of any experience I might hear about. I reflected on my personal situation and background, as well as the knowledge and experience I had gained in my professional life. Becoming aware of these, was part of the process of bracketing, in the phenomenological reduction (Van Manen, 2014; Giorgi, 2007; Farrell, 2000; Moustakas, 1994) or, "bridling" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008) my pre-judging of anything I might hear or see.

On a practical note, I obtained two digital voice recorders (one as a back-up), and a foot control to use with my computer. I attended an NVIVO[38] course, but decided, after reading extensively about the iterative processes of reflection, in order to gain insight into phenomenological interviews, that, as far as I was concerned, no software would be able to replace my thought processes, in the sense of the intimate relationship which develops

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[38] NVIVO is the name of one type of qualitative data analysis software.

between thought, reading and writing in phenomenological research (van Manen, 2014, p.365). I was told that each interview would produce a lengthy transcription, and this indeed proved to be the case, particularly as I also wrote notes alongside, to indicate body movements, gestures, inflections or any other details, which gave depth and richness to the accounts, and from which, together with my diary, I drew extensively during my analysis, reflection and writing. I also attended a course on ethics in qualitative research, and two courses on the safe and secure handling of data, generated in qualitative research, both provided by the University of Edinburgh.

The project was approved for Level II Ethical Approval from the University Ethics Committee (See Appendix A), and I also obtained membership of the Protection of Vulnerable Groups Scheme[39], which was a requirement of the Regional Council.

4.5 Participants

There are a number of criteria to be met, in the selection of participants, in phenomenological research, and principal amongst these, is that the participant has experienced the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994 p.107) and is willing and able to talk about it, or to convey their experience of it to the interviewer, to allow rich data to emerge and for insights to be gained (van Manen, 2014, p 353). As I wished to gain insight and understanding into the experience of an inclusive education, my intention was to speak to young people who faced additional challenges in their daily life in school, from a number of different reasons, as well as any parents, who wished to talk about their children's placement in the school. I was interested to talk to staff, both teachers and Learning Assistants, who were closely involved with additional support, as well as other teaching staff who wished to participate in the research.

It is not appropriate to think in terms of a representative sample, nor of reaching a saturation point, in the way it may be in other types of qualitative research. Because the phenomenological researcher wishes to gain insight and understanding into the lived experience of a phenomenon, the possible number of participants may theoretically be infinite, to reflect the variety of experience in human life (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, 176). On the other hand, as few as one might reveal great depth. There is some

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[39] The PVG scheme is a government-run system for disclosure and criminal checks, mandatory for all who work, or are involved with, young and/or vulnerable people, in any capacity. (See Appendix C).

variety in the numbers of participants in phenomenological studies, but many studies range between one and about twenty participants. I planned to have between ten and fifteen participants, of whom some were to be young people, some to be teachers, and some to be parents. I did not predetermine how many would be from each of these, nor the gender of the participants.

 As part of my ethical approach to this research, I was particularly aware of the fact that some of the pupils I wished to meet were likely to be vulnerable, and not at ease when approached by a stranger, or when confronted with a situation which is unfamiliar. In addition, I was concerned that some might feel under an obligation to agree to participate, and not be able to refuse. I know from my professional and personal experience, that it takes time for trust to build up between people, and that my position as an 'outsider' coming into the school, to do what might be perceived as 'research on' people, might not be well received. For these reasons, in consideration of the gatekeeper's pastoral role in the school, and after some discussion with him, I arranged that he might approach some young people, on my behalf, to see if they might be willing to participate. Although I was aware of the authority of his position in the school, and had some concerns about the influence that a gatekeeper might have on the research (Crowhurst and kennedy-macfoy, 2013), I felt that, on balance, this approach was better than any other. I stressed to him that the approach be open and genuine, with no coercion, however unintended, to be conveyed, and trusted in his integrity, which proved to be of the highest order, at all stages of my involvement with the school.

After a few days, I revisited the school to discuss the potential participants with the gatekeeper, who were all boys, aged 12 and 13 years.   I then requested that he approach some slightly older pupils, including some girls, in order to give a broader range of experience of school, in terms of age, gender and additional needs. This he subsequently did, asking two girls, who were both enthusiastic in their willingness to speak about their experiences. Three teachers, and one Learning Assistant, who was also a parent, wanted to be involved, as well as the gatekeeper himself. Two mothers had expressed interest, through reading the information their children had brought home, and these two, when approached, also became participants. A Carer (see Appendix C) had also expressed a wish to be involved and had given consent, but later had to withdraw at short notice, on the morning of the interview, when the placement of the young person was suddenly in crisis. I felt that this was, in many ways, a metaphor for the difficult and unpredictable nature of day-to-day life of those involved with schools and with young people.

There were fourteen participants in the interviews; seven adults and seven young people. All participants were native English speakers. The adults had all volunteered to be part of the project, either when they had received the information sent to staff, or, in the case of the two mothers, when they had read the information given to their sons. Of the young people, two were girls and five were boys, aged between twelve and sixteen years. These were approached directly by the gatekeeper, as they had come to the attention of the Pastoral and Management teams in the school, as being vulnerable for a number of different reasons. Thus, broadly speaking, all had been identified as having 'additional needs', which required support beyond the normal level given to all pupils.[40] (See Figure 1, for a diagram of the participants).
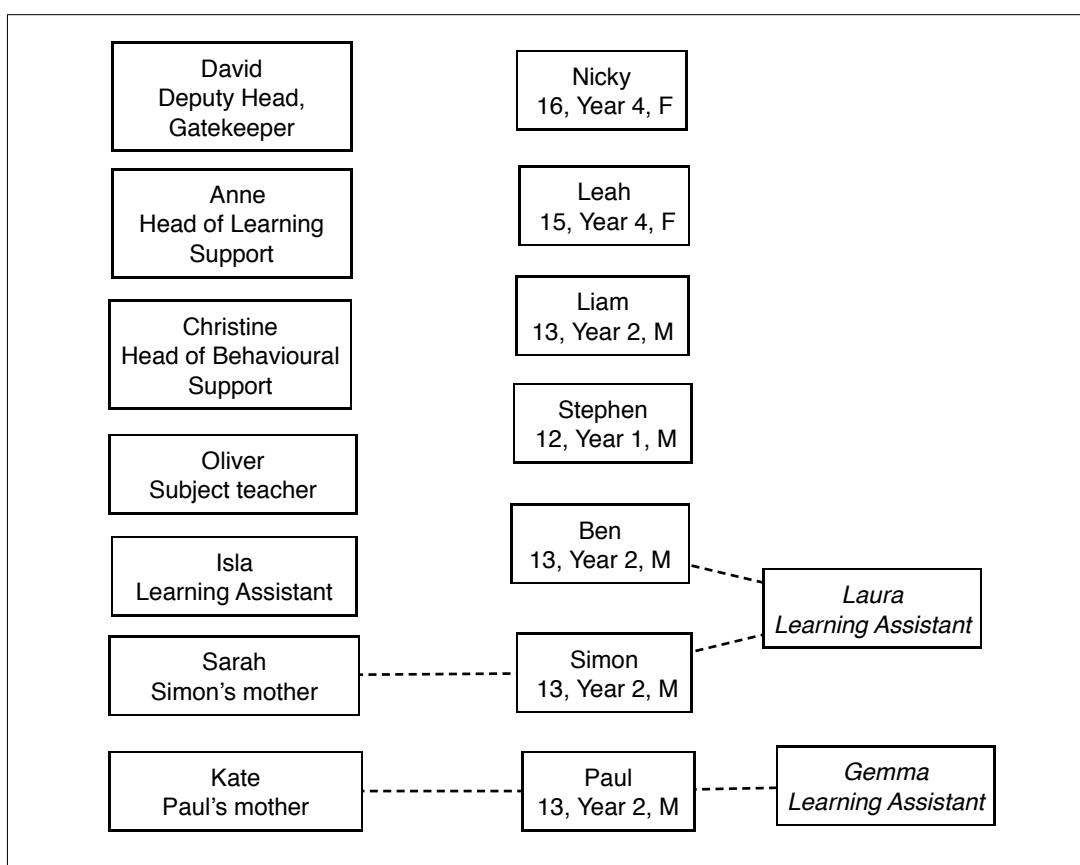
KEY: Adult participants are shown with a role descriptor. Child participants are shown with age, school year group and gender. Learning Assistants in italic print were present at interviews as pupil support, but were not interviewed as participants in the project.

Figure 1. Diagram of adult and child interview participants (also at Figure 15).

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[40] Under the terms of the Education(Additional Support for Learning Act (Scotland) 2009, young people are entitled to a range of additional support in the mainstream school, via a tiered system.

I felt that these participants were appropriate for my study and fulfilled the necessary criteria (Moustakas, 1994, p.104), in that each had experience of the phenomenon of inclusive education, and was willing and able to tell me, or convey to me, what these individual and varied experiences meant for them. The richness of their accounts and the insights each has given, have justified their participation in the project.

I wished to include one pupil (Paul) in the project, whom the gatekeeper had mentioned to me, as he had some learning and communication needs, which might otherwise have meant his placement full-time in a special school. Paul's enrolment in the secondary school, for part of his education, had been at the request of his mother, Kate, following a similar arrangement during the primary phase. I had made an arrangement to meet Kate, to discuss the interview process, as someone who was closely linked to Paul, and knew him the best (Booth and Booth, 1994). When she and I met, she expressed her interest in the project and in Paul's inclusion in it (Clarke et al., 2005). I asked her to convey information to Paul about the process and the outcome of the research, in a way that she felt he could understand. As an ethical approach to gaining his consent, rather than assent (Morrow, 2017), I also asked her to make it clear to him that he did not have to meet me, and to give him the choice not to come to the interview, in the manner of a second gatekeeper (Booth and Booth, 1994, p.417). We arranged that, if Paul were happy to do so, Kate would bring him to meet me informally, a few days before his interview, at the end of a school day (Stalker, 1998, p.11). This would also give him the opportunity to see the room, where the interview was to be held. At that time, I was able to chat to Paul, to begin to put him at his ease and to build trust. I felt that these were ways, in which I could be more sure that he had given his consent to participation, and that his consent had not been assumed, and he would now be able to make an informed choice, about whether he wished to attend the interview, or to meet me again. Later, at the interview, I asked Paul if he was happy to talk to me, and for me to record and later write down and tell other people the things he had told me. I explained that I would not use his name, or the name of his school, or of anyone he knew. By using clear and straightforward language, and with the encouragement of the Learning Assistant (Gemma), I felt that he had understood what I said. I was aware of some very particular ethical issues pertaining to the inclusion of a participant with some communication and cognitive difficulties in the research, and the need for a different range of approaches, (Nind, 2012; Lewis and Porter, 2004; Booth and Booth, 1996), but, I felt that it was an important and ethical aspect of the project, that his presence and "voice" should be heard, and his competence in knowing his own experiences and feelings were to be respected, as an equal participant in the project.

4.5.1 The influence of the gatekeeper in the selection of participants

The position of the gatekeeper is a crucial one, and one which can have a strong influence over the way in which the researcher can access participants and 'hear' particular stories. In this project, there were a number of ways in which the gatekeeper had influence over those I met, or did not meet, in the school, and there were certain limitations arising from this. Here, I identify first the ways in which I worked with the gatekeeper, before turning to how I perceived and managed any limitations, which arose from his influence.

Prior to meeting the gatekeeper for the first time, I had planned that I would identify potential participants through a staged process, whereby I would invite pupils from across the school age-range, to describe an experience of school-life which was important to them, in any way they preferred (written or recorded words or art-work, for example), and also indicate their willingness to be involved in the project. In conversation with the gatekeeper, it quickly became apparent that, for the school, this was not a suitable approach to the identification of participants. There were a number of reasons for this. It was the summer term, and the school's timetable was disrupted on account of examinations and other activities. Such a broad approach did not fit with the manner in which the school worked on a daily basis and the gatekeeper felt that it was too time-consuming for staff and pupils.

It was then clear to me that the gatekeeper was to have considerable influence over the choice of participants in the research. He held a high position in the school, as a deputy head and head of two year groups, and was also a long-standing member of staff, well-respected by staff and pupils. His role as 'gatekeeper' was in a sense pre-determined by the school prior to my arrival, as it had been his task to respond to my initial approach and act as my point of contact in the school.

The gatekeeper was a strong personality and talked at length, during the pre-interview meetings, about inclusion, the school and a wide range of educational, social and political issues. I later had to work to 'bracket' these during the interviews and analysis stages of the project. His initial choices of participants were guided by whom he thought would be 'useful' for me. At first these were quite narrow choices, in line with a 'traditional' view of inclusion as 'special needs', and were pupils known to have autistic spectrum disorder, (ASD), attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), developmental delay or illness, for example. I suggested at this earlier point, that a wider view of additional needs might include pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD), amongst other difficulties, and he

immediately mentioned one pupil who came to mind. After further discussion, he included two girls at my request, who were further up the school: Leah and Nicky.

It was my impression after I had met Leah that she might have been chosen as something of a 'success' story, as someone whom the school thought it had done well by. The gatekeeper spoke of how the school had worked with Leah to find out what was needed to address her severe dyslexia, and that this had been something of a 'learning curve' for staff in the school. The gatekeeper's reasons for Nicky's inclusion in the project were less clear. Nicky is Leah's friend, with less obvious additional needs (at first impression), and was perhaps chosen on account of their close association with each other through friendship. The fact that Nicky was far from positive, when she spoke about her experience in school, indicated to me that the gatekeeper was not trying to manipulate the impression I would gain about the school's approach to inclusion, by only allowing me access to young people who might paint a positive picture.

In terms of the teachers, I had the impression that the gatekeeper had only approached two teachers, both of whom had important support roles in the school (as Heads of Behaviour and Learning Support), and as such, were particularly involved in the support of pupils with additional needs. A younger teacher, recently arrived from a special school post, had particularly requested to be involved in the project, and together with the gatekeeper himself, these four were the teacher participants in the project. From discussion with the gatekeeper, and in the course of the interviews, it became apparent that not all teachers in the school were favourably disposed towards the move towards inclusive practices in the school. I felt the lack of teachers suggested by him spoke strongly of the attitude alluded to by all adult participants, that many were not 'on board' with the presumption of mainstreaming, when it came to children in their own classrooms. It might have been interesting to have extended the number of participants to include one of these in the research, but it was clear that the gatekeeper did not envisage this as a possibility.

In weighing the extent of the influence of the gatekeeper in the research process, I considered a number of points. Certainly he did exercise some control over the participants in the study, principally in terms of the selection of the young people in relation to their additional needs, and of the teachers in relation to their apparent support for the policies and practices of inclusion and this may be seen as a limitation. However, as my initial intended approach was too broad, and the methods I had suggested were too difficult, time-consuming and impractical in a large school at that time, I think that the compromise we reached after discussion, supports the selection of the participants. He had no influence at

all over the interviews, how I conducted them, or what any participant chose to say or not to say. He did not question any participant about what was said, as far as I am aware, and on no occasion did he question me in any way, subtly or directly, about the content of the interviews, nor the impressions I was gaining about the participants' experience of inclusive education, as the interviews progressed.

It is also important to consider that the gatekeeper was flexible and willing to change his approach, after discussion with me, in which I indicated the types of pupils I wished to see in relation to a broader conception of inclusion, as those with a wider range of 'additional needs' and he was not obstructive or negative in responding to my views. My request to see someone being educated 'off-site' was refused on a variety of grounds, all of which were valid in the difficult circumstances which surround this area of education, and I respected his judgment in this. Throughout the interview process and as I undertook the analysis, I felt the participants he approached (or who approached him) were sufficiently different, independent and individual not to influence the outcomes in a particular direction.

In a positive way, I felt that the gatekeeper's involvement gave him some control over what was happening and consequently a greater investment in the project, and perhaps therefore more confidence in the results. In a sense, there was perhaps a compromise in the selection of participants, but it was in line with my approach as an ethical researcher, to conduct the research 'with' rather than 'on' the school and those within it. His greater knowledge of the pupils in the school, and of what might be manageable and acceptable to all, was invaluable to me as researcher, in enabling me to meet vulnerable pupils and staff and his open and trusting support enabled me access to the school and to undertake the interviews, without intervention.

Although this person was formally the 'gatekeeper', this is a narrow conception of his role. In the manner described by Booth and Booth (1994), he approached people who knew and trusted him in the school and presented the notion of the research in a way which was appropriate to each as an individual, and enabled them the possibility of refusal, which might have been less likely if I had approached them directly. The gatekeeper's involvement established the basis of a 'trusting relationship' (Booth and Booth 1994), which I was able to build on during the interviews, which was a significant factor in the success of the interviews, in enabling participants to talk freely of their lived experience and which contributed to the manner in which I was able to address the research question and aims of the study.

4.5.2. Background information about participants

I had some very general background information about some of the young people, who were willing to participate in the study, concerning issues, which might have an impact on their education and life at the school. I had asked for that information to be given to me without names, and I was unable to identify individual students from the information I was given, with the exception of Paul. I considered this an important part of the bracketing process, as I was not able to make assumptions about the participants, prior to our meeting. In this way, I could only know whatever they chose to tell me, during the interview. As part of my stance as an ethical researcher, I did not wish to prejudge any participant on the basis of a label he or she, may have acquired, as I was aware that this may have altered my approach in some way. More importantly, it might also act to diminish the unique singularity of each, in the manner described by Levinas, whom I must greet face to face (van Manen, 2014, p.232). This is to move beyond, or away from, Husserl's reduction, to a reduction of alterity, in which I must respond to the ethical responsibility placed upon me, by the call of the Other (van Manen, 2014, p.232).

Sometimes, some of the participants talked freely about their difficulties, or additional needs, and I came to recognise some from the information I had been given. Often this recognition only emerged gradually. However, some did not give information with labels and names, and this was also very revealing of their lived experiences. Three young people had asked to be accompanied to the interviews (Simon, Ben and Paul) and each came with a Learning Assistant. The Learning Assistants worked alongside a number of students in classes, both individually and in groups, and students were accustomed to being with a variety of assistants in school, not becoming dependent on any one individual.

There was a range of difficulties and reasons why these particular young people had been identified as having additional support needs and all were vulnerable in many ways. It was a complex mixture of inter-related social, emotional, behavioural and medical issues, sometimes with a specific learning difficulty, such as dyslexia, or a learning difficulty, such as delayed cognitive development, or an autistic spectrum disorder, which were having an impact on the young person's ability to engage with the educational process in the classroom, or even to attend school. Many of the issues were long-standing, and their effects reached back, into the primary school and pre-school years. Some had missed parts of their education, through illness or family disruption and some had been subjected to bullying in the primary school years, which had had a profound impact on them. Where there were behavioural issues, these were often linked to a difficult home life, early childhood

experiences, or ongoing problems in school, some of which were learning related. One young person (Liam) had recently been transferred from another school nearby, as he was under threat of permanent exclusion, on account of disruptive behaviour. His enrolment in Lochanview, was viewed by the school management team as another means of enacting inclusion, by allowing him to remain in the education system, and thereby improving his life chances. Another pupil (Paul) was on a 'split-site' placement. This was an arrangement, whereby he spent three days of the week at Lochanview, and the remaining two days at a special school nearby. All the participants were native English speakers.

All these young people are unique, but also like other young people, growing up in a difficult world. They are not some strange 'Other' that we must view as outsiders in our midst, with suspicion. They could be young people from any school. They could be me, they could be you. Their difficulties are a sad, but everyday, part of life in Britain today, and indeed, most likely, in many countries of the world.

4.6 The Phenomenological interviews

While the phenomenological interview may have a "conversational structure" (Van Manen, n.d.), these interviews are not merely conversations in the generally accepted sense, as the interviewer retains control of the overarching subject, (the phenomenon), as well as the arrangements (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.189). The interviewer should, however, endeavour to retain the atmosphere of a 'conversation' (Van Manen, 2014, p.315). The word 'interview' itself carries with it connotations of a question and answer session, of being 'put on the spot', of having to talk when you might not want to. In a school context, interviews might mean a pupil is in trouble, or having uncomfortable words with someone. The purpose of these interviews was not to 'mine' for information, but to allow people to reveal their experiences, as they felt, with my 'guidance', where this was appropriate. However, even the word, conversation' implies more of a two-way dialogue. There were times when there was dialogue, in the conventional sense of an exchange of views, during these interviews, but there were other times, when there was more of a "productive dialogue" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.187), which was attuned towards the phenomenon of inclusive education.

There were moments in the interviews, when we were 'chatting' about the participants' interests, but these were at moments, when I tried to create a more relaxed atmosphere and

to build up trust. True dialogue must require active listening, deep attention and thoughtfulness directed to the other person (Waks, 2008), both to the words, and also to the gestures, the voluntary and involuntary movements of the body, the periods of silence and the times when two voices mix. It is attention to the atmosphere, the turn of phrase and inflection of the voice, the exhalation of breath, or the tone of the sharp intake, the laugh, the look that turns away. This approach is an important aspect of all qualitative interviewing, but it is significant, when participants are particularly vulnerable, when the subject matter is emotional and difficult, and when the means of communication is not always straightforward. For my part in these dialogues, there were times when I spoke and posed a question, when I encouraged, or sought to develop a line of the other's thought, but there were also times when I responded to what had been said or conveyed, and where I was silent, thoughtful, reflecting on what I had heard, or where I was emotionally affected by what had been revealed. Thus, the interviews became "guided conversations" (Stalker, 1998), but ones in which the participants were sometimes also the guide, the listener and the respondent.

The literature indicates that the participant in the phenomenological interview is in the position of 'knowledge', in the sense that each one has experience of the phenomenon. The researcher, in this way, is more situated as learner. However, in the reality of the situation, I was sensitive to the issues surrounding the interview process, in that there was an implicit power imbalance between myself and the pupil participants, particularly, and also with the adult participants, but to a lesser extent. I did my best to redress this imbalance, whether 'real' or 'perceived', by my approach, tone and manner, as well as in the arrangement of the furniture and in the conduct of the interview. The first few moments of each interview were particularly important in establishing the atmosphere, to become one in which all participants felt able to speak openly and honestly about issues, which were, on occasion, very personal and difficult.

The purpose of each interview was to enable the participant to convey to me, directly or indirectly, their lived experience of school: what happened and what these experiences meant for them, in order that these glimpses into their inner lives might allow me to understand the phenomenon of inclusive education. To this end, I asked each one to talk about things that happened to them in school, but with the emphasis on how these experiences made them feel: 'things' which had affected them. I asked the question many times, "How does that make you feel?" and this opened up a means of expression. I also asked, "What is school like, for you?", and on occasion, "Are you happy in school?". When I asked follow-up questions, they were framed on something the participant had expressed about the feelings that had been evoked by the experience, or the meanings drawn from

them. This approach seemed to allow space for reflection and the natural flow of expression. Interviews, however, may have other purposes for participants, (Corbin and Morse, 2003, p.346) and it is important to bear these in mind, during the interviews. Participants' reasons may be to have the opportunity to voice their views to a willing listener, or to be able to call to mind their thoughts, or for self-validation, or empowerment. Some of the participants told me that they enjoyed the opportunity to talk about their lives at school, and one told me that, while she had enjoyed the experience, it had also been personally demanding and had made her think about things in a different way. Some of the young people were interested in the research process, and asked me about it in some detail, including what the effect of outcomes of the research might have on their education, if any. Several young people and adults hoped that they might be able to make a difference to other people's lives, by telling about their own experiences. I had the impression that most of the participants, particularly the young people, enjoyed doing something new and different.

The role of interviewer calls for a number of skills, such as "authenticity, credibility, intuitiveness, receptivity, and reciprocity" (Rew et al., cited in Corbin and Morse, 2003, p.347). While some of these 'skills' may be learnt or acquired through professional experience, it might be said that some are perhaps personality traits. Perhaps, the success of the interview, in building a relationship with the participant, is dependent in part on a complex interaction of skills and personal qualities. At all times, I tried to remain true to myself and alert to the sensitivity of the presence of the other, and of how each appeared to me. If the conversation seemed to be moving in a direction, which made a participant feel uncomfortable, I allowed space for quiet thought, and, on occasion, I moved the conversation in a different direction. I felt it essential, when people are expressing deeply felt emotions, the there was an 'escape route', to allow the opportunity to pull back from where they were. As an ethical researcher, I was aware that people may feel very exposed when talking about things of great significance to their inner selves, and thus I did not always seek to press for information, but changed the course of the conversation, if I felt it necessary. I was constantly sensitive to that fact that, for the young people, I, as an adult and a visitor in their school, may have otherwise inadvertently exercised power over them, and put them in a situation where they felt they had to talk to me about things they did not wish to express, and while some expressed very clearly when they did not want to talk further on a particular topic, others seemed less able to do this.

All pupil and adult interviews took place in the course of the school day. Adults were given the option of interviews outside of school hours, either at a neutral venue nearby, or in the school building, and all chose to attend the interview in school, during school hours. Parents

arranged times, which fitted in with their other commitments. Dates and times of interviews were arranged on my behalf by the gatekeeper, and all these first interviews took place during May and June 2016. Public examinations drew to a close at the end of May, and after a week's break, the school entered a transition period. The timetable for the following academic year was put into place, and students progressed into the next year group, for the remaining month of the term, taking up new subjects and dropping others, with different teachers.   Being the summer, there was also a number of other activities taking place, where students left school for outings, camps, visits and other types of experience. Some older students had 'mock' interviews for future jobs, and meetings with members of the area's Career Service, in addition to college visits and work experience with local employers.

Before each day of interviews, I had a list of the names of the people I would see that day. Generally, I met about two people in a day, sometimes three. There were no group interviews. I knew in advance who were students and who were adults in the school, or parents. All pupils were given notice of the date, time and location of their interview, and consulted about possible clashes with other events on their timetables, which were prioritised. Pupils were given permission to be out of class at the time of the interview, in the form of an appointment slip. I had requested an hour for each pupil interview, with time between interviews, should the interview be longer, or to give me time to prepare for the next interview. An hour was also arranged for the adult interviews, but some were generally organised so the participant could stay longer, if necessary. The shortest interview lasted about 25 minutes, and the longest was an hour and a half.

The interviews took place in one of two small rooms, located on a ground floor corridor, opposite the Guidance offices (see Appendix C)[41] and close to the administrative centre of the school. Each room was windowless, with bare walls and furnished with a small table and two or three chairs. Initially, I found this atmosphere rather oppressive and had concerns that participants would not feel at ease (van Manen, 2014, p.315), but this was not the case, and the situation seemed to be accepted as unremarkable by all participants. The pupils told me they were used to the rooms, which were used frequently for meetings, or to complete work on an individual or small group basis. The rooms were in a corridor which hummed with activity, as pupils came frequently to see the Guidance staff, and congregated there in queues and small groups during break and lunch times. The muffled sound of voices from the corridor and music from the rooms above, were the background to the interviews. I felt

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[41] In Scottish secondary schools, the Guidance system is for the pastoral care of pupils. All pupils are allocated a Guidance teacher, who is responsible for all issues, which are not directly academic.

that, in the context of a school, this was a more natural environment, than a completely silent room. Between interviews, I chatted to people passing in the corridor, and they greeted me. I read the posters and looked at the photographs of school activities on the walls, and I came to see that the rooms were central to the life of the school. Occasionally my name appeared on a piece of paper on the door. At other times the paper merely stated the room was occupied that day. As time went on, and after several visits, I was greeted by some staff and pupils, as someone, whom they now recognised.

These interviews were all different and unique, as I responded to the individual direction and manner of each participant. For some, it was necessary for me to say very little, and to listen and perhaps to redirect the conversation, if it lapsed into silence or strayed too far into a digression. Others spoke very little, only responding in a monosyllabic manner, until, suddenly, as if a wellspring had been tapped, bursting into words. The silences were important, as people thought and reflected, and in some cases, seemed to be facing something I could not see, or know. At those times, my reciprocity in the interview, was in terms of my empathetic presence in the room (Corbin and Morse, 2003, p.342), and my attention through what Waks terms, "deep listening" (2008, p.72). Most of these first interviews lasted just under an hour, but the time was very much in the hands of the participant and usually came to a natural end. On occasion, I brought the interview to an end, as I knew the pupil had another commitment, or I sensed their restlessness, as with one pupil, who seemed ready to leave in under twenty minutes. The longest interview was with a parent, during which she had to leave the room thee times, to attend to issues concerning her son. This disruption was also a feature of a number of the teacher interviews, and was symptomatic of the fact that, as they all, without exception, remarked to me, there is always so much to do, that it is almost impossible to finish any one task at a time.

4.6.1 Interviews with young people

Sometimes known as the "pre-interview phase" (Corbin and Morse, 2003, p.341) the first few moments of each encounter are very important, as it is in this time that the tone of the meeting is set, by atmosphere, body language and manner. This is true of adults, as well as young people. I welcomed each young person as they arrived in the corridor outside the small room. Some seemed anxious and ill at ease, and all had an air of anticipation about them. It was clear they did not know what, or whom to expect. Although I had laid out a blank sheet of paper, a pen and the recording devices on a table, prior to their arrival, I ensured that there were still two or three empty chairs in the small room, thus allowing the

participants to choose where to sit. Some claimed the space immediately, by their presence and manner, while others were more reserved, choosing to sit away from me, at an angle. I spent time at every interview, putting the young person at ease, explaining about the research, answering any questions, showing them the recording devices, and asking their permission for the recording and the interviews once again, and explaining about anonymity and confidentiality. I explained about pseudonyms, and offered them the opportunity to choose their own, if they wished. I tried to find some common ground between us, or something that they enjoyed and were happy to talk about, such as an activity, hobby or interest. Sometimes, these sorts of conversations were short, and sometimes longer, as I tried to put people at their ease, to help them relax, and to accept that I was not part of the school 'hierarchy', and that I was not going to tell anyone in school what they had said, without their agreement: in short, to trust me. At times, we laughed, as they told me a funny story, or something happened in the interview, which was amusing. On other occasions, there were distracting sounds in the corridor, or we listened out for the bell, so they could escape to break or to lunch. I ensured that, at the end of each interview, we spent a few moments in discussion of ordinary things, such as what they would be doing next, or later that day, in order to re-establish an atmosphere of normality, after the demands of the interview (Corbin and Morse, 2003, p.343). At this point, I also asked each of the young participants for their views on the interview process, as a means of immediate feedback, which I felt might enable me to improve any aspects for the subsequent participant. Generally, all their comments were positive.

I gave the young people personal choice in the interview, by asking if they would prefer to talk to me, to write, draw, or use some other means of communicating. Almost all preferred to speak and after a minute or two, no longer seemed to notice the recording devices. Three came by choice with a Learning Assistant. Generally, with the exception of Gemma, who accompanied Paul, the other two Learning Assistants remained quiet, but were occasionally drawn into the conversation, or supported a point by agreement. Their presence seemed to give a strength and warmth, which created a support for the young people. At the end of the interview, they were on hand to smooth the difficulties over a forgotten lunch, or a problem with missing a lesson. On two occasions, the Learning Assistant stayed behind in the room, for a few moments after the young person had left, and spoke voluntarily about their own experiences in the school, or with their own children, in a personal response to some of the young person's words. Clegg (cited in Nind, 2012, p.11) suggests that this outlet is important for those who are part of an interview with someone with learning difficulties, as a proxy, and although the context of that research was different to this, it is an important consideration.

During the interviews, I did not ask the young participants about 'inclusion' or 'inclusive education' directly, although as these terms had been used in the title and in the text of the information sheet all participants had been given, this was not a deception (Kvale, 1996, cited in Groenewald, 2004, p.36). I had not sought to define either term, in any way, as when using the phenomenological process of bracketing, it is not only necessary to pay attention to the acknowledgement and laying aside of my own preconceptions, assumptions and opinions, but also it is also necessary for the interviewer to extend that to the participants, in order that they may be able to "relive" those experiences, in a way, which is as close to the experience itself, before their minds begin to analyse it (van Manen, 2014, p. 314; Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p. 189).

4.6.2 Interviews with Simon and Paul

While the general format of most of the interviews was similar, there were two interviews, for which I felt I might need a different approach. I knew that one of the participants had an autistic spectrum disorder (Simon), as I had already met his mother in an earlier interview. Having worked with young people with a range of difficulties arising from an autistic spectrum disorder, I did not have undue concerns about the interview, but I was fully aware of some of the issues to do with social communication and interpretation of language and the world around, which might arise (National Autistic Society, n.d.). In the event, I recognised that some of the phrases that Simon used, were particular to him, and I responded to his individual means of thinking and talking. I was concerned that Simon should not feel uncomfortable, or challenged in any way, either by my presence, or by the manner in which our conversation flowed, and remained sensitive to his needs at all times. In the event, Simon's friendly manner, commitment to the interview and his honesty and openness to me, as a stranger, were very evident. There is not a great deal of literature about the inclusion of young people on the autistic spectrum, of his age, in this type of interview process, and I concur with the view of MacLeod, Lewis and Robertson, (2014, p.407), who noted that researchers may have shied away from this, on account of reliance on stereotypical views and misperceptions about the nature of some aspects of autism.

Paul, who was the other participant, for whom I thought a different approach was appropriate, had very little speech. I had met him in advance of the interview, and understood some of the limitations of his speech and cognitive development and I had planned ahead how we might spend the time. In doing this, I drew on my own experience of working with young people in special schools and units, and also with some adults with

special needs. However, as part of my ethical approach and as a form of bracketing, I made no assumptions about the extent, or limits of Paul's understanding, or means of expression. It was important that, as a pupil in the mainstream school, he should have the opportunity to be involved in, and be a presence in, the research and that his voice should be heard, as other voices, even when that 'voice' expresses itself in a different way. It became clear during the course of the interview that he understood considerably more than he was able to respond to, in words.

In this research, I have deliberately steered away from labels, on account of their connotations and inherent limitations, and therefore I have not used the word, "inarticulate", which is sometimes used in this context (Owens, 2007, p.307). To describe someone as "inarticulate", when they have little or no speech, while correct, also carries with it the connotation of deficiency, which, in my view, acts to limit their capacity to be human. We are all capable of thought, expression, gesture, and conveying meaning through our bodies, in a myriad of individual ways, and all such is communication. The responsibility and the challenge lie with the interviewer, to find ways to uncover those hidden meanings (Owens, 2007, p.304). As Lewis points out (2005, p.226), there is a need to report openly the complexities of these types of interview, as interviewers may unwittingly use leading questions, or make intuitive decisions during the course of the interview, and for these reasons, and for transparency, I give this detailed account of Paul's interview:

When Paul first arrived, I chatted generally, and he responded with sounds and some words, sometimes in agreement with what I had said, and sometimes volunteering information of his own. In the early part of the interview, he looked to the Learning Assistant, Gemma, in answer to my questions, and she acted as an intermediary between us. She did not attempt to 'interpret' what he said, but, rather, encouraged him to look and talk to me directly. She was very sensitive to the situation, and at no point did she either communicate with me in a manner that Paul could not understand, nor did she seek to dominate the conversation in any way (Booth and Booth, 1994, p.422). I employed a range of different ways of communicating with him, including drawing, listening, recording and playing back his own voice, allowing him to 'ask' the questions with the recorder, looking at pictures and working with communication symbols, such as 'Boardmaker[42] (Nind, 2012, p.10), while discussing his timetable and school subjects. I asked him to show me around part of the school, indicating areas that he liked or disliked, and he did this by choosing the route and actively engaging in some activities, such as music and computing.

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[42] 'Boardmaker' is the trade name of one brand of an assisted communication system, based on symbols.

While these approaches might appear, in some respects "a combination of a range of methods" (Nind, 2012), the main form of communication was the personal interaction between myself and Paul, in terms of speech, listening, responding and sharing an activity together. All of these, together with what I observed, as he took me confidently around the school, and his interaction with the Learning Assistant, conveyed a great deal of information, which may not otherwise have been possible. At all times, I was aware of the power imbalance between us, and approached the interview in a manner and atmosphere, which gave him ownership and agency in the interview, such that the research was not "on" Paul, but very much "with" him (Nind, 2012, p.4).

4.6.3 Interviews with adults

These interviews took a similar form to those of the younger participants. In interviews with teachers, I was conscious that the situation was unusual, and that my presence, in their eyes, was in some way, perhaps indefinable: Did I seem an outsider, when I told them I was a teacher, who had spent many years grappling with similar problems, in similar schools? Or did that make me seem something of an ally? How was I placed in their minds, in my present role as a university researcher? Did they think I had 'abandoned' teaching, or that research was an 'easy' option, after the demands of the school life? Or did they wonder if they were under some kind of scrutiny? Would they be judged? Who would I tell about what they said? Would I really anonymise the school and the region? Whose 'side' was I really on? Some participants voiced these concerns, and with others, I sensed an initial, and almost imperceptible stepping back from me, in the early moments of some interviews, as I discussed the purpose of the research. I was conscious of my position as a researcher, in their eyes, in much the same way as they appeared conscious of my perception of each of them, as they sat before me. On account of the similarities of the roles they described and the situations they met, with ones I had also faced so often in my professional life, I was aware of the need to bracket that knowledge during much of these interviews. In this sense, our life worlds crossed and intersected (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p. 234), and while this is an inherent part of the phenomenological process, it would be very easy for me to shift into my own world, and imagine the feelings, experiences and outcomes of what was being talked about, to be in line with my own experience. In this way, I was in danger of "attending away from the speaker and his intent" (Waks, 2008, p.67). At the same time, there must be that openness to the experience of the other, which allows us glimpses of that inner world of lived experience, for which the phenomenological interview aims (Van Manen, 2014, pp.314-315; Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.189). The interview becomes a

process of letting go of oneself, to become open to meanings in the life world of the other, but at the same time, "reining in" one's own understandings and interpretations of what is being given in the words and actions of the other, and of no longer "seeing" things in the old familiar way. This is a development of the process of bracketing, to "bridling", as described by Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström (2008, pp.129-134, 242), and which is used again, when approaching the texts, during the analysis.

The parents seemed less initially reticent and each spoke openly, revealing much of their inner selves. I was open about myself, as a teacher and as a mother. I did not seem to appear as a threat to them. At times, they appeared to see me as a mother, sharing their deep concerns for their children, and at other times, as a teacher, who was familiar with the limitations of schools, and of how 'parents' are sometimes viewed by teachers. Again, it was the shared life world, which enabled the conversation to move and flow, and come alive with meaning, "infused with a sense of immediacy" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.188). Perhaps, at times, as someone now also positioned as 'researcher', I became as a bridge between home and school: someone who had a 'foot in both camps', and who could understand. I asked similar questions, as I did in all other interviews, but directed some questions towards their own experiences and feelings of the school, and others towards how they felt about experiences their children had gone through. It was at times, a complex story: a mixture of emotions, as they relived experiences in their own minds and put into words their own feelings, individual, but also intimately bound up with the emotions of their children and their own emotional responses to those.

The adults, parents and teachers alike, were willing to talk at length about their experiences and feelings of school, education and inclusion. The transcriptions of the interviews run to many pages of their words, interspersed by brief questions or comments from myself as interviewer. With teachers, after a few comments about the nature and process of the research, I usually began with a question about their role in the school. This generated a lengthy response, in which all elaborated on what they did in the school, often in relation to what they wanted to do, or felt they should be doing. This created openings for me as interviewer, to identify individual thoughts or words which I thought important to develop by a further question, either by asking for clarification, or by a more direct question, such as, 'How did you feel about that?' or 'How did that come about?' or, 'Is that a good thing?'. This moved the talk into a more reflective mode of expression about experiences, and allowed it to flow onwards in a natural way, On occasion, I moved the conversation forward by a more general question, such as 'Do you feel respected in the school?', 'Are you happy here?' or, 'How does that make you feel as a teacher?'. These types of questions were usually in

response to something a participant had said, in which I had perceived an underlying emotion, perhaps doubt, dismay or some kind of reticence. The questions seemed to release this and often a long answer would follow, in which the participant reflected on very personal issues in relation to their lives and their being as professionals.

The interviews with the mothers took a similar format in terms of how each participant directed the conversation in her own way, and I responded to something that was said, or alluded to, and used these to create openings for the expression of deeper feelings, and the lived experience of particular events. There were three levels in operation, as it were, in these two interviews, as the mothers talked of their own experiences, and at other times of their child's experiences, or their perceptions of these, and of those experiences which bound mother and child together and could not be separated. On occasion, I asked a question to develop a line of thought, which had been partially expressed by the participant, such as 'Are you happy with the way he is supported?, or, 'How do you feel about that decision you made?' or 'What might have been better?', or the more direct, 'Does he have friends here?' These types of questions led to a more reflective answer, which in turn created new openings for me to ask a further question, to develop something, which had been mentioned or alluded to. For example, the open question about 'support' led particularly to the expression of a range of experiences, in which both mothers individually selected topics of importance to them, as mothers, or to their child. Because it is possible to interpret the nature of 'support' as being very broad, in the way I framed the question, each was able to talk about experiences, which were personally important. This approach allowed the participants the freedom to range across any number of experiences, which they chose to express, or which came to mind. It was interesting that one mother brought her son's school bag into the interview, and used items from it, as a kind of prop or symbol, to talk about his life in school and the different ways, in which she was instrumental to much of it. Some of these individual material things, such as a reading book or a picture, seemed to enable her to talk about difficult feelings she had, and elaborate on both her own and her son's lived experience in school and indicate the phenomenological concept, that our relation to, or intention towards, material things and the meaning we make of them, is a part of our lived experience and lifeworld.

As with the interviews with the younger people, I gave the space to the adult participants to direct and move the conversation in their own way, but I also guided the conversation back into the realm of lived experience, if I felt it had moved too far away. It was interesting to me that some chose to bring examples of work done, or stories and information from other settings, which they thought relevant. Others gave factual information verbally about

resources, which they used, or strategies, which they had developed or adopted for their own use. Some took notes, which I did not see. Some linked their professional lives to their personal lives in a manner, which indicated the two could not be separated. All the teachers appeared to be 'listening out' for what was happening in the corridor outside the room, and two had to leave the room on several occasions, in reaction to voices they had heard, which had alerted them in some way. I was very conscious during the teacher interviews, that they were 'here, but not here': they were in the room, talking with me, but they were also constantly aware of what was going on elsewhere, which was a crucial part of their professional lives.

As van Manen notes, (2008, p.315), it is not necessarily straight-forward to conduct a phenomenological interview, in which people describe their own lived experiences, rather than reflect or analyse them. There was an amount of factual information about resources, as well as opinions about the state of education and other topics, which was given in the interviews, particularly by the participants who were teachers. It was, at times, a challenge to bring the conversation in some interviews, round to a description of personal experience, but, on rereading the interview transcriptions, I found that this had happened more than I had realised at the time.

4.7 Feedback interviews

Shortly after the first interviews were completed, the school term ended and the summer holidays began. When the pupils returned, in mid-August, there were some weeks of settling to new timetables, teachers and routines. The young people from the earlier interviews all returned to the school, although there had been some doubt over the two older pupils, who had now reached the age at which compulsory school ended.[43] Most were at a transition phase of their education, with the older pupils moving from the 'Broad General Phase' of their school education, to the "Senior Phase", for pupils aged 16 to 18 years (see Appendix C). The youngest pupil had moved from the first year into the second, and the remainder from the second year of secondary education, into the third, which, while still in the Broad General Phase of the curriculum, introduces individual subject choices, as pupils move towards public examinations in the following year.

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[43] In Scotland, as elsewhere in the United Kingdom, this is when a young person becomes 16 years old. There is regional variation amongst the countries of the United Kingdom about the point in the school year when pupils might leave school.

In the light of this period of transition, I had decided not to return to Lochanview for the feedback interviews, until late November, thereby giving almost a full term to allow the pupils and staff to have settled into the academic year. I had spent the intervening months undertaking the transcription of the interviews, alongside analysis and reflection, in an iterative process, to try to gain insights into the experience of inclusive education, through the lives of the people who had opened themselves to me.

I contacted the gatekeeper by email and requested that I might visit the school again to see the participants, in a second and much shorter interview, with each probably only lasting ten to fifteen minutes. The gatekeeper undertook to arrange the interviews, in half-hour slots and notify all the participants. Once again, all interviews took place during the school day, and in the same rooms as the earlier interviews. Adults were able to request the time and place, and all chose as before. I went to the school on three different occasions in early December. One pupil was absent for some days, and I went to the school once he had returned, which was ten days after all other interviews had taken place.
These interviews were more in the form of conversations, for the exchange of information about the earlier interviews, and were not conducted from a phenomenological perspective. As I was following a descriptive phenomenological approach, it was not necessary to work with the participants in the construction of meanings from their first interviews (van Manen 2014, p.317; Moustakas,1994, p.18).

In line with the conversational tone, I did not intend to record these interviews, but did ask one adult participant if I might turn on the recorder to capture what she was saying, as an aide-mémoire for myself. I explained that this additional information would not be used in the same way as the earlier interview. I did, however, ask participants if I could take handwritten notes of some points, as a personal reminder, and all agreed. Some notes were to remind me to check pieces of information I had been given, or to clarify a point. These few notes, mostly in the form of single words, or headings, lay in full view on the table, in front of us both, as part of the open and honest approach I adopted. One pupil offered to show me something she had been learning and was proud of, and she wrote this in large letters across the paper. These second interviews felt more relaxed than the first, and were less demanding of participants and the researcher.

There were two main purposes for these second, feedback interviews. Firstly, to allow all the participants to see, read or have read, the full printed transcription of their own interview, in order that they might check it for accuracy and truthfulness, to allow them to indicate any corrections, clarifications, or changes I should make, to have the opportunity to ask any

further questions, or withdraw their consent. I also intended to ask each participant for a signature, to indicate that the above had taken place. The second purpose of these follow-up interviews was to ask participants if anything had changed from when they had last spoken to me, or if they now felt differently about anything that they had previously told me.

As part of my ethical approach to the openness of the interview process, and to ensure that participants had as much access to information as possible, I had created a full transcription of each interview, and printed a paper copy to show to each participant at the second interview. In addition, I had with me the recordings of each interview, and these were available for any participant to listen to, but none chose that option.

As I knew that many of the young people were not confident readers, I had also prepared a short descriptive resumé of the main points of each individual pupil interview. This was a means of refreshing their minds, as it were, without their having to read through large sections of the transcription, although this was, of course, also an option for each of them. This resumé was written in a conversational style, addressed vocatively to each one, personally, by name. I ended each resumé by thanking them for their help and saying how much I had enjoyed the interview time with them. I asked each pupil participant if they would like to read the resumé for themselves, or have it read to them by me, or by the Learning Assistant, who was present at two interviews, at the request of the pupils concerned. Almost all asked for me to read the resumé to them, and as I read it, there were many comments, indicating that they recalled certain parts of the interview and specific events they had talked about. One participant chose to read both the resumé and the transcription for himself, as we sat quietly in the room.

I also offered to read the transcriptions, in full, or in part, to the young people and asked them to select, which parts these should be, and for how long I should read. Most were interested in the layout of the transcription, with the timings and initials of the speaker written down the left hand side of each page. One remarked that the transcription looked similar to a play script, which he had studied in drama class. One pupil had made drawings, and we had used some assistive communication symbols at the earlier interview, and I also brought all of these to show him, to bring the interview words to life, alongside the resumé, and the transcription. For the sake of confidentiality, young people were not given a copy of the transcription or the resumé to keep.

The young people were given the opportunity to ask any questions about the interview, the transcriptions, or any other aspect of the process, and all their questions were answered. All

agreed with the transcriptions and there were no corrections to be made. One pupil described how she could "hear" her own voice in the transcription, and I felt that this validated the manner, in which I had transcribed the participants' words, using abbreviations, grammar, syntax, words and vernacular phrases, just as they had (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.253).

In order to remain open to the participants, at all stages, I reminded each that they could contact me by email, through the gatekeeper, if they had any second thoughts or concerns, after I had left the school. The gatekeeper was well known to them all, and this method of contact had been offered to the young people from the start of the research process. In the event, I was not contacted by any pupil.

I had created transcription forms (see Appendix A for templates), which I brought to the second interviews, for participants to sign and date, to show their agreement with the statements. There were separate forms for adults and for young people, with similar statements, but with slightly different wording, in line with openness and clarity of meaning, appropriate to younger participants. The statements on the form for signature indicated that a copy of the full transcription of their interview had been received, and that an opportunity to read, to ask questions, or make comments was given. A second statement indicated agreement that the transcription was true, and that permission was given to me to use any part of the interviews for my research report. Where a Learning Assistant attended this feedback interview with a young person, she was invited to add her name and signature to the bottom of the form, to indicate that she had also had the opportunity to see the transcription, hear the resumé, and verify the contents.

Adult participants were given a sealed copy of the full transcription of their own interview and a statement to this effect was also on the adult form. As each transcription ran to many pages, I had decided to allow adult participants additional time to read the interview transcription in their own time, and indicate to me by email any comments or questions. I put a date limit of two weeks on this and assured all the adult participants that I would not do anything with the transcriptions until after that date. I received two emails by the date on the form, both of which were very positive and in full agreement with the transcription, and both thanked me for the interview process.

In line with the notion of ongoing consent, all participants were again reminded that they could withdraw from the research at this point, and that the information from their interview would not be used in any way. All signed the transcription forms to show their consent.

Once these interviews were completed, my visits to the school came to an end. I thanked the school, through the gatekeeper, for the welcome and generosity, and the gatekeeper personally for all the help he had given me, in allowing me into the life of the school, and for making all the necessary arrangements, for the smooth running of my visits.

4.8 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have recounted the process of data gathering, showing the methods I used, and the decisions made at every stage of the fieldwork. I have demonstrated the manner in which I have adopted a stance as an ethical researcher and how this has informed every aspect of the project, particularly in the manner, in which I have prepared for and carried out the phenomenological interviews.

My approach to analysis was ongoing during the fieldwork phase of the project, as part of the phenomenological method, through reflection and writing, and I now turn, in the next chapter, to a detailed description of the ways, in which I immersed myself in the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS PART ONE: IMMERSION IN THE DATA

5.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction to phenomenological analysis

As part of the phenomenological method outlined by Moustakas (1994) and van Manen (2014), I used an iterative whole-part-whole approach to the analysis of the transcriptions, returning many times to the whole and to the parts. I begin this chapter with a brief explanation of the term, "immersion", and a reiteration of the manner, in which we are all in the world, as Merleau-Ponty expresses it, and share our being in the world, through our embodiment. I then turn to the stages of my immersion in the data, in calling each participant to mind, through listening, reading, reflection and the creation of different forms of texts. I demonstrate the processes of the emergence of themes in words and charts, to illustrate how I worked closely with each interview transcription, and then drew all together, into a whole, using the five existentials, proposed by Merleau-Ponty, as a lens through which to view the lived experience of the participants, to enable three main themes to emerge.

In line with the phenomenological approach, I have described the analysis process as one of "immersion" in the data (Finlay, 2014). I use this expression to convey the manner, in which I approached the lives of the participants, as they were shared with me, in the interviews. It reflects the embodied intersubjective way, in which my life and being became intertwined with others', through reflection and writing, and it was, as if I was "dwelling" with the data (Finlay, 2014, p.125; 2013, p.185). I have chosen, however, to use the generally accepted term, "analysis", which, although it is often associated with processes, which seek to extract information from data, is the normally accepted term used in research (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2009, p.232). The term, "explication" is more indicative of the phenomenological process of allowing insights to emerge from the data, and the emphasis of the whole over the parts, later brought together in the synthesis, and it is this term which I use in the subsequent chapter, to express the themes which emerged through the texts, created from this immersion.

In the tradition of phenomenological research, such as this, the process of analysis is ongoing, during the course of the interviews and post-interview, while working with the transcriptions, as part of the phenomenological method of being open to 'what is there'. The phenomenological researcher is not looking for definitive answers to a set of questions, but rather to uncover the essence of the experience of a phenomenon. We are all in the world,

and we experience that world through our bodies. Ours is an "embodied consciousness", in that, as Merleau-Ponty would express it, it is through my own body that I experience the world, but my "body" is not only my physical body, but also all my thoughts, feelings and experiences, which I live from the "inside", as it were (Matthews, 2006, p.89), and through which, I can make meaning of my experiences with the world. "I am a body which rises towards the world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, p.87). Thus, we are "intertwined' with the world" (Moran, 2013) and it is through the lived body that we mediate with the world. The "person and the world are inextricably related through lived experience" (Sandberg and Dall'Alba, 2009, p.1354).

To Husserl, it was clear that the essence of any thing or object, of any sort, was that which determined its being. Without that quality, the thing would no longer be itself. Essences are not mysterious, hidden truths which we cannot fathom, (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, 246), but, on the contrary, are open to us all, every day, otherwise we would not be able to find our way in the world. An essence is a "way of being" (ibid., 2008, p.247). As Merleau-Ponty expressed it, essences are an everyday part of the world which is "already there" for us (1945/2002, p.vii). Thus the researcher must look for those essences, which are there in the experience of others, and allow them to reveal themselves.

There are aspects of human existence, or being, which are common to us all, and in phenomenology these existentials are often expressed in terms of our relation (or intention) to the world around us. Thus, my lived relation to people and to all other aspects of the world is through my physical body, the space or environment around me, the things around me and the effects of time. While we may differentiate between these, they cannot be separated (van Manen, 1990). These existentials can be expressed as relationality, corporeality, spatiality, materiality and temporality (van Manen, 2014, p. 302), and it is through these windows on human experience that I approach my analysis.

5.2 Whole-part-whole analysis

5.2.1 Calling to mind

During the course of conducting the interviews, I had kept a reflective diary (Ahern, 1999, pp.408–409), in addition to a more factual ongoing journal of events, and had also written some reflective 'standalone' pieces of writing, on single events or moments, which occurred during the interviews and which affected me in some way. In some respects, these pieces

were part of the process of the reduction, as described by Van Manen, as a reflection on "the basic structures of the lived experience of human existence" (2014, p. 222) and as vocative pieces, where the participants' words, movements and moments of silence (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.253), called out to me, and evoked a response (Van Manen, 2014, pp.221, 241). I now looked again at the notes I had made after each interview, the resumé pieces I had written and read out to each of the young people, the diary entries I had made (see Figure 2), as well as any reflective pieces I had written at the time (see Figure 3), and then set these aside, as I turned to the transcriptions. This process gave depth to my recall and portrayed a vivid picture in my mind of the presence of each participant, and brought it into my consciousness. In this way, I was also "listening" to hear what the words might reveal (Moustakas, 1994, pp. 91-92). It seemed to me that the diary entries gave me an insight into the immediacy of the lived experience of the interviews, which enabled me later to reflect more deeply and gain understanding (Tufford and Newman, 2010, p.89). They also acted as a reminder to me that, as researcher, I too was engaged and "inextricably related" (Sandberg and Dall'Alba, 2009, p.1354) with the world, through my lived experience, and my being was "intertwined" with those of the participants, at those moments.

I include some diary extracts[44] here, as examples of the ways in which the entries played a significant role in the analysis process.

Diary Extract One (see Figure 2) describes my first moments in the school, and captures something of my nervous anticipation and feeling of stepping into a world, which is both familiar and unfamiliar. In the second extract, (see Figure 3) I recall a few moments towards the end of the interview. Earlier in the interview, the participant, Ben, had talked of how his early education had been disrupted by a serious illness. Even so, I was not prepared when he mentioned ongoing medical tests, and I had an immediate internal emotional reaction. In the moment, my professional experience guided my behaviour, but did not diminish the effect of his words. In some ways, these few seconds may have been what Finlay describes as, "special, if fleeting moments of disclosure" (Finlay, 2008, p.1), and Waks as, "direct understanding", where, "speakers' utterances may be absorbed or grasped directly, without interpretation" (Waks, 2008, p.69).

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[44] I usually wrote the diary on the same day as the interviews, or very shortly thereafter. I recorded descriptions, my impressions and reflections on what had passed that day. I have edited these only to remove names and locations, to preserve anonymity.

18th May, 2016 Day One of interviews

I arrived in good time and sat in the car to collect my thoughts and run over what I might be asking in the interviews. A number of young people were relaxing in the area beside the car park: it was either break or perhaps after an exam. There was no rushing about, bags lying around, or fights breaking out, as I have usually witnessed elsewhere.

After a few moments' wait in the room which passes for that purpose, but which has the feel of a holding cell, the gatekeeper met me and took me to the 'interview room', close to his office and on a corridor shared with Guidance offices. This ensured a constant ebb and flow of human traffic, some noisy, and the sound of animated voices, young and old, which acted as a reminder that I was in the world, albeit set apart from it, and that world was a real one of school, of the rise and fall of daily life, of crises averted and surmounted.

As anticipated, the interview room was small, square, windowless with blank walls. A small square green table, on metal legs, and four unmatching chairs were the only furniture. Two yoga mats, with broken uneven edges, were cast randomly in one corner. I surveyed this scene with some dismay, along with the typed sign on the door, which announced boldly that the room was occupied from 12 until 3.30 pm, accompanied by a large red and white No Entry sign. Not allowing this unpromising atmosphere to dispirit me, I rearranged the table and chairs by moving them a few inches, and laid out some of my things: folder, paper, pencil and two recording devices, thereby claiming some minimal ownership of the area.

Figure 2: Diary Extract One.

18th May, 2016

At that moment, I understood in an instant the look which had passed
across his face as he talked of the [medical procedure]: of the abyss which
might lie not far away, of the return to the dark days of his illness, of the
terrible prospect and of the fear.

As he left, and I wished him well for the afternoon's outing, none of this
was in my face. It lay between us, unsaid, but there, nonetheless; a
glance, a thought, a shadow in the air.

A brief ten minutes elapsed, as I turned to a clean sheet in the yellow
notepad, reset and retested the two voice recorders, put away his form and
found the next one. Somehow, these actions allowed me to gain some
space, some equilibrium, in order to realign myself for the next interview.

Figure 3: Diary Extract Two.

In the following extracts (Figures 4 and 5), I describe the physical space of the interview
room, and the manner in which the participants enter into that space. When I wrote these
diary entries, shortly after they had occurred, I was recalling my impressions of the events. It
was only later, as I turned to read them again, that I saw a new significance, of which I had
not been aware at the time. It is the importance of the relation between the being of the
person and the material and non-material environment of the space.

23rd May, 2016

The room was just as small and as unappealing as it had been the last time, but no one other than me seems to notice this fact. He arrived promptly; a small neat boy of thirteen and sat down purposefully on the soft chair to the right of the door. On my last visit, none of the participants had chosen to sit there, but he claimed it without a thought. I noticed an immediate twinkle in his eye. He was bright and cheerful and spent the whole time fiddling with a pen, undoing it and redoing it, emptying out its innards, until finally the spring flew across the room and we both spent time looking for it; unsuccessfully, as it turned out.

Figure 4: Diary Extract Three.

26th May, 2016

The new room was a clone of next door, with nicer (and matching) black chairs, and no confusion of yoga mats or discarded Biology books. I moved a table so I had somewhere to put the papers, and shortly afterwards she arrived, looking nervous. She hesitated over a seat and then sat gently down on the chair further from the door and across the table from me. I had set the chairs at a diagonal to each other and the table, in order that there was no appearance of a barrier between us. She was a quietly spoken person, with soft features and a gentle, if slightly worried manner. I wondered what lay behind that face.

Figure 5: Diary Extract Four.

In the following extract, (Figure 6) the presence of the participant seems to recede momentarily, as the physical objects of the books and drawings move into my focus. It is an

example of what Moustakas calls "horizonalization" (1994, p.95). My perception shifts, and in my mind's eye, I begin to see another time and another place. It is, as Moustakas explains, a "return to the self" in that, "we experience things that exist in the world from the vantage point of self-awareness, self-reflection, and self-knowledge" (Moustakas, 1994, p.95). In the subsequent extract (Figure 7), which is from the same diary entry, I have turned my gaze to focus on the participant. I write of a perception of something lying behind the words and the cheerful manner, but I am unable to grasp it, at this point. Later, when I read and re-read the interview transcription, different meanings emerged, as I had the time and space for reflection.

26th May, 2016

The bag seemed very full and heavy. I had imagined a couple of books, but no, she brought out several folders and showed me his work, and the symbolised timetable she had devised for him. His neatly copied words and sentences in a childish hand, and drawings of happy people with arms coming out of the sides of their heads, reminded me strongly of [a school] and M in particular. I felt a pang of sadness in remembering his gentle, accepting nature and the difficulties of the large and complex world facing him in the years ahead.

Figure 6: Diary Extract Five.

26th May, 2016

She was keen for him to be able to achieve as much as she felt he could achieve, and feel happy and included in the life of the school: as most parents surely want for their child. There were moments when I sensed we had touched on deeper, more hidden anxieties and concerns, but they were swallowed up and borne away on the tide of her conversation. She certainly was a talker and I felt she could have been happy to continue, but I brought things to a close. Some fifteen minutes later, as I signed out to leave the building, she was leaning at the Receptionist's desk, chatting to her. 'Goodbye, darling" she said to me breezily, as I passed.

Figure 7: Diary Extract Six

5.2.2 Reflective and vocative writing

On occasions, I wrote a reflective piece, in response to the interview, as in this extract, written a few hours after the interview. In this first extract, (Figure 8), it can be seen that initially I describe the participant's manner, as it appeared to me, and my reactions to what she has told me. In the second part, I am already beginning to think about the interview, through my own experience of teaching. This was not something, which I contrived to do, but which flowed naturally in response to the interview. Re-reading this piece, before the analysis, made me aware of my own position in relation to the data, and enabled me to lay to one side, these notions and assumptions I had made about her, as a part of the bracketing process. Thus I was able to avoid what Tufford and Newman call, "the potential trap" of 'filtering' all responses through my own experience (Tufford and Newman, 2010, p.90). At the same time, this entry highlights the difficulty and tension in the researcher's position, between the need for professional knowledge and experience of the phenomenon and the need to step away from it, in order to see "the things as they really are". Finlay describes this ongoing process of the phenomenological attitude, as a "dance" between, "engaging a certain sense of wonder and openness to the world, while, at the same time, reflexively restraining pre-understandings" (2008, p.1).

> She is bright and cheerful in the interview, but her life seems to be beset by injustice. She makes me feel sad, because so many encounters in her school life seem unfair, unjust and undeserved. Clearly life is not straightforward for her, and she knows there are issues, but moves forward in life with a perfect logic and a strongly supportive father and brother beside her, and a close group of friends.
>
> Unfortunately, her perfect logic is unlikely always to coincide with school rules, and classroom etiquette, and she is certainly one to voice her opinions. She doesn't seem to have had the support she needs for learning, but the most important thing to her is the way she is treated. She asks only to be listened to, to be treated fairly and kindly, and to have the same treatment as everyone else. I have met many [name], and I like them all. They make the world smile at itself, and force us to clear away any assumptions and preconceived notions we may have of things. Husserl would be proud.

Figure 8: Reflection

At other times, I wrote a reflection, as a vocative response to a small incident in the interview, as in this following example (see Figure 9), written a few hours after the interview. This illustrates some of the difficulties encountered in the interviews, where there is an intensity of emotion in the participant, which is conveyed to the interviewer (Corbin and Morse, 2003, pp.343, 347–348), or, as Nielson expresses it, "a dialogue can be so deep that both parties are touched" (2012, p.170), but such engagement and empathy can also allow insights to emerge (Johnson, 2009). In the writing of this piece, I was able to express what I had felt, fleetingly, at the time, and reflect on it more deeply. I felt this gave me a greater understanding of the experience expressed by the speaker through words, sound and silence (Acheson, 2008; Waks, 2008). In a sense, I was, literally, "struck dumb" (Forrest, 2013, p.613).

Just prior to this moment, the participant is talking about how the school does not always have an appropriate manner of dealing with her son. She then begins to describe an "issue" she had raised at a Parents' Evening meeting with staff, but her words and manner suggest that, as she speaks, she becomes fleetingly immersed in the intensity of the experience, in a pre-reflective way (van Manen, 2014, p.34), almost going back to the experience itself, as in Husserl's expression, "to the things themselves", [„*Wir wollen auf die] „Sachen selbst*' *zurückgehen*"] (Moran, 2000, p.107; Zeit, 1984).

Voice: He'd got very upset because they'd been doing Social Dance or something, and you know, they have to go and ask someone to dance, and he asked one of these girls to dance with him, and um, she ignored him,.. and they're not meant to do that. And he was just, eugh, you know, he didn't know what to do and that **really** [*emphasised*] upset him. . That **really** [*emphasised*] knocked him. You can imagine.

Int: How does that make you feel?

Voice: [*A long pause*]... Heartbroken.... I'm really upset. I can't bear it, because he himself is a kind, gentle boy, you know, and I know how hard it is for him to do every day. Being, with, in this environment. I know he doesn't find it easy, but he does it and I'm really proud of him for that, because I know how tough it is.... But, you know, he does it and he gets on with it, and when something like that happens, I… [*she makes a sound that is like a groan*] I get **really** upset, I must admit, because [*she lets out a short sharp breath*] you know.. .it's…..

Her voice tails off and I am unable to speak. I feel overwhelmed by what she has said. I am that mother. I feel the pain she feels. It is the pain of all mothers, who want to protect their children and are unable to. The world prevents us. And yet, why must the world tear children from their mothers? In the single groan that escaped from her lips, she has spoken with the voice of all mothers.

There is a short silence on the recording. I am trying to bring myself back from where I am. I don't know what to say, or how to move on from here. My voice says, 'So….' and there is another pause. I collect myself from wherever I have gone, and am finally able to move on. Two seconds have passed. It feels like the eternity of all time.

Figure 9: Vocative response to an interview extract.

5.2.3 Working with transcriptions

Laying these documents to one side, I then read the full transcription of each interview, with an open mind, making no notes of any kind, in order to bring the 'image' of the speaker to mind, in sight and sound. On the next reading, I began to mark with a pencil any phrases, or sections, which stood out in some way. I did not attempt to analyse why they stood out, at this stage, but accepted that, with stepping back from the text, I could allow the words to speak to me (van Manen, 2014, p.223). It was clear to me that I had already begun to form impressions and views in my own mind, in a response to what was said by participants. On occasions, their words caused me to have a strong emotional reaction, as I was hit by the force of their depth of feeling, or I caught an echo of another person, at another time, and sometimes, I was that person.

I read the interview text a further time, pausing over individual words, phrases and sentences, using a pencil to circle or underline elements, which stood out in some way. This stage of the process is described by Moustakas as "horizonalization" (1998, p. 95), in the sense that elements from the whole step forward into the foreground and come into focus, as it were, and we now see them set against a background, rather than as part of that background. It is an ongoing and limitless process. The "horizon" is the manner of perceiving a situation.

> Horizons are unlimited. We can never exhaust completely our experience of things no matter how many times we reconsider or view them. A new horizon arises each time that one recedes.
>
> (Moustakas,1994, p.95).

 I read and re-read sections, marking in this way, until I reached the end, and then began again. This time I used coloured pencils, and began tentatively to identify and draw together some aspects, which seemed to express a related meaning, in the manner described as a "focus on meaning units" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.243). I was conscious at each re-reading that different elements and meanings stood out to me, of which I had not previously been so aware.

As I had been reading and marking the text, it came to my attention that there was a great deal of information about the details of the practice of additional support and inclusion, which was not directly linked to the lived experience of inclusive education. As part of the process of eliminating statements not relevant to the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1998, 97), I collected

these statements and put them to one side, later creating a chart, indicating the support which pupils received, or felt that they needed (see Table 4, on page 228).

5.2.4 Reflective writing during and after analysis

At this stage, I looked again at any reflective pieces I had written earlier in the process, for each participant, including some of the 'vocative' texts, and used these to bring into view, what might lie behind the text. On occasions, during the analysis process, I wrote a reflective piece, as a personal response to what I had read in the transcriptions. In the following examples (Figures 10 and 11), I am calling to mind the presence of participants, about whom I had previously written in Figures 3 and 4, respectively. In each case, in comparing the two passages, it can be seen how my thinking has been changed through the process of the close analysis. In using the whole-part-whole approach, it is possible to develop a greater understanding of the whole, which in turn enables more depth to emerge from the parts (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.243).

I feel very sorry for her. So much in her life at school seems to be unfair and against her. Although she has two close friends and two other groups with whom she interacts, she seems sidelined by pupils and teachers alike. She does not call it bullying, but 'blocking out'. How terrible it is to be blocked out of a community and yet, she seems to accept it as just the way it is for her. Glimpses of the extent of her unhappiness in school emerge, as she vehemently expresses the wish that her younger brother not come to the school, because of what will await him when he arrives, just on account of being her brother. She wants support for her learning and acceptance of her being, and yet seems to be denied both. She cannot fathom why some teachers do not help her, do not trust her, and undermine her very sense of self. Despite the harsh world she inhabits, she is strong and fiery and refuses to be put down, although at times she appears almost crushed.

Figure 10: Reflection during analysis (i).

I feel that I do not know him in any real way. I have read and re-read the interview transcription and reminded myself again of the inflections of his voice. I have lived again his laugh and uncertainty, watched the parts of the pen cascade through the air, and seen us both on the floor, looking for the spring, laughing at the absurdity. Shall I carry on speaking he says, and ridiculous though it seems, I say yes. He speaks and I am under a chair. None of this: his earnest voice, his gentle laugh, his yawns, none brings him alive to me in a real way. Where is the real him? Where is the boy who seems to have been in so many fights? Who stands up for justice in the classroom, corridor and canteen? Who defies teachers to listen, to take notice, to do the right thing, to care? He puts down bullies with a practised touch, calls the integrity of teachers into question, defends the vulnerable, the mocked. This boy is fiercely loyal to the Group, to a small band of friends he truly trusts, to the one or two teachers who have turned his life around. He sorts the wheat from the chaff. This boy guards his independence and difference, and challenges those who seek to overlook his individuality, who attempt to misunderstand him. This boy watches over his very being.

Somewhere, I feel, there lies another boy. The one who agrees meekly to what his stepfather tells him. The one who, although afraid of nothing and fearless in the face of injustice, is afraid to go home and face his mother, who already knows what wrongdoing he has committed that day. Is this the left back, too good for the school football team? The karate yellow belt, the boxer, the freedom fighter? Is this the same boy, who feels keenly that the world has shifted beneath his feet, when asked to sit somewhere else in the classroom? Is this the same boy, who hates being grounded and deprived of his liberty, his freedom, the very air he breathes?
I think it is.

Figure 11: Reflection during analysis (ii).

I include here two pieces of vocative writing, (Figures 12 and 13) to illustrate the way, in which I was a part of the world of the participants, and at other times I was apart. It was, on occasion, not only after an interview, but much later, after transcription and analysis, as I thought again about what I had heard, that I wrote a reflection. In this piece, the words of the participant evoke a strong personal response in me. Levinas described how we are turned to the face of the Other, and drawn towards it, as it calls us to respond: a response-ability for that Other. This call to responsibility cannot be ignored. It is such a response that is described in this following extract.

The piece begins with a short extract from an interview with Sarah, a mother, and is followed by my inner response to those words, as I recalled the episode, some time later.

S: I can tell you about two things that happened. One time, the teacher shouted very loudly at the whole class, and he thought he was being shouted at. He was incoherent with grief. He was inconsolable.

I am immediately struck by the force the words. 'Incoherent with grief. Inconsolable'. It is as if a tragedy has occurred, from which there may be no way back. Images from the recent news, of children, in ragged clothes, their tear-stained faces, covered in dust and dried blood, standing abandoned and lost in ruined Syrian cities, flash through my mind. How can this small incident be similar? And yet, here it is: I do not for one moment doubt what she says. The short sentences, the simple account, her quiet, intense voice: it is all true. I feel, suddenly, as a pain in my stomach, a terrible responsibility for the actions of all teachers. A simple action can tear a child apart. It is my fault.

Figure 12: Vocative response to an interview extract, written after analysis.

In the next extract (Figure 13), I am writing in response to one of the adult participants, who has expressed her deep concern for a pupil, who brings her own daughter vividly to mind. The first paragraph recalls her words spoken in the interview, and the second paragraph is written in the manner of her reflection on the interview. I speak through the mind of the participant and in a sense, I have become her. I am attempting to use

language to capture an experience, in order to evoke the intensity of its meaning in the reader, and "bring it vividly to presence", in the manner of "revocative writing" (Van Manen, 2014, p.241).[45] While this is imaginative writing, its purpose is to give a glimpse of a shared world.

I feel his pain, it sears me again, just as it has with my daughter. I recall her pain, and I feel it again, in his life. I see his anxious body, taut as a wire, nervously looking at his watch, just as she did. "Is it time to go? How do I know? Will I have enough time? I must get away from the noise and bumping in the corridor. Shall I try to rush out first, or linger to the end? I'll never get my things packed away. Why is that noise going on? That clicking is so loud. My head is going to burst. I have to go now. They'll all see me. I have to go now. Now.

I remember it all so well. The memory of those days and nights of tears and sadness, of trying to bend to fit others' worlds, fill me with a dread, a pain to the heart of my being. He is as my child and I must reach out and help him. I can reassure, tell him I care, and that I understand, that I feel for him. But what can I change? How can I make these moments different, better for him? I must make a change. I hear his silent voice and those other silent voices; they call out to me, and I must respond. Their silent calls beseech me, urge me, hold me to ransom. I will act for them. I will make them heard. I can do no other.

Figure 13: Revocative writing.

5.2.5 Close Analysis of each transcription

In the next stage of the analysis, I created a chart for each participant, where I wrote statements from the text, with a line reference number, alongside the insights and emerging themes I had gained from them (see Table 1, for an extract). I added a further column for

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[45] See van Manen, (2014, Chapter 9, pp. 240 -296) for a detailed description of the variety of philological methods in phenomenological writing.

any other ongoing thoughts or notes, to which I continued to add, as the process continued, sometimes referring back to an earlier section, or to another participant's interview. In doing this, I drew from all the sources I had used: the notes, the interviews, the reflective pieces, the diary, the resumés and the transcriptions. I used documents from the School Handbook to verify the factual information in the interviews, such as the names of staff, or of organisations, and added any relevant clarification into the 'Notes' column. Finally, I reread the whole transcription, and immediately wrote a short piece, on my impressions of the whole. I made extensive charts for each of the participants in this way. Thus, the whole process is iterative and each re-reading and period of reflection revealed new depths in the text, and enabled fresh understanding to emerge.

Table 1. Extract from the chart created during transcription analysis.
This is page 2 of 9, for one participant, and shows the work in progress.

Issues/ Activity	Experience/ Emerging Themes	Pages	Notes, observations, quotations	Additional Information
Volunteering and charity work	Impact of detention on this, affecting other people More to her than school perceives: Identity	2	'cos I'm a **really** busy person after school' P08/9	
Guidance teacher is a problem, rather than a support Inconsistent in the ways the T treats pupils Some are praised and seen to be good at work and deserving of support	Injustice, From not following the correct procedure, or expected procedure, rigid, no explanation, unfair, unexpected, unmerited Singled out for unfair treatment, not as everyone else Undeserved: Seen as Other Punished for things others are let off for (phone, chewing gum, talking) Why aren't I deserving of support ? What have I done?	2 4 4, 5 4	'Guidance were supposed to talk to you and ask you why you weren't in school, or ask you if you've got a problem, but they just threw a detention straight at me' P08/11 'I don't find it fair' P08/12 'I'm not really happy, because she doesn't help me with anything. I just don't feel supported with her' P08/27 'She's fine with everyone else, but as soon as it comes to me, I'm **always** in trouble' P08/28	'threw' strong word, cannot be avoided, bolt from the blue, as if physical impact Former guidance teacher whom she liked very much has left. English teacher is now her GT. Not going well. Has been English teacher for four years See also p 13 for her general comments about drinks, toilet passes etc, which are all unanswered by school

5.3 The Emergence of themes

I then began to link similar themes, insights and statements together from all the participants' charts, identifying which aspects of the lived experience were shared and to which extent. To do this, I listed different categories of experience or emotions, and recorded by a tally system, the name of any participant concerned and the frequency, taking the information from the charts I had made. There were seventy-seven different categories. I then separated each of these onto individual cards and began grouping them together in piles to find "clusters of meaning" (Dahlberg et al, 2008, p.244). I adjusted the piles several times, shifting the cards around, as I thought appropriate, and then gave each pile a heading. There were five piles, under broad headings, which seemed to encompass all the sub-categories: Self; self and others; self as Other, self and the school; self and teaching and learning.   Each of these indicated the lived experience of the participants in relation to their education. In this way, I was able to identify the occurrence of different aspects of the lived experience, and also the individual participants associated with each. This process enabled me to begin to build up an overall picture of the experience of inclusive education, from all the participants.

As each reading and reflection shifted my gaze, and new insights emerged, I had to readjust my understanding. As I examined the five "clusters of meaning" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p.244) that had emerged, I returned again and again to the notion of the manner of our 'being' in the world and our relation to the world.   The five existentials of relationality, spatiality, temporality, corporeality and materiality (Van Manen, 2014, pp.302–307; Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002;) seemed to encompass so much of the lives of the participants, as they described their experience and meanings of inclusive education and these were reflected in the five headings I had made.

I then created a separate chart for each of the five existentials, of relationality, corporeality, temporality, spatiality and materiality, with sections for clarification and references, quotations from the interviews and notes (See Table 2). I went again through each interview transcript to cross check against the clusters of meaning I had made, and put direct quotations into each existential. Thus, where a participant commented on how an experience with another person made her feel physically, I recorded this in corporeality and/ or relationality. I used each existential as a 'lens' through which to examine the meaning of the lived experience, focusing, as it were, on each one in turn. To separate them in this way is to move away from the reality, in a sense, because all of these overlap in our experience (Nielson, 2012), and must be taken together as a totality. For example, when I walk into a

room, or sit in a classroom, I am aware of moving into the physical space, the way somebody looks at me, and I feel exposed. At the same time, I am worrying about something, which has just happened, and I become suddenly aware of someone who pushes past me, and calls out my name. All these experiences happen almost simultaneously, but in any instant I may be more aware of one, than of the others.

Table 2**:** An amalgamation of the charts of existentials.
                   This shows extracts from the charts, as a work in progress.

Existential	Clarification	Quotations	References/Notes
Relationality Lived Self-Other Lived relation Intersubjectivity How are people connected in IE?	Being yourself: in the world, and the community, in the school, at home Self in relation to others: parent, family, teachers, peers, friends	we all get on he's a bit isolated they know him here They knew but didn't do anything teachers ignore you why can't they see me	Interpersonal significance of the relationships we have with others, as a means of developing ourselves
Corporeality Lived body How is the body experienced in IE? M-P: the body is the only way to know the world 383-4	My body in this world: Self as object : Self as subject my appearance to others appearance to myself my perception of my appearance to others	I feel I have to get out I am pushed, bashed, they don't see my body they called me names about my body/voice/hair	Seen, but not seen MPp78 MP a 'knowing body' p329-30 'the experience of spatiality is related to our implantation in the world' p330
Temporality our 'temporal way of being in the world' (VM 1994)	Being in the world at this time, how we experience time present and past experiences Future, Memory. Language	I feel stressed I feel time pressured The clocks all say different times There's no time to be	carrying with me the things of the past MP p309 journey to and from school time /duration perceived time, real time pressure of time passing time
Spatiality how is space/our environment experienced in IE? 'the experience of spatiality is related to our implantation in the world' M-P p330	Where am I in space? Do I have my place in the space? Being in the space of the school, the class, the home, the bus	there is a good space we need more space they think it is a good space for me but it isn't I am invisible I know she sees me They talk across me	Movement in space/across through the world see MP 321 the world 'turned up side down' MP 287 Whose space? My space, or their space, shared space
Materiality Lived things, technology How does the experience of things in the world contribute to the essential meaning of IE**?**	What do I see? What do others see? How are things for/against me? Things react/reflect. Emotion/feelings take form of things. Things in the head which crowd Virtual world	Classroom is crowded, the teacher's body the technology does what people used to do my office is full of paper the empty chair the bus is not clean	The materiality of things, even immaterial things such as atmosphere, horror etc VM 307 Technology as techne cf Heideggerian technology as a way of revealing VM 308

This approach to analysis, as a focus on detail, losing momentary sight of the whole, and then returning the gaze to the whole once again (Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008, p. 243), allows the researcher to gain some insight into the meanings given by the participants. The insights gained come from "shifts between moments of closeness and moments of distance" during analysis (Nielson, 2012, p.169). In these ways, my analysis was both vertical, going in great detail into the text for each participant, but also horizontal, across all the participants.

As I searched for over-arching themes which would encompass these five aspects of their lived experience, I read each of these charts carefully, individually and together, and thought about all the different aspects of the process of analysis. I decided on three themes: My Being, Being in the bounds of the school and Being in the community of the school, and a number of sub-themes (See Figure 14). I felt that these themes encompassed the extent to which the lives and experiences of each participant intersected with those of the people and the world around them, their connection to, and the separation from them, as well as the meaning that each made of their experiences. I have used these themes as a single lens through which to see this phenomenon.

5.4 "The synthesis of meanings and essences"

The final step in the analysis process is the production of a text, or texts, which capture the essence of the experience of inclusive education. This text is referred to by Moustakas as "the synthesis of meanings and essences" (1998, p.100). Van Manen describes such a text, written from the eidetic reduction, as one that "evokes" the lived experience of the phenomenon (2014, p.229). For Merleau-Ponty, this reduction is "the determination to bring the world to light as it is" (1945/2002, xvii). Any such text can only ever be a partial revealing of the essence of a phenomenon, linked as it is to the limitations of the researcher's insights and intuition, as well as linguistic skills.

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│                                                               │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   │      THEMES          │        │    SUB-THEMES        │      │
│   └─────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────┘      │
│                                                               │
│                                  ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│                                  │This is who I am: My Present│ │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐        └─────────────────────┘      │
│   │   THEME ONE:         │        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   │   MY BEING           │        │  This is who I am:   │      │
│   └─────────────────────┘        │  My Past is my Present│     │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│                                                               │
│                                  ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│                                  │  Beyond the Gates    │      │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   │   THEME TWO:         │        │ The Presence of School│     │
│   │ BEING IN THE BOUNDS OF│       └─────────────────────┘      │
│   │   THE SCHOOL         │        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   └─────────────────────┘        │The Presence of Technology│  │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│                                  ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│                                  │ The Presence of Time │      │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│                                                               │
│                                  ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│                                  │   Being known        │      │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│   ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   │   THEME THREE:       │        │   Being cared for    │      │
│   │BEING IN THE COMMUNITY│        └─────────────────────┘      │
│   │   OF THE SCHOOL      │        ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│   └─────────────────────┘        │   Being listened to  │      │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
│                                  ┌─────────────────────┐      │
│                                  │The Power of Friendship│     │
│                                  └─────────────────────┘      │
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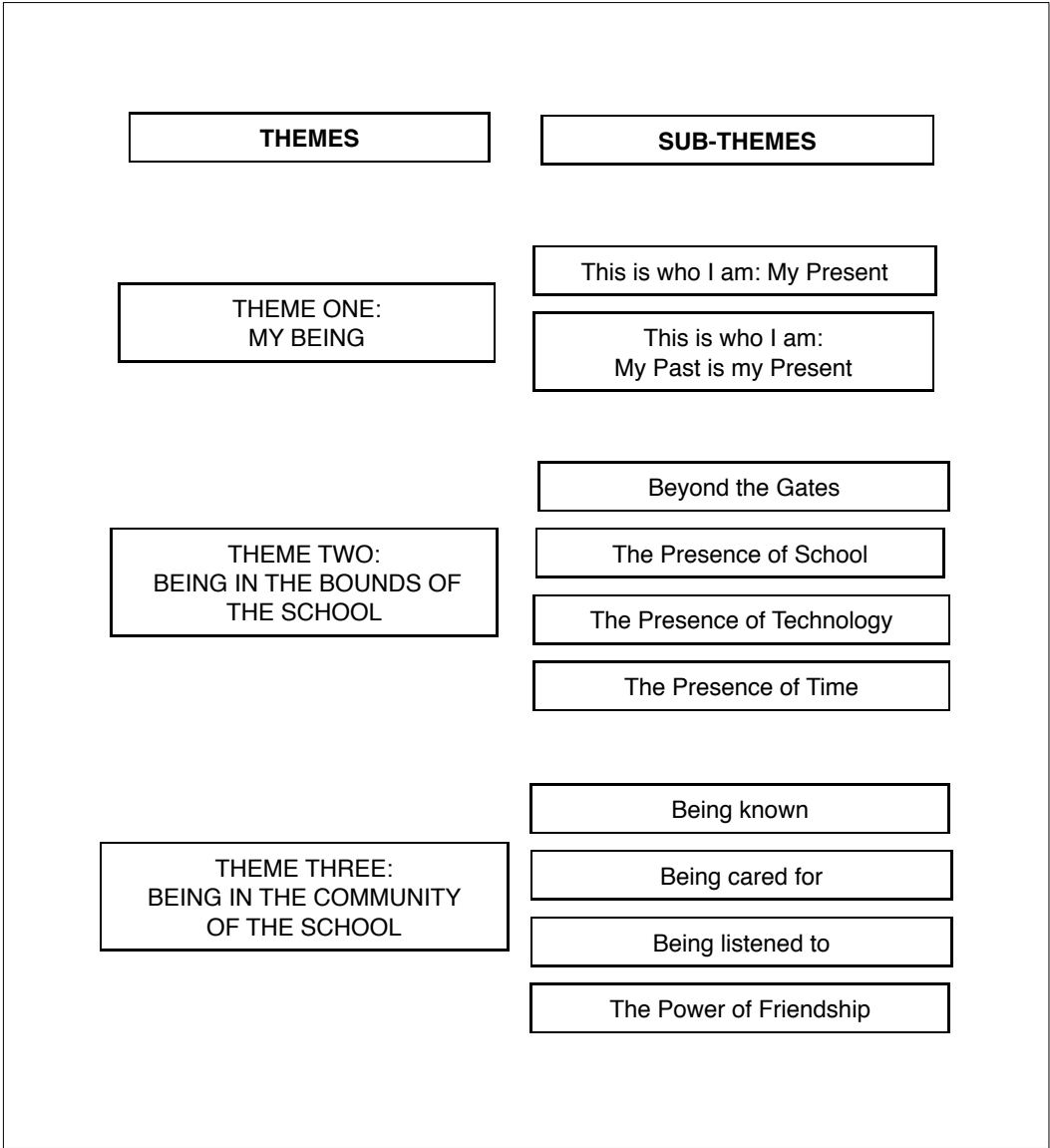
Figure 14. Diagram to show the themes and sub-themes of the analysis.

5.5 Bracketing during the analysis process

When Husserl writes of the reduction, in his earlier works, it is as if it is possible to set ourselves free from our own world, in order to be able to stand back, and see "the things themselves", for what they are: the issue of "how *objective truth* could be constituted in and through *subjective acts* of consciousness" (Moran and Mooney, 2002, p.61 emphasis in the original). Merleau-Ponty disagreed with this earlier position, and maintained that a "complete reduction" was not possible, as we are all in the world, and of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2002, xv). Certainly, I found it was, at times, quite impossible to separate my world

from that of the participant, as their words and the sounds of their voices had a profound effect on me. However, I also felt that this is an essential part of the analysis process, and is a strength of the phenomenological approach, in understanding the lived experience of research participants (Gearing, 2004, p.1448).

I remained aware of my notions, preconceived ideas and assumptions about inclusive education, and its possible effect on the lives of some within the school system. I attempted to lay these to one side, both during the interviews and during the processes of the analysis, rather in the manner suggested by Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström (2008), when they call for "bridling" in the bracketing process, which is a reining in, a means of gentle control on one's own interpretation and involvement, while still remaining open to allow the text to speak to us. It also requires the researcher to allow herself time to dwell reflectively on the phenomenon and "to slow the evolving understanding" (ibid., p.130).

At the same time, I, as researcher, had to remain aware of my own inner world: that part of my experience, and the experiences of people I knew, and sometimes did not know, and the manner in which these became part of my life. Bracketing and bridling, in the senses used by Merleau-Ponty and Dahlberg et al., do not call for the researcher to separate herself from the participants and the data, but to allow herself to be a part of the world of meaning, in an intersubjective relationship.

5.6 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I have shown how I immersed myself in the interview data, describing the different aspects of the process, as I began to draw themes from the transcriptions, as I sought to immerse myself in the experience of the participants, to enable themes to emerge. I illustrated aspects of the process with different forms of writing, using the methods from van Manen, and with charts showing the manner, in which I drew on the work of Merleau-Ponty, in the use of the five existentials, to find the essence of the lived experience.   In the next chapter, I analyse the interview data, drawing extensively from it, to develop the themes.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS PART TWO: EXPLICATION OF THE THEMES

6.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction

The aim of this research is to reveal the essence of the phenomenon of inclusive education in a Scottish secondary school, through the descriptions of lived experiences of some young people, their teachers and family members. Each participant has a different and unique lived experience of education, which together can reveal to us rich detail, of which we may be unaware, adding to our knowledge about the nature, meaning and understanding of inclusive education in young people's lives. In this chapter, I analyse the descriptions under three overarching themes, which are linked and intersect: My Being, Being in the bounds of the school, and Being in the community of the school. Each theme has a number of sub-themes, through which different aspects of the life world are revealed (See Figure 14).

I have chosen to use the expression, 'explication' in the title of this chapter, over the more usual term, 'analysis'. Analysis carries with it overtones of a breaking down of the whole into its constituent parts, whereas in phenomenological research of this type, while separate aspects of the phenomenon may be identified, it is the totality which must be seen. 'Explication' retains that link to the whole. In the text, however, I continue to use the more conventional expression, 'analysis', for clarity.

There are fourteen participants in the research, seven children and seven adults, each of whom tells their own story through the interviews. There are two additional adults, Laura and Gemma, who attended interviews with Paul, Simon or Ben, in a support role, but who were not interviewed as participants. (See Figure 15).

The lived experiences of the seven children are central to the project, with the words of the adults adding further dimensions to the worlds of the young people. I have presented this explication thematically, merging the voices of the child participants, while retaining each individual voice, reflecting the whole-part-whole approach to the explication (see Figure 16). I have not included descriptions of the interview, or the physical presence of each child in this explication, as each creates his or her own presence in their words. Any description I might choose to give would reflect my impression, giving a shallow shape to their being, in terms of features or labels I identify, and thus would lose, or diminish, their unique alterity (Fraser, 2000). When Levinas wrote of encountering the "face" [*visage*] of the Other, he was surely

intending the "presence", "gaze", the "corporeal self presence" of the Other (Critchley and Bernasconi, 2002, p.65) in its full embodiment and engagement with the world. Thus, in presenting the lived experience thematically, I have endeavoured to capture these three aspects: that each unique voice is heard, that each unique Other is present, before us, face to face, and also to show the universal in our shared human experience.
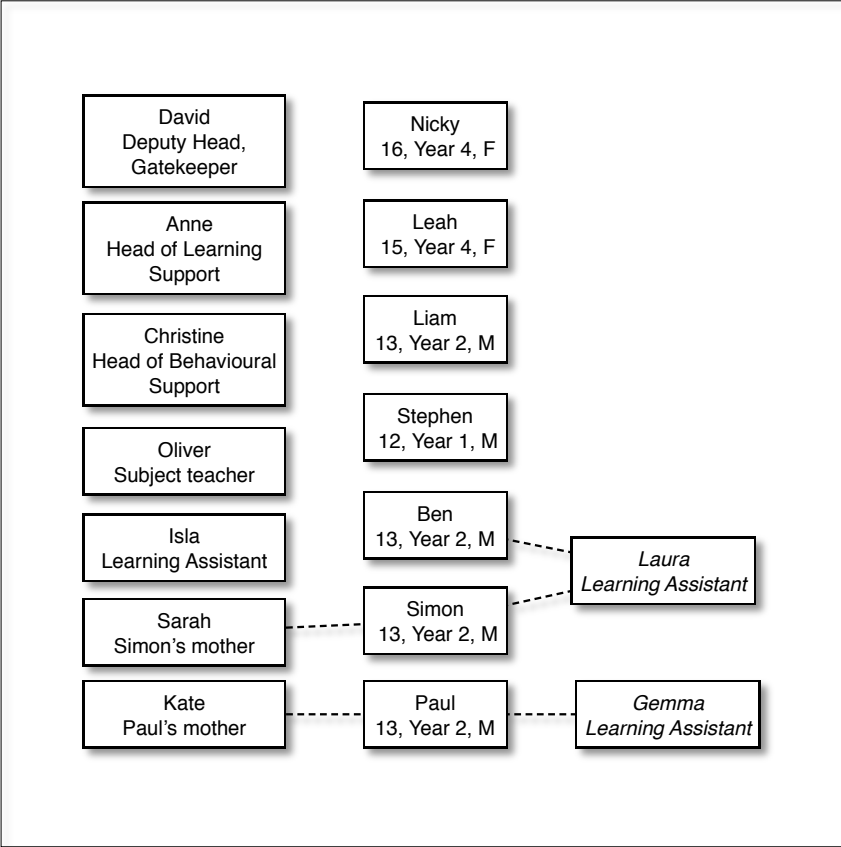
KEY: Adult participants are shown with a role descriptor. Child participants are shown with age, school year group and gender. Learning Assistants in italic print were present at interviews as pupil support, but were not interviewed as participants in the project. All participants spoke English as a mother tongue.

Figure 15: Diagram to show adult and child participants (also at Figure 1).
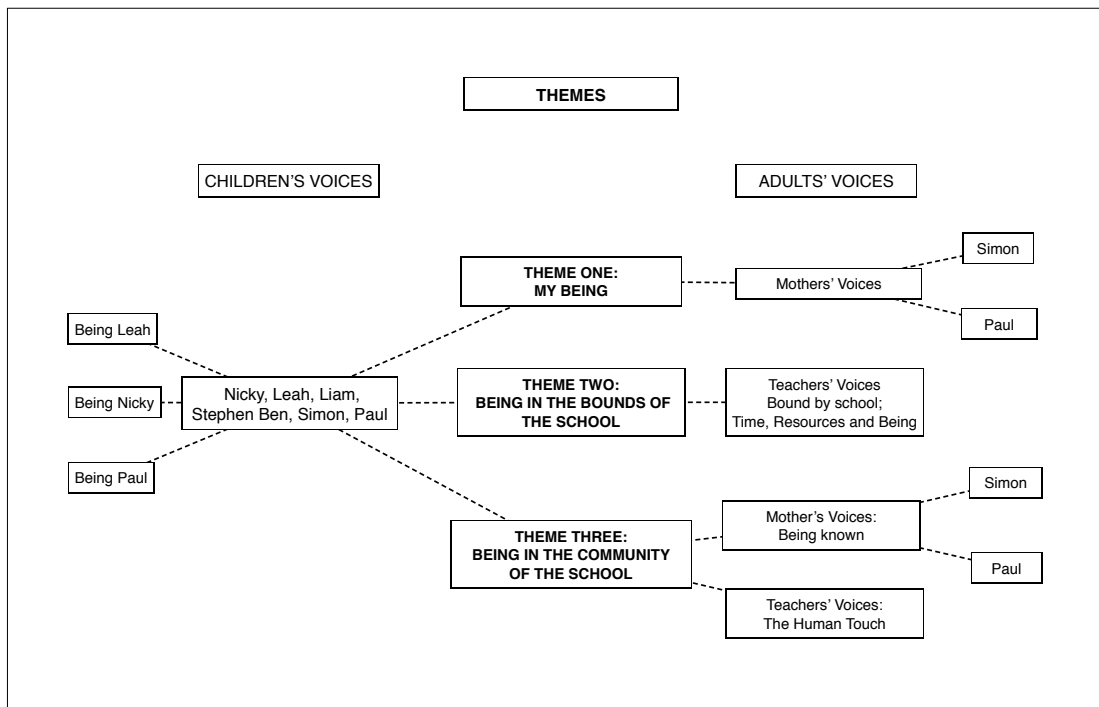
Figure 16: Diagram to show how the themes and voices are linked.

Two young people, Leah and Nicky, speak of very different experiences, both to each other and, in some respects, to the rest of the participants. As both are now reaching the end of their schooling, their words draw on a longer experience of education. They speak willingly, and at length, about their experiences, and thereby fulfil one criterion often identified in phenomenological interviews (van Manen, 2014; Moustakas, 1994). Their experiences interweave with those of the other young people, but also stand apart in very distinct ways, and it is for those different ways that they also tell parts of their own stories.

Two other young people, Simon and Paul, are set apart from the other children, for other reasons. While both are interviewed individually, as participants, their mothers are also participants in the study. The mothers, Sarah and Kate, each speak of their own experience, but they also speak at length of their respective child's experience, as that, too, is part of their own lived experience of inclusive education.

As I hear Simon's voice, I feel I can glimpse his world, but it is his mother, Sarah, who fleshes out my image of his life world by her words, the cadences of her voice and her

movements. In my mind, I see the Simon she describes through her eyes, but also through my eyes. Teachers refer to Simon in the abstract, as one with "difficulties", or "autistic", and a Learning Assistant speaks of him with an empathy and understanding, drawn from her own daughter's experience. Their words add a dimension to how I can glimpse his life world, but it is not his voice and it is not his lived experience, which they describe, but their impression and interpretation of what they see.

Paul's voice is elusive. He speaks little, in disjointed, short sentences, which do not always seem to make sense, and I am not sure of the meaning they convey, or even if they convey the meaning he intends. I do not feel that I know what he thinks or feels about school, or anything about his world. I see his interest spark when we talk about some of the things he does, as I interact with him in the interviews, and as he shows me round some of his favourite areas of the school, but I do not know him. His mother, Kate, paints a picture of a different child. She fills out his life for me, but I do not always recognise him in her words. The pencil sketch I have in my mind is transformed into a colourful portrait, where it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the boy that he is to me, from the boy that he is to her, or the one that she hopes that he is. In a move away from the generally accepted notion that a participant in a phenomenological interview is able to express his or her own experience in words, I have attempted to bring Paul's experience and voice to mind, not only through the voices of others, but in short vignettes from the time I spent with him. While these different approaches may come together to begin to convey Paul's experience, it remains incomplete as, to my mind, it may not possible to know or understand how Paul experiences the world.

Figure 17 shows how all these different voices come together.
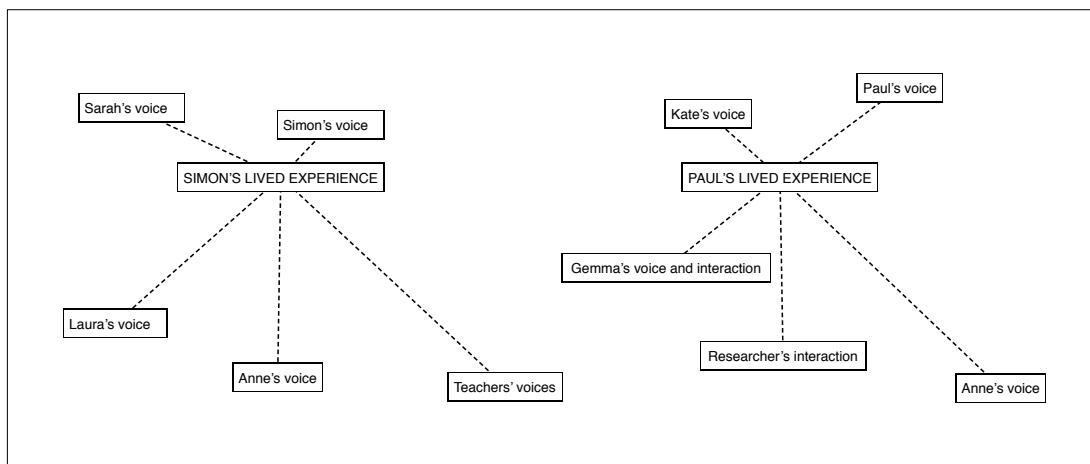
KEY: Shorter lines indicate those whose voices contribute more.

Figure 17: Diagram to show the relative contribution of different voices to the emergence of the lived experience of Simon and of Paul.

Teachers and Learning Assistants experience inclusive education in their own ways, but they also shine a light on the worlds of the young people. In some ways, they reveal a similar world, but their accounts also suggest that young people experience a world, which is hidden from adults around them. Learning Assistants sit with pupils in class, and see the teacher from the same perspective, which gives them some insight into their world. Some teachers have an insight into the pupils' perspectives, through their own thoughtfulness, insight or intuition, but occupy a different space and have a different way of being within the school. In this analysis, the words of adults and children are presented separately, to reflect this dichotomy.

The following sections contain extracts from interview transcriptions. Speakers' names are indicated in upper case, and the interviewer's voice is indicated by the abbreviation, 'INT'. Original expressions and words have been retained, and pauses in speech are indicated by an ellipsis. Words in **bold** indicate the speaker's emphasis.

6.2 Theme one: My being

The manner, in which we know ourselves and in which others know us is, an important part of the lived experience of school. It concerns how we see ourselves as bodies in the world and how we are seen by others, how we are heard, recognised, understood and valued in the world of the school.

It is evident in the words of a number of the young people in this project, that their being at home and their being at school are not the same: there seems a disconnect between these two selves. As they speak of their interests, activities and achievements outside school, they reveal themselves as strong individuals, with a certain sense of autonomy and independence, who see themselves as able to do many things and accepted and valued for who they are. These young people do not speak of their 'home' selves in terms of what they cannot do, but rather in terms of everything they are involved in, achieve and enjoy, whether these are complex activities, or the regular and mundane aspects of normal everyday life.

Few of the young participants themselves speak in terms of their own 'labels' or diagnoses, as being separate to the way they see themselves. It seems that the 'whole' person cannot be separated from any aspect of their being. Each of these young people is aware, in their individual way, of their own difficulties in managing some aspects of their lives, particularly in relation to school. It is the importance of home, and the strength they gain to manage school,

from the support given to them by their parents and family members, which they express. At the same time, each is aware of the support given, by the school, and how that communication between home and school can help them manage every day.

In this first section, I give a form of self-portrait to each young person, as they first presented themselves to me, in response to my questions, "What do you enjoy doing outside school?" and, "What is school like for you?" I do not offer any description or explanation of my own, which might limit their presentation, but I add some words about Simon and Paul, given to me by their mothers, Sarah and Kate. As each interview progressed, all participants spoke in greater depth about themselves, and their words form the basis of this analysis, after this opening section.

6.2.1 This is who I am

Nicky

Nicky talks enthusiastically of the voluntary work she does out of school, spending her free time in activities and in helping others, in a range of different ways, and of her work experience with children in a primary school. She talks of the importance of her father and her brother and of the close bond they have, supporting each other through difficult family times, and of her fierce loyalty to her friends.

NICKY: My Dad is one of those really overprotective dads, and it's like, I've always been with my Dad, even when my Mum left, I was always with my dad.... I love my wee brother. [She gives a brief laugh]. I'm happy. I've got my friends and family to like support me.

Nicky, who has a number of difficult and unresolved medical, emotional and learning issues, sees herself as complete, "It's just me. That's always been me". The other Nicky, who is at odds with school in so many ways, is not present in her demeanour and words.

Leah

Leah talks enthusiastically of her achievements in sport, at national level in her age group, breaking records in athletics and travelling to different cities for competitions. She has gained awards and recognition in the Cadet Force, and learnt a large number of different skills, working as part of a team. She talks of being able to travel independently to events some distance away, and of being able to read books for enjoyment. It is clear that she is proud of her achievements, and that these have given her confidence and a strong sense of self, despite the difficulties caused by severe dyslexia.

Leah talks of her initial resistance to the label of "severe dyslexia", which was eventually diagnosed after many years of difficulty, but explains how she has come to see that it opens doors to her, through more widespread recognition and understanding, with the added benefit that she does not have to explain her difficulties all the time. She accepts the label as a descriptor of her difficulties, for the benefit of others, but not as a deficit descriptor of her character, as she has a strong view of her own value, as a being. Her mother plays an important role in helping her manage her commitments, by working with her to find practical strategies to manage the difficulties of her severe dyslexia, and is helping Leah to become independent.

Liam

Liam describes all the tricks he can perform with a scooter, patiently explaining how this and that feat was achieved, watching and learning from others, brushing aside the falls and knocks he has endured, during constant repetition, until the trick is mastered. He talks of the hours of practice on his drum kit to master the dexterity of hand and foot, of saving money to add instruments to the kit. For Liam, it is the support from grandparents and parents, which gives strength in its familiarity.

LIAM: I phone my Mum and Dad from my Nan and Grandad's… Mostly we talk, and then I do my drumming practice, and then I get my tea, and then I just go out.

There is no sign of the boy already suspended from one school, and so often in trouble at school and in the community.

Stephen

Stephen excels at many sports, using them as an outlet for his strong emotions. His casual modesty hides a strong sense of someone as ease with himself, with leadership qualities, standing up for his friends, and as one who can quickly master any sport he tries, playing football for a team outside school, well beyond the standard of the school team. There is no sign of the boy, who is often in trouble at school and struggling to manage the effects of his diagnosis of ADHD.

Stephen talks of his "ADHD", as a part of himself, and is willing to tell teachers how it affects his learning and behaviour, to help them to understand him. He does not see it as a negative part of himself, but an intrinsic and positive part of who he is, expressing his energy in all manner of sport, activity and engagement with others in and out of school. The support from school and the regular communication between home and school are important to him,

even if, as he wryly admits, it can sometimes mean consequences at home, as well as at school.

STEPHEN: Sometimes it can be difficult cos like I'm having a bad day at school, and like it can be a little hard... because like ... say something really bad happens at school, and then like Miss was to tell my mum, then I'm like afraid to tell my mum.

Ben

Ben has a high world ranking in dance, achieved after many years, and talks of the discipline involved in learning complex steps and the pressure of performance in competition, where a single wrong movement can mean a loss of marks. As he describes the intricate costume of dance, his quiet sense of achievement and strong sense of his own value and presence come through his words. He talks of a world where it is not the impact of his illness, which marks him out, but the genius of his dance.

Ben, whose serious illness, when he was younger, has left him with a number of issues, which have an impact on his learning and ability to manage a busy environment, has taken these on as part of his being, and which make him who he is. He speaks of the strength he can gather from home, at lunchtime, when school becomes "just too much" and of ways, in which his mother gives him practical help, to overcome his difficulties.

BEN: Most of the days, I go home for lunch. If I've been stressed that day and something has annoyed me and really, like, frustrated … erm… it just gives me time to like, cool down, go back to the rest of the day fresh. Yeah, and if there's anything that's troubling me, I can tell her [his mother] and then she can, if it's like, say, something I need to sort out, that needs sorted, she can just phone up the school.

If I'm stressed about something, I can go to Guidance or the Head Teachers, and say, like what I just stressed about and they'll give a phone home, so my mum knows when I go home, that I've spoken to either of them.

Simon

Simon talks willingly of his interest and understanding of complex computer programs and graphic design, and of his plans for a future career. He talks gently of his parents and only sister and of home as a place where he feels understood, supported and safe, able to share his feelings, turning to his mother for most help.

SIMON: I don't exactly share them to be honest, with anyone outside my house.
Basically [I talk to] my mum, because it will be most likely her, because, erm, my dad will most likely be off at work … and also … my sister... it might be her, if she's at home.

Simon does not mention autism in any way when he speaks. He talks of how he feels and experiences different aspects of his life at school, and the problems he encounters every day, once mentioning having 'difficulties coping outside', but does not explain, or offer any causes.

His mother, Sarah, talks of his kindness and gentleness, his inner strength in trying to manage a world he cannot always understand, on account of his diagnosis of autism, and of his determination to do well at school, to be himself and fit in with others. She talks of things Simon can do now, which he had not been able to do before, when he was younger and of the huge progress he has made, in managing aspects of social communication and learning, but Simon does not refer to these.

Paul

Paul smiles broadly at the mention of swimming and basketball, plays the drums with a musical ear and a manual dexterity, and shows me his favourite superhero on the computer, laughing at my expression. He leads me confidently down the school corridors, barely glancing at some classrooms, and entering others, cheerfully showing me where he sits. He peals with laughter during the interview and shows a mischievous, happy sense of humour.

In Paul's world, there does not seem to be any questioning: he is who he is. It is not clear whether he sees himself as 'different' to others, or the extent to which he is aware of what he is able, or not able to do, in comparison to others. Of all participants, it seems that Paul is the least able to see himself as others might see him, but, far from being a disadvantage, this vulnerability seems to bring a kind of immunity to him. He responds to others as they appear to him. Thus, with a certain distance until he appears to have gauged their demeanour and then with warmth and friendliness, or with wariness, when others seem unfriendly, cold or angry.

His mother, Kate, talks with pride of his natural sporting ability, his representation of the school at basketball, his swimming with the "normal" group, his enjoyment of outdoors and long walks. She recalls with humour, his ability, as a non-reader, to scan the television schedules to find exactly the film he wants to watch, his cheerfulness and friendliness, his good-humoured cheekiness and his normality, kicking a ball around with friends. That is the same Paul, as the one who cannot be at school unsupervised, and whose life decisions will always be made by another

6.2.2 This is who I am: My past is my present

As young people move into the world of the secondary school, they bring their past with them. Transition into secondary school may be more difficult for some young people, particularly where they have encountered multiple problems in their early years. This has been the experience of many of the young participants in this research, for a number of different reasons. For some, the early years of their lives have been very disrupted, strong foundations have not been laid down, and there have not been the opportunities to learn to be, and to learn how to relate to others. Some may have experienced a disruptive childhood, family breakdown, a loss of home, family and friends and multiple moves. Some have missed years of school through illness, or have had several changes of primary school, for different reasons, as families try to find adequate help for a range of diagnoses, disabilities, or the effects of developmental delay.

For some of the participants, the primary school years have not been happy. Several have experienced bullying, which for some, has been very severe. Some feel they were bullied by their teachers, as well as their peers, or that teachers did not stand up to defend them and take on the bullies. Some with disabilities or learning needs have been told by adults that they will never be any good at anything, or have struggled in school for years, when nothing was put in place to help them. Some young people feel crushed and overwhelmed by their experiences; others have become defenders of their own rights, fighting back. For some, the bullies or the bad reputation from the primary school, follow them to the secondary school and have to be faced all over again.

For these young people, the process of the transition to secondary school is more difficult than for many, as the effects of the past are more significant. These difficulties are frequently linked to their sense of their own being, and of being with others, as well as to issues of learning.

Leah talks of her negative experiences in primary schools, more than four years previously, where her learning needs were not met, which had a serious effect on her self esteem, confidence and happiness, compounded by bullying, which teachers did not seem to be able to control.

LEAH: In Primary … I was always told I wouldn't square up to anything. I would never achieve anything. I've been told since I was five I would never achieve anything.
I had no friends because of the rumours what was made up about me. I got picked on for being different, from living in a different country, from being born in a different country, having dyslexia and that basically depleted me... I didn't like what was happening.

INT: Did no teachers intervene in all that?
LEAH**:** She tried, but it wasn't working. That bully just kept doing it and doing it.
The work was hard. I was like a level below, and it was just trying to keep up, to keep and the level, just too hard. My teacher wasn't really that... I don't think she really knew how to deal with dyslexia.
INT**:** What about dealing with you as a person though?
LEAH   [L*ong pause*] …… I don't really know.

Nicky expresses her difficulties with her primary years in a different way:

NICKY: I used to enjoy coming to this school. I still think this is better than Primary School. I hated Primary. I got bullied all through that: pupils **and** teachers….[*She lets out a breath*]. I was not really lucky with schools, I guess.

For some, the difficulties of the primary school years continue at the secondary school, in the

physical presence of the bully.

LEAH: I was really bullied in Primary school and the bully bullying me actually came up to the High School with me. I lost all my confidence and had nothing when I came up here.

Simon must face the primary school bully every day on the school bus. He struggles to

articulate what it all means to him.

SIMON**:** Basically what happened was there was someone who always … upset me ever since primary school…
It's not, it's not... been **exactly** as **bad** as primary school to be honest...but it's been…
INT: What kind of things did he do?
SIMON: Well actually I'm not too sure, because they're actually very strange. They're really hard to explain as well, because there's practically like no good reason behind it, because I'm not exactly too sure, why, because they don't even know me much, so I'm having trouble explaining at least why I think they might do it.
INT: Can you tell me what they do?
SIMON: I'm not too sure. It's very...strange the things that they do... I think I might have trouble explaining this to be honest. So...
IINT: Ok. Do they say things to you that are unkind?
SIMON: Erm... I don't think that they do, to be honest, from what I remember at least... Well, or maybe they do... I do remember that.
INT: Does anybody hurt you?
SIMON: Er, physically…?
INT: Yes, physically.
SIMON: No.
INT: Hurt your feelings?
SIMON: Erm, sort of, but .. not exactly, because I have a hard time, well at least something like that.. ha…happening to me.
INT: You mean, you have a hard time understanding it?
SIMON: Yeah, hard time understanding it, so they [sic] usually not hurt, to be honest.
INT: How does it make you feel, though?
SIMON: Erm, I'm not too sure. Sometimes…a bit…most of the time a bit lost.

For Ben, the difficulties in primary school were caused by missing parts of his education, on account of serious illness. Most important for him, was the lack of friends, which caused him to feel isolated in the later years of primary school.

BEN: Because.. erm…I had [a serious illness] which I was out of school for like three and a half years, so it was just really hard for me, to like, to, like, from the end, in and out of hospital so many times, and then coming back in without needing to go back in to hospital, and…it was really hard to make friends, cos, when you're little you always make friends at a young age, but since I came in there, I think I was nine… and I was working it was like Primary 5, it was just really hard for me to, like, get back into the swing of things…

6.3 Theme two: Being in the bounds of the school

6.3.1 Beyond the gates

The influence of school is not bound by the gates, but extends into the lives of pupils, long after they leave school at the end of the day and before they arrive in the morning. The journey itself, to and from school, is an issue for some pupils, for a number of different reasons. This is particularly so for Simon, who must travel by bus. He worries every day about arriving at school on time, as the bus service is unpredictable, added to the unpleasantness of the bus ride itself, which is unclean and has offensive graffiti. It is difficult to be on the bus, in close proximity to the other pupils and their school bags, and be unable to understand and escape any words, or teasing by bullies. Simon is troubled by pupils who travel on the bus without the appropriate pass, which he feels to be wrong, and this also causes anxiety, as it is another aspect of a world, whose shifting borders seem unclear, beyond reach and out of control.

SIMON: It's just the fact that it's just not very nice on the bus to be honest.
It's just basically not clean. There's lots of bit everywhere. I just don't want to look at it or think about it, because it's just not very nice.
There was one person who always upset me from Primary school and they got on the wrong bus, I'm not too sure why, they got on the bus that I got on and basically upset me. They got on a different bus that why can't not even meant [sic] to be on, because I don't think they even had a temporary pass. He's not allowed to do that without a proper pass, or a temporary one.

Outings and trips outside the school can be difficult for some to manage, for a variety of reasons, and seem to be a constant source of worry, both in the lead up and at the time. All such occasions are periods of transition for some pupils with additional needs, and expose their vulnerabilities, once beyond the relative safety of the school.

Leah describes how vulnerable and unprepared she felt, when a recent trip did not run smoothly, and there were no plans in place for her to manage.

LEAH: We're in a group, so if we're doing anything that's splitting up, they can't just leave me, cos I won't know where I am…There was actually an incident. I don't think they [the school] actually thought this through. Once we'd finished and [it was] time to go home, they actually left a group of teenagers, literally said, "That way" That was it. "Down that road. On the main road." Didn't know where the main road was … and we just literally walked up this street and I couldn't read any of the signs because they were blue.
INT: Had you been on your own, what would you have done?
LEAH: It's actually happened before. I had fell asleep on the bus and ended up in [a town over an hour away] and I had no idea where I was [*her voice has become high*] and I started having a panic attack, so I couldn't read anything .. the signs, but … a very nice lady saw I was distressed and I was alright.

It is not just the outing itself, which can be difficult, but the anticipation. On the day of the interview, Ben is worried about a change in routine and how he will fit in lunch and be in time for the bus for a school outing that afternoon. On this occasion, a Learning Assistant is on hand to calm his worries. The level of anxiety comes through his words.

BEN: So, it's like I really have no time between… the bell goes at twenty past one and two o' clock when we've got to leave for the trip, so it's too short. It's gonna be like … cos normally break finishes - no, lunch finishes at 2:10, but we have to be at the room at 2 o'clock, so it's like, there's not enough even…there's probably not even going to be enough time.

6.3.2 The presence of school

The school space is very much in the ownership of most of the pupils and of the staff, even though, as a community school, there are members of the public looking for parking spaces, and weaving their way through the knots of pupils in the tarmac area, in front of the rather small and inconspicuous front entrance to the building. Parents sometimes feel it is difficult to cross the unspoken boundary around the school, to enter into that part of the lives of their children, in the way they had done in the primary school. This is recognised by senior staff in the school, who write of a welcoming attitude and an open door policy for parents, but who may be surprised to see them arriving unannounced into the routine of the school day.

The walls of the school are strangely mixed. Sometimes cheerful posters, photographs and messages are on the walls, and display cabinets contain trophies won by pupils. Elsewhere, information and posters are more menacing, such as that warning against internet or mobile phone dangers. In some places, whole corridors are bare, doors have no signs, symbols,

pictures of their purpose, or the names of their owners and the building appears to take on a bleak, unwelcoming presence.

In the secondary school, large numbers of pupils mean crowding and noise everywhere. At lesson changeover times, and at the beginning and end of the day, a great many people are moving around the school. At the end of the school day, hundreds of pupils leave the building at the same time, which is difficult for some young people to manage. Some of those with additional needs avoid certain areas in the school building, as they are too noisy, or too crowded. Amongst these, for example, is the canteen, where pupils often feel stressed and rushed in the process of lining up and making a quick decision about what to eat, and managing the payment system; and the outside space, where pupils congregate in groups, at break and lunchtimes.

SIMON: I don't go there [to the canteen]. I just probably might think that I'm not such a big fan of it. I just have a packed lunch in the Art department. One thing that puts me off in second year, is the system, because you actually have to pay real money, using like, cards that are based off of [sic] credit cards. You have to put in your password, which no one else has to see, and basically get some money in and take it out and then use the money from your account to purchase the food.
At break time, I go up to the Art department, do some old thing, have my lunch, basically check where I am next. So there's the thing that I do before school, break and lunch.

The small size of the school building, relative to the numbers of pupils, means that there is a strict system of 'movement rules', to indicate directions to follow around the school. Simon explains that he obeys the movement rules and has understood the layout of the school, and has no difficulty finding his way around, if he knows where he is meant to be.

SIMON: I would usually take the proper way, which is not up the stairs you are not allowed to go up.

Sudden changes of routine are more difficult to manage, however, and cause him anxiety. Simon finds these times very stressful, particularly when he is unsure where he should be. "One thing I have trouble coping with is not knowing where to go next." As he speaks, he repeats the phrase, "I can't remember", a number of times, and gives the impression he is trying not to call to mind a difficult situation. He identifies knowing where to be, at the right time, as two of the hardest aspects of the school day.

SIMON: I think I just probably… I think… I'm not too sure to be honest, because I can't exactly remember. The thing outside of work is that … the thing that makes the hardest … going to the right classes, to be honest, and also … erm… going to school, there and back on time.

The corridors and staircases are also difficult, particularly at lesson changeover times, where a large number of people are passing. For Ben, it is as if his very presence is not noticed by anyone else in the crowd.

BEN: It depends on like whether there's like two-way people going one way, and I'm like going the other way. It's like hurrying and you're getting bashed against the walls, stuff like that.

For pupils who need support at different points during the school day, that is often to be found in the offices of the Guidance staff, which are in the main administrative section of the school. This corridor area is also busy with queues of pupils lining up to see Guidance staff at lunch and break times, as well as parents and visitors attending appointments. Some pupils find this area difficult and seem to move uncertainly, hugging the wall, as if unsure of their ownership of the place. Others appear more bold, claiming a space as their own.

A lack of signage is still an issue for Leah, after four years in the school. In addition to finding the layout of the school confusing, she is unable to read anything written in blue, on account of dyslexia, and has to rely on teachers and friends to relay information to her from posters.

LEAH: It took me a little while to get used to it [the layout of the school], when like Timetable Change, I always have it in my diary… um… so if I forget… I learn it in about a week, where I have to go every day. Sometimes I do forget where I'm meant to be … If a class gets changed, then I'm [*she draws in a breath and raises her voice*]. "Which classroom is it again?"
I don't really use them [information notices]. I just ask guys or some teachers to tell me. Because a lot of them, you can see from outside [*she indicates the corridor*] they're mostly in blue and I can't read in blue. [*She half laughs, by drawing in her breath*].

For Simon, however, the disabled symbol on the door of the toilet is more confusing than helpful.

SIMON: I don't have much confidence to go there. I think it isn't kept locked, but you're not meant, like, not allowed to go, unless you feel truly disabled.
INT: What counts as "truly disabled"?
SIMON: I'm not too sure, just basically … I'm not too sure, to be honest, but I think something like that, like someone who has trouble walking, probably, that's my theory, at least.

The presence of the school itself can seem unfriendly, noisy and unclean, with graffiti on walls, and cluttered with people. There is often no soap in the boys' toilets and paper towels strew the floor. Elsewhere, it is possible to find soap, but it is necessary to go to another location to find a paper towel. For Simon, this is a particularly distressing part of school.

SIMON: One thing that will make it much more easier is that…there's...I'm not sure if there's some boys like purposely empty out the soap, but it seems to be whenever I go to the erm.. toilets, right, that's not the disabled ones, right, there doesn't seem to be much soap left, like practically literally none, so that's why I really, that one thing that really puts me off from going there… Like truly. There's soap in the Art department, but sometimes no towel, no paper towel there.

While staff do provide a classroom area for vulnerable pupils, Simon feels it is not 'his' space, and that it is too noisy, too crowded, with the desks close together, and little free space, or fresh air. The rather stuffy atmosphere, compounded by the smell of packed lunches, is very unpleasant, and he feels that a group of people, who have little in common with each other and with different needs, are forced to spend the time together. It is not a place to be able to 'switch off'. But for some, even this is preferable to the alternative of facing the outside world.

Simon describes his difficulties with the "special" lunch room, which is noisy and generally unsupervised by staff. He prefers to spend time, if he can, in the quieter Art Room, which his older sister suggested as a solution. There he can block out some of the noise by using headphones, increasing his isolation.

SIMON: There was a thing in S1 that Miss [name] …she basically put anyone who has troubles coping outside or something like that, erm .. into her special room. I had something like this in primary school as well, because I had trouble coping outside... But basically ... it's that you just use the computers basically, do whatever you want, basically. The problem is I have trouble coping there, is because some … of the people who go up there are a bit rowdy, not very quiet, to be honest, and it smells. Either, something strange like an energy drink or something, or oranges, to be honest. Like, they've got a very strong scent. Plus the thing that makes it even worse, is that there's tables in there, and they're put in a way that's very cramped, so it's hard to get across in the room.
INT: Do you chat with people when you are up there?
SIMON: Not really, because … many have completely different interests. Mrs. [name] says to wear headphones, but the problem is that she's usually out most of the time. But you are a bit quieter, a bit more.

Other young people find a different way of spending lunch times. A small group of older pupils, who lay claim to an empty classroom to spend their free time together, away from others, find that they are separated and sent elsewhere, as a punishment for minor infringements. This separation from the group is keenly felt, but also acts to undermine their growing independence, as 16 year-olds.

NICKY: There's one room there for like Fifth, for my year only... So we're lucky we do get in there, but if one person misbehaves, the **whole**... thing is, we're all out and we're all in our own little groups, we're not all together. So, yeah, if we're not in that room, then we hardly ever see each other.

Classroom arrangement, with pupils sitting at tables, facing the front, can, for some pupils, lend itself to a sense of an oppressively crowded area, with the presence of people, bags, coats, books, papers and the equipment of teaching and learning, filling all the space. For some, even the crowded classroom can seem a lonely place. Some pupils find the presence and body language of the teacher at the front quite difficult to manage, as well as the near presence of other pupils. Even when sitting in the safety of their desk, some pupils feel that they are not really there, in the community of the class, as other pupils talk across them.

BEN: If people just like … annoy me and that, it's hard for me. I'm getting better, but it's hard for me to just take a deep breath and just like calm down. In Maths, it's like a little bit annoying, 'cos there's like [*two boys*] who are sitting next to me and I'm in the middle and they just keep chatting over me and it's really hard to concentrate and I'm like, "Can you just please be quiet, I'm trying to concentrate".

Inside the classrooms, traditional setting arrangements do not always lend themselves easily to accommodating additional needs. Desks and chairs have to be moved, to allow space for a Learning Assistant to work with several pupils, or for extra equipment, such as iPads or overlays. Some pupils try to feel more grounded and safe in the classroom and claim a space of their own, by always sitting in the same desk, and hoping they will not be moved. Pupils do not like having to change seats, when the teacher rearranges the seating, and they have to give up what has become 'their' seat, to another pupil, or move for a group activity. Such changes disrupt their being in the classroom. Simon describes how he has been moved from the front to the back of the classroom, which means he cannot see the board clearly, on account of a visual difficulty. Having plucked up the courage to ask the teacher if he can move, with no result, he is now resigned to remaining at the back. As he explains it, "I can't keep asking him".

For Ben, now towards the end of the second year in the school, the seating has become less of a problem, although there are still some issues in classes.

BEN: It's actually not too bad in classes just now. It was actually much worse in S1, cos we were getting everything sorted out. It just depends where the teacher puts you. It's just a bit of … random.

For some, the seat, which is allocated is too close to others, or to the teacher, which unsettles them. Some pupils particularly dislike being physically sent out of the room, and experience this exclusion as a type of rejection from the community of the class and of their peers. They resist this, and often see this form of punishment as very unfair, in relation to the misdemeanour.

STEPHEN: We got sent out the classroom, because a boy like started saying stuff, and we couldn't help but laugh, but we got sent out. I said to him [the teacher], "I don't see how this is fair, that we're getting stuck out here, while we should be actually allowed to be going through there and that boy should be out."

6.3.3 The presence of technology

Computers and mobile technology are used by a number of the participants in the study, and for some, they offer a means of accessing the work of the class, of keeping up and of catching up. Tablets can be used to photograph work from the board to finish at home, to listen to e-books, to access web pages for information, or to print work.

For Ben, who has difficulty with memory and with working to a deadline, the tablet is very useful.

BEN: They've given me an iPad, so I can like take pictures of my work, so say if I've got like homework to do; I can … say, if it's in a jotter and I need to … copy it onto something else, I can just … like take a picture of it on my iPad, so I've got it for … and like catching up. I'm … sort of … slower at physically writing, but I'm faster on the … the … the iPad, which helps me, like, it's really good … to speed up the work.

At times, the technology itself creates a barrier, as teachers question pupils over its need, or it creates further isolation, by a subtle form of differentiation.

Keyboards are not always an easy solution for some, as the place of letters has to be memorised, in addition to their shapes and functions. Some pupils also have access to different types of pens and pencils, overlays or glasses, to assist their learning, which mark them out as different to others. Leah, however, no longer has fears over her 'difference', as in previous years.

LEAH: I hold my pen in a really weird way. I'll show you how I hold it, it's quite funny [*she laughs*] ... it's a bit different to everybody else's... [*she demonstrates*] If I hold a pen I hold it like that.... [*she changes grip*] and if I hold a pencil, I hold it like that. [*The grips seem very awkward*].They actually at one point gave me a special pencil, what would help me grip better with my fingers, cos I find it hurts sometimes to grip my pencil.

For some, particularly those with hypersensitivity issues, the thought of the feel of the communal keyboards and tablet screens is enough to prevent their use. For others, particularly those with dyslexia, computers and tablets can be a mixed blessing, whose disadvantages may not always be understood by all teachers.

LEAH: I find reading people's handwriting quite hard, because everybody's is different, like on the computer like, it's the same.
I can read any font on the computer, as long as it's not like a really fancy one, or like Chinese [*she gives a little laugh*].
INT: On written documents, that you get, is the spacing good enough for you?
LEAH: Yeah, they actually enlarge it, so it's bigger, so it's easier to see, cos I have, cos my word spans, the whole word will split up and move around the whole page and I have to kind of like piece the word back together.
INT: Does that happen with printed words on the iPad?
LEAH: Yeah, it happens on anything. It just goes meummmmmm [*she demonstrates a swift movement from top to bottom with her hand*]. If it's short, I do prefer to hand write things than type… because keyboard letters move around as well.
INT: How long does it take you to do a piece of handwriting?
LEAH: Quite a while. It sort of takes me - it's a bit shorter typing, but it still takes quite a time … cos I er have to remember where every key is. Cos on the keyboard, the letters still move. All the letters move on the keyboard, and that's confusing me [*she half laughs*].

Some pupils escape into another world offered by the computer, at breaks and lunchtimes, increasing their isolation from their peers, by the use of headphones. Even where computers are situated close together, this does not always mean that their users will interact in a mutual game or activity, in a communal or social way. Escape into a virtual reality is not always a satisfactory solution for the development of young people, who have difficulty engaging with the 'real' world of those sitting beside them.

6.3.4 The presence of time

The passage of time is a factor in the lives of the young people and adults in the school: an inescapable part of the past as of the present and the future. The sound of the bell breaks up the day, cutting across conversation and reflection alike. Some young people speak of how there is so much to do in each class and in each school day. They feel rushed all the time and unable to manage the pace. They long for a time of quiet, a time to catch up, a time to reflect and to be. Some rush home at lunchtime to find just such a time, to find the strength for the afternoon.

Teachers hurry pupils in class, to write things down, to finish the work, to clear up, to settle down, to rush to the next class and not be late. Pupils feel stressed and anxious for much of the day, and carry on worrying, when they are at home, about the prospect of being late again, at some point in the next day. For Simon, it is difficult when the school bus itself is

late, and he must worry even more about arriving on time, and missing Registration[46] or not having enough time to hand in work. As Simon describes how he feels about this, his breathing becomes less regular, as his body manifests the effect of the stress he is recalling.

SIMON: The only... the thing outside of work is that the thing that makes the hardest…going to the right classes, to be honest, and also ...erm...going to school there and back on time ... I just feel anxious because of getting there on time…thinking about it in a way.
I just get ... erm... very time pressured, if I... even if I don't get here on time.. even if .. I get them, I get there even within Registration hours... I still feel... very time pressured. [H*e is having trouble controlling the regularity of his breathing as he speaks, and this sentence is disjointed as he breathes in, holds his breath, then breathes out again several times*]. [I feel] just basically stressed and anxious, because…

These pressures do not diminish during the day, as he struggles to manage time differences and planning ahead during lessons. Simon can tell the time, but is disorientated when his watch and the various school clocks do not indicate the same time; as the Learning Assistant also notes. This discrepancy makes it impossible for Simon to predict the end of lessons and the correct arrival time at the next. As someone who does not manage change and transition well, this makes every lesson change and break in school very hard, on a daily basis.

INT: Do you use your watch during school?
SIMON: Yeah, I use it quite a lot, especially during break and lunchtime.
I'll look at it really closely, especially when it's get… it's like… ten to like five…ten to… like one minute left of like break or lunch. I especially look at it then. Really often.

It is most helpful for Simon if teachers are able to indicate to the class, when the end of the lesson is a short time away. It is a small thing, which can make a huge difference to pupils, with these types of difficulties. Here, Laura, a Learning Assistant, who attends the interview with Simon, agrees with him.

SIMON: The most easiest thing.. that will make it more easier ..is .. erm.. actually get a prediction when the bell might go, because especially since S1 the bell hasn't been that predictable, at least from what I can see on my watch, or it could be in er.. very early S2, I'm not too sure, but something like that…..
INT**:** Is your watch set to the same time as the school clocks, do you think?
SIMON: Er, not exactly, partly because they are all different.
LAURA**:** They are. Right. That does happen sometimes, doesn't it, for some reason. I find that frustrating too.

INT: Would it be easier if a teacher said to you, " The bell is going to go in five minutes' time".
SIMON: Erm, they kind of do that, not in break and lunch but they kind of do do that during...

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[46] The time at the beginning of the day, when pupils must be physically present to confirm their attendance in school.

class, I think, classes, to be honest, when the bell's about to go, they basically get everyone packed up.

INT: Is that helpful?

SIMON: **Yes.** [Very emphatic].

INT: Would it be more helpful if all the school clocks said the same thing?

SIMON: Yes, because one problem that I especially have... erm ... because the clock is wrong, is in English, because it seems to me that …three minutes.. two or three minutes behind...

INT: And then that means that you have a short amount of time suddenly?

SIMON: Yes, that's what it feels like.

Of course, even the presence of a clock is not always a help, as Leah explains, but staff are able to help with time management, because they are aware of her difficulties. Otherwise, she must rely on others to tell her when to leave to arrive somewhere on time.

LEAH: I can't really read clocks properly. I normally have my tablet on me and it tells me like instead of having it in... like fourteen ... something.. like in.. the ... twelve... clock thing.

[School] helped me with my time management, cos my time management wasn't very good at the start.

They would make sure like my friends had like a time, or if there was a clock nearby, or I'd ask someone, or when I'm signing in I'll ask the lady what's the time on the clock.

Several participants feel rushed in class, which causes them to feel anxious and inhibits their ability to do the work. As he speaks, Ben's sentences become disjointed, recalling the experience.

BEN: Sometimes if the teacher goes too fast, that can, kind of, like, stress me out. I can't get through the work quick enough. It's just like, it's too fast, so if I'm like, halfway through writing something, then, I'm copying something off the board, then… they move on and it's like, like, I need to finish this last word, and I'm like, I can't finish it.

INT: What can you do about that?

BEN: Erm… like, speak to the teacher, after, and say…. I might need … erm.. could you maybe slow down or… maybe speak to my mum so she can phone the school or… just go to … erm…Guidance or the Head Teacher to talk about that.

It's… it's … I don't feel comfortable, like, speaking about that, sort of, like… to, like, you're going a bit too fast.

In some classes, however, teachers give enough time for pupils to catch up, before they move on with the lesson. This makes a big difference to how pupils can manage in the class.

BEN: In some classes, … they say specifically to me, "Er, Ben, have you finished?" And I'll just say, erm… "No" or, "Yes, I am". And then, then, then, that allows them to move on, because they know that I'm finished and … they just hold on then and they say it again, but it's not like a harassment thing, it's just to make sure I've done it …and then I say, "Yes, I'm done", and then they just move on.

While some pupils are given extra time to complete class work and tests, there are others for whom this has not been set in place, which is a further source of anxiety. The individual arrangements for this require time for staff to plan, and where there is not consistency across all teachers and subjects, in recognition or acceptance of need, this adds to the difficulties for the pupils.

6.4 Theme three: Being in the community of the school

6.4.1 Being known

The interactions between pupils and teachers are of paramount importance, in creating an atmosphere of trust, care and mutual respect, in which personal development and learning can take place. Where this relationship is absent, the effect on both sides is negative, creating a destructive 'them and us' atmosphere. Where young people do not feel they are listened to, or that their views are valued and relevant, there are feelings of disempowerment, disenchantment and worthlessness.

It is evident that the relationship with teachers can have a significant effect on pupils' wellbeing and self-esteem, to build them up, or bring them down, which then affects their ability to engage with the curriculum and to learn. Pupils talk less about teachers' abilities to teach, or convey their subject, to enthuse or engage them in learning, and more about the quality of the relationship. The good teacher is the listening, caring teacher, and where this relationship works well, young people feel stronger, and more able to deal with the difficulties they encounter in school. They feel more positive about themselves and the future, with more self-confidence and self-esteem. These young people take their education very seriously and recognise the relationship they have with teachers as being significant to their personal and academic progress.

LEAH: It's always been like a struggle for me, because I've got dyslexia and it's so severe that I'm classified Learning Disabled, and that does cause a barrier, but my school … has … really helped me.

STEPHEN: The school do help out quite a lot. Say there's been a massive argument, if you were to go to tell like Guidance, they'd be, "Ok, we're coming to go and get them".

NICKY: One of my best friends, she had dyslexia, and the school does literally nothing to help her. Like …she struggles with spelling and reading and writing and like everything, and the school doesn't do anything to help her.

For some pupils in the first year of secondary school, where they meet so many teachers after the few of primary school, it is difficult to get to know some teachers and interpret their individual manner in the classroom. It is easier for pupils when teachers are straightforward and consistent in their approach to both learning and disciplinary issues. Pupils are concerned that teachers know and understand about their particular difficulties and treat them as individuals, taking account of their particular circumstances and learning needs. Stephen also understands that he has a responsibility to get to know teachers, to create a relationship.

STEPHEN: The ones who I get on with are, like, they know I'll get along with them. Like Miss [name]. She's like one of the people that's understanding. It's like you need to know her to actually like … so then she likes you, so then it's like…get on and things.

Where there is consistency across all teachers and subjects, this can help pupils learn and make good progress, and enhance their own self-esteem. For Leah, who has individual help and differentiated learning arrangements on account of dyslexia, the system works well, but this is not the case with all the participants.

LEAH: The teachers have been told … if they're new, I do tell them. Any teachers that I get put with understand, but my teachers don't really get changed unless they need to be. It means I don't have to keep learning like the handwriting, cos I find reading people's handwriting quite hard, because everybody's is different.
Teachers come and help me, if I need it.

LEAH: So then, three periods a week, I was doing other things to help me, like if I was struggling, if I was needing catch up with work, I was doing catch up with work. I was doing extra reading, I was doing extra handwriting, doing different things to help me get to the place I needed.

NICKY: I'm well behaved and I work well and I still don't get the support. I think it's just favouritism, I guess.
I **do have** learning disabilities. I struggle with writing. My writing's never been neat. I'm still really messy and I still struggle with my spelling and my reading, but no one is helping me with that. I ask for help **all the time.** I just don't get given it.

NICKY: My friend has like … disabilities and all that and the school do **help** [with learning] but they don't help **that much**. I'm not sure how to put it … cos I'm not in her position, I don't see it how she sees it. But there are points when they can say things are *really* hurtful and she will get **really** upset about it.

Some young people with additional needs take time to get to know a teacher's particular ways of being and ways of teaching. As a pupil will see many different teachers in the course

of a week, they must be able to adapt to different approaches and styles at every lesson change, during the day. For some, with social and communication difficulties, or a range of emotional problems, this can be particularly difficult and personally demanding. Frequent changes of teacher, or class disruption of this sort, can upset the balance of a young person's equilibrium, and affect their learning: something of which some teachers might not be aware.

Just as pupils must work to get to know teachers, so pupils think that teachers also have a responsibility to get to know and understand their difficulties, in order to help them with learning. Pupils are realistic about their learning needs, and find it difficult to manage the inconsistency of a situation, where some teachers know about their special arrangements, and incorporate them easily into lessons, whereas other teachers seem completely unaware, and question the arrangement.

BEN: I think they need to have a re-read of what my past is… what stuff I need help with, so they are familiarised, so if, say, I bring my iPad and put my hand up and ask if I can take a picture of the board, then they'll say, "Ok, that's fine go ahead, you can take a picture" not like, "Why do you need to take that picture, why can't you just write it down?" like that, sort of.

While some pupils are willing to explain their specific learning needs, others find this too difficult and must struggle on, with feelings of resentment and anxiety. The young people are all very keen to do well academically and have the support they need to enable them to succeed, and while some, like Stephen and Leah, are able to talk to teachers about their difficulties, others, like Ben and Simon, find this impossible to do. Stephen has a calm approach to explaining about how ADHD affects his learning, in an interesting example of how learners and teachers can exchange roles, in a respectful way, to their mutual advantage.

STEPHEN: I think my mum handed in a form about it [his diagnosis of ADHD]. I think the teachers actually have to know. And if they say, "I don't really understand, how does it affect your learning?" I'll be like, "There's different kinds of ADHD you can get." I'm happy to talk to them about it, but I normally say I can't concentrate in class, how I take medication for it and then they're, "Oh, ok then". I'll be like, "Do you understand then?" and they'll be like, "Yeah, yeah".

BEN: I don't feel comfortable like speaking about that, like, "You're going too fast". If the teachers go too fast, that can kind of like stress me out. I can't get through the work quick enough. I don't feel comfortable going up to the physical teacher and saying it.
SIMON: I just don't have the confidence, to be honest, once I start thinking about it a bit more…

Liam, who has recently transferred from another school, speaks of "the teacher", who gives him support with his learning. There is a marked contrast with teachers from his previous school, about whom he speaks in very heated and negative terms. Important for him, is the help with learning, which in turn helps him to manage his behaviour in class.

LIAM: I'm getting quite a bit support here, where I was getting barely any at [the other school]. I actually get help from the teacher.

However, a 'reputation' acts as a kind of unofficial label, and seems difficult to shake off. Young people tend to take very personally the ways in which teachers interact with them, and where this does not go well, it can lead to a general distrust of teachers, and negative feelings of disempowerment, worthlessness and anger.

STEPHEN: There is some teachers that if someone was to make a noise, and you say, "It wasn't me, it was someone else", then she would understand …but it depends on who you are, like. If you have a bad history with the teacher, then she probably will think it's you, because you've done all the bad stuff.

LIAM: I don't think any teachers barely liked me [at the other school] cos of my behaviour. They gave me dirty looks and that. I just basically sometimes got into trouble for nothing. They basically assumed it was me. It made me feel rubbish, like I wanted to punch the teacher. How I'm getting the blame and all that.

NICKY: They'll help the nicer ones first, and then they'll come back and help… Apparently we're the "misbehaved ones" [*she indicates by her voice that these two words are in some way a quotation or set aside*] even though there are people in my year that are **lots, lots** worse. I behave really well in class, so obviously teachers don't think so.

6.4.2 Being cared for

Almost all the young people seem to have developed a 'good' relationship with a small number of teachers, perhaps one or, at the most, two. These teachers are sometimes the Support or Guidance staff, particularly where pupils spend time with them, as part of a nurture group, or where there is a special arrangement between home and school; or, for some, it is a subject teacher.

It is evident that even the presence of one such figure from amongst the teaching staff makes a significant difference to pupils, who do not feel so alone and without support in the school. These teachers offer help and advice on small issues, words of encouragement and a clear understanding of the young person's needs. Some pupils talk of one or two subject

teachers, whom they have gradually got to know and whom they respect and trust, and whom they feel 'understands' them, and are 'on their side'. This relationship can continue even where the pupil is no longer taught by the particular teacher, when the teacher initiates it and enables this to happen.

STEPHEN: I go to Miss [name]. That's the person that runs the group. Or I would to, to … erm… my Guidance teacher. They know I've got ADHD.

BEN: Because I won't be in his class, he said, "If there's anything like troubling you in class, you can come to me and tell me", and he can sort it out, so he said he can just tell me and I can see if I'm getting stuff sorted out. So I know I can go to him, if there's like any problems in Science.

For some pupils, it is clear that it has taken time for such a relationship to build up, and it is difficult when the teacher leaves the school. For Nicky, the relationships she made with two members of staff have both suddenly ended, and this loss of adult support causes her some difficulty, both pastorally and in the classroom:

NICKY: And it's like, one of the teachers, one of the **best teachers ever** in the school, and that did feel like I could talk to him about anything as well. So I'd spoke to him quite a lot, and I just felt like I could **talk** to him and he wouldn't tell the teachers anything. Because I trusted him. Then he had to leave.
I don't feel like … I've got anybody at the moment.
I've not got anybody but my Dad to talk to, about things that happen in school.

The difficulty of making and sustaining a meaningful relationship with teachers is recognised by the school, and for these young people, a type of smaller teaching unit has been developed. Both Nicky and Stephen talk of how these different groups help them. Nicky has attended the ASDAN (See Appendix C) teaching group, which she describes as "a nice wee group". Stephen talks of how working with the nurture group has helped him to understand his behaviour and control his emotions in response to other people, which in turn helps to keep him out of trouble, with both teachers and peers.

STEPHEN: We go on like trips and that, because we find it difficult to concentrate class. We normally have six [people]. We're chosen. [It's] to help us get better in school, and like we do stuff.
INT: So, before you went to the [Group], what was going on in school?
STEPHEN: Er… [*he exhales loudly, as he thinks*] … A couple of fights I got into...er, I think ... yeah, it was a couple of fights I got into, and then until I started joining the [Group], they told me to like, they showed me that I could calm down and didn't need to get in a lot of fights.

More marked, however, is the manner in which he feels a part of a close group, expressing regret that the number of sessions is reduced and that others may be joining. It is the anticipation of the subtle change to the strong bond between members of the group that this will bring, which seems to affect him the most, sensing this almost intuitively.

INT**:** How often does the group meet?
STEPHEN: They moved it down to … one period like every week.
INT: How did you feel when it went from being four days in the week, to just one?
STEPHEN: Erm ... I was like, I was a lot like … I don't feel upset, but I was kinda like, "Oh, that's a shame", cos we do normally meet up quite a lot and then, we really enjoy the classes. Just like, new people joining, and then they wouldn't actually have experienced it.

6.4.3 Being listened to

It is very important for pupils to feel that their 'side of the story' is listened to, in a fair manner, and that punishment is appropriate and just. Stephen finds some teachers hard to relate to, and feels that some choose not to listen, and to deliberately misunderstand, or misinterpret the situation, for reasons that are not clear to pupils. It is where a number of small difficulties occur simultaneously, that his life becomes more difficult in the classroom. Nicky echoes some of his words. This kind of situation leads to a lack of trust between pupil and teacher, and a feeling of disempowerment in young people, where they are not listened to, or believed. As Stephen expresses it, it is the "little things" that often count for the most; a point echoed by Oliver, a teacher, in terms of teachers enabling pupils to learn and feel included, when he says, "little things really help". However, it is clear that the "little things" can be positive or negative, as Stephen explains. It is interesting, that, on this occasion, it is important to Stephen that he is treated as an individual, and not as "any other student".

INT: Is there anything you find difficult in learning?
STEPHEN: … [Long pause] ... There usually, sometimes, it's teachers that I find difficult like to deal with.
INT: What type of teachers do you respect?
STEPHEN: …The ones who listen. ...Some people, are just ....really ignorant and they don't care that much… Well, sometimes, they just are like....they don't really, like, they don't really pay **attention** to you like when you're saying, like, so that can affect your learning…and they treat you like any other student. It's the little things that add up.

STEPHEN: There's some teachers who always on like on at you for nothing. I felt that the teacher is misunderstanding like, he doesn't listen. Like, say we listen to him and we have something to say, he wouldn't listen to us. It's like … it's kind of annoying.
I like [teachers] who listen to your side of the story. They don't just go with what people are saying.

NICKY: Say a teacher was doing … something towards a pupil [*she is speaking very slowly*] and the pupils went to tell the teacher, [*the speed is back to normal*] the teacher wouldn't believe the pupils. But if the teacher went and said, "This pupil was … giving me cheek during class … the pupil tried to do something towards me", they would believe the teacher. They wouldn't believe the pupils.

Which I find **really, really** unfair because I've been in quite lot of those situations ... when the teachers have been **really, really** horrible…

The extent of consistency and fairness of teachers in the classroom is an important aspect of school life, both in a positive and negative way. It is clear that this can create a negative impression of life in the school, which goes beyond the interactions with a particular teacher, and has a considerable impact on pupils' abilities to manage their emotions in class, in the face of perceived injustice or grievance, or even to remain in school.

STEPHEN: Sometimes I feel like that they think that they're always right, that they think that they know … best, and like sometimes they can be and then sometimes they can just be like **really** wrong.

LIAM: [At my last school] I got excluded for being sent out of the class. I don't think that's fair.

NICKY: I was hoping that things get better during Fifth Year, though, and if not, then after Fifth Year, I might just go straight to College, even though I want to stay on to Sixth Year.

Worse still are situations when a particular pupil is singled out for unpleasant treatment. Stephen recounts an incident where a teacher teased one pupil, with the whole class laughing at him.

STEPHEN: Everyone started laughing about him. And it's like ... like he looked really upset and I was like, "There's no need to be upset, He's just trying to joke". But then, everyone knew it was a joke, and like ... he was just like a bit upset about it. But, he wasn't crying or anything. He was just like angry and he just like, he was saying he was going to prove [it] to the teacher.

On another occasion, the same teacher teases Stephen, about answering the register, deliberately creating a situation, which, as someone with ADHD, Stephen finds difficult to manage, saying, "There's no need for him to be like [that]. It's the little things that add up".

Nicky, too, questions why she is singled out by a teacher.

NICKY: I've had her since First Year. I'm just really hoping I don't get her again next year, because I don't know if I'd be able to cope with that. She was really nice to me in First

and Second Year, and she just started getting a lot meaner towards me, and I was like, I don't think that's really fair. My attitude doesn't change. It just gets better. I've never seen my attitude get worse …so I'm not really sure what it could be.

6.4.4 The Power of Friendship

For these young people, friendships are like islands in difficult seas. The real friends are people who recognise and know you, accept you, almost as your family, who laugh with you, and support you when you need help, and stand up for you in the face of injustice. Their solidarity gives strength to stand up to bullies and face difficulties. These real friends are the ones whom you trust, as Stephen expresses it. Other friends are the more casual acquaintances of people who spend time together.

STEPHEN: Like, well some of them, I do trust, it's just that some of them, I ... think that like we've ... we do get along and that, but … maybe sometimes, like we maybe don't speak as much.

NICKY: I've got my two best friends I'm always with. Then I've got my other group of friends. They're also girls. I've got guy and girl friends and I'm like, I'm not picky about who my friends are. If they treat me the way I want to be treated, I'll treat them the same way they treat me.

LEAH: I like to be myself. I don't want to be a sheep. We call them [a group of girls] a really proper girl sheep, because they all have the same handbag. [S*he laughs*].
INT :With your friends in school, your peer group, do you think they are accepting of you?
LEAH: Yes, because they all have some sort of disability ... cos ... my best friend's partially sighted and going deaf slightly and's going deaf. She will go blind, she will go deaf.... Erm, as I've said to her, "I'll there **every** step of the way."

For some, who have had few friends in primary school, either on account of absence through illness, or through serious bullying, the physical presence of a small number of friends is very important.

LEAH: I lost all my confidence and had nothing when I came up here. I really liked how - cos in primary I like had no one and - cos my only friend was off and sat on a bench by himself and a group of girls actually came over to me asked if I was alright ...and I like that. I'm still friends with them now.

Liam, recently excluded from another secondary school, is now making friends with his own age group, whom he sees out of school, at the skate park.

LIAM: I made good…friends, I made friends like the third day. I'm, like, sort of good friends with all of the Third and Fourth Years. In [the other school] I hated all of the Third Years and the Fourth Years. Just before, like a couple of weeks before I moved, I had a fight with a Fourth Year.

Young people are loyal to their friends, and empathise with them, when things go wrong.

They support each other, taking on others' injustices, intervening in others' difficulties,

sometimes physically.

STEPHEN: He [another boy] got in a fight with one of my friends, and I told him, "Now, if you're going to get in a fight with one of my friends, you're going to have to like …you're going to have to like go for me, if you want to get to him", and he said, "Ok then".

LEAH: A girl [was] trying to pick on me and my friends, [and now] she's actually picking on my friend and... apparently he said something or .... I've known him since Primary 5 and he wouldn't say anything like that, and he's ... I've told him to go tell Guidance, cos I can't do it on his behalf without his permission, and he's not in today, so he might be doing it tomorrow.

LEAH: [In my last school] I had no friends because of the rumours what was made up about me. The person what stuck through me all the time, he actually lost all his friends.
INT: Because he was friends with you?
LEAH: Yeah. Because he didn't want to leave me, 'cos he felt it was wrong.

NICKY: But there are other pupils that are actually in my year, that are really, really mean…like towards me and my friends...It's like one of my friends, she's really, really strong, and like the boys in every year, like the 'popular' boys - that's what we call them, cos they're like a huge group. And it's like, they call her names like, "She Hulk"… [*She lets out a short sharp breath*]. Behind her back and to her face. She doesn't like that. And my friend, other friend - these are my two best friends - my other best friend, she loves horses. So like sometimes she will come and smell of like horses and all that, and they call her things like, "horse-face" and everything like that, which I don't find really nice, because some of the girl populars, they do horse riding, and yet they still make fun of her for doing it.

There is, however, a difference between friendship and respect. Respect may be between

young people, or between staff and young people, but for Nicky, it means being a source of

help. Thus, in her view, teachers, who do not help her academically or pastorally, do not

respect her being, and in a similar way, she has no respect for them.

NICKY: Some teachers, I don't feel respected by, but then there's some of them that I do. And some of my friends I feel respected by, and some of my friends, I don't. So it's just a mix of everything, really.
INT: So when we talk about people 'respecting' you, [what] are we talking about?
NICKY: Yeah. They help me if I need it... it's everything like that.

For Simon, 'respect' has a different meaning, as the following extract shows. As the

interviewer asks about respect, it is his isolation in the community of the classroom, which

emerges.

INT: Do you know what respect is?

SIMON: Ye-ah, I think so. … Like someone who's actually being nice to you. I'm not saying that they don't respect me at all, I think it's probably the fact that they don't know me.

INT: Why do you think people don't know you?

SIMON: Erm, probably because they're in different year groups, and I don't see them in classes at all.

INT: So the people who are in some of your classes, that you may be sitting near, or doing something with, in class, do they talk to you?

SIMON: … Some do, to be honest.

INT: And do you talk to them?

SIMON: Erm, yeah…

INT: And if you wanted to talk to somebody, or share your learning task, or what you were doing, would they answer you if you asked questions?

SIMON: …. Er..... probably....I think so…

INT: Can you think of a time when they have?

SIMON: Erm… to be honest, not really.

Simon seems to have no one person to call a friend at the school, now that his sister has left to go to university. Such isolation in school makes every day more difficult to negotiate and to bear. Simon appears alone, even in the small group in the Art Room at lunchtime, with whom he has nothing in common. For Simon, school is a lonely and difficult place to be, where getting through each day is stressful and demanding.

INT: Do you chat to people when you are up there at lunchtime?

SIMON: To be honest, not really because erm...many have completely different interests.

INT: Do you think pupils in this school understand how you feel?

SIMON: Er…I think not really much, to be honest, because I don't exactly share them to be honest, with anyone outside my house. I'm friends with my sibling.

Some of the young participants in this study have few friends, but even a very small group of friends can be a source of strength and is better than no friends at all. Ben finds himself able to go out of school for lunch on one day of the week, "with friends", but describes the easy companionship of one friend, who accompanies him.

BEN: Only on a Thursday do I go on the street, to, like,[the supermarket] with friends, but, that's only because my friend goes up to his granddad, so it's our sort of time to chat and catch up. Like we normally walk, cos he like normally comes in for me, and then we just go together.

Paul's voice is almost silent on the subject of friends. He draws himself flanked by two figures, when asked to draw a picture of himself at his other [special] school (see Figure 18). The figure from this [mainstream] school is strikingly alone. When the Learning Assistant asks about his lunchtime companion, he responds with a single word: a girl's name.

Paul's drawing of himself   Paul's drawing of himself his other school.
at this school.
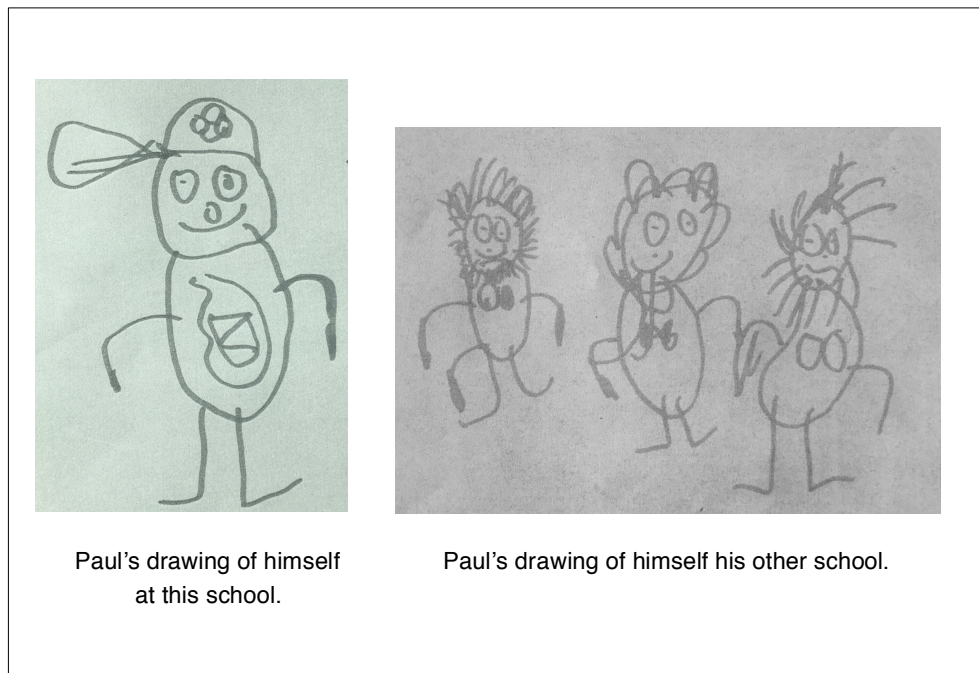
Figure 18. Paul's Drawings.

When I ask Paul about the two schools, while his answers are clear, it is impossible to know if he fully understands the questions and his answers may not necessarily convey his intended meaning, as this extract shows. However, he ends this short conversation with the word, "Friends", which may be a form of echolalia, but which he does not do, when I then ask about "work". He and I have already practised the 'thumbs' signs for good, bad, and in the middle [i.e. not good and not bad].

INT: And which is good? This one, or the other one?
PAUL: Other one.
INT: The other one?.... Is that better?
PAUL: Other one.
INT: Can you tell me why? What's good?....... [*There is a silence, as I wait for his response, then continue, when there is none*]. If I say some things, Paul, will you give me the thumbs up, if they are good? [*I do the sign*]
PAUL: Yeah.
INT: Ok. Let's think. Is it your friends?
PAUL: Yeah.
INT: So is that a thumbs up for friends? [*I do a thumbs up sign*]
PAUL: [*He gives me a thumbs up*] Friends.

6.5 The voices

This next section of the explication is given to different voices. These are those of Paul, Nicky and Leah, the teaching professionals (teachers and learning assistants), and the mothers. Nicky and Leah each tell their story, showing how their different experiences of school have brought them to where they now stand, both sixteen years old, and on the verge of leaving school and entering the adult world. Paul, largely silent in these pages until now, can here speak for himself. The voices of the teachers and learning assistants give a horizon, against which the experience of the pupils can be seen and understood in greater clarity. The final voices are those of Kate and Sarah, the two mothers, whose words tell so much of the experiences of children with additional needs in school, from the parents' perspective, and give depth and detail to the way in which we can understand Paul and Simon.

6.5.1 Being Paul

These short vignettes, from the interview, go some way to giving Paul a voice, as aspects of his character and individuality begin to emerge. In this first scene (Figure 19), early in the interview, Paul does not respond to the interviewer, but interacts with Gemma, the Learning Assistant, as they discuss a picture of butterflies, which is used in his Maths class. Paul's counting tails off at seven.

GEMMA: What are they called?

PAUL: Hm mm.

GEMMA: Do you remember? Butt…

PAUL: Butterflies.

INT: Butterflies! What a lovely picture.

GEMMA: Can you count them?

PAUL: [*To Gemma*] You do it.

GEMMA: You do it!.. Well, let's do it together. One..

PAUL: One, two, three, four, five, six, se..

GEMMA: Seven…

PAUL: Uh uh. [*He is pointing to a butterfly, tapping the paper*].

INT: That one's very big. Are they all different?

GEMMA: Which one do you like best?

PAUL: That one. [*He points to a butterfly*]

GEMMA: Why?

PAUL: Orange like a tiger.

Figure 19. Vignette one: Paul and the butterflies.

In the following short extract (Figure 20), Paul is very relaxed and takes charge of the proceedings. I have handed him the voice recorder and briefly shown him how it works. At this point, although he has known me less than an hour, his ability to have fun begins to emerge.

Shortly after this episode, I ask Paul to show me some parts of the school, which he likes. He leads us to the Music Room and then on to the Learning Support room, where he will spend break, supervised by a member of staff. Paul knows where he is going and exactly what he will show me (Figures 21 and 22).

GEMMA: Can you sing a song?

PAUL: You.

GEMMA: I don't know any songs, Paul.

INT: [*Paul is pressing various buttons on the voice recorder*]. Hold on, you've pressed it off. Press the red on.... Press that red button...[*He presses it*]..Ok.. wait … and now you can say something … Why don't you sing a song?

PAUL: Yeah?

GEMMA: Any song, Paul…

INT**:** Say something and then... [*Paul plays back our voices*] .... That's me .... Right, if you press the red button and now say something.

PAUL: Carol Ann…. You do it. [*He plays it back and we hear our voices through the tinny recorder. We all laugh*].

INT: Go on then. Say something else. Every time you want to say something, press the red button, or just leave it on. It's fine.

PAUL: You say!

INT: I've said lots... Look, you can hear my voice really loudly. You say something else. *[He speaks some words, much more loudly this time. It sounds like "work hard"*]. Ok. What can you say? [*He plays it back and we hear the recording. We all laugh again. He is finding it very funny*]. Do you want to say something else? You can keep going.

PAUL: Rrruff!.

INT: [*I hand him the other recorder.*] This might be better. Press the red button and say some more....

PAUL: Carol Ann ...... You go.... [*He passes the recorder to Gemma*].

INT: You're in charge of the interview now, Paul. [*He plays the latest section back and then laughs*].

PAUL: Be quiet, Grandma..... [*He plays it back and listens to his voice and we all laugh. He presses buttons on and off, and makes some more noises into the machine. My voice can be heard, "testing testing"*].

INT: You must have gone back to the beginning… Wait a second. Can I have a look? [*He continues to play with the buttons*]. Excuse me, Paul, can I have a look? [*My recorded voice can be heard in the distance, as sections of the beginning of this interview play back. He hands it to me, and I try to find the place where we were*]. Sometimes they are a bit funny, these machines. We'll just go back... I'll have to get my glasses on.

PAUL That's funny! [*He is referring to the glasses*].

GEMMA: It's not funny!

PAUL: Yeah! [*He is laughing*]

Gemma: [*Lightheartedly*] You are full of nonsense. That's enough!

Figure 20. Vignette two: Paul leads the interview.

We leave the interview room and the three of us go up to the Music Department. Paul walks confidently and eagerly along the empty corridors, leading the way. We look in through the glass window in the door. The room seems to be empty and we go in.

PAUL: Shut the door. Must be quiet. [*He gets drumsticks from a shelf and sits himself at a large drum kit*].
GEMMA: Ok. [*She closes the door*].

Paul begins with a few beats with the drumsticks and then erupts into a full cadenza for a few moments. He is playing loudly and efficiently and ends with a flourish.

INT: That is great! Play some more? [*He plays the same routine again and ends with a bang on the high-hat*]. It's recording. Do you want to listen to it? [*We listen to the recording and Paul laughs with delight, and plays the routine on the drums for a further 30 seconds, using a variety of beats and rhythms*].

Figure 21. Vignette three: Paul in the Music Room.

Shortly after this, we leave the Music room, and walk through the school. Paul shows me the Maths, English and RME [Religious and Moral Education] classrooms. He does not point out anything of interest to him inside the rooms and we move swiftly on. We arrive at the Learning Support room, where the LA hands responsibility for Paul to the Head of LS. It is a large, bright room with many resources on tables and shelves, pictures on the walls and computers along the side. There is a second member of staff there, but no pupils at this point. Paul takes me to a computer and types in his password with speed. A search engine comes up and he points at the search space. "Hulk", he says. I type it in and immediately a dozen hulks rush in to fill the screen. We spend some time looking at these and laughing together. "I would not like one of those in my house," I say, and he laughs at my expression. He is more at ease now and seems content. I thank him for spending time with me and showing me so much. He gives me a cheerful, "Bye!", as I leave.

Figure 22. Vignette four: Paul at the computer.

6.5.2 Being Nicky

For some pupils, relationships with one or two individual teachers seem to have broken down. There does not seem to be any process by which this can be mended, and the situation colours the whole of life at school. Nicky is badly affected by this, to the point that she does not want her younger brother to attend the school, the following year, saying, "I don't want him to go through that". While she says openly that many teachers are "really, really nice", it is the manner of one or two, which have the greatest effect on her.

NICKY: Most of the teachers are really, really nice, but the other ones are really, really mean and horrible.

Her experiences in the school leave her feeling a strong sense of injustice at the way she has been treated by some teachers and Learning Assistants, and at the perceived dishonesty and duplicity in their dealings with her. These have a very negative impact on her self-esteem, which affects her ability to engage with the curriculum. She interprets the teachers' words and attitudes towards her, as a result of her apparent lack of ability, or that she is not worthy or deserving enough to be helped. She draws unfortunate comparisons between herself and others, which cause her considerable further distress, both emotionally and physically.

NICKY: We were at Parents' Evening and I was doing really well with my work. Well, I **felt** I was doing really well. I'd got all ticks in my work, and she went to my Dad and said, Nicky's got a very low chance of passing her [public] exam this year. And my English teacher said the same actually, that I've got a low chance of passing my [public] exam. That offends me. It makes me feel stupid.

 Teachers are meant to be there to **help** you and they've said I've not got a chance to pass this. So the first thing that pops into my head is like, I must be really stupid or something, if that's the case, and if I'm not capable of the passes, then what's the point in even trying? And I just get really panicky about it and really upset. Like … I don't know…[*she tails off*]. Sometimes, I just feel I'm targeted. My behaviour's fine at school. I asked some of my teachers, even the Learning Assistants that are in the classroom sometimes, how my behaviour is and they're like, "Oh yeah, your behaviour is great". Like, "Nothing's wrong with your behaviour", and then it goes to the actual teacher and it's "Nope, she was talking. She was rude, she was giving me cheek". I don't like being cheeky to people … I just know it's not my thing.

It's like, say, I had my hand up and then a girl that was like, all A's, nice and correct at everything, puts her hand up and then someone who was **really, really** bad… badly behaved, put their hand up, it would be the one that's really good that goes first, and the one that's **really, really** bad that goes next. Even if I had my hand up first, she would do it in that order. And even if I was like right in front of her, she would still go to the other side of the room … and then do me last, but say someone else put their hand up, while my hand was

still up, she'll go to that person first. I don't find that fair. I've had my hand up like ten minutes, say, and she's still helping other people.

The effects of being made to feel worthless and invisible can sometimes be physical. Nicky talks of the power of the teacher's 'look', to diminish her, as when she feels the teacher looks but deliberately does not see her. In this manner, not only is her voice silenced, but her very presence is removed from any interaction in the classroom: 'blocked out', as she puts it. On another occasion, the teacher's look is enough to completely change Nicky's happy mood in an instant.

NICKY: It feels like [she's ignoring me] cos she looks at me … and you know, she just doesn't pay much attention to me. [I feel] stupid. Its like, unwanted, like I'm not really meant to **be** here at this school at all. It's like blocking me out.

The middle of the day is usually when I'm like quite hyper and happy about everything, and I'll come in and have a smile on my face and go like, "Hey, guys!" And then she'll come in, and she'll go like, "Good morning everybody". Then she'll look at me and it's like... just give me the digs and then I'll be like, oh, ok, I've done something wrong obviously… I don't know, I just feel targeted by her as well. That teacher, she brought me down.

However, a look from another teacher can also communicate pleasure and recognition.

NICKY: I don't get praised much. Like, it's High School. In primary school you would get like a sticker, or something, if you did something well. In High School it's more of, do you get that look and you **know** if you've done something bad; you know if you've done something good. You know if you've done something like really, really well. I usually, like, some of the teachers I'll get a look like, oh well done, you've done so well and everything.

At a Parents' Meeting, with her father present, Nicky is too overwhelmed by emotion to speak, and she can only manage to look briefly at the teacher, before having to get up and walk away from the situation, to distance herself from its effects on her being, to remove herself from that face. It is a powerful moment, encompassing so much human interaction, in the few words and the looks that pass between the teacher, empowered to speak out, and the diminished child, unable to remain in that gaze.

NICKY: The Maths teacher brought me down. She said I had a low chance of passing the exam. That hurt, I just looked at her and that hurt. So I just got up and like walked away, from the table because I didn't want to look at her for saying that.

Nicky has strong ideas about how the situation in school could be improved, but even then, she is magnanimous in demonstrating that teachers, too, behave in response to their own experiences, showing an awareness of the Other, which she has not been shown. Her poignant words, "they can't be mean straight to you", express a depth of feeling of being let

down and betrayed by those who are there to teach, who do not respond to her spoken and unspoken pleas for help.

NICKY: [I'd like] To get the teachers a better attitude towards the pupils. Like better personalities, really, cos they're really mean. I don't know if it's because of something that's happened to them, but they **can't be mean** straight to you. More support. That's what I would change. Getting more support. At least a teacher coming up to me and **helping.**

Nicky's relationship with Guidance teachers is not always straightforward, partly on account of the different roles they hold in the school. They are also subject teachers and a poor classroom relationship can affect the pastoral one. Guidance teachers deal with disciplinary as well as pastoral issues, and they appear less approachable for personal concerns, particularly difficulties involving other teachers, and sometimes seem to be busy and preoccupied, to take the time to listen. Nicky understands this as a reflection of her own lack of worth in the teacher's eyes, leading to feelings of fear and isolation.

NICKY: My favourite Guidance teacher, she's not in school at the moment, and I've got my English teacher as a Guidance teacher, and I'm not very happy about that, because she doesn't really help me with anything … I just don't feel supported with her.
As soon as I've got a problem, it's like, "You'll need to give me ten minutes", or probably, "Come back tomorrow", or something, "and then we'll try and deal with it." I do have things that are actually wrong with me. I'm **really** scared of what could happen to me and I've told the school, because they're like, "Oh, it's not really important."
 [I don't feel] really supported at all, because all my friends have got disabilities, or like mental health issues and all that. They all get help. The school just tell me to get on with it.

There seem to be no avenues, or bridges, to be built between these teachers and herself and she has scant regard for the mechanisms, which exist in the school, to make her views heard. She has contemplated joining the Pupil Council, but feels that it does little to improve things in school. A pupil suggestion box had been withdrawn, without apparent reason, which she thinks had been a good means of management knowing what pupils felt about the school.

NICKY: I did want to join, and then I realised they did absolutely nothing, so I don't really want to be part of it. If it was a thing that I could actually **change** the way people thought of school and how people were being treated and everything, I would have loved to join and put my thoughts into how I felt the school was as well.

Despite everything, Nicky is determined to work hard to get the qualifications she needs for her chosen career path after school, but is often at odds with the system, which seems, to her, to care more about unnecessary details.

NICKY**:** I usually enjoy coming into school, but in the school they care more about **what you wear.** It's like, say I came in, and I was wearing trainers just now, they'd be like, "Go home and change your trainers". Even though I want to learn, they care more about what I'm wearing instead. And I don't like that.
I don't care what I'm wearing, as long as I'm getting an education, cos what I want to do, I need to have the right qualifications for this and I can't get them, if they're sending me home to get changed.

Despite the resistance she openly shows to teachers to the array of rules about clothing, drinking water in class, mobile phones, talking, leaving the room during a lesson for a toilet break, or making her own decision about going home when feeling unwell, Nicky reveals that at heart she is not a trouble-maker, but a frightened, vulnerable child.

NICKY: At first I would be like, "Oh, alright. Ok. Sorry". I would be like really shy to stick up for myself. But I think after being here for four years and having to put up with it, I think I've just like … stuck up for myself a lot more than I would have had.
So there are points where I just want to get up, walk out [of class] and come back, but I don't do that, because I'm scared in case I get into trouble.

When it comes to me being sick, or me, like the thing that's wrong with me is, I pass out regularly and when I pass out, I'll stop breathing and I have like frequent panic attacks as well. The school don't, like, the school just tell me I'll be ok, just to get on with it. So I'm **really** scared of what could happen to me.

6.5.3 Being Leah

Leah speaks in quite a disjointed way. Her speech does not flow evenly, but comes out in fits and starts, with some phrases spoken very quickly, with words running together, and at other times, she speaks more slowly. She uses a lot of words in an unusual way and 'creates' words, often verbs, for example by inflecting tenses, or by combining two words unintentionally, often to interesting effect. Leah's use of grammar constructions is different, and she frequently leaves words out of sentences. What may look like typing errors in the transcription, are words/phrases from her speech. Where a word looks unlikely, I have added 'sic'.

Figure 23. Extract from transcription notes: Leah.

Leah, at 16, is a different girl to the one she speaks of, over four years ago, arriving at Lochanview. That girl, lacking in self-confidence, felt as if she were nothing: nothing in her own eyes, in the eyes of her teachers, and in the eyes of her peers. She paints a picture of a person who felt she was not worth bothering about, alone and different to everyone else.

LEAH: I got treated differently to other people. I got picked on for being different. That basically depleted me. I didn't like what was happening.
I had no friends. People didn't want to speak to me, people didn't want to be around me. They wouldn't include me. It make [sic] me feel that I wasn't like other people. I was really bullied. I had like no one. I lost all my confidence and had nothing when I came up here.

Leah now appears confident and happy. Her bearing is tall and she looks with eyes that shine with excitement, as she talks of happy events, great personal achievements and the prospects of a future career path, which lie just ahead. Her dyslexia is as severe as ever, and will never go away, but she has found that it can be managed, with careful planning, help, support and recognition from those around her, together with her own determination and hard work.

Leah describes how her life began to change, on the first day she arrived in Lochanview. Approached by other pupils, she was no longer alone.

LEAH: A group of girls actually came over to me asked if I was alright. I like that. I'm still friends with them now.

Staff at Lochanview addressed the ringleader of the bullies, in the first weeks of the term. "They basically squished him like a bug", as Leah puts it, and while some bullying and name-calling has continued, it has not been so significant a factor as at Primary School. Where it has occurred, Leah has had the confidence to report it to school Guidance staff, knowing that it will be dealt with. She recounts two incidents during this school year, one where she has been 'picked on' and one where she has been accused of cheating in a test, on account of the special arrangements she has, but adds how, at a later date, she is affected by an unexpected compliment, from a member of the same History group.

LEAH: [There was] a girl trying to pick on me and my friends, but, other than that, no. Just told Guidance.
There was one comment with...a ... not doing like tests inside the class. They all thought I was cheating at one point, and then we got it all explained and it hasn't had it since.

I was quite touched by what one of the girls said. We were doing a … test in history and the girl said, "We're all going to fail aside Leah. Leah's going to be the only one that's going to pass."

INT: And that was a compliment?
LEAH: Yes. Because, I was answering all the questions correct. I actually got full marks and I was the only one in the class to get full marks.

There is a sense, in which she manages to separate herself from the words and actions of others, which previously pulled her down. Her friend mentions to me that there has been some bullying and name-calling, but Leah does not talk of these incidents. While understanding that she is different to others, she is strong and proud of her own identity. This difference does not come from dyslexia, but from her own independent spirit, and the solidarity of her group of friends.

LEAH: I am different cos I don't like plastering my face in make up, I have short hair instead of long, I like to be myself.

She finds strength in the group of friends she has, gaining a sense of perspective of her own difficulties in relation to theirs, and inspiration from their example, as here, when Leah talks of her best friend, who has serious visual and hearing difficulties.

LEAH: We're in 'xact same year, we're in....some of our classes together... she did, with her disability, she just says it's just a little bit of dis'vantage, [sic] disadvantage than everybody else. I love her views on it. Even though she's going to go blind one day. She says, [s*he raises her tone of voice, which seems to indicate optimism*] "It's just a little problem. I can get over it. A little hurdle." And I love that.

Leah's friends are quite accepting of the dyslexia, because, as Leah expresses it, "they all have some sort of disability. Some of them have got dyslexia, some of 'em have got other bits", but being accepted by other pupils is something, which has only happened gradually. She recounts a recent event, in which she has been asked to help the brother of an older pupil, not usually in her friendship group. As she speaks, the impact of this on her wellbeing, shines through her words.

LEAH: My best pal, [said] "Oh, I do want to speak to you cos he wants to…erm… cos his brother's just been diagnosed with dyslexia" ... and his brother had some questions, and erm ... his big brother **asked** me… [*I wait for a response, but she appears to tail off*].
INT: How did that make you feel ?
LEAH: Erm.. actually made me feel ..... [*she answers in a light happy tone, which clearly indicates how she felt then and feels now as she recalls it*] quite happy inside. I was bubbly the whole day.

She recalls a similar time, when she had been asked by the school to help another pupil. It is the recognition of her value in the eyes of others that is the most striking in her words. She has a deep satisfaction at being in a position to be able to help someone else.

LEAH: It was actually in third year, I actually did get asked to tutor someone on my iPad. My face apparently went **really red** and really happy. My eyes apparently glittered and I went, "Yeeee!" [*Her voice is very high on this last word, indicating excitement and happiness*]. I thought that would never happen. Never, I thought, because of this I'm never going … some people are really smart and so they **tutor** and I got asked to [*her voice rises suddenly*] tutor someone! [*She is almost breathless*].
I really like that [helping others]. And that's why I take First Aid as well, cos I get to help other people.

The school has not only encouraged her self-respect, but also the manner in which she is seen by others, in celebrating her sporting achievements, even where these occur outside school.

LEAH**:** I got a record in discus in athletics [outside school]. I brang [sic] my medals in to show them and they took pictures of me with them and then put them on social media. I brang [sic] my trophy in and I got a picture tooken [sic]. It makes me feel part of things, cos I'm not very academic. I'm very sporty.

This is a far cry from the child whom she describes, when she was first faced with the label of "Learning Disabled" on account of the severity of the dyslexia, several years earlier. It is the damaging effects of the label itself, which concerns her the most.

LEAH: When I first got told it, I partly had a dicky fit [*she laughs loudly and quite nervously, or hesitantly, with two or three sharp intakes of breath*]. I think I was 12 or 10. It was round about that age....'parently I wasn't very happy. 'Parently, I had a temper tantrum in the kitchen . Because I didn't like the label. Didn't want the label... cos I felt that was going to get me **more** severely bullied... things like that. I just didn't **want** it.

From the outset, Leah has been adamant that she would never want to go to a special school, even though the dyslexia is so severe.

LEAH: I've actually got, er I've got, all the things I have is quite severe, which is why I'm classified as Learning Disabled cos... erm.. I have problems with my Maths and that's dystraxia [sic].
My parents were told because it's so severe, they need, they would need special help.
INT**:** Is it severe enough to go to a special school?
LEAH: Yes if I wanted to, but I don't want to. ... I just feel like I don't ... I would rather go to a normal school than going to a special needs school.
INT: What are your ideas of what a special school might be like?
LEAH: … Don't really know. That's the reason I didn't want to go.

Over the years, her view about the label has changed, as she has come to realise that the label itself can bring some advantages.

LEAH: I used to be very shy about it, I didn't want people knowing, so I wouldn't tell teacher, "I need help" ... and ... I came to realise that I **do** need this help and I'm not going to get anywhere ... Also, I've been more open... when I meet people.

The school has been a major factor in building her confidence, through support for her learning and personal development.

LEAH: I've changed my view on it.... because I have the label I have all these ... new opportunities ... to do things. In second year I did this thing where the transition to third year and it was [a course] and it helped me gain some more confident [sic].

From the beginning, the school recognised the severity of the dyslexia and was proactive, by asking Leah what help she needed in school and, in turn, learning from her.

LEAH: I've been told since I was five I would never achieve anything. And this school totally said a different thing. They said to me we will try our best to give you somewhere. I have never been told that in my life before.

School work has, however, always been very difficult, and it is only with the school's practical help and support, as well as a positive attitude, alongside her own hard work and determination, that she has achieved so much personally and academically. She expresses in her own way, what it means not to be able to 'do' things, in the community of the school.

LEAH: It's always been like a struggle for me, because I've got dyslexia and it's .. so severe that I'm classified Disabled and that does cause a barrier, but my school .. has… really helped me. In Primary 7, I was struggling with books and now I can read Hunger Games - by myself. In four years, that's a massive achievement.
So they put things in place for me so that I can sit tests ... without needing … without feeling, how am I going to do this?
It makes me feel I'm not discluded [sic] - I **can** do things.

From the very beginning, the school consulted Leah about what practical strategies she needed, to be able to access the full curriculum, and continued to ensure that her needs were being met, as they changed over the years.

LEAH: They've made sure in classes what has a lot of writing I have a scribe. I have a iPad, what I can type, a keyboard. It has voice recognition so that I can like speak to it, er... I can take it home and like do my homework on it.
They taught me how to use it. I was basically like the guinea pig, basically cos I was the first one ever to have this kind of software, so they were basically learning with me, but they had a person who knew how to use it already coming in and explain it all, to make sure it was all working.

The tablet means that work can be photographed from the board in the classroom, and then manipulated by software, or printed and glued into an exercise book. This helps with

homework tasks, as well as enabling Leah to finish work after class, at her own pace. Speech software means that books and web pages can be listened to and class readers can be followed. In addition to being able to work with a tablet computer, Leah benefits from having the same English teacher for a number of years, who has a special understanding of dyslexia.

LEAH: I've had the same English teacher for four years, where I thought was quite good. She's a specialist teacher. Same with my Guidance teacher. She's Special Needs as well.

Teachers are aware of Leah's difficulties, and this helps her to not feel as if she stands out in class.

INT: Do any teachers ask you in class either to read something out or to take a turn?
LEAH: Not really unless I want to do it myself. I don't really read out because I find that difficult. Cos I do take longer and my ... speech has been a bit difficult cos I can't pronounce some words.
INT: Is that part of the dyslexia?
LEAH: Yeah, cos its so severe.
INT: Is there any way in which teachers draw attention to that?
LEAH: Nope. They do come and help me if I need it.

Other arrangements have been put in place, such as allowing Leah to drop a foreign language, in order to be able to catch up on classwork, extra help with literacy and numeracy, as and when she feels she needs it, and a special arrangement for her to be able to hand homework in on time. She has been able to catch up on the Maths she had found so hard at Primary School. As Leah puts it, she was able to do, "different things to help me get to the place I needed".

LEAH: I haven't been behind since I've come to High School, because they've gave me **time** to do, if I needed to, to do it at my own pace. Didn't have to keep up with everybody else.

All of these individual strategies have made a difference to Leah, changing how she thinks about herself. As she has gained in confidence, so she has been able to exceed all her own and the school's expectations of what she can achieve academically.

LEAH: [I feel] quite confident. And it's actually made me… instead of saying, "I can't do this, I can't do this" …Erm I do actually have a right to say that because... I could… not be on the outside not to say that outside, "You **can** do this, you might not be able to, as everybody else" and that's how I've actually made a massive achievement. They didn't ... erm … the school didn't think I would come out with any Nationals this year, so they were going to try and get me them in National 3, and I'm actually coming out with six National Fours and one National Three.

Particularly satisfying for Leah is her award in English, which she had seen as an impossibility, in the not-so-distant past. Notable here is the manner, in which her teacher shares the pleasures of the achievement with Leah and her family.

LEAH**:** And I got National 4 English. And my teacher, my mum, brother and sister are over the **moon** with the National 4 English, cos **that** would have been impossible... should have been impossible for me.... As most of my teachers say, I work my socks off. I work harder than **everybody** else, to be at the level I am.

Leah's hard work and determination to do well at school, is driven in part by her desire to have the same opportunities as everyone else, as she leaves school. She recognises the significant role the school has played, in becoming the person she now is.

LEAH: I want to have.... a .... same... kind of erm .... what's the word? [*thoughtfully to herself*] … erm what's the word ? [*She is speaking more quickly and to me*] ... same advantages as everyone else, so I'm not left behind, because I don't have the same grades, if I want to get the job, I don't have the right grades.
I have no complaints about this school. Especially what they done for me.

She has strong ideas about her future career plans, and is determined to work hard to achieve her hopes, despite others' expectations. As a result, she is finding that doors are opening to her, which she has never thought possible.

LEAH: Most people with my severeness [sic]... most with dyslexia don't know, they just go for an easy job like working in a shop.
I don't like choosing the easy option. I will always go for the harder option.
The jobs… actually, I'm getting ready to apply to, they're actually going to work with me, with my dyslexia, and I thought, "That's great! I didn't know the Navy would do that". They're happy to work with me. I thought I might not be able to go there because of the dyslexia and how severe it is, then here, [they are] **happy** to work with me.
[He came to Careers] and I said to 'im, "I do have dyslexia, would there, would that, severe dyslexia pass me as Learning Disabled, would that prevent me coming?" And they went, "I don't think so. We'll work with you", and he actually spent his own time, erm, looking into it and he got back in contact with Miss [name] and ... told her "We're willing to work with her."

The effect of this sudden and unexpected removal of all barriers before her, has a dramatic and profound effect on Leah:

LEAH: That felt me like they wanted me....... [*a long pause*] It felt like someone is putting as much extra things into me, cos they want me to do something I want, I would **love** to do.
If that means, it make me, it made me, it actually made me feel more like I was like **everybody** else.
Was being judged as a human being, not as a person with a disability.

6.5.4 Teachers' voices

The adults who work in the school (see Table 3) are all aware of the limitations of the building, which was built some years ago, at a time when educational expectations and realities were different. In some respects it appears to act as a constraint to their vision of what might be possible, but at the same time, imaginative use of the space allows inclusion to be interpreted in different ways.

Table 3. Participant teachers, indicating their main role in the school.

Name	Role
David	Deputy Head, Gatekeeper
Anne	Head of Learning Support
Christine	Head of Behavioural Support
Oliver	Subject Teacher
Isla	Learning Assistant
Laura*	Learning Assistant
Gemma*	Learning Assistant
* Attended interviews to support individual pupils, but were not interviewed alone, as participants.	

The management team works collaboratively to extend inclusion within the available space, creating, for example, a central area where the small number of young people, who are in the special Nurture Programme, can meet. David, a Deputy Head, explains how an area has been created out of the library, to make a more relaxed space for one-to-one and small group work, which works well for some pupils on individualised timetables, for short amounts of time.

DAVID: There are many ways to achieve inclusion and there are many definitions of inclusion. I think we have got … a more flexible infrastructure to deliver inclusion, because now we've got an area up there [*he indicates the floor above*]. We've got a room that we use pretty flexibly to put people from elsewhere in the school. We didn't have that in the past. I've always believed that, where possible, you support people in the classroom … because that's about including people. It's not about extraction.
So, where possible, will be trying to support people in classrooms. The resources are tight there, so we can't always do that. There are certain youngsters who **do** need to work separately, and we try and support them separately. It's not a form of extraction, it's the fact they are doing something different. So they don't sit naturally in a classroom.

It is the case that some pupils are unable, for a variety of reasons, to be in the classroom, learning alongside other pupils. These tend to be young people with the most serious behavioural issues.

CHRISTINE: We can't have disruption in classrooms. I've absolutely always been agreed with that, but …I suppose we just don't exclude for that reason. We don't separate for that reason. It's about learning to come together and understanding each other.

Arrangements are made for these pupils on an individual basis, spending time in school, as well as out of school in different learning environments, where resources to do so can be found. This type of approach is seen by David, a senior manager, as a form of inclusion, in doing all that is possible to keep young people in education, and not completely separated from their peers, as a means of 'normalising' people, rather than marginalising them. He is very aware, however, of the balance that must be made, to keep all young people safe.

DAVID: I think people with pretty significant behaviour activity, they need a **very** bespoke timetable. I think it would be good for them to touch base with a school, as in maybe come in for some **very, very** specific inputs and maybe classes. Need to be supported by a person, probably, to have somebody with them, because of their capability to disturb and disrupt everybody else. Because it's part to do with the fact that they **cannot cope** with their peers.

So, I would want, in an ideal world, **not** to discard people, and say, "No, you can't cope in a secondary school". The only reason you would have to take a decision to say, "Look, it's just not working", is to protect the rest. You know, you want to give people a chance, because you are trying to normalise people.

There is also the recognition that some young people manage better, academically, socially or emotionally, within a smaller group. This understanding has led to the instigation of the "Nurture Group" for a small number of first year pupils, as well as small curricular groups, such as those following ASDAN courses.

ANNE: I think we try very hard to be "whole school". So, in terms of Support for Learning, we don't extract for subjects. We would go in and try to support in class. So, it's not a case of, "Oh, you're in the supported group", or whatever. However, we are discovering that there are several youngsters who really need that extra support. So, we are looking a bit more to set up smaller groups maybe even picking out half a dozen to give them intensive, intensive support to help them at First Year.

CHRISTINE: Everybody's an individual, so you've got to be really creative in the role and there's not one size fits all, at all. In a way, [in] schools, that's the way we've traditionally been, because you've got to fit these young people into traditional subjects … You know, you should be able to sit down and listen and work and follow the same timetable, but we can't do that anymore. It's all about individuals and finding the path that's suitable for them.

Because the school staff work creatively to find solutions to issues arising with individual pupils, as well as with some groups, the management team is constantly reassessing how space in the school might best be used. There is a sense of a fluid arrangement, to meet changing needs, over the course of an academic year. As with all other areas of school life, widely differing criteria have to be met, or compromised on, whether of pupil need, academic necessity, or budgetary restraints, which have an impact on both teachers and pupils.

ANNE: You know, do you set? Does that work, if you have a smaller group with everybody in there, or does that make a bit of a ghetto group? …So all sorts of questions and we tend to do it on a year-by-year basis. What are the needs for this year? What do we need to be doing?
I do think resourcing has become more difficult. I do feel there is a lot less, just because the pot is a lot smaller and the needs are greater.
We're struggling. Where they have cut is in Support for Learning, because it can be cut. So, really what you're looking for is a body in the room.

DAVID: So when you start talking about inclusion and nurture, you know, you've got to strike a fine balance all the time, and that's why you need **people.** That's why, you know, you need the resource to do all of that, because you partially get one way and then you find you're short, or you've got somebody sitting outside there [*he motions to the chair in the corridor outside his office*]. There's nothing else, there's nowhere else to go. That's the difficulty for me. That's the part of it that doesn't make me quite as happy.

Staff at the school are particularly aware that some young people need a dependable adult to talk to and this is an area where the lack of human resources is particularly important, especially when it is coupled with a reduction in additional services to the school.

ANNE: It would be great just to have people on hand and the expertise, as I say: educational psychology, mental health and all these things, it would be **so good** to have based in school and have the resourcing here: school counsellor, all these kind of things. You've got to have access to them straightaway, rather than a nine-month wait…

CHRISTINE: We really struggle. What these young people need are … reliable adults, and that's the real struggle, because of all the cuts. How they have affected the school is, you've not got kind of Middle Management. You've just got Principal Teachers, nobody underneath that any more. We've reduced the number of Guidance Teachers down to four, I think. They had eight here. So CAMHS[47] has this waiting list of forever.

Part of it is because of the kind of middle people that young people would go to, maybe like Family Support Workers or the Youth Worker in school, or somebody to have a chat with. They are not there any more. So the only other place we've got, if young people need to chat is CAMHS…[*She draws in her breath and her voice becomes higher as she continues*].

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[47] CAMHS is the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, run by the National Health Service.

But we don't have enough resources. [*Her voice resumes its normal tone*]. We could do with, I always say, like grannies in school. I always say that. We could do with grannies and granddads in school, and just have them meeting … like a mentoring thing, these young people. They just want to be listened to. Just to have somebody that young people can meet with on a regular time. We really struggle. I had all these groups running last year… all sorts that come in and work with our young people, and all bar one, all fell away, **because** of **their…** strains on their resources as well. So we have to find the answers **here**, because we can't rely… [*She draws in her breath in a long sigh*].

The importance of the two-way relationship between pupils and teachers is acknowledged by some staff, not just in terms of teaching and learning, but as a factor in the complex interrelation of cause and effect in additional needs. Christine, as Head of Behaviour Support is particularly aware of this.

CHRISTINE: My role would take on the young people who struggle to access education, for a variety of reasons - so insecurities in home life, looked after young people - then displays itself in behaviour. So, ultimately, the ones who are struggling to engage, so poor attendance, poor attitude, will come my way. But sometimes, this is why we work so closely, because sometimes, the root of the reasons why they are not attending school is because there's been an undiagnosed learning difficulty there, or because they struggle with understanding. At the root of it all, there's just young people, who have been hurt, and who don't think very much of themselves.

We're all kind of working of working together, and trying in to identify all these kind of gaps and areas, where these young people **don't** feel included, or don't feel as if they've got a future.

DAVID: I think the key is keeping a relationship and giving them hope and giving them encouragement and always being there.

Isla, a learning assistant, notes how some teachers are distant to pupils, even where pupils reach out to them, and this is perceived as a lack of care towards some pupils and becomes a barrier to learning. It is clear, that for some young people, the personal approach of human warmth and interest is essential to their wellbeing in the classroom. This is particularly important for some vulnerable young people, with additional needs, who may lack communication skills, perception about other people's behaviour, limited understanding of the nuances of language, or a caring background.

ISLA: I think you [the teacher] have to make it interesting, and I think you have to show that you care about them and that you know them. I think they like to know about you as a person, as well. Obviously not…you know, but they like to know where you go for your holidays, or what your favourite colour is.

I do think a teacher's personality affects how they act or how they teach, or how they react to different situations. You know, some of them maybe need to lighten up a wee bit and use a bit of humour. You know, they're just far too straight-laced and **cold,** you know.
It would be nice if they could just smile or something, share an interest in their lives.

Because, to me, a teacher should embrace kids of all abilities, you know. Surely you want to teach the high flyers, but they cannae (sic) cope with the wee youngsters that are … just so weak.

These issues are compounded where a young person also has difficulties with communication or learning. Another Learning Assistant, Gemma, sees this in classes where she accompanies Paul. Where teachers are not 'open', some young people have difficulty in 'seeing' their personality, and this is disconcerting, as if the teacher is behind a mask.

GEMMA: I mean, she is a good teacher, but just her **nature …** she doesn't come over as that soft and understanding, sympathetic type of person. I mean, when the children go in, it's probably … she'll say, 'Good morning', but it may not be with a big smile on her face… They're never really quite sure where they are with her.

I have worked with him [Paul] in [subject] … and I promise you that's one class where he felt a wee bit uncomfortable. Because the teacher is … a wee bit scary, shall we say, and I think… Paul just didn't quite know how to take her. But that goes for a lot of children… I think some of the children don't know how to take her. She's quite strict, but at the same time … Sometimes she seems a little sarcastic in her humour, or the way she'll say things, and sometimes the children just don't get it, you know.

Gemma indicates that it may be the teacher's lack of understanding of the young person's needs, which is the real issue.

GEMMA: I think perhaps she's not sure what she should be doing with him. I just felt he wasn't as happy in that class, as I see him in other classes.

As the Head of Learning Support, Anne notices this trait as a lack of "people skills" in some teachers. Pupils, particularly those who are vulnerable, have difficulty in knowing how to respond to this type of personality, often reflecting the sources of the problem back on to themselves.

ANNE: In the majority of classes, I would say that teachers understand their pupils. I would think in some classes there is more frustration than others, and we're working on that to try and see if we can develop people skills… I think sometimes the nurture side can be missing.

Recent staff changes and key appointments, together with whole staff training, are beginning to break down the 'barriers' in the school, created by the former ethos of discipline, and more distant teacher-pupil relationships. For some teachers, the emphasis remains very much on 'learning', whereas others are aware that all other needs have to be met, before learning can be addressed, and a form of transformation can slowly take place. Christine has noticed some changes in how teachers deal with pupils, but this improvement is not universal.

CHRISTINE: I've been to many different schools, and I came here and I found it quite archaic in terms of how … erm… staff viewed their responsibilities, or their roles with young people. So, for example, if a young person wasn't listening in class, they would be sent straight out … So we've started training with our staff… [S*he sighs*] And I think that has made a real tangible difference, because I'm not walking past classrooms now and seeing teachers not knowing how to cope, or not knowing what to do, and all they do is, "out you go".
But now it's a mind shift of, "I'm still responsible for those people that I've put aside". It's not, "the only answer is to exclude and discipline".
It's a kind of mind shift... to, rather, "Well, what can I do? How can we sort this out?", rather than the only answer is to exclude and discipline. Because we know that doesn't work.

At the same time, teachers are also expected to have pupils with a very wide range of ability in their classes, and with additional developmental and learning needs, many of whom might not have been in the mainstream classroom a few years ago. While for newer, generally younger teachers, this is more the norm and the expectation, for teachers who have been in the profession for many years, this presents a shift in emphasis. Anne, Christine and David are all experienced teachers, and while they understand the adherence to the old 'mind-set', they also see the need to change and move in a different direction. Their position can sometimes lead them to feel caught between the twin rocks of achievement and inclusion, as they work to change staff attitudes.

ANNE: Staff here are always questioning are they doing enough for pupils, so they're not resistant to it, because they don't want to have them [in class], they feel they've not got expertise in that area, and I think that's something that … we … we're building up, and it's not really rocket science that working with … [*she sighs, then continues after a pause*] … if you can just get the curriculum that is appropriate, so I would say … yeah … they're open to it. There can be frustration, however, if … if … [*long pause*] you've got a class of thirty-three, it's hard … it's hard to try and get it right for your youngster who will never read and your youngster who will apply for Oxford. As a truly comprehensive school, that is literally what we've got and it's how we manage that. Teachers see the benefit for the youngsters, but can sometimes get frustrated in terms of the learning for their subject.

CHRISTINE: It was hard at first. I felt as if I was …There was a pressure for me almost to conform … to the traditional way of being .. of being, you know, the scary - I mean I can be scary if I try to. I felt I didn't know people, but I kind of felt a wee bit **solitary** at first, and then eventually I had to just … erm… dig in, you know.

ANNE: So, it's very much a case of … [*she pauses, and draws in her breath*] … we're piggies in the middle. So you've got subject teachers and you've got the youngsters, and you're just trying to work out what's best and in the long run, what's going to give their positive destination.

Recent innovations in the school, as it interprets the policies of inclusion into practice, the structural and curricula changes brought about by the Curriculum for Excellence, the

demands of new legislation such as GIRFEC and the Named Person scheme[48], have brought

resistance from some quarters, to yet more demands on teaching time, and more paperwork.

In response to this, the school management and support teams work to 'get alongside'

teachers, to build relationships of trust and collaboration, in order to show by example and

discussion that they are supported, but at the same time, that a shift in practice might bring a

better outcome and atmosphere in the classroom. It is clear, however, that some staff

members are more amenable to change than others, and this appears to bring a certain

degree of tension and difficulty.

ANNE: It's my responsibility that every teacher is aware of all the learning needs of every
pupil. I would think in some classes there is more [teacher] frustration than others … but I
also see it from the teachers' point of view that they're being asked to get these
qualifications. So … how well are they supported?

The support teams work hard to provide opportunities to change the way classroom teachers

approach issues with pupils. Anne's words also underline the range of issues, which are to

be found in classrooms every day, which may cause teachers to doubt their own expertise.

ANNE: We have courses people can go on, and then twilight training, and people can opt
to do courses on the likes of … autism, things like that, ADHD; so diabetic training, Epipen
training, first aid training for all staff, things like that. [We show by] Modelling. Maybe
having other people in different classes, to see if they can see how they are handled. Why
is a youngster not behaving in my class, but actually they're behaving well in that class?
We've done sessions on things like differentiation.

Where good practice is identified in the school, in terms of teaching and learning, it is shared

among others, by inviting colleagues into class, sometimes in the role of the learner. Oliver,

a teacher new to the school, shares resources to promote inclusion with his colleagues, who

are more resistant to new ways.

OLIVER: I've shared it with teachers and colleagues, and they've also come in to see my
lessons, so it's really good. That's the barrier, really, once you've gone past the barrier
and you realise, actually this is ok, then than makes it a lot easier. I think, it's .. as a
teacher, you do get, you know, you get bogged down and you get in your own way of
working.

While Support staff feel they are good at sharing information with teachers about individual

pupil needs, this is not felt to be the case by Oliver. In his view, there is insufficient

information given about pupils as individuals, with suggested strategies for teachers to meet

learning needs. In a further example of the Support staff responding, rather than initiating

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[48] GIRFEC legislation was updated in 2017, to include a 'named person' for each child. See
Appendix C.

what was needed, Oliver had to seek out further information, "which was time-consuming, but that was very valuable for me, to then think about how I need to be adapting to the needs". It would seem to Isla, a Learning Assistant, that this approach is not the norm amongst teachers.

ISLA: I haven't been aware of, say, a class teacher speaking to [the Head of Learning Support] about, you know, what can be done. They don't seem to have.... They're [the pupils] pretty much left to fend for themselves. I wonder if maybe, if parents are in touch with the school, then the school will act on it, but otherwise...

The key issue for Oliver is knowing the young people as individuals and understanding the whole child. David, a Deputy Head, also voices concerns over the complexities of children's difficulties.

OLIVER: Once you've got a class, it's really getting to know the children is so important, and you really start to communicate with that individual, you can't, you know, it's… it's easier to plan once you know. So, knowing your children is just so important. It's about thinking about individuals and not just, like, this is a middle-of-the-road student, this is a higher ability student...you know, looking a bit more at the **story** behind the data. You know, not just, right they've got a reading age of seven, but ok, what else is going on for this child that means they might not be able to access some of the material you are giving them?

DAVID: For a number of youngsters, the issues that are going on outside in their lives, ok, whether they may be, social, emotional, whatever, they far out- … exceed their learning issues... But, so a youngster, let's say they are slightly dyslexic, but not to the point of... having a **huge** impact on learning, but if they have got that **plus** they've got a whole bundle of, you know, social and emotional issues, ok, that just blows that up out of all proportion.

Members of the Senior Management team are very supportive of the teachers, and open to ideas of sharing resources and good practice, as well as providing training opportunities. As Oliver sees it, if individual learning needs are met in the classroom, often through appropriate use of technology, then many other aspects of inclusion may fall into place.

OLIVER: You know, it's kind of why you get into teaching, is to try and engage students in your subject, you know and I think that's certainly a way of doing that. I mean, that's, in terms of inclusion.... that's something you can do really easily.
What's right for the individual in the class, and sometimes, appropriate for the whole, what's appropriate for **that** child, is actually really good also for the rest of the class as well.
It's thinking, how can I adapt my teaching and learning, which will mean that that child will have something that they can access and something that is achievable, and something that, you know, we can really celebrate what they have done.

Christine recognises that real change, an evolution, can be brought about in teachers, and that a key senior figure can be instrumental in this.

CHRISTINE: I think it really helped [when he became involved] , because obviously… he is held in really high esteem and he was here from that old… He's always been there … and the [old] way of being. And he would say himself, in days gone by, he would have been the … old-fashioned, you know, discipline, and go, "Not interested". But he's evolved, he's changed, and that has been viewed by a lot of staff. I think that's the thing that's been really important, because, they can see that these young … it really works and they can see the changes in members of staff and people who are naturally like that. They can see that's how you work with young people. They've been able to become … they've got the freedom now to be able to just be … like that.

6.5.5 Mothers' voices: Sarah and Kate

The voices of the two mothers, Sarah and Kate, give an insight, not only into the lived experiences of Paul and Simon, but also into their own experience, as mothers, as they try to support, negotiate and advocate for their children's lives at school, but from a distance. Theirs is a unique perspective, set between that of the children and that of the teachers.

The support of home and family is recognised by parents as very important, not only to their children's wellbeing at school, but, in some cases, in being able to access the sort of education the parents think appropriate. Both Kate and Sarah indicate that they have been closely involved with all aspects of their children's education, from the very first years, including, importantly, the decision about their secondary school placement.   Kate and Sarah continue to feel that they must intervene on their children's behalf, in everyday matters in school. It is unthinkable to them to be anything other than fully involved in their children's education, and this has been all-consuming from the early years.

Sarah, the mother of Simon, who has autism, describes the extent of her involvement in his education from the outset, where she has had to "push" to enable things to happen for him.

SARAH: He started off primary school going solely to a Special Support Unit. I had to sort of push quite hard to get him there. It was advised, but also I had to make a case, and it was by no means certain that he would get a place, because there's so many... there's big demand. But we were fortunate, and he did get a place there, and they were very good, I thought.

After a range of early years and primary provision, with varying amounts of support and gradual integration into mainstream primary school, Sarah recounts how she and her husband made a decision, along with Simon himself, that he would go to the same

mainstream secondary school with the rest of his primary class: "the ordinary kids", as Sarah terms them, and where his older sister was still a pupil. The decision seems to have been driven, partly by Simon's assumption that he would go on to the same school as his sister, and partly by his own academic motivation. Having made good progress in several areas of his development in the primary years, he seemed able enough academically to cope with the demands of a mainstream secondary curriculum, and too able, perhaps, to fit into the slower and narrower educational pace of a specialist provision.

SARAH: For him, he just thought he would do what his big sister did. Which was fine. I just thought, if that's what he thinks. He knew the place. He thought, "Right, [she's] done that, I'll be doing that". And he's taken in a lot of what [name] has done. It's like, you can almost see him thinking, you know, when she's moaning about homework, or moaning about exams, or moaning about this, that and another, as the years have gone by, and she's gone through the school, you can almost see him thinking, "Mmm, right, so I'm going to have to deal with that."… And this is, I think, prepared him, mentally, for what he is coming up against at secondary school. Which is good. And so he always thought that is what he would be doing. And of course, ...he was quite keen himself, in a way, too. Once he saw, back in primary school, the discrepancy between what his peers [in mainstream] were doing, and what he was doing in his Support class, he realised he was fiddle-faddling about in his Support class. He wasn't really getting on with the work. And he wanted to be able to keep up… with the ordinary kids. He wanted to do what they were doing, in the way of work, and he was reasonably capable of it as well. So it seemed a shame to keep him back in a way, if he was able to keep up with the work, and he wanted to do what the other children were doing.

As Simon neared the end of his primary education, there was some liaison with the secondary school, prior to his transition. However, he only visited the secondary school, as part of a whole mainstream class, a few weeks before the start of the term. The onus for relaying and gaining information lay with the family, despite the considerable range of Simon's difficulties. Here, Sarah refers to Simon's difficulties in terms of, "someone like him", marking him out as different to others, in her mind.

SARAH: I think they are trying even more than they were previously, to have good links between his primary school and here, which is good for all the kids, let alone for someone like him. So that was helpful. [*Her voice slows, as she says thoughtfully*] There wasn't an awful lot… other than that, but there was [*her voice resumes its normal speed*] certainly a willingness by the school, to answer questions, or to do what they could to ease the transition.

Kate, whose son, Paul, has a learning difficulty and little autonomy over his own life, has been closely involved with all aspects of his life, including his education from the early years. She talks of the "fight" she has had, in the past, for Paul's needs to be met, and this gives some indication of the constant pressure she feels she must keep up, to gain small improvements for him, and of some of the difficulties she has encountered, over the years.

KATE: I think, probably since he was quite small, I feel, some of… everything, well, I'm saying everything, but a lot of things have been a fight, because you feel like ... a lot of the time, and this is way, way back - I don't think like I'm fighting here at all. It's nothing to do with [this school].

Kate felt that Paul could benefit from both mainstream and special educational provision, but that neither type of school was completely suited to his particular needs. She negotiated with a range of professionals in schools and a psychologist to enable her son to attend both a special school and the mainstream school each week, at primary level.

KATE: It was my suggestion, way, way back, and it was a sort of choice coming up, "Would you like him to go to mainstream or [the special school]?" And I said, "Can he do both?" He doesn't particularly fit in … he's very different and it very difficult to actually pigeonhole him to a particular box, if you like.

She decided to continue this split-site arrangement at the secondary level. She describes how there was support prior to the transition to secondary school, with several visits from the Head of Learning Support, which gave Kate more confidence in the decision. She voices concerns over how Paul will "manage" in the school, reflecting that the social and emotional issues, rather than educational ones, are uppermost in her mind.

KATE: So she was very... I suppose she was very proactive from the start, really, with a lot of it, which made me feel more confident about him coming here, because I was really thinking, "Don't know if he's really going to manage in here". So I had my doubts. But actually, she was able to say, you know, "I think we should do this, this and this" To be fair, he does manage really well. They do do really well with him. [*Her tone of voice has been dropping during the last few minutes and is now quite quie*t].

The transition to Lochanview seems to have gone quite smoothly for Paul, perhaps on account of the level of planned support prior to his arrival. Kate mentions only one issue, when the school did not seem to understand Paul's needs, but which was resolved with the intervention of Paul's older sister and Kate herself. Her matter-of-fact attitude supports the school, as she demonstrates that she understands the difficulties, which the staff face, on account of Paul's limited verbal communication, showing the importance of a two-way relationship between the home and school.

KATE: So it wasn't anything really bad, but.. you know, if there was any kind of fracas, there would probably have been raised voices and stuff as well, and he's got quite sensitive hearing. So, anyway. That's what it was. But… I said to [teacher's name], "I'm really reluctant to come in again, because I don't want him to think he can come home, if something happens, like that, because he will just want to come home all the time." So [*she laughs*], we just went and saw how he went and he was fine. Since then, there might have

been the odd thing and they'll write down, oh you know, "He was a bit quiet today", or whatever, or if he hasn't wanted to join the class, he's gone to the library or they've done something else, if they've dealt with anything like that, because it just takes them a while sometimes to calm him down. It's not that he goes wild, or anything, he doesn't; he just goes very quiet and it's just a case of the kids letting him have time, or a distraction.

There were, however, a number of issues as Simon began at the school, as Sarah indicates, but he was fortunate in that his older sister was in her final year at the school and able to help him with daily difficulties he encountered, such as finding his way around the building. It is interesting to note that, in some way, it was her very presence in the school, which brought its own support, as Sarah says, "At least she was here."

SARAH: Once he was here, [my daughter] was... here... although she didn't really do much to show him round, because obviously she'd had her own work to be doing. She was in her Sixth [Year class], and had her own lessons and things, but at least she was here. She brought him to school and she met him at the end of the day, and was able to answer any of his questions, about the Movement Rules, for instance. They really perplexed him. There are Movement Rules here, because of the narrow corridors.
You can only go down certain stairs and up other stairs and of course, he is a great one for rules. You have to stick to the rules, and would get quite upset, if he, if he, you know, if anyone did something wrong. So he was desperate to stick to the Movement Rules, and couldn't get his head around that initially, but it was helpful, because [my daughter] was able to tell him, "Well, you can do this, this and this", or she would bring him and show him somewhere or somewhere he needed to know where it was.
But we were fortunate, as I say, that [my daughter] used to help where she could. ... For Simon, it might have been helpful to have a good **map** [*emphasised*] of the school, but I'm not sure if one exists. Because he works on maps and instructions.

Sarah makes an interesting point, about a lack of signs and visual instructions in the school, which would have helped Simon understand what is allowed, rather than what is not, enabling him to be more confident and independent, in getting around the school, from the start.

SARAH: I wonder if there could be more in the way of signage, to be honest. Obviously, he's got it all sussed now. I mean Simon is very good on signs. He operates, you know, numbers, signs... the numbers of rooms and ... all the proper names and ... you know, he will talk about "Door C" ... He knows in his own mind, so if there were signs up, he would note them and he would find it useful, certainly.... I don't know if that was the actual problem with him, or whether he just didn't know ... where you... he knew where you **couldn't** go, but didn't know where you **could** go, sort of thing, to get to certain places.

Simon's sister was also able to help with difficulties with where to go at lunch and break, rather than the room provided by the school, for "other kids with problems", as Sarah expresses it. While the school provided an area for Simon to be during leisure times, it was

not suitable for him, and added to his daily anxiety. However, Sarah is grateful that the school has been able to listen and implement the solution.

SARAH: There is a room that, obviously there are kids like him, other people, other kids with problems and there is a room that they can go in, computers and things, they like to sit and play on the computers, but there he couldn't cope with that. That was the special room, but he couldn't cope with it, because, I think they're a bit noisy, they used to eat ... um, smelly crisps and he couldn't cope with the smell, and ... So although there is a room that they're meant to go to, it's not appropriate for him. But, you know, there is that, so that's ... where he was meant to be going, but it didn't suit him.

Simon's sister was able to suggest a workable solution, which the school staff were willing to put into place. As a sibling, she was able to act as a bridge between her brother and the school, from her deep understanding of his needs, through the insight of the close family bond, together with her insider knowledge of the school, which parents could not have known.

SARAH: Lunchtimes were an issue and break times. He was really not coping well with lunch or break time. You know, generally people go outside and it's all a melée, like the noise and eurgh. … So, [my daughter] came up with the idea of going up to Art, the Art department, because that's where she likes to go, and they've been very good: the Art teacher and the school generally, about letting him go up there at lunchtimes, and break times, just to be quiet, because it's quieter up there. He takes his lunch up there, and I've been very grateful – I should, I nearly forgot to say – very grateful for that, because it was a major issue. What to do at lunchtime.

It is also interesting to note, that both of these difficulties with the lack of signs and the lunch room, have occurred on account of the way in which the school has not understood, or reacted to, Simon's sensory issues, which are often a feature of autism.

For both mothers, the relationship between themselves and the school is hugely important, particularly the manner in which each, as the parent of a child with significant additional needs, has a direct personal contact within the school.

SARAH: I must admit I tend to contact Mrs. [name] … [*She sighs*]…I don't know really. I've got her email and she's very good and will pass it on to the appropriate person if necessary, or deal with it herself. And she has been very … very helpful, very responsive, which is what you need. The school are generally, I think. It's not just Mrs. [name].

This two-way personal relationship is particularly important at times of transition and changes in routine, as well as in everyday matters, and is the major source of support, giving parents sufficient confidence to place their vulnerable child in the care of the mainstream school. As Sarah expresses it, "You need people to be supportive". This arrangement allows

parents to raise queries and sort out issues of concern, or matters which their children have communicated, and in turn, inform the school with specific details of their child's needs, about which they, as parents, are often the experts.

Both mothers express the imperative to intervene on their children's behalf, in all aspects of their care and education. From earliest days, they have been a constant presence, in their individual ways, in their child's life. For Sarah, this is now a strong support from home, talking through everything with Simon, to help him to make sense of his experiences, but only initiating change or intervening when the matter is serious.

SARAH: [Simon] is pretty good at telling me stuff ... I usually know when there is something wrong. ... He'll tell me, as soon as he comes in the door from coming home. And quite often it's really, really small things which don't need dealing with, and I'll talk him through it, and say, "Ok, don't worry about that." … Most of the time that's what'll happen. If there is a more serious problem, then I would get straight on to the school, either ringing or emailing. I do try and talk through things with him. I spend a lot of time talking to him, trying to work out what the really important things, what's the thing that's **really** bothering him, and is it just a general moan about stuff, you know. So I do try and work it out.
He tells **me**. He knows that I will contact the school, if necessary. He knows I will. About anything. Whether it's bullying, something going wrong, homework issues, anything. He knows that I'll try and do something, one way or another.

Kate and Sarah are both aware, however, of the demands on the system, and that there are many others who also have needs. They tend to hold back and express a certain trust that the school will inform them, when necessary. With mutual communication and forward planning, parents feel that many of the anticipated difficulties of including young people with known differing needs can be managed within the resources of the school, and this reassurance is very important for parents. There is, however, also a question of balance for some parents, who are by nature more reticent or self-effacing, in terms of not wishing to 'bother' the school with what might be perceived as a minor issue, and this can lead to some difficulties, where a small situation escalates to become a large issue.

SARAH: I think they probably know that I don't contact them, unless it is something I feel is significant. I mean, I am not on the phone the whole time, because, obviously, I know they've got everyone else to deal with. I suppose if we were a bit more pushy, we could ask for more meetings or more information, but we don't. We don't ask. Not because we don't feel like we could, but we just don't tend to. I think we trust the school, I suppose, to be doing the right thing. I don't think I contact Mrs.[name] too much…I don't know, once or twice a month, maybe, or less than that.

KATE: In senior school, you don't get so involved, whereas in primary school, you know, there's a lot more involvement and you get to find out a lot more. In senior school, in the different classes, and moving around school, as well, we tend not to find out quite as much, but I think, you know, if there's any problems, they'll phone me.

In some respects, the feeling of being kept 'at arm's length', or choosing to maintain a greater distance, is very hard, both emotionally and from a practical point of view, where it is parents, who know and understand their children's ways of being. In many ways, Sarah's words encapsulate the dilemma many parents face, as they live through the decision that has been made, to send their child to a mainstream school, rather than some kind of specialist provision. As with many issues, these natural feelings are heightened in the parents, because of the vulnerability arising from their child's additional needs.

SARAH: It's hard when you are not here, all the time, you know what I mean, to see what is going on. You have to, you always feel that you are at arm's length to what is going on. Sometimes, I wish I did know a little bit more … about what is happening generally … because sometimes he is uncertain about something, or unhappy, and I don't really know what it is, because he can't tell me, or won't tell me. I mean, I suppose the thing is, if he's coming to a mainstream school, then, then, that's… you sort of have to play it by those rules… I think the trouble is, I am quite protective of him … you know… and I do have to… he's more capable … probably than I think he is … It's just that, … I think, when he was so … seems always so vulnerable as a child, it is hard… to…to let go, because I must, for his own good, so I just … This is probably more my problem than his. [*She laughs, briefly*].

KATE: The realities are... you know.... I think, as I say, because I work where I work, I know there are all these constraints. I know, there are a lot of these things going on in the background. I suppose it a case of prioritising what's really important and sort of fighting for that, if you like.
I just think in terms of education ... or help for your child, you end up kind of having to compromise … or you end up thinking, I've got to actually contact people and say, "We need this because of this" and it's ... you know, that's just the way it is.

There are, however, always issues to be sorted out and both mothers feel it is very important to know exactly what is happening in their child's life at school, and to act as an intermediary. While many children will seek the advice and help of their families on issues, which concern them in school, it is the range, extent and detail of the problems, which is notable for some children, reflecting a world they find difficult to manage and to understand. Both mothers will intervene, where they perceive there to be an issue, whether that concerns teaching and learning, social, or practical aspects of school experience, by bringing the matter to the school's attention, often suggesting a solution themselves. These instances serve to focus attention on the ways, in which the school responds to parents' requests, but is less proactive in identifying potential issues, before they occur.

Kate has not merely suggested, but has herself instigated, a 'diary' system, to record what her son, Paul, has done during the day. To help continuity, the information is shared between this school and the special school he attends on two days and home. While it shows us the depth of Kate's involvement in her son's daily life in school, it also points to the

extent of need for support, of some young people in the mainstream secondary school. For Kate, it seems quite natural that someone should be making sure her son drinks sufficient water, during the day, and recording this, so she knows it has been done. Here, while their concerns are similar, Kate's approach differs from Sarah's, who feels that "you should play it by those rules", to a certain extent, and on this occasion, does not press the point.

KATE: So you see, we do these sheets and I noticed he wasn't drinking water, so I spoke to them and said, "He's not drinking water", and they actually put this on the bottom [*She points to where a note has been added about this*].
INT: So that goes to everybody, who is with him?
KATE: Yes, whoever picks up the sheet. You know, they sort of picked that up. I didn't tell them to do that. I just basically put a note in, "Can somebody please make sure that he has something to drink", because he just wasn't drinking any water…

SARAH: This is something we did, my husband and I spoke about, a while ago, in fact, if you know, if he wanted to get out of the class, say he got worked up about something and wanted to leave class. I think we did raise it with Mrs. [name], but I think we probably didn't take it any further, because nothing has happened, and he seems to be coping. But… it would, from the beginning, we did, my husband and I, were saying that it would be handy to have a card, or something to be able to show the teacher, you know, "I'd like to leave the classroom for a while now", and to have somewhere to go. But nothing … has really been set up. But it would have been good to have had something like that in place, from the beginning.

On another occasion, Sarah requested a timetable change, in order that Simon did not have to attend swimming. While the school took a flexible and supportive approach, in enabling a solution to the found, which saved Simon the difficulties of making such a request himself, there was no system in place to anticipate such differentiation.

SARAH: He really, **really** doesn't want to do swimming... I think more to do with pressure of time. He's not very quick at getting changed and certainly not quick at getting dried and dressed again and he just would find it too much pressure, time pressure, and ... Just the whole thing seemed a bit too much for him.

On a different occasion, Sarah approached the Support department on Simon's behalf, after first discussing his concerns with him. Once again, the school was quick to offer a solution, although, on this occasion, it was not taken up, on account of Simon's hypersensitivity, of which the school did not seem to take account.

SARAH: He was getting anxious about not being able to write quickly enough and.... he said, maybe, well, no, we discussed it between us and he said, maybe he should use a laptop or Notebook, or something, in class. I raised this with Mrs. [name] and she said, he could trial

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a school iPad. He said he didn't want to use a school iPad because they… He doesn't like them because they are all dirty and he would rather have his own. So we've left that for the moment.

There are times when parents feel it is difficult to speak to the 'right' person, but generally, it is felt that the school link person does make contact as soon as possible, and responds to emails in a timely way, although this does not always lead to a resolution of the problem, without further requests for follow-up meetings, particularly when other teachers are also involved. The 'right' person is the one considered to be in a position to be aware of the young person's needs, and be sufficiently knowledgeable and senior in the school, to inform others of what ought to be done.

KATE: I do think they … tend to take on board what I say. [*Her voice brightens*] In fact, I know they do, because, when we have the IEP meetings, you know, we'll have a proper conversation. It's not a case of I feel like the parent and I'm not able to speak. They are very … very open and honest actually, about stuff anyway. That is the thing. At least they do take on board what I do say and try to do things, so I think that's the positive.

However, at times, the school does not seem to ask the parents for information, which could help resolve an issue, as when Kate, as a parent, had to accompany Paul on an overnight school trip. Her words give an indication of the level of need, of a vulnerable young person on an outing, as part of a large group of more independent young people, of the same age. For Kate, the opportunity was lost for Paul to gain some independence from her, and she feels let down on this occasion, by the school's lack of foresight in ensuring that they had put appropriate support in place.

KATE: You know, I could have primed whoever it was that was going to be going. If it had been his Learning Assistant, I could have primed them to say, you know, he needs this or he needs this or he needs his teeth doing, or he needs whatever, and that's what I would have done. He got on fine and he enjoyed it…. It was one of these things, you have to be planning ahead, for children like that, you have to sort of think, "Well, what am I going to have for support?"

Kate's concern about opportunities for Paul to gain independence are set in the context of his vulnerability and the little autonomy he has in his life, as she expresses in this comment about his journey to school. She worries about Paul travelling unaccompanied on the school bus, on account of his vulnerability, as well as his inability to manage an unpredictable situation on his own. It is a difficult balance between some degree of independence and autonomy and his safety. As a compromise he can sometimes travel on the bus, if another

boy is also there with him. It remains the parents' duty to ensure that the child reaches school safely, but there is little sense of community in this journey, with no one to look out for Paul.

KATE: I don't want to go round to the bus with him really. We just want to keep that sort of independence. I couldn't trust him to go himself, but at the same time, because I would worry about the road, or I would worry if the bus didn't turn up, he wouldn't know what to do.

Kate also expresses concern about the lack of signs in the school, conscious that Paul cannot read, but works well with the visual timetable, that she has created for him. In this instance, she talks for the first time about general learning needs, not specifically focusing on Paul, identifying an area, which could easily and cheaply be addressed by the school. She appears frustrated that the school have not even done this simple thing, to make life easier for a number of children, with different types of need to Paul.

KATE: I think that's something that should be in every school. I just think that **all the doors** in **any school** should have 'English', 'Maths', whatever. I don't think, I can't believe actually, that we've gone through school, so many years of putting up disabled signs for this and disabled signs for that and yet we haven't got **simple** things like a picture on a door… There are so many … of dyslexic kids.
I keep saying it to people, "**Why** don't they have these things in schools?" But they were saying, "Well, it's probably because it's expensive" and I said, "I know, but you could just put Boardmaker ones up, you don't have to put fancy signs up, you know." … There must be some way of actually doing it.

In terms of gaining some independence in learning, the school has made a tablet computer available to Paul. However, it is in fact the opposite of what Kate thinks he needs, in terms of helping communication, and can act to isolate him from the rest of the class. There is a suggestion that Paul is given work on the tablet, which is quite different to that of the rest of the class, rather than as a means of differentiating the class topic.

KATE: He uses it for… a bit for Maths, things like that. I think it's used sometimes for, you know, if there's something he can't do in class, then he'll maybe do some, or something for spellings.
We did talk, sort of talk about a communication one, but I don't know. In many respects I think we thought that he possibly wouldn't use it as much as, and we're trying to encourage his verbal communication really.

Kate also worries about Paul's vulnerability, which means he is obliged to spend the time at break and lunch inside, in a room with some other young people, never going outside into the fresh air. Kate notes that the group is very disparate. She makes the interesting point that even where young people have a similar diagnosis, this does not necessarily mean their needs are similar.

KATE: You know, I suppose that's the diff-… that is the difficulty with kids that've got any learning difficulties or a diagnosis of something, because they're all so different.[*She laughs*]. They could have the same diagnosis …

There are glimpses here of her fears for her son in a world, which he cannot fully understand and which may not always treat him well. Her concerns lie in finding a way to keep him safe in what may be an unkind world, but which may, at the same time, limit his freedom, enjoyment and independence to choose what he might prefer. It is the dilemma of the degree of autonomy versus dependence, which she faces on his behalf. It does not seem to occur to her, that, in the context of the inclusive secondary school, there should be someone "keeping an eye on him".

KATE: I think he's probably quite happy to spend the time inside, but, I guess, if he had the choice to go outside, he may do, but, you know, it's a bit of a balancing act, because of no supervision.... then, I'm not sure [*she laughs briefly*] …Just because he's exposed to so many, you know, different personalities, different kids, that maybe wouldn't understand him, and so on. So, that kind of thing. ... So, yeah, I guess, he possibly would go outside and spend more time with ... boys that he knew at break times ... but... it's difficult, you know. Sometimes I think I'd like him to do that, but, as I say, if he's not going to have anybody keeping an eye on him, then I'd prefer that he was inside, because, I don't really want him, I don't want him subjected to, you know... any ... ridicule, or any … you know, I do sort of worry about that really, because he's got limited conversation ... and ... he is affected … by certain things that kids might do, but he's not able to sort of fight back properly or to tell anybody straight away, so you know, it does leave him quite vulnerable.

There are also occasions when the good communication with one or two members of staff does not extend further, to other teachers, to administrative staff and to visitors to the school, who come to speak to pupils. A badly-handled situation, arising from a lack of understanding on the part of an adult, can have serious implications for a pupil, who already feels anxious about everyday issues in school, and whose understanding of what is required of him in the school is tenuous. The parents also feel that the school, while often reactive, should be more proactive in being able to anticipate certain outcomes, without input from the parents.

 On one occasion, Sarah's son, Simon, was given a form for a parental signature, giving permission for a range of outdoor activities, rather than for a specific event. This caused a difficult situation at home, and serves to show how the school has not extended individual differentiation to documents, which are leaving the school. Sarah's words reveal a glimpse of the deep anxiety she has for Simon, while in the school's care, as she questions the extent to which he will not be left to manage on his own, when outside the school environment. While his isolation in the classroom may be something she can endure with difficulty, the thought of his abandonment elsewhere, is almost too much to bear.

SARAH: He came home with a form that I knew he had been fretting about. He kept saying, "They keep talking about hillwalking", and I said, "Well, I don't know anything about it. Have you had any forms?" And he said, "I don't think so"… Eventually a form came and it said… it was sort of …[*she sighs*] a general form, really, saying about hill walking, cycling, rock climbing, canoeing, and I'm thinking, what on earth is all this? You know, I thought, oh my goodness, there's just no way, because he can't ride a bike and he wouldn't want to do rock climbing… and so I thought, oh no, I'd better ring up the school. [The teacher] explained to me all about what this was. Explained to me that it wasn't rock climbing, that it was just a general form. It's just a hill walk. And I said [*she draws in a long breath*] "If he's struggling, you'll be able to do something with him? You won't sort of leave him, will you?" [*She gives a short laugh*]. I mean, they were very helpful in telling me who was taking them, how they were getting there, what was going to happen. Perhaps it was less helpful, that I got this general form.

Mrs. [name] …said, that she would talk to him today, about what to expect. Because with him, it's just a matter of being anxious, not knowing what's going to happen. He doesn't like uncertainty, change in the routine.

An apparently 'small' situation in school can serve to undo months of progress in the building of confidence and trust. This is not only to do with pastoral issues, but also concerns academic issues, which may be allowed to continue unaddressed. The parents know they have a greater understanding than some teachers, of the impact of their child's unmet emotional needs on their ability to engage with the academic curriculum, and Sarah's account expresses a certain amount of frustration in the school's apparent lack of concern. In such a situation, it is the parent who must then try to resolve the emotional issues that have arisen.

SARAH: [It's important for the school] to respond and to do something as quickly as possible, because you want to sort of nip these things in the bud, because so quickly it spirals down, you know, and something quite small, if it's not dealt with, can sort of become quite a big issue.

SARAH: It would be nice… to think that they [teachers] had it all under control. I must admit, I don't know. Like this business with the Maths. I said this to the Maths teacher… about extra time, and she said she'd thought about it, but she hadn't actually done anything about it. If he loses confidence then he feels he can't do anything. If he can relax and feel … happy … he's capable of a lot. He's a bright boy, but … if he's not, if he feels, if he loses his confidence, and I feel that is happening with Maths at the moment, to be honest … then it all tends to fall apart and somehow I've got to try and get that back.

On another occasion, Sarah is once again not sure that a teacher in the school has dealt with a situation appropriately, and that the relevant information has been passed on. In this instance, she raises the matter at a Parents' Evening, in a face-to-face meeting. As she recounts this, there are glimpses of the depth of her feeling, and the language she uses reveals something of the effect on her of the extent of the difficulties Simon faces every day at school, and from which she cannot protect him.

SARAH: We had an issue. Actually we had to raise that at Parents' Evening. To do with PE. He'd got very upset… because he had asked a girl [to be his partner in the activity] and she ignored him … and they're not meant to do that. And he was just, eugh, you know, he didn't know what to do and that really upset him… That really knocked him. You can imagine. And he was, at first, he didn't even tell me about it and it wasn't until a bit later on that he was telling me and I thought, "Ooh". And so I spoke to the PE teacher, and others, and they said, "Well, that really shouldn't, that really mustn't happen, that's not right at all'. So, they said they would deal with it. I haven't heard any more from [my son] about it, and I told him that I'd told the school, and ...But I really was highlighting it, so I really hope that something like that didn't happen again.

INT: How do you feel …when he comes home and he tells you something that's clearly made him upset? How does that make you feel?

SARAH: [*A long pause*]… Heartbroken… I'm really upset. I can't bear it, because he himself is a kind, gentle boy, you know, and I know how hard it is for him every day. Being, with, in this environment. I know he doesn't find it easy, and he does it and I'm really proud of him of that, because I know how tough it is. .... But, you know, he does it and he gets on with it.

However, some teachers will make allowances in small ways for Simon, as Sarah comments, but in other classes this does not happen, which causes him anxiety and a loss of self-confidence, which can have an impact on his wellbeing and learning, across the board.

SARAH: But I've noticed that teachers will let him do things that perhaps they wouldn't let the whole class do. Like take a book home that he needed to do some work, or something he hadn't finished. Give him a little bit of extra time to do things.

SARAH: If he loses confidence, then he feels he can't do anything, and it's this issue of confidence, and it always has been. Confidence and being able to relax. If he can relax and feel ... happy ... he's capable of a lot. He's a bright boy, but ... I don't quite know what's happened. It could just be it's a different teacher; that there was quite a lot of change around teachers and things for Maths, and maybe that sort of put him off a bit, but so much of it is confidence, and I think, well, I mean, it's the same for any child. A good teacher is worth a lot, you know, and I think he is perhaps particularly... [*she searches for the right word*] sensitive, shall we say, to whether someone's a good teacher, or not a good teacher.

For Sarah, a "good" teacher is not only the empathic teacher, but perhaps also one, who intuitively understands Simon's unique nature, and the kind of supported environment, in which he can learn best. It is also interesting to note, that it is Simon's response to the teacher's manner of being, which is a major factor in his ability to do well in class. Both parents worry about the school's ability to understand their children's specific needs, and the manner, in which this lack of understanding can serve to limit the children's progress.

Sarah, knowing Simon as she does, expresses doubt about the amount he is able to speak and be heard, and be part of the classroom community, but resigns herself to a somewhat guarded and sceptical acceptance of the teachers' assessment.

SARAH: I think probably in class, teachers report that he works alongside other people ok, if they've got a particular task to do… but when it's outside of that, when it's just chatting, you know, he can't, can't do that. If I hadn't been reassured by the teachers that in class he speaks up, and that he'll ask if he needs help and that sort of thing. I would be more worried if all I'd heard was, "Well, he doesn't say anything", but they say he's engaged and gets on with it, you know, and I just have to take their word for it, from that point of view.

Kate acts as the link between the two schools Paul attends, and is the driver for his education, ensuring that the two curricula are complementary, and that he gains from different experiences, in each school, but she admits to the difficulties even she, as his mother, has in really knowing how much he is learning.

KATE: I think he fits in well here, because he can actually do what a lot of the kids do, and he takes in a lot more that we … realise… but because there's a lack of outward communication processing … directly, then, you're not really sure what he's learned and what he hasn't.

Kate is particularly concerned that some learning opportunities for Paul will be limited, as he goes up the school. She is very aware of what Paul is, and is not, doing in school in each class, and is trying to drive forward his education, by asking for specific work for him to do. As she speaks, she expresses a sense that, if she were not pushing all the time, then not much would happen for him in school, and a tone of desperation comes into her voice, but later, she becomes more accepting of the realities of the situation. Her words encapsulate many of the dilemmas in inclusive education, not just for the child, but also for the mother and for the school, in terms of what Paul can achieve academically, or might have the potential to achieve, in the best conditions. She has goals for him, in terms of learning, but her sense, goals or vision may not be the same aims, as those of the school. There is also the dilemma of differentiation, in terms of what type of curriculum he will need, as he moves up the school, without creating a feeling of 'difference'.

KATE: I mean, he's doing... he's doing really well...You know, it's very difficult because he's got limited reading and writing abilities, but again.... they're just getting, if he can't do the task in class again, they do a different task, and you know, they're still looking at the same task based on numbers or the writing task or something. I think... some things, I suppose, if you ask for more homework, we do get homework, sometimes. I'd like more homework for Paul.

It depends on the teacher, actually, to be fair, because I think some teachers are better at picking up... I don't know if I should say really but… [*She gives a half laugh*]. Some teachers I find, and I wouldn't say here, I think this was more primary, my experience in primary, was some of it was almost like, the odd teacher was almost sort of scared of what the child could do, or what they couldn't do. So... they weren't particularly proactive, with actually saying, "Well, I'd like the child to do this" and the Learning Assistant did it, you know, and I do find that,.. say, Paul was left out of, you know ... the other kids, when they did a project.

He did get a lot of spellings and things. I did sort of … he hasn't had so much recently ... and, I'll certainly get back onto this after this school holidays. I'll speak to Mrs. [name] about it, because he was getting spelling homework, and I know the spellings were getting harder and he obviously couldn't, I mean he couldn't, he can't do the spellings anyway, but a lot of it was, we were working on his writing, because I was trying to do a lot of it, so he can actually **write**, so he is gradually building up a bit of a vocabulary, you know, well, you know, in his reading. Well, at least, I think if he can write, then it's reinforcing the words and the letters... and so, he **can** copy things and his writing's a lot better... So, he's been doing a lot of the spellings, but, obviously a lot of the words were far too long, and he couldn't remember the **words.** But having said that, we don't really know what he can remember and what he can't remember...

So, I wouldn't say it's totally up to me. I mean, I suppose, that's just **me** [*she laughs*] because I tend to just come up with stuff anyway... But, er.... they have got ideas. I suppose if I wasn't at the IEP[49] meeting, then I suppose they would decide between them, the school would decide what they were going to do, or if I really didn't show much interest or have much to say, then they would probably say, "We'll do this this and this" ... I suppose... at least they take on board what I do say and try and do things, so I think that's the positive.

It's quite difficult really, because in a way, I suppose, because what they don't want him to do is to feel any different from everybody else. Sometimes he's getting things that would be the same as everybody else, but then there has to be a split, and then he... and it will happen this year, automatically I would think, anyway, because there'll be Third Year, Fourth Year exams and it will all change.
You know, he'll not be doing.. National Four... but, I think they're basically going, what I gather is that they'll follow the curriculum, but if there's any kind of exam, he can do a lower level one, then he'll do that. So that's what they are trying to do.

 [S*he draws a long breath*] Yeah, well again, I suppose ... [*she lets the breath out*] I suppose ... the... I shouldn't say the assumption is that he won't do anything, but I think ... I don't know, if I didn't **push** [*emphasised*] for stuff, sometimes you think, "Would they actually just let him complete school and not necessarily have any exam?" Or they might say, there'll be a lower level exam.... But, for me, I think the way the curriculum is, say, for Woodwork or what have you, he seems to be doing really well with the Woodwork. I don't know how much work there is actually involved in the National Four exam, but I know a lot of it is Coursework anyway, and they don't have to sit an exam.... So I don't think there is a lot of written stuff involved... I was asking, you know, what was involved in that and one of the teachers said, when I said, "Do you think he could do National Four?", said, "I think he could". You know, she was very enthusiastic and says Paul is doing really well. So they were trying to see whether he could actually manage the National Four exam.

I suppose if I didn't ask the questions, maybe then they wouldn't happen....
It's difficult to say here, because I don't want, ... I don't feel that they automatically ... I feel they're quite proactive here. I just maybe think **some of it**....

I'm being realistic about stuff here, is down to the time. It's time and money. It's always the same... If, erm, I think, I get the impression that they do ... a lot… and I think they do, you know... but obviously, there's always things, I guess that you could say, "Oh well, they didn't do this and they didn't do that." [*Her voice has dropped during the last few sentences and become quiet and thoughtful, but now picks up again in pace and tone*]. In a perfect world, if it was a perfect world, then ... and say they just had, they had plenty of Learning Assistants and they had plenty of people that, you know, somebody that could spend all their time with

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[49] An IEP is an Individualised Educational Programme, often used with a child with different needs, to plan, teach and review learning targets.

Paul ... then, probably he could do a lot more.... But, you know, you realise that's not necessarily going to happen and you know that people in schools elsewhere, don't even have as much help as Paul does here. So ... you ... erm...

But, I mean, as I say, I think, on the whole... I think they manage very well here.... with him. But, I know ... I think things like ... say the spellings, things like that, yes, it could be better as in, for more appropriate maybe homework, and perhaps more homework, 'specially if a parent's asked for it, to say, "Could we get...?" and for different subjects. But, again, I guess, it could be … as far as I'm concerned, it could be more.

Particularly difficult for both Kate and Sarah, is the social isolation of both Paul and Simon, in their different ways, from the community of their peers. Sarah feels very strongly about Simon's isolation, but is unable to change this aspect of his life, nor even to make it easier for him. She is always concerned about, and saddened by, her son's social isolation in the school, both in terms of managing in the classroom environment, and in the way in which the lack of friends affects him. By nature and nurture, he is a quiet boy, but he is further isolated through autism, which makes it so difficult for him to make sense of the world, to engage with the physical presence of the world around him, and with his peers as an equal.   As his mother, Sarah has a deep understanding of his way of being, which is perhaps out of the reach of others in the school.

SARAH: He finds his own way of managing, He just tries to, he just ignores it or tries to, you know, let them get on with it, whatever it is. He just tries to keep himself to himself. He's quite … self-contained.
He still finds it hard if people are being loud and shouting, but I think he's learnt… to cope … you know, better…
INT: Does he feel isolated or is he happy to be on his own?
SARAH**:** [*She draws in her breath and expels it in a sigh*] ... I think he knows he's not any good at it … having that sort of relationship. I think he just thinks that's his, his, you know, his … which is sad, because I think really he would like friends. I mean, he doesn't say … so… but you can just tell by the way he talks … that I think he would like to be able to talk to people, chatter, but they don't understand his … the sorts of things he wants to talk about, and I think he knows this. He knows that they don't understand him. That he's just not on the same wavelength at all, and I think he knows that, so I think he just doesn't really try … and so it means he is a bit isolated.

For Paul, the friends of primary school, with whom he could laugh and kick a ball in the playground, are now a thing of the past. His former friends are now older and more independent and go off to shops, which he is unable to do without adult supervision. His mother is only too well aware of these limitations.

KATE: He gets on really well with a lot of the kids here. He doesn't really see them outside school … any more.
They're off, you know, to McDonald's or town, and he can't go. So… you know, that puts a bit of a wedge in there. He can't go himself.

Paul's easy, friendly manner means that he is known and greeted around school, but this does not extend to friendship. One friend, who is able to accompany him to the bus on some mornings, has become more of a guardian in this role, than an equal. In the special school, which Paul attends on two days of the week, he has more "little friends", as his mother describes them, using a phrase more associated with a much younger child, than his thirteen years.

After almost two years of secondary school, both Kate and Sarah continue to question the wisdom of their decisions about the mainstream placement. Doubts about the consequences of these decisions remain in Sarah's mind, and she continues to raise questions, which will perhaps never be answered.

SARAH: I mean, we often [*she lets out her breath, a faint sigh*] questioned whether we were doing the right thing, because you think, "Would he have benefited more from more specialised support?" But, we just don't know. On balance, I think probably … I don't suppose he would have done… I don't feel that we missed an opportunity there, because coming here, he's … he has done better, I think, than we thought he would. He's coped better than we thought. You just never know. It's uncertain with him.

For Kate, it is difficult to break the emotional attachment she feels to the special school Paul attends on two days of the week, and her words suggest that the social environment of the special school might be better for him.

KATE: It's a bit difficult to just let go of what we've got in the other school, because he does get a lot from there as well. He does actually look forward, he's got little friends in there that he's established and I think he actually does look forward to the days he is there.

As she talks, Kate's uncertainty is communicated, as she moves between justifying each type of school, reflecting, perhaps, the unresolved difficulties in her own mind, which reflect some of the dilemmas surrounding inclusion in our education system. There is a constant dilemma between all the different aspects of what might be best for him, in 'normalising' him, to fit in with others, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, in developing his strengths and capabilities in a more specialised, but separate, environment, but where he may be more socially integrated. Added to this, is the issue of his own wishes and choice, of which, even she, as his mother, cannot always be sure. In this instance, the voice of the child does not emerge, as his mother seeks to understand how her child, who has little spoken language, feels and thinks.

KATE: The way I can tell he is enjoying what he is doing, is because he happily goes, you know, and he talks about a lot of things here. I don't see how he gets on, because I'm not here, but he certainly seems happy enough.

INT: Does he tell you how he feels about attending two schools?

KATE: … No, he doesn't, but he doesn't have any … The way I can tell that he is enjoying what he is doing, is because he happily goes. It's all very positive what he likes doing here, he's comfortable here … and when he's comfortable, then school's fine.

I do think he's benefited from both [schools] because I think he's been able to predominately get the life skills from [the special school]. He's had access to occupational therapy, to speech therapy, and he's had access to all sorts of services, which have been really beneficial to him. I would say he was probably more protected there, you know, which was great for his confidence. Then, from [primary school], he got … the fact that that's his local community, they're his friends. I mean they would look after him, they know him. That's what I was worried about, if he went to the special school, he would have been totally taken out of [the community] every day, and he wouldn't know as much, so they might think, "That was the kid that went to this school", but they wouldn't have really known him.

Here, he's still with people that he's been right through school with, he feels comfortable with them. He can have a good laugh with them. He's got a good sense of humour and they all laugh with him … as well. I think he's got a really good relationship with the kids in the class, from what the teacher says, and I think it gives him some kind of normality, if you like…some kind … even though he has those difficulties. It's really because I just think, that if he'd been in [the special school] all the time, he would have lived some kind of sheltered life. Because, to be honest, I think, when he's out and about, you wouldn't know, a lot of the time, that he was any different from any other children, any other child.

I think he gets very different things from different environments, but I think it's all to the good.

6.6 Summary of the chapter

 In this chapter, I have worked with the transcriptions of the interviews, to bring alive the voices of the participants, as they describe their experiences. I have analysed these under the three main themes, of Being at home, Being in the bounds of the school and Being in the community of the school. The voices of the young participants are central to this explication of experience, and I have drawn on these extensively, as they share their experiences and as individual voices. I have used the voices of the teachers, learning assistants and the two mothers, to give a wider perspective to the experiences of the young people in this analysis. In the next chapter, I will draw out the findings from this research, and show how they can inform us about the lived experience of inclusive education, both in the context of this project and in the wider research landscape.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW PART TWO

7.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction

In the previous two chapters, I described the process of my approach to the data I had collected in the interviews, as an "immersion" and illustrated that immersion with examples of different forms of writing and calling to mind, indicated in the work of van Manen and Moustakas. I then turned to a close analysis of the transcriptions, using the three main themes, which had emerged from the data, and a number of sub-themes. I used the term "explication", as a means of retaining the notion of the whole-part-whole approach. In this chapter, I give a very brief overview of the project, indicating the research question, which I set out to address, before moving to the main findings, which have emerged. I discuss these in the context of this research, as well as in the wider educational landscape. I then consider three further issues, which emerged during the research process, but which are not part of the main findings. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the findings.

The purpose of this research has been to look at how the policies and practices of inclusive education are experienced by some young people in a mainstream secondary school, and the meaning they make of these experiences.

In order to address my research question, "How do young people *with additional needs*, their families and their teachers experience inclusive education in a Scottish secondary school?", a phenomenological methodology was used to attempt to glimpse what might be there and uncover aspects of individual experience and understanding, of which we may not have been previously aware. The research was located in a mainstream secondary school in Scotland, using interviews with seven young people and seven adults to gather information about their experiences. The young people were all known to the school as having additional needs and, as such, their accounts of their individual experiences can give us insight to a little known area, concerning the manner, in which inclusion is experienced in a school, working within the parameters of the "presumption of mainstreaming" and the development of inclusive education.

My review of the literature indicated that while a great deal is known about many aspects of school education: the 'what' of schools; relatively little is known of the 'how' school is experienced on a day-to-day level, in the words of the young people themselves. Other

indicators, such as "positive destinations", increased numbers of young people entering higher or further education, rises or falls in PISA scores, or meeting targets of the Framework for Inclusion, all tell us little about how children, teachers and parents experience school on a daily basis, as they live though the policies and practices of inclusion.

The review also indicated that much debate continues about both the nature and the purpose of inclusion in schools, the nature of special or additional needs, and the broader purposes of education 'for all', in the light of the current atmosphere of the neoliberal globalisation of education. This lack of clarity surrounding the conceptualisation of inclusion, creates difficulties for researchers and practitioners, amongst others, as they face a multiplicity of nuanced meanings, evidence and outcomes across studies (Farrell, 2000), as well as a range of similarly used, but indistinct, terms in legislation and policy documents.

While the prevailing impetus is for a move away from special and alternative provision for some young people, there remains a body of resistance to this. Some of this is to be found within schools themselves, in teachers, who must balance the influx of pupils with a wide range of needs, against the pressures of performativity, in a time of continuing austerity and a decrease in support and resources. Elsewhere there is resistance from parents, who turn to smaller units and special schools for their children, who have struggled in the mainstream setting, sometimes to the detriment of their health, wellbeing and academic progress, but who can thrive in the smaller community of the special school, or class. Particular issues are raised in connection with some young people, who are less able to 'fit' in the existing structure of schools, such as those with autism, or serious emotional and behavioural difficulties. Similarly, there is an increase in the numbers of children and young people who are being home educated, either for all of their schooling, or after removal from school by their parents. These examples run counter to the presumption of mainstreaming for all children, which is the backbone of policy in Scottish education, and elsewhere, and which seems unsuitable for some children, who must first experience a downward spiral towards failure in the mainstream school, prior to transfer into a more suitable educational environment.

Despite recent changes to legislation and terminology in Scottish education, the literature review indicates that there remain barriers to learning and inclusion in schools, which act as catalysts for this resistance. The change from the expression of "special educational needs" to "additional support needs" has broadened the concept of "need" from disability and learning difficulties, to include a wide range of personal, social, emotional and academic difficulties, but has done little to alter the deficit perception, which accompanied the earlier

phrase. The dilemmas associated with the application of defined 'labels' continue, as well as difficulties in terms of the recognition of 'need' by professionals, rather than of the rights of all pupils. It is the ongoing complexity of these issues, raised in the as yet unanswered questions posed by Cigman (2007, xviii), as to whom are we including in what, why and for whose benefit?

Discussion about the 'efficiency and effectiveness' of education must be balanced against the rise in the importance of parental voice and choice, in the education of their children, as well as the growing importance of the rights and 'voice' of children, in matters concerning their lives. In the changing climate of openness, there has been little evidence from young people about the quality of their experience of the education they receive in an inclusive school.

In 2004, Scotland introduced the notion of 'additional needs' to replace the earlier expression 'special needs', in an attempt to move away from the associated deficit view. The categories of additional need are now extensive, and when added to those of children, whose first language is not English, represent a considerable proportion of the school population. (See Appendix B). These young people are now in the mainstream school, where a reduction in resources, in terms of staffing, staff training and material goods has placed considerable pressure on schools. It is the outcomes and effects of these circumstances, on the experience of young people themselves, which are less known, and which this research concerns.

7.2 Findings

This section identifies nine findings, which emerged from the research through the phenomenological methodology, and discusses each one in turn, placing the finding in the context of the literature, where a new area has opened up. The nine findings emerge through the three main themes of the analysis: My being, being in the bounds of the school and being in the community of the school. In each case, I have indicated the theme, or themes most closely associated with each finding. These findings are expressed in an open manner, which allows the depth of the individual experience to emerge, rather than as closed, limiting statements, more appropriate to findings from other types of research. While all these findings are important and all concern the lived experience of inclusive education, findings one to four are of the most importance for young people, findings five to eight have greater relevance for teachers and schools, and finding nine is concerned more directly with

the lived experience of the adults in this study. I then identify further important issues, which emerged during the course of the study, which, while not findings, require consideration, as their implications for research and inclusive education indicate a change of perspective.

Findings:

i) The manner in which young people with additional needs are perceived and known in the school.
ii) The importance of the on-going support between home and school.
iii) The relationship between teachers and young people.
iv) The importance of friendship.
v) The importance of listening and silence.
vi) The difficulties with the environment of school.
vii) The recognition of the difficulties of transitions.
viii) The place of groups in inclusive education.
ix) The impact on teachers, staff and family.

7.2.1 Finding one: The manner in which young people with additional needs are perceived and known in the school.
Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

It was evident in the research that there is a disconnect between the way in which some young people see themselves, how they are seen and accepted by their family and the manner in which they are perceived at school. The young people describe themselves in terms of their interests, activities, achievements, plans and hopes for the future, in much the same way as other young people, referring to their difficulties only in terms of an integral part of themselves.

All the young people in the project are identified as having 'additional needs', under the terms of the legislation and as interpreted by the school. This would seem to be a two-edged sword. On the one hand, as is widely known and in line with policies, it confers upon them some special status in the school, whereby they may receive additional support for learning, altered timetables, alternative arrangements for portions of the day, increased access to the pastoral support system and communication with home. However, none of this is guaranteed, as learning support is not universal across all teachers and subjects, and

access to support seems patchy and unsatisfactory for some, with home-school relationships also somewhat dysfunctional, on occasion.

Furthermore, being identified as having 'additional needs' can act to limit possibilities in the school, both academically and socially. Young people can be seen only in terms of their 'need' or 'deficit', which seems to eclipse any other aspects of their personality, and to limit their potential for achieving in other areas, as far as some teachers are concerned. This seems to apply to 'unofficial' labels which young people acquire, such as being a troublemaker, as well as 'known' labels, such as 'dyslexic', 'autistic' or 'ADHD', for example. There seems to be an assumption that if a pupil is in need of help in one particular area, then he or she must be in need across the board, as it were. It was noticeable, for example, that neither of the two young people who had achieved highly in sports activities outside school, were included in school teams. One was told he had not completed the required form in the right way, and the other did not understand why she had not been included. In both cases, this also demonstrates a lack of flexibility on the behalf of staff, who are unable to adjust for individual pupils. On another occasion, it was assumed that a pupil with moderate learning difficulties would not be able to go with the rest of his age group on a hillwalking expedition, despite his mother's assurances that he was more than capable of, and enjoyed, long walks. In both cases, these young people were effectively excluded from the community of their peers, on account of the perception of their limitations.

By contrast, a young person with moderate learning difficulties gained a place on the basketball team of his year group, representing the school in a tournament. This appeared to be the only occasion on which he was treated as 'normal': just as other children in the school. It was noted by his mother, however, that the coach of the team himself had a child with special needs, and therefore had a greater understanding of individual needs, as well as the desire to extend possibilities and experiences. Such a teacher can act as a model for others, in the manner in which he was able to 'see past' and manage the difficulties associated with a lack of speech and more limited understanding, to ensure the child's place on the team, as a valuable player, while at the same time ensuring that he met all the same conditions as other team players.

Such an attitude does not always extend to academic work, however. One mother was anxious about the limited opportunities of her son's academic development, citing an 'assumption' by the school, that he would not be able to achieve any kind of qualification, effectively ending his parity with others in his year group, as well as any hope of a future which might include some independent employment, however supported that might be.

Such limitations can appear in different ways. A mother was concerned that, as teachers did not appear to understand or empathise with her son, it was increasingly difficult for him to manage the demands of the workload, in addition to those of the school day, with little or no support, with the result that his ability to become independent decreased over the course of time, despite the school being aware of his autism. There was a suggestion that these kinds of issues were a result of teachers not being fully aware of young people's needs, or not taking account of them, whether deliberately or not, or of not understanding the implications of them. The burden for dealing with the difficulties that ensued fell to the mothers, as teachers seemed unaware of any developing situation. In a sense, this difficulty was voiced by a learning assistant, and echoed by a mother, who noted that it was difficult to help a young person, if they were unable, or unwilling, to talk of their problems. The issue remains, however, that no matter how 'hidden' a child's difficulties may be, there needs to be an open ethos of empathy and trust, where teachers may be able to perceive the possibility of difficulty and respond accordingly. There were a number of instances when this did not occur, and which created problems for young people, which had an impact on their wellbeing and academic progress.

It is interesting to note, in this context, that even where pupils receive support at school, it may not always be the support they feel they need, or it may not be sufficient. Table 4 shows these differences, as perceived by the young people themselves. Much of the support, which young people feel they need, in order to be able to manage and do well in school, is the sort, which might be expected to be a statutory part of an inclusive school, both in terms of classroom support and of school systems and structures. This table does not include the observations made by the two mothers, Kate and Sarah, about the kinds of support they felt were lacking in the lives of their respective sons, Paul and Simon, about which they were so vocal, nor those made by other adults, which have been discussed elsewhere.

A further difficulty occurs for some pupils, where it appeared that some pupils are thought to be more 'deserving' of help than others, with those with behavioural difficulties, and known 'trouble-makers' being the least deserving. While the complexity of additional needs, and the intertwining of learning and behavioural difficulties are known to support staff, this negative perception continues to be the attitude of some teachers. Support staff, as teachers themselves, have some sympathy with this view, in the light of the need for academic targets to be met, but also feel that there is sufficient example and training in the current climate, for teachers to begin to move away from this destructive and excluding standpoint, providing they have the will to do so. However, the inverse proportion of extensive support to a minority of pupils, in terms of both staff time and resources, is a factor noted by staff, as an

area which itself creates enormous difficulties for all, pupils and staff alike, and contributes to the negative perception surrounding some pupils.

Being known to have 'additional needs' also creates a barrier between groups of pupils, with ASN pupils being viewed as 'other' by some pupils. This is manifest in several ways. Certain pupils, particularly those with behavioural issues, are viewed negatively by their peers and marginalised from classroom interactions and social groups. Some pupils regard additional support and alternative arrangements with suspicion, which itself creates an issue for pupils, who do not wish to 'stand out' from their peers in further ways.   Pupils with more hidden difficulties are vulnerable to teasing or bullying, or ignored as being of no consequence, while those young people who are clearly 'disabled', in a manner for all to see, appear to be more accepted without question. As with adults, it seems to come as a surprise to some pupils, that pupils with additional needs have something to contribute to them and to the wider community.

The effect of the disconnect between how young people see themselves outside school, and how they are perceived in school, seems difficult to overcome and resolve. For many young people this disconnect serves to act as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby they seem almost to become the person they are thought to be, and appear diminished by school. Where a young person resists or challenges how she is seen, and works hard to assert her own individuality, with staff and peers, some are able to carve out a place for themselves, while others enter a downward spiral of difficulty.

Table 4. Differences in the perceptions of support received and needed.

	Support received, as perceived by each young person	Support needed, as perceived by each young person
Nicky	None.	Help with work, particularly language and writing. Understanding and sympathy with illness, stress and managing aspects of the school day. Honesty and consistency from staff over work and disciplinary issues, with herself and when contacting parent. Fairness in giving support to all pupils, and in the way pupils are treated, believed and listened to.
Leah	Staff asked what was needed from the start, and listened. Extra classes/pull-out sessions to catch-up; support with language, literacy and numeracy; use of scribe, tablet computer; extra time for homework and completing classwork; special arrangements to compete and hand-in homework; additional arrangements for tests; consistency across teachers and fewer teacher changes. Help with time management. Access to support staff, and parental liaison. Staff address difficulties with bullying. Staff promote her achievements outside school. Support with career development.	More support with outings; signs and directions around school, time management, changes of routine. Illegible school notices, when written in blue ink.
Liam	Support with work, helps him to concentrate and not get into so many fights. Teachers like him. Home-school liaison.	Nothing mentioned.
Stephen	Home-school liaison. Several support staff to go to at any time, who have knowledge of ADHD. Nurture group membership helps with concentration, self-control, managing situations in school, with teachers and pupils. Additional trips as part of the group.	All teachers should know about how ADHD affects him. Teachers could listen more and act more fairly with all pupils, rather than just some. Language should be straightforward and clear and no teasing, or causing him to react badly. Teachers to give warning if behaviour is wrong and be fair and consistent about punishments.
Ben	Home-school liaison. Access to a named member of staff for help. Some teachers allow him to use tablet computer in class and extra time for him to catch up in class, without making him feel uncomfortable. One teacher gives general advice about school issues.	Teachers should know about his difficulties and the effects on his learning. No consistency of support in all classes. Teachers to allow him to use tablet in class without questioning the need. Teachers to arrange seating to enable concentration. Teachers to give warning of imminent end of the lesson. Help with arrangements and changes of plan needed ahead of time. Help with daily time management. Help with managing crowds in corridors and canteen
Simon	Alternative provision of space for break and lunchtimes, with use of headphones. Guidance teacher to go to for queries about arrangements. Home-school liaison.	Teachers are not consistent in the way they teach, and do not take account of his memory issues and inability to work fast. Teachers need to explain things logically and understand why he gets confused. Language needs to be clear and straightforward. Teachers to explain clearly changes of plan, involving time, place and staff. Teachers to make better seating arrangements in class. Teachers to give warning of end of lesson and time to pack up. Teachers to understand about hypersensitivity issues and confusion with rules and routines. Special arrangements for lunch and break are not good. School clocks all to be at the same time. Money system in canteen to be more straightforward. Explanation needed for timetable change and subject choices for next year. Documents given out to be explained verbally. Toilets to be cleaner and have soap and towels.
Paul	Did not speak of support or help, but interacted constantly with the LS Assistant.	Support not referred to.

Discussion

The dilemmas of labelling have been widely recognised (Ravet, 2011; Norwich, 2007; Cigman, 2007), together with the use of the terminology to describe aspects of people's lives, which diminish the unique individual to a member of a group, identified in terms of defect or difference. Such identification assumes a set of behaviours and fixed abilities, which ignores all other aspects of their lives and other groups to which they belong (Lewis and Kellett, 2004). In terms of education, these labels and assumptions have the effect of limiting the vision of what might be possible in an individual's life, of closing down opportunity, limiting learning and leading to marginalisation and social exclusion, acting against social justice. Such assumptions can occur at classroom or school level. The level of competence of individuals in making decisions about their own lives is called into question, which may result in their wishes being overlooked in choices in school, as well as in other areas of their lives. This may be particularly the case in an era of performativity, where success is measured in outcome statistics, rather than in human endeavour.

There is some evidence on what young people with ASN think of their education and of how they are perceived in mainstream schools, but little on the extent to which these perceptions match the young people's own self-concept and identity. Rose and Shevlin (2004) reporting on their own Encouraging Voices study (Shevlin and Rose, 2003) show how young people see themselves as negatively perceived by many of their peers in mainstream schools, and this is replicated across other studies, and with different groups of young people (Humphrey and Symes, 2013; McCoy and Banks, 2012; Cefai and Cooper, 2010; Mowat, 2010b). A greater number of studies are with the primary age group, than with the older, secondary school-aged pupils.

Many studies report findings concerning the attitudes of parents of children with and/or without ASN, towards inclusion (Sosu and Rydzewska, 2017; Bradshaw et al., 2012; Lewis et al., 2006) and across a number of different jurisdictions, comparing attitudes of parents of children with and without ASN (Vlachou, Karadimou and Koutsogeorgou, 2016; Gasteiger-Klicpera et al., 2013; de Boer, Pijl and Minnaert, 2010). Lewis, Davison et al., (2007a) did a follow-up study, to find the views of young people with ASN, on aspects of their life in mainstream or special school (i.a.), which found that while a minority felt empowered by accepting "a disabled identity", many felt that the description of 'disabled' did not apply to them, often in comparison to others they knew. While some disliked the label of 'disabled', it was realised that it did also confer certain advantages (ibid., p.192). These findings generally correspond with those in this project, but do not go so far as to identify how young

people with additional needs feel they are perceived by their (non-ASN) peers. However, the authors note that it is likely that this perception (where positive) would have "clear links" with young people's self-image, and the "fostering of inclusiveness in schools and communities" (ibid., p.192). These "clear links" are evident in the current research, in a more negative context, where some young people feel marginalised in the community of their peers, both within the classroom and beyond it. Interestingly, the shift from the use of the term "disabled" to "special needs" was current in 2007, and the authors of that report found that while the majority of parents and carers used the terms interchangeably, a sizeable majority described their children as having special needs, but not to be disabled (ibid., p 192), which is similar to the ways in which "disabled" and "additional needs" are used by participants in the present study.

It would seem that, in the main, studies concern themselves with how children with a range of additional needs feel they are perceived in the context of school, and not in their totality of their lives. This suggests that young people have several identities, or self-concepts (Schmidt and Čagran, 2008), but this was not the case in this research. While the young people have a strong sense of self, it seems that the manner in which they are seen at school is one-dimensional, in terms of additional need. Contrary to other research (Humphrey and Lewis, 2008a; Graham, 2006), these young people do not seem to want to be 'normalised', that is, changed into someone who is similar to everyone else, so much as accepted for the unique person each is.

Research studies have shown that teacher attitudes, understanding and ability can transform the limitations imposed by these assumptions (Florian and Linklater, 2010; Hart et al., 2004) and it is in teachers' "thinking differently" that these limitations can be reversed, where teachers develop an "inclusive pedagogy", or manner of being (Linklater, 2013; Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011; Jordan, Schwartz and McGhie-Richmond, 2009). Despite the incorporation and development of this in initial and continuing teacher education, there still seem to be significant areas, where assumptions have not shifted and teaching and learning opportunities remain limited.

7.2.2 Finding two: The importance of the on-going support between home and school. Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

The extent of communication and support between the home and the school is a major factor in the on-going inclusion of pupils with additional needs in the school. These young people are dependent on their family, and one parent or carer particularly, for close one-to-one support. The extent of this support is crucial to a child's wellbeing and ability to navigate all areas of life, and while for some, it may be reduced in terms of visibility in the secondary school, it must continue. Its significance must be recognised by the school, rather than being seen as a weakness, an intrusion from parents, or as a barrier to independence. Thus, the difficulties which arise from hypersensitivity, social communication difficulties, unresolved physical or mental illness, a lack of speech, or limited cognitive function, for example, must be taken account of, by all teachers, and not diminished in importance in terms of pupil welfare, by teasing, ignoring, or marking out as 'different'. For those who have been ill, or severely affected by issues when younger, this support is even more important, but all the young people acknowledge their need for support and understanding from home, and the manner in which the close communication between one particular member of staff and home helps them to understand what is expected of them and better manage the school day. It is important that support remains dynamic and proactive, as pupils' needs change over the course of their school careers.

Where staff are able to create a good relationship with home, this can work to the advantage of both the school and the child. While it can be acknowledged that parents know their child's needs the best, this does not always translate into a strategy, or course of action by the school. Parents who are assertive can find a way through this, by insisting on meetings, taking the initiative on some issues, suggesting solutions, in creating opportunities for their own child, or calling on the intervention of older siblings, who can provide a valuable and knowledgeable bridge between the school and a vulnerable child. However, for those who are more reticent by nature, less familiar with the school system, unable, or unwilling to intervene with the school's procedures, this distance can create difficulties for the child and frustrations for parents. It is particularly difficult for parents who could foresee the likelihood of specific problems, before they emerge, but who are unable to prepare for them, on account of a lack of knowledge about events in the school, such as a pupil meeting with a professional from outwith the school. There is little understanding, by some staff, of the negative impact of some of the everyday aspects of daily life in school, as well as changes of routine, which parents feel could be satisfactorily pre-empted, with consultation and planning, in which they are included.

The avenues open to parents to contact individual staff and vice versa are limited, as home-school communication is undertaken by a small number of support, guidance and management staff. While there are advantages in this, in terms of the limitation of teacher time in contacting parents over relatively minor individual issues, there are disadvantages in the complexity of the lines of communication, along which valuable information can be lost. Thus, while a parent may make a request for additional time, or raise a concern about her child's difficulties in one subject or activity, this information may never reach the appropriate member of staff, leading to unresolved issues and further complications for the child. Also, similar difficulties are replicated across different children, as solutions found for one child, are not necessarily extended to others, or incorporated into policy. Thus, for example, general forms continue to be sent home for all children, without alteration or awareness of the issues they may bring for some children, and unannounced changes of routine, problems within classrooms and difficulties with learning continue to occur on a daily basis.

Traditional outlets for home-school communication, such as Parents' Associations, seem little used by families with children with additional needs, as a means of communicating their concerns with the school. This perhaps reflects the individual nature of issues, but also that the support offered by the personal relationship with one member of staff, is valued highly by parents, as the most effective means of communicating with the school, in terms of solving immediate issues.

Meetings between parents and individual teachers at Parents' Evenings are not always satisfactory, as teachers may tend to focus on a particular aspect of a young person's demeanour, associated with their known 'additional need'; in other words, their 'difference', rather than their academic progress, or more normal topic for such a meeting.   This was particularly noted by the parent of a young person with autism, who heard little about her son's academic progress, at a crucial stage in his school career, and rather more about the extent of his social communication in the class.

Discussion

The benefits of parental engagement in their children's education is widely recognised (UNESCO, 2017; World Bank, 2015; Borgonovi and Montt, 2012) and reflected in much current legislation in the UK and in the USA (*ESSA*, 2015; *NCLB*, 2002). The relationship between parental interest, involvement and achievement is well documented, and numerous studies identify the types, extent and complexity of the factors and variables in this

engagement, as well as benefits in other areas, such as school attendance, pupil attitudes and behaviour, mental health, and parent-teacher relationships (Wilder, 2014; Hornby and Lafaele, 2011; Desforges with Abouchaar, 2003). There are, however, a number of barriers to parental involvement, and a gap between the rhetoric and practice, in many cases (Hornby and Lafaele, 2011; Harris and Goodall, 2008). The majority of studies report the views of parents and teachers of typically-developing mainstream school students, often through surveys and questionnaires.

The broader issues of the influence of the family on children's lives, including their education, is now the focus for much research interest and a significant presence at international conferences (ECER, 2017; BERA, 2017). A report (Crozier, 2012) identifies that there has been a shift in recent years in the interpretation of parental involvement to one of a "relationship" between the parent and school. Much research continues to research the nature and form of this shift, generally from teacher and parent perspectives, to unravel the complexities of its development as "a deeper relationship to the family and its ability to generate economic, social and cultural resources in order to develop successful school relationships" (ibid., p.5).

Where children have additional needs, however, parental involvement is perceived by parents in a different way, partly dependent on the nature of the ASN, and can lead to greater areas of disagreement between parents and teachers (Hornby and Lafaele, 2011). Thus, parental and teacher views may diverge, for example, about a child's academic ability, whether on account of learning difficulties (Seligman, cited in Hornby and Lafaele, 2011, p.43) or perception of giftedness in one field or another (Montgomery, cited in Hornby and Lafaele, 2011, p.43). Where there are behavioural issues, parental involvement is seen to drop off markedly, in relation to the severity of the likely outcome (Parsons, cited in Hornby and Lafaele, 2011, p.44). Where parents attend meetings with teachers, their respective ideas about the topics for discussion do not always match, and teachers and parents may hold assumptions and perceptions about each other, which can influence their approaches to these meetings, having a negative or positive effect (Desforges with Abouchaar, 2003). In Scotland, the parents and carers of children with additional needs are seen as a distinct group, which may require particular support from schools, but with little further guidance, as to how this support might appear, or be accessed by parents.

While there is relatively little research on pupils' views of parental involvement in mainstream schools, (Desforges with Abouchaar, 2003), despite an extensive literature on the importance of student voice in education (Cook-Sather, 2006), the results of existing studies

indicate a complex range of factors, which influence pupil perception, including age, social class, family situation and level of parental education i.a., as well as pupil perception of their own status in the home and the school (Desforges with Abouchaar, 2003). As expected, normally developing young people were found to prefer a reduction in the presence of the parent in the school, during the secondary years, although home engagement continues to be seen as important for communication purposes between home and school and influential in pursuing academic aspirations. The nature and extent of parental involvement changes as children become older, with the gradual withdrawal of the parent's presence from the school, to supporting largely from the home, supplemented by attendance at Parents' Evenings and school events, during the secondary school years.

This research found that young people of secondary school age, continue to rely on the support of their family, particularly one main parent, in order to negotiate their school life, and that the close, two-way communication between home and school is a main factor in their ability to cope at school. Members of the school staff also consider this individual relationship with the home to be an important factor in the enactment of inclusion, for some vulnerable young people. Far from gradually withdrawing in presence from the school during the secondary years, parents of children with ASN continue to seek and expect a significant involvement in their education. The nature of this relationship with the school is a particularly important factor in their satisfaction. In a review of a number of studies of parental attitudes, which included parents of children with ASN (de Boer, Pijl and Minnaert, 2010) many variables were analysed, but these did not include the specific role of communication with the school. However, in a large-scale, GB-wide research project (Northern Ireland was not part of the project), consisting of responses from more than 1700 questionnaires, the views of parents as well as children were sought (Lewis et al., 2006; 2007). Parents identified the nature and extent of the support their children received, as an area of major importance, with many being unclear as to the nature of that support (Lewis, Davison, et al., 2007b, p.191). The increase of the flow of information between home and school is identified as a recommendation in the report, together with the need to establish procedure for this exchange and the wider dissemination of information about successful procedures (Lewis et al., ibid., p.192). The authors also report that many parents feel the need to "become strong" for their children, in order for their needs to be met in the educational system (ibid., p.193). Interestingly, the report stressed the importance of noting individual differences, not just between children, but also between parents and families, in their need to have support and the extent to which they felt able to access help, information and resources. For some parents, this could be in a named "mentor". Earlier research studies (cited in Sherwood and Nind, 2014) indicate that parents have different conceptions of their role in support and that

the needs of parents are themselves complex. It is clear from this research, that the approaches and needs of the two mothers were very different, in their dealings with the school, in line with this finding.

It was a recommendation of the report written by Lewis, Davison et al., (2007) that while both children and families can often feel isolated, it should be part of the school's approach to inclusion, to enable the child's participation in activities and groups, in the school and in the wider community beyond school (ibid., p.194), to decrease this individual and family isolation and to build a support network. Thus, two young people might be encouraged to play chess together, or share an interest with a very small group of their peers during leisure times at school and find similar opportunities for socialising together outside school hours, suggested by the school. There was no evidence of any such activity or support in the current research, nor of any suggestion by teachers at the school that this was an area, in which they might enhance the lives of some of the young people and their ability to gain a greater sense of belonging in the community of the school. Similarly, it was not mentioned by parents, or the young people themselves, as an aspect of the school's approach to support and inclusion, which they had considered, although both parents spoke of their children's isolation within the school. It is also interesting to note that the majority of the research in this area concerns primary school-aged children, where an extension to the role of the school, in this way, may be more straightforward to implement.

Several studies report that the parents of children with ASD, as a group, are less happy with the education their children receive and find it more difficult to access the support they need. Parsons et al., (2009) attribute this partially to the nature of the difficulties in social communication, which are a part of an ASD, and the widespread lack of knowledge and understanding, including amongst teachers (ibid., p.38). Citing a number of studies, they report that there are several areas of concern, which indicate that this group of parents face considerable and different challenges in accessing education for their children, and in the quality of that provision, than those of the parents of children with other additional needs (ibid., p.39).

However, a wide-ranging analysis of more recent research (Falkmer et al., 2015) indicates that parents of children with ASD identify support from the school as a significant factor in their satisfaction, with communication in formal and informal ways identified in fifteen studies. Such communication between home and school, is seen by parents as a two-way flow of information, on a basis of trust, in which parents are listened to, and their views are taken into account, across a number of factors. In a more recent study of schools, which have

additional resource provision for pupils with ASD (Hebron and Bond, 2017), many of the parental concerns are addressed in the structure and ethos of the schools, which may account for the more positive findings.

Many of the studies reviewed are conducted through questionnaires with Likert-type scale responses, extended on occasion by short comments, or individual case studies. In these studies, parents, and young people, when they are also consulted, respond to questions, which give valuable information on specific topics, but perhaps lack a depth of feeling and engagement. One notable exception to this methodology is the study by Sherwood and Nind (2014), with parents of pre-school children, in which the researchers move beyond listening to parents, to "engaging" with them, from which greater depths can emerge. The interview data and the researcher reflections allow the uniqueness of the individual parent experience to emerge, making visible the meaning of those experiences, in a manner, which some studies fail to do.

In terms of the experience of the communication between home and school, the findings of this research do not fit in all respects with those in the majority of studies. While there are studies of young people with specific and recognised needs, it is the young people whose additional needs are less apparent, who also depend on that relationship between teacher and parent. The young people in this study value the flow of information between school and home, in a manner, which is not reflected in other research with children of this age. The involvement of the parents, in the details of their children's lives at school, is also more extensive than that in other research, extending beyond academic and administrative concerns, to social and personal aspects of their children's lives in school. In addition, it is the depth of feeling and the unique personal experience of each parent's relationship with the school, which emerges from the data, in which the complexity and changing nature of that experience is exposed, which does not altogether fit with the findings of other studies, which give a less nuanced account.

7.2.3 Finding three: The relationship between teachers and young people.
Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

The nature of the relationship between teachers and young people is significant to all the young people, to the manner of their being and to how they see themselves in school. It is not only the 'collective' relationship, to the body of the teaching staff, but also the individual relationship to a single teacher, or to one or two significant teachers, which are key to this.

Young people refer to "teachers", in more general terms, when describing the general teaching body, but identify particular individuals, who affect them greatly, for the good, or not so good. There is a consensus amongst the young participants that teachers should have certain qualities and character traits, which make them "teachers", and without these teachers are not "being teachers". These are care and empathy, above all, which fosters an understanding and genuine interest in the life and wellbeing of the young person, as well as being willing to reach out, to encourage, to support, to listen and to trust, in a way in which the possibility can exist for dreams to become reality. The subject knowledge of teachers, or the perception of their academic ability, is not identified as an important trait.

The manner of this care is different, and young people are able to recognise and respond to the different manner of being of individual teachers, but also have the intuitive ability to 'know' when a teacher has a genuine care for them. This genuine care might take the form of a quiet word of encouragement, a look of praise, or encouragement, the small sentence which gives a moment of extra time, or reflection, the acceptance of difficulties as a normal aspect of life, or the offer of a lifeline of help. Elsewhere, it may be the teacher, who listens empathically for long periods of time, or who intervenes when there are difficulties and creates the opportunities for solutions to be found and for a young person to move forward. It may be the teacher who pre-empts potential difficulties, both social and academic, smoothing the way forward, in a manner which is fair, respectful and unobtrusive. Such a teacher may also punish, where punishment is due, but does so in a manner, which is both fair and mindful of the individual circumstances. For a young person, it may be enough to know that such a person is there, in order to make a difference.

A young person who has received a great deal of support until their entry to the secondary school, and who has taken longer to reach traditional developmental stages, finds that support significantly reduced, at the same time as their daily life becomes a great deal more complicated and demanding. The change in status of teacher, from the close relationship with a small number of teachers in the primary school, to the much larger number and less known in the secondary school, means that it is difficult to know how to find the support of an individual relationship. For young people, who have not had the consistent support of adults in the early years, this aspect of school is particularly demanding and confusing.

Young people with additional needs may be very vulnerable, in terms of their emotional development, and in need of considerably more support than is understood by some teachers in the secondary school. While it may be more straightforward to give the extra resources to overcome tangible barriers to learning, such as extra time, a tablet computer, a

more individualised timetable, or a room to spend breaks, it is the other, more hidden aspects of need, which young people find are lacking.

The school identifies the importance of the need to provide all pupils with the support they need, in the form of Year Heads, Guidance teachers, Learning and Behaviour staff, all of whom also have a classroom teaching role. There is a whole school policy for pupil care and welfare, in which all teachers play their part, as well as that of Registration teachers, who see a class group briefly, every day for ten minutes.   For many young people, this system works well, but some with additional needs find that they cannot build the necessary relationship with the one person who is 'in charge' of their wellbeing. For them, a more naturally occurring relationship seems to work better, and they are drawn to a single teacher, in whom they perceive that genuine reaching out.

Not all young people are able to cross the divide, which exists between pupils and teachers, just as some teachers do not wish, or are unable to, involve themselves with pupils in any way, other than an academic relationship. Where pupils perceive this as a lack of care, they may feel undermined, angry or worthless. While the support staff are aware of the lack of nurturing traits in some teachers, and seek to address them, they may be unaware of the fragility of the pupil-teacher relationship, the extent of breakdown, or the damage that this can do.

The nature of the relationship between teachers and pupils with additional needs is also an important factor in the inclusion of all young people in the community of the school. Teachers, as well as pupils, look to see how some young people are treated everyday, and take their position from what they perceive. Thus, where a teacher treats a young person with respect, seeking to meet their needs, in a valued, whole class manner, others will also do so. Where there is a lack of care or respect, a diminution of the young person occurs in the eyes of others in the class and school, and there is increasing isolation and marginalisation from the democratic community of the school. It is in the human relationship that the basis for inclusive education is found.

Discussion

It might be said that no teaching or learning could take place without a relationship between the teacher and the learner, and that this is intrinsic to the nature of teaching. However, this

is to limit the nature of the meaning of 'relationship', which is, at its heart, an emotional encounter between one human and another, rather than a straightforward interaction.

While much research indicates the importance of the relationship between teacher and student, it the qualities of the teacher in creating the meaningful human relationship, which is constantly indicated by young people, as part of the 'being' of a teacher. Intuitively, and from years of personal experience, students are able to know 'the good teacher', and have their own well-developed notions of 'good teaching' (Wilson and Corbett, 2007, pp.283, 287–288).

In their longitudinal study in the USA, Wilson and Corbett (2007) identify six characteristics of "good" teachers, which emerged in student accounts, but most importantly, the theme, which runs through all of these, is that of the caring teacher. This form of caring is the reason that good teachers behave in the manner they do, because they care about each student individually and personally, valuing them as unique, rather than, as Noddings identifies, care in the form of a pedagogic virtue, to ensure students make the appropriate academic gains (Noddings, 2005b, xiv). The sort of ethical relationship of care, which Noddings describes, is a reciprocal and responsive encounter, in which both the carer and the cared-for have an active part to play. This responsiveness is an attentiveness to the expressed needs of the cared for, "to connect with the other, to make both our lives ethically better" (Noddings, 2005b, xxv).

So many of the issues, which are difficult for young people in school, particularly those with additional needs, seem to come back to this issue of the quality of the relationship with teachers, or with an individual teacher. The teacher who cares is the one who listens, asks, explains, understands, empathises, values and knows the unique individual before her. The teacher who does not exhibit this persona is seen to be the one who rushes to judgment, is impatient with learning, does not listen, mocks, ignores or silences, or who fails to get to know and take account of the individual. For young people, the genuine human interaction of reciprocal care is essential to their development and existence in school, whether, as Noddings puts it, it is in the form of "formal respect, informal interaction, expert advice, just a flicker of recognition, or sustained affection" (Noddings, 2005b, p.173).

Many young people with additional needs require that close bond with a teacher, in order to be able to manage everyday activities, but also to be able to flourish (Mowat, 2010a, 2010b). With communication or emotional difficulties, they may be less able to 'read' normal human signals, less able to understand or express their own needs, and seek the recognition from the other, to know that they are valued.

Whether teachers consider the purpose of school education to be one of gaining qualifications to move to an appropriate destination after school, or to the development of the human person, the reciprocal teacher-student relationship is of the utmost importance. Where this is known and recognised in schools, staff work to show other teachers how to change their manner of being with students, to develop that relationship. At the same time, they work with students in a personal way, to show that they are cared for as individuals, in order that they too may learn to care. It is this relationship, which is at the ethical heart of teaching.

In Scotland, the importance of the teacher-pupil relationship is emphasised in a number of reports and initiatives and remains a key aspect of much educational policy. The most recent edition of Behaviour in Scottish School (Black et al., 2017), after research with head teachers, teachers, support staff and pupils in primary and secondary schools, indicates that behaviour improves where pupils are engaged with the lesson and that the engagement occurs when the teacher-pupil relationship is good, and when a number of different teaching approaches are used. A good relationship develops when the teacher takes an interest in, and gets to know, pupils, as individuals, and has a "demeanour" of, "happiness/smiling, being enthusiastic, using humour, being calm and not shouting" (Black et al., 2017, 1.17-1.20, 1.38, 7.1-7.15). The good teacher-pupil relationship was identified by teachers and pupils as the most important factor in engagement in learning, as it affected the ethos of the classroom and the ability of pupils to manage the work, as the teacher was able to give appropriate support, choice and differentiation on the basis of a firm understanding of a pupil's needs and personality (ibid., 7.15 -7.18).

While many young people with additional needs have difficulty in making relationships with adults, as well as with their peers, it is also the case that teachers do not find it straightforward to communicate meaningfully with some pupils, and particularly those who experience difficulties with communication and social and emotional understanding, such as those arising from ASD. Emam and Farrell (2009), citing a range of other research, discuss in detail the teacher frustration arising from this and their own difficulties in interpreting the behaviour of young people in mainstream schools with ASD, but also of interest is that, in this absence of the two-way teacher-pupil relationship, it becomes evident that it is no longer possible to teach or to learn. However, the research also reported that support assistants are able to build relationships with children with ASD, and can act as mediators between teachers and pupils (ibid., p. 416), which defuses some of the tensions which arise. It was noted that this is a transfer of responsibility from teacher to support assistant, in a reversal of the normal roles of each, which was counter to other research cited in the paper (ibid.,

p. 416). However, in the current project, this also appeared to be the case, when Learning Assistants reported that some teachers made little effort to understand some less able pupils, or to include a pupil with learning difficulties in the community of the class, effectively leaving the child and the learning assistant isolated, thus creating barriers to inclusion.

It may be a feature of inclusive education, that some teachers are not able to make meaningful relationships with some pupils with ASN, either on account of their own shortcomings, or a lack of the will, or time, to do so. This may be particularly the case in the secondary school, where a teacher may only see a pupil for one or two periods in the week, and rarely outside the classroom, thus never finding the opportunity to spend the necessary time to get to know her, for trust and understanding to develop. By the same token, too, young people may never be able to build a relationship with teachers, with whom they rarely interact, and cannot get to know, within a large class.

It is known that some young people find it easier to build relationships with a limited number of teachers, in a small group situation, whom they see often and can get to know in a safe environment, away from the multiple interactions present in a normal secondary classroom. As previously cited, these may take the form of Nurture groups or similar groups, in secondary schools, using an adapted type of approach. While these approaches are often used with young people with SEBD, a small group approach can be used for a variety of support purposes, including academic (Florian, Rouse and Black-Hawkins, 2016).

The benefits of these informal approaches are widely recognised for some pupils, such as those with emotional or behavioural difficulties (Reid, 2002, p.154) and pupils with ASD in secondary school commented themselves on the benefits of having a mentor (Tobias, 2009). There are, however, many different approaches to mentoring schemes and types of mentor, both formal and more informal, as evidenced in research, policy and practice, with varying outcomes (Fletcher and Mullen, 2012; Miller, 2004; Reid, 2002). It is interesting to note, in this context, the potential of support staff/learning assistants developing their role to become mentors for some individual young people, within an environment, which is nurturing and with a caring attitude (Burton and Goodman, 2011). However, as that study concludes, such a change must involve a recognition of the value of the work support staff, in terms of enhancing inclusion and the educational experience of many young people. On a wider level, initiatives such as the MCR Project[50] have been formed to give some vulnerable young people in the Glasgow area, the individual support a mentor can bring (Fassetta, Siebelt and Mitchell, 2014).

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[50] The MCR Project is a school-based mentoring programme (see Appendix C).

7.2.4 Finding four: The importance of friendship.

Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

While the importance of friends is widely known to be a factor in the wellbeing of young people at school, for young people with additional needs, friends take on a greater significance. While some vulnerable young people feel marginalised from the community of their peers, and often alone in school, the existence of a friend or group of friends becomes very important to the way in which they see themselves and gain strength to manage the day.

While almost all young people will be able to find a kindred spirit amongst their peers, this is not universally so, and some are very isolated at school. They do not have someone to laugh, or complain with, to accompany between classes, during breaks, to pair up in activities, or sit with on the bus, during outings. During lessons, they feel ignored, or at best, tolerated, by peers in group, or pair work, but not included in any genuine sense. There is no easy camaraderie, nor sharing of experiences, to lighten the day. Such a lack of friends conveys a message that this is a being, who is not worth befriending, who cannot reciprocate friendship and is 'not like us'. While friends find strength and recognition in the group, this is not extended to others, who do not fit the strict, but unspoken, criteria of the group. Thus, the young person, who rides horses, cannot be a member of the group of 'girls who ride', for reasons that she cannot understand.

A particularly difficult aspect of this isolation, is where a young person longs to fit in and have a friend, but knows that he cannot find the 'right' way to do this. This causes personal pain and hardship, and increases the isolation, as the more he attempts to approach others, the more he is pushed away, and the more he understands that he is not 'like others' and 'not acceptable'. So, for example, having gathered the strength to approach someone in a dance activity, he is pushed away with an expression of disgust evident on the other's face, deeply hurt at this rejection and confirmation of his 'otherness', all of which is unnoticed by teacher and peer alike. The act of bestowing friendship on another, is part of our humanity, as we reach out to others, to share our world with them, and to enter into their world, where both are equals, allowing each of us to grow and develop more fully as human beings. To choose not to have friends, to isolate oneself from the humanity of the group, is quite different to having that choice forced upon you, by the recognition in the eyes of others, that you must be forever outside the group, and so lesser.

While the school creates a safe space for some young people, this forced proximity does not create friendships, as their individual needs are all different and they do not form a homogeneous group, and despite all being identified as 'vulnerable', they have little else in common.

As part of the induction process, at the start of the academic year, senior pupils 'buddy' the youngest pupils for a few days, showing the way around the school, and being on hand to smooth over queries. However, on account of the age difference (five years), this does not lead to friendship. Other than this, the school does not seek to intervene in the formation of friendship groups, allowing these to occur naturally, but recognising that groups tend to be made up of young people with similarities to each other, whether those be social, athletic, academic or marginalised, and that there is little real communication between the groups. Those who are isolated from any group, must find their way, as best they can.

The manner in which some staff interact with pupils, is in the spirit of friendship, but, as this relationship is far from an equal one, it can never be construed as the friendship of equals.

Discussion

The importance of friendship for human social and cognitive development, health and wellbeing is widely known and discussed in a large body of literature, across a number of different disciplines (Bagwell and Schmidt, 2014). It plays a major role in the lives and development of young people, from a young age, though adolescence and into adult life, and although the nature of friendship changes over these years, the essence of friendship remains. Its importance to young people's lives and development is increasingly recognised at every level, both in terms of its importance for each of us, as well as a powerful force for good in the world (UNICEF, International Day of Friendship).

Friendship is conceptualised in a number of ways, in different disciplines, and while there is wide variation in the nature of the relationships, there is an essential feature to all friendships, which bind the members together: reciprocity (Bagwell and Schmidt, 2014). The three elements to Artistotlean friendship are choice, reciprocity and goodwill (Male, 2007). Friendships outwith the immediate family are described in the literature as different to the relationships held with siblings, although friendship between siblings is common (Sherman, Lansford and Volling, 2006). Friendship is important to the social development of all young

people, and those with additional needs, learning difficulties, or disabilities are no different in this respect, even though the expression of friendship may take different forms (Male, 2014, 2007).

Given the well-known positive effects of friendship in childhood, the absence of friends must be taken to be a serious issue for young people. Bagwell and Schmidt (2014) report that adolescent friendships are important in helping young people to negotiate the complex social world, providing a strong support group, both in and out of school. It is now widely known that many young people with additional needs have less social communication and poorer self-concept than their typically-developing peers and as such, have more difficulty in making friends in the mainstream school, feel more isolated and are more often bullied, as identified by Warnock, in her critique of inclusion in schools (Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Warnock and Cigman, 2005).

Increased socialisation is often cited as a major feature of inclusion, particularly voiced by parents of children with additional needs (Koster et al., 2009), but evidence suggests that discrete friendship groups still remain in schools, particularly in the context of the secondary school (Bossaert et al., 2013). Some young people may even experience more isolation in inclusive settings (Locke et al., 2010), where they may find less in common with their typically-developing peers, and difficulty in finding meaningful friendships, based on equality and reciprocity, or what Male calls "naturally occurring interactions" (2014, p758). However, a problem with research into the nature of friendship at schools is a lack of conceptual clarity between social interaction, social participation and social integration (Bossaert et al., 2013; Koster et al, 2009).

Most young people, however, do manage to have some friends in school, with the particular exception of some young people with ASD, and some with learning difficulties, particularly where they are in a tiny minority in the school, or class. However, Humphrey and Symes (2010) found that adolescents with ASD spoke readily of the support of their friends in school, and how their presence enhanced wellbeing. In terms of young people with developmental delay, some young people in their teens will be functioning at a less mature level than others of their age, and as this gap widens through the years of secondary school, making friendships with typically-developing young people becomes more difficult. Those with social and communication difficulties often have difficulty with the conventional norms associated with the language and manner of other young people of their age, and may be shunned or ignored, or, at worst, bullied.

There is a widespread and stereotypical image about autism (Singer, cited in Humphrey, 2008), despite the huge complexity and variation of its presentation (Boucher, 2017), including the misconception that young people with ASD have no emotions and do not wish to have friends, but where this is not the case, they can feel even more isolated in the community, in school and in their leisure time. Where they are separated from their peers at school, either in a separate learning provision, or for free time, opportunities for creating friendships are reduced, unless schools take action to include them in activities and promote inclusion, by a range of strategies. All young people can benefit from meaningful friendships. Saggers (2015) noted that it is important for schools to create strategies, which build peer support and relationships in school, such as teacher-led games and activities and the teaching of social and listening skills, for example. Saggers also found in her study with young people with ASD in Australia (ibid., 2015) that they had a number of friends from different sections of the school, and enjoyed spending leisure time with them, generally in an outside activity. Others talked of friends, with whom they spent time without talking, showing individual preferences. A small study (Marks et al., 2000) found that there are individual differences between young people with ASD, just as in all other people, in their wishes to have friends, or in preferring their own company, meaning that it is important that young people are consulted about this, as in all aspects of their lives at school, and not treated as a homogenous group, with assumed needs to be met.

In this research, almost all the young people had 'friends', in a broad conception of reciprocal friendship: people who like you, respect you, support you or help you, or with whom you choose to spend free time during the day. One boy, with limited speech, had no particular friend, but spent lunchtime in a room with one other person, who may have represented companionship, although his mother talked of his growing distance from the boys he used to play with in Primary school. One young person identified no one person, in or out of the school, as a friend, but talked of his older sibling as a friend. His mother reported that he would like a friend, which supports the findings of other research, where this is a particular concern of the parents of children with ASD or Language Impairment (Lindsay et al., 2016). Both of these young people could have benefited from the provision of more activities in school, to share with others, which might have supported the development of companionship and naturally-occurring friendship over time, to help overcome their loneliness, to promote their social inclusion and enhance wellbeing.

7.2.5 Finding five: The importance of listening and silence.

Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

While the school recognises 'pupil voice' as an area for development, it is the act of listening, which comes across more strongly in this research. Listening requires an attitude of mind, which attends to the speaker in a genuine manner, and which respects the right to hold and express opinions, as a valued member of the community.

The importance of being listened to, in this manner, comes through the words of the young people, as well as the adults. Pupils feel strongly about teachers who 'do not listen', as this attitude appears to diminish the speaker's status in the eyes of the listener, to one whose words are not worth listening to, and whose presence is not worthy of consideration. It becomes, in effect a 'silencing', which reinforces the unequal power relation between teacher and pupil. Such a 'not listening' is used by some teachers to convey disapproval, humiliation, or punishment, by ignoring a pupil's presence in the room, calls for explanation, pleas for help, or contribution to the class. This in turn engenders feelings of disempowerment, anger, resistance or despair, according to the different individual; none of which create an atmosphere of inclusion, or an ethos of equality in the classroom, where learning can take place.

Some young people, who resist this by questioning the teacher's motives, find themselves expelled from the classroom and the community of their peers, to be punished by other, more senior staff, who may not listen 'to their side of the story', which causes pupils to feel a greater sense of injustice and disempowerment. Where this happens frequently, the pupil gains a 'reputation', which quickly spreads amongst teachers, some of whom appear to accept this without question. If teachers seem to listen and care, but then in some way go back on their word, this causes great feelings of deception and betrayal.

While all pupils in schools feel a sense of injustice at how they are not heard on occasion, it is felt more keenly by vulnerable pupils, who may have a different perception and understanding of others' motives and intentions. A young person with social communication difficulties, or emotional issues, may see the causes for someone's actions as lying in herself. Where young people look to their teachers for support, encouragement, help and understanding, but do not receive it, the feelings of personal rejection are strong. This 'looking to' is a reaching out, a turning to the face of the Other, in a Levinasian sense, and to deny such a call, in the manner of not listening, or attending to, is a rejection of that call, and of the humanity of the Other.

Support staff themselves speak of the importance of listening to teachers, attending to the difficulties and issues they voice, with the range of pupil needs in the classroom, and of finding the time to listen to parents, as well as to pupils, most particularly those who are vulnerable, with emotional issues and mental health problems. The senior staff themselves, also feel that their own voices are not heeded by the more distant entities beyond the school, such as the council, or even the government, at which they feel in part anger and in part despair, as they are disempowered and diminished as individuals and as a profession. While 'listening to' may imply that it is voices to which to attend, it is also the absence of voices, which must be heard. There are many in school whose voices are not heard, and children with additional needs are amongst those, either because they are unable to speak, or articulate their thoughts, they do not feel they have the time and space to do so, or they choose not to, for a number of different reasons.   Teachers must attend to the silence of these voices, overcoming the temptation to assume that such young people have nothing interesting to say, or that their voices should not be listened to, or that it is too 'difficult' to engage with them. While some staff clearly understood that it takes a great deal of time, patience and care to build the trust, which is necessary in order to create the safe space in which a young person, who has been frequently let down or rejected, can speak, it takes no time at all to break that trust, by a quick dismissal or rebuttal.

Young people who have autism are widely assumed not to be able to articulate emotion, nor be willing to talk about how they feel, but this has been shown not to be the case in this research. The words of a young boy, spoken from the heart, are all the more powerful for not being much heard. A girl cannot bring the words she wishes to speak into her voice, so great is the emotion she feels, as a teacher humiliates her in front of her father; while another, often tongue-tied by the effects of severe dyslexia, shows her joy by sounds of exclamation. Others speak with their fists, when all else seems to fail, or suffer quietly in silence, unable to find the words to ask for a change of seat, or an explanation about the work. Words that can disappear at times of emotion and stress, can be found, when there is an atmosphere of trust and respect. For a young person who has limited understanding of words, and little speech, this is particularly the case, as Paul gradually finds the words to speak to me over the course of an hour, but will seldom speak in the context of a lesson, where a teacher makes him feel ill at ease, as Other.

Discussion

While 'listening' may be an attribute intrinsic to how teachers see themselves, the prevalence of this as a concern for young people may indicate that it is not always experienced as a

positive part of being at school. In the current awareness of the importance of 'voice', and of being mindful of the rights of young people and their parents to have their views heard, it is perhaps unexpected that this lack of listening is a much-repeated refrain.

This listening, however, moves beyond the notion of 'having a voice', as in having the opportunity, as an individual, or more likely as a homogenous group, to air one's views, and to have them taken into consideration. In this context, it is the act of being attentive and responsive to the words and being of a young person, to create the space and ethos to enable trust to develop, in which young people feel that they may express themselves, knowing that they will be taken account of, in a manner which is respectful, and that there will be a consideration of their views, as those of someone, who is competent enough to express them and who has a contribution to make to the community.

The nature of listening and its role in the formation of human relationships and dialogue have become the subject of philosophical research, in recent years. Building on a range of philosophical traditions (Haroutunian-Gordon and Laverty, 2011), a number of different modes, or forms, of listening have been discussed (English, 2011; Gordon, 2011; Rice, 2011; Waks, 2011,2008, 2007; Haroutunian-Gordon, 2007; Rud and Garrison, 2007). This philosophical discussion also concerns the nature of the relationship between the listener and the listened to, the speaker and the spoken to, and in drawing on the work of educational philosophers, such as Herbart and Dewey (English, 2013, 2011; Waks, 2011), new areas of research are developing into the role of listening, as an ethical and reciprocal encounter, in the educational relationship between teacher and learner (Haroutunian-Gordon and Laverty, 2011; Gordon, 2011). It is this listening relationship, in which each is attuned to, attentive to and relates to, the other, and is open to learning from the other, that teaching and learning can be transformative (English, 2013, 2011).

In terms of inclusion, it is evident that a teacher, who chooses to listen in such a manner, may create an ethos of trust and empathy in the classroom, where the value of all is recognised. Such a teacher might be said to have a 'disposition' to listen, which in turn may enable others, both pupils and teachers, to develop such a disposition. Such pedagogical listening can also embrace a democratic and dialogic approach to teaching, in which learners can feel able to articulate their doubts and struggle, in an open and receptive atmosphere of trust, leading to new learning (English, 2013), such as in Mathematics classrooms (Tyson, English and Hintz, 2018; English, Tyson and Hintz, 2016; Hintz and Tyson, 2015; Davis, 1997).

Pedagogical listening is reflective and transformative, of both listener and listened-to, whose roles interact in the ebb and flow of the relationship. In many ways, it has similarities to the empathy called for by van Manen, in "pedagogical tact" (van Manen, 1991) and in the care relationship, indicated by Noddings (2005b) and elements can be seen in the approach described as teacher 'noticing', as being attentive to the subtler aspects of the learner's experience and the environment (Sherin, Jacobs and Philipp, 2011).

Any discussion of the role of listening, must take consideration of the absence of sound, and of those who have no voices, or who communicate 'differently', than through the spoken word. Research into 'silence' has identified several aspects of this overlooked area, which move away from the binary and polarising presentation of silence as the absence of sound, and examine its nature and importance as a communicative tool in itself (Acheson, 2008), where, "what is not said may be as revealing as what is said" (Poland, 1998) and its importance in reflection and opening us to listening (Waks, 2007; Li, 2001). The nuances of silence in teaching and learning are explored against the background of the assumption in Western education systems, that articulation and speech are seen as positive in the classroom, and where non-verbal participation is viewed negatively (Forrest, 2013; Schultz, 2012, 2009a, 2009b; Ollin, 2008; Alerby and Alerby, 2003), overlooking the cultural differences of some, which have a different approach (Li, 2001; Jaworski and Sachdev, 1998). In their study of young people in secondary schools, Jaworski and Sachdev (1998) found that pupils also hold this perception, seeing themselves mostly as listening, while teachers talk.

In terms of 'voice' and listening, it is also important to examine the fullness of human communication, as extending beyond sound and silence, listening and speech, to include all expression, gesture, movement, look and manner, with which we, as embodied human people, communicate (Acheson, 2008; Alerby and Alerby, 2003) and to which we must attend. This is particularly important in terms of inclusive education, when we consider how the 'voices' of those who may not be heard or who communicate differently, can be brought forward into the arena, both in terms of teaching and learning and in research (English et al., 2018; Whitehurst, 2007). We must also give consideration to what children may choose to say, or not to say, and to their right to these decisions (Li, 2001), allowing them to speak for themselves, as individuals, whose different views we may not always wish to hear, and which may run contrary to the more dominant discourse (Cook-Sather, 2006).

7.2.6 Finding six: The difficulties with the environment of the school.

Theme two: Being in the bounds of the school.

For young people who have additional needs, the school day presents numerous difficulties, which may be unrecognised and whose impact may be overlooked by staff. These may be, for example, difficulties associated with being in a large complex environment, with numerous rules and systems, the volume of people in the space, the diversity of the teaching staff, the variety of subjects on the timetable, specific areas of learning, or personal limitations of understanding.

While the complexity of the secondary school faces every young person, and many struggle, in the first few weeks, to learn the systems and get to grips with so many new experiences, for young people with additional needs, all these issues are more complex, more difficult and take longer to understand and be able to deal with. This may apply to some aspects, or to almost all, but difficulties intensify when a number of issues or problems co-occur.

Support staff are aware of the complexity of the inter-relationship of different types of need and experience, but may underestimate how this affects the minutiae of daily life. In addition, there are 'hidden' difficulties, of which staff may be unaware. For some young people, there is not a minute of the school day, which is free from anxiety, as they anticipate problems, which are realised, and then anticipate further difficulties at the next stage of the day. Thus, for example, a pupil may not be able to finish the work of the class in the allowed time, has not been able to write down the whole of the exercise to do for homework, is rushed to pack up everything for this class, is pushed and jostled along the corridor, finds herself late for the next class, or in the wrong room, worrying about a paired activity, where she will be alone. This level of anxiety may continue throughout the entire day, culminating with the bus ride home, with the bully and a later worry concerning tomorrow's outing. Where pupils cannot tell the time, read notices written in a particular colour, are confused by handling money, feel uncomfortable using the school toilets, or are fearful of the canteen, all these difficulties are compounded. In addition, some have problems with their lives outside school, leaving them emotionally vulnerable, which has a further impact on their ability to manage in school.

While it might be impossible for the school to make everything straightforward for all pupils, nor perhaps even desirable, as the staff seek to develop young people who are strong, responsible, able to make decisions and resilient enough to manage difficulties they will encounter in the adult world, there could perhaps be more recognition and understanding of

the extent of some of the problems, which pupils face every day, and a greater consistency across staff, in the manner in which pupils are supported.

There is an understanding amongst the support staff, that inclusion means being the 'common school', where young people with a range of additional needs will be educated, and a recognition that this means some will never learn to read, while others will move on to top-ranking universities. This recognition of the range of learning potential, may not encompass an understanding of the complexity of the life a of young person who cannot brush his teeth, know when he is thirsty, or travel alone, and who, while he may never lead a fully independent life, is able to do many things and make a contribution to the community of the school, as a member, as worthy of recognition and encouragement, as much as the academic high flyer, the successful athlete, musician or drama student. However, while the most vulnerable are the most protected, there are others, with different needs, whose lives are very difficult in school, and whose difficulties remain largely unrecognised and unsupported, by many in the school.

Discussion

The extent and impact of the difficulties encountered every day in school by all the young people was surprising, in relation to how little it is mentioned in the literature. While it is known that many young people with additional needs find many aspects of the large secondary school difficult to manage, there does not seem to be a general recognition of the extent of this, nor of how young people might readily access the type of support they need, to deal with everyday problems and confusions, as they arise.

It is reported in research with young people with ASD, that they have difficulty with time management and organisation, and that attendance at secondary school can be accompanied by high levels of stress and anxiety, from a wide range of causes, in relation to almost every aspect of school (Saggers, 2015; Humphrey, 2008; Humphrey and Lewis, 2008b). Ever greater numbers of young people with ASD are educated in a mainstream setting, often without access to specialist provision, and yet there remains a level of ignorance about the effects of autism amongst teachers and other young people, which has a negative effect on young people, leading to behavioural difficulties, punishments and exclusions. Many of the issues, which create tensions arise from the very nature of the school environment, which is noisy, hectic and often appears chaotic (Humphrey, 2008, p.43), with timetables, teachers and routines subject to sudden change, as well as difficulties

with what Myles and Simpson (2001) call the "hidden curriculum" of the "unwritten rules" of social engagement and school life, which make for further difficulties, alongside problems with the literal interpretation of language or symbols, such as those associated with a disabled sign on a toilet door.

While all this is known, little seems to be done, with any consistency, to overcome these difficulties. However, many other pupils have similar problems, arising from a range of different causes, such as ADHD, specific learning difficulties, memory issues, mild to moderate learning difficulties, developmental delay, or social and emotional issues, which also make daily life difficult, in terms of managing the day, time-keeping, accessing the curriculum, and meeting all the demands of secondary school life, and remaining out of trouble. While schools use a range of strategies and initiatives to overcome barriers to inclusion, there still seem to be a number of young people who 'slip through the net' in some way. Where difficulties are largely unrecognised, or unacknowledged, by staff, they are compounded, as young people struggle to understand and manage on their own, with little real support.

An ongoing problem for many young people, both those with additional needs/disability, and those who are vulnerable in other ways, such as from gender, ethnicity, or belief, is the extent to which they are teased, ostracised, or bullied, which continues to be pervasive in schools (Scotland, 2017a; Muijs, 2017; Frederickson, 2010; Humphrey, 2008, 2008; Frederickson et al., 2007; Norwich and Kelly, 2004).   Many children must deal with the pernicious effects of being treated as 'other', alongside their own personal difficulties in school.

7.2.7 Finding seven: The recognition of the difficulties of major and minor transitions. Themes one, two and three: My being, being in the bounds of the school and being in the community of the school.

The difficulties associated with periods of transition seem to be underestimated by the school. Where children in the last year of primary school are identified as having additional needs, there is some co-ordination between the two schools, as support staff from the secondary school visit the primary and discuss with teachers and parents, what support might be required in the following year. However, the extent of this early identification is not necessarily in relation to the child's needs, with some inconsistency in what is available. Thus, while the parents of a child with moderate learning difficulties may have extensive

meetings over months, parents of a child, with other types of difficulty, may receive very little, or no, individual support, prior to transition. This may mean that while the secondary school is aware of the child's 'additional need', in terms of his name on a list, this does not translate to individual arrangements for early visits, or a meeting with parents. The more 'hidden' the difficulties, the less an individual arrangement is likely to happen.

However, the school does take account of the types of needs identified by the primary school staff, and puts plans in place to manage some children. Thus, a small number of young people entering the school in the first year, were identified early on as being individually vulnerable, and who would need specific arrangements to manage their behaviour, but others, such as a young person with autism, did not receive the benefit of an individual orientation visit to the school, prior to his arrival, or other special arrangements at transfer, despite having considerable difficulties.

The process of transition to the complexity of the secondary school environment, poses significant difficulties for many young people, over and above those experienced by the majority of children, who 'find their feet' in a shorter time. It is, as before, the more hidden aspects of additional need, which create more difficulties. Thus, managing the effects of the size of the building, the numbers of people, the size of the curriculum, different teaching styles and the increased expectations of personal responsibility are all examples of difficulties. Many young people have had a great deal of support in the primary school, and at home, and find the sudden loss of this immediate help difficult to manage, as well as the marked change from the more caring atmosphere of the primary school, to the more impersonal ethos of the secondary school.

The importance of the effect of the young person's experience in the primary school should not be underestimated. This may be particularly the case in the community school, where children attend from the same primary school, and the difficulties of relationships can continue into the secondary school. Some vulnerable pupils, far from finding themselves with a new start, away from bullies, or being seen as 'Other', find that this is inescapable, and sometimes worse, as adult supervision is not so readily visible.

While it may take longer to understand the system of the secondary school, some young people feel they can find their way, given time and an amount of support. However, everyday events, such as the class changeover between lessons, can be a form of transition, involving the anxiety of anticipation, as well as that of negotiating the change and settling to the new class, within the set time and with the appropriate equipment. More

difficult daily transitions, such as a PE or swimming lesson, with complexities of changing clothes and venue, create more anxiety.

Any minor change of routine can also become a new transition, bringing anxiety and a feeling of a loss of control. Thus, small events such as a change of classroom, seating, teacher, timing, or an outing, can be experienced as transitions. Greater changes of routine, such as the end of the school year, can pose even more hurdles for young people, who have a tenuous hold on school and difficulties with human relationships. Their vulnerability can be exposed by these changes, which leaves them open to unexpected difficulties, which may not be apparent to others. Issues of telling the time, reading, handling money, or memory, for example, may be relatively straightforward to manage in a normal routine, but may become greater when there is a change, or where others are not aware of the difficulties, such as with a sudden change of teacher, visiting professionals, work experience employers, or on outings. When social or emotional difficulties are added, difficulties compound. Where there is awareness of the constant expectation of taking personal responsibility and of managing without help, the anxiety increases exponentially.

While schools must balance the support they give to young people alongside the need for them to become independent adults, who have developed the knowledge and resilience to manage in the adult world, there can be times when the need for support is underestimated. Vulnerable young people need support for longer and in different ways to other children, and without that recognition, far from becoming more independent, they may conversely be able to manage less well, affecting their personal development and academic achievement.

Discussion

Difficulties associated with periods of transition have long been recognised in the research literature, but these are generally taken to be 'major' transitions between schools, such as from primary to secondary, a change of school, or a move from one section of a school to another, such as a junior area to a senior one. To a lesser extent, there is recognition of the transition from one class to another, at the end of a school year.

While the transition between primary and secondary school is managed by most pupils, given general preparation and support, (Black et al., 2017, p.14, 8.10-8.14), there is wide recognition of the difficulties associated with major school transitions for pupils with ASN, (Nasen, 2014). In Scotland, this recognition is marked by legislation, reports and a number

of guidelines in place, for all stakeholders (Scotland, 2004, 2009, 2013a, 2013b; GIRFEC). These cover a multi-agency approach to transitions to pre-school, to primary, to secondary school and post school, involving parents in partnership. The main aspects are planning, communication, effective identification of needs, effective systems for the transfer of information to the new agency, a sustained monitoring and support and ongoing evaluation post transition (Scottish Government, 2014).

Research on educational transitions reveals that it is a complex set of experiences, rather than a single event, in which a large number of factors are in play, involving the child, the school, the family, the community and other professionals. Jindal-Snape (2016, p.113) uses the analogy of a Rubik's cube, whereby if any one factor is changed, then the whole structure is affected, compounding the difficulties. These may be internal and external factors in the child's life and extend well beyond those of the school, such as a change of family circumstances (Jindal-Snape and Hannah, 2014, p.267), which can occur at any point in a child's life. Periods of transition for children are also significant events for parents, most particularly the main care-giver, whose role may be changed by the child's transfer to a new school, which brings its own difficulties (ibid., p.270). This might be particularly the case for parents of children with ASN, who transfer from a primary into the mainstream secondary school.

Young people with ASD are known to find change particularly challenging, and should be carefully prepared for, to take account of the increased levels of anxiety, which can occur at these times (Hannah and Topping, 2012). Having identified areas of anxiety, strategies to overcome these were recommended, which involved the child, the parents and the two schools (ibid., pp.207-8). A number of further studies (Jindal-Snape et al., 2006) had similar findings, particularly noting a wide variety of preparation for transition amongst feeder primary schools, for the same secondary school. They also reported that parents were less satisfied with the outcomes than professionals.

Jindal-Snape and Foggie (2008) cite a number of studies in their longitudinal research, located in Scotland, with eight children at different transitional points. The children were identified as likely to have difficulties with transition, but details about these factors were not reported. The findings show that issues with transfer extend well beyond the immediate change of school, and occur at a complex time in a child's life, at the onset of puberty, altered parental and teacher expectations, change in size of school and a move from a child-centred pedagogy to a subject-based pedagogy. Schools have tended to focus on the organisational aspects of the transition, with little emphasis on the socio-emotional aspects.

The research found that six months after transition, some of the children were still struggling with organisation, several parents reported ongoing bullying, which was not dealt with by teachers, problems with the size of the school, the numbers of children and teachers, a change in the ethos of the school to a more impersonal and stricter one, and a lack of teacher availability to sort problems immediately (Jindal Snape and Foggie, 2008, pp. 9-11). Parents and professionals both noted that there was a lack of communication between primary and secondary schools, which resulted in a lack of continuity of additional support in the secondary school, which had a negative effect on the children's self esteem and led to tensions between staff at the two schools. Parents also noted that where children had formed a strong bond with one member of staff at the primary school, it was more difficult to do so at the secondary school, which had a negative impact on those who had difficulties in forming stable relationships, and affected their whole attitude to school (Jindal-Snape and Foggie, 2008, p.12). The particular importance of friends was noted, with some children finding it difficult to make new friends.

Many of the above findings were also found in the current research, and were reported by participants as areas of difficulty and anxiety for them. However, other than one, who had just transferred from a different secondary school, none of the young people was at a period of major school transition, and only one was in the first year. This would seem to suggest that the anxieties many children feel when transferring to a new school, and in the first months, continue for longer, or indefinitely, for young people with ASN, which is not widely recognised by schools, or in the research literature. These anxieties concern the social and emotional aspects of school, as well as the academic and organisational.

Some organisations (Nasen, 2012; Autism Educational Trust; The National Autistic Society; Down's Syndrome Association) have detailed guidelines for families and schools on aspects of transition. It is interesting to note, that the Autism Educational Trust recognises that transitions can occur many times during the day, even in going, "from one task to another; moving from one room to another" (Stobart, n.d.).

Transfer into the secondary school does not necessarily bring the 'clean slate' that some children hope for, academically or socially, and difficulties experienced in the primary school must be taken into serious consideration by schools in the preparation and early months after transfer. Plans for preparation for the transfer are not universally satisfactory, with some young people receiving little additional support, other than that given to most pupils, and support is not always consistent with what has been previously received. In particular, there is a disregard for the social and emotional factors of transition, which are so important

for many young people with ASN, as they try to establish a place for themselves in the community of the school, and the wider community beyond the school. The difficulties associated with small daily transitions are not widely acknowledged in the secondary school environment, contributing to further anxiety for many young people.

7.2.8 Finding eight: The place of groups in inclusive education.
Themes one and three: My being and being in the community of the school.

When inclusive education or inclusion are spoken of, there is often the assumption that all, or most, pupils must be educated in the same way, in the same school and classroom, following a broadly similar curriculum. It is clear that in the manner in which Lochanview interprets the policies of inclusion and additional support for learning, that there is scope for considerable variation for individual pupils. Senior staff see inclusion in terms of allowing young people a meaningful engagement with education, for as long as possible, developing the whole person, and preparing them for a life after school, where they will be able to continue to thrive, access further training or education and move into the world of work: what the Government terms, "positive and sustainable destinations" (Scottish Government, 2016) While for the vast majority, this is the case, this fact alone tells us nothing at all about the experience of the process.

In order to be able to achieve this, senior staff recognise that not all young people can always be in school, or in class, with their peers, for their own, or others' wellbeing, educational progress, or, on occasion, safety. While the school does not generally 'extract' pupils for small group teaching, or send disruptive pupils to a 'Base', it does recognise that for some vulnerable pupils, learning should take place, for part of the school week, within a small group. Thus, for example, the school has set up a small 'nurture group' for some First Year boys, established a group of older pupils, who work for a small part of the week on life skills courses and allowed two girls, who both have dyslexia, to drop a foreign language in order to work together, once a week, in a supported way, to catch up on other subjects.

Three pupils all speak of the benefits of these small social, or academic groups, which brings to them the experience of being included in, and belonging to, a community of their peers, in a safe and accepting environment, where they can get to know each other well, work as a group to overcome personal difficulties, gain team-building skills, and form a bond together. They built trust in themselves and in each other. Teachers in charge of the nurture group are trained appropriately, and others are generally the Guidance or Support staff, who have a

particular disposition to small group work and commitment to the young people. For young people, who find it difficult to work in a larger group, or find themselves marginalised, the small, carefully chosen group is an ideal environment, in which to feel included, and from where to build strength, to move out into the larger community of the classroom and school.

However, other groups in the school, which are formed of a disparate number of pupils put together, out of an assumed need, or a convenience, can act to further marginalise some young people from their peers. This is Simon's experience of the lunch group, where 'vulnerable' young people are separated from others, to spend the time in a room, generally without adult supervision. Paul, however, spent lunchtime supervised in another room, where he had the company of one other young person, increasing his isolation from his peers, and the perception of his 'otherness'.

Mitchell (2014) used a number of studies to show how cooperative group teaching and learning is one of several effective tools in creating an inclusive and more democratic ethos in the classroom, where group tasks create interdependence between members of the group, enhancing the personal and social skills and behaviours necessary to work successfully with others, to complete the set tasks (Mitchell, 2014, pp. 35-46). Such groups are generally mixed ability, to avoid the marginalisation of some pupils in groups identified by low expectations of achievement, or at risk of marginalisation. It is interesting to note, that when a Primary school teacher used a small group, mixed ability, peer-to-peer teaching approach in Mathematics, pupils reported very positively on their learning, and the teacher had more time to work with the least articulate pupils, with the greatest additional needs, within the context of the classroom (Private communication, February, 2018).

A different approach to small group work, for some pupils, such as pull-out practices, is more problematic, in terms of inclusion. In a Swedish study (Mattson and Roll-Pettersson, 2007), secondary school pupils with a diagnosis of dyslexia reported their experiences in a special reading group. Their experience suggests that it was not the fact of the diagnosis, which created the feeling of segregation, but the manner in which the school organised the additional support, outside the classroom and away from their peers (ibid., p. 250).

7.2.9 Finding nine: The impact on teachers, staff and family.

Themes one, two and three: My being, being in the bounds of the school, being in the community of the school.

It is evident that the impact of inclusive education is demanding for all school staff and also on families, in ways that are not always evident. Support staff, in particular, feel the burden of the responsibility for the wellbeing of all young people in the school, and the pressure of trying to find solutions to apparently intractable problems, without the time and means to do so, weighs very heavily on them. Worse still, is the notion that there could be solutions to be had, with lateral thinking, creativity, resources and above all, more staff, but that there is still a limit to what can be done, given the small numbers of adults, as against the large numbers of pupils entering the school, who are in need of additional support. This causes tension and frustration and a certain degree of sadness. There is no thought of anything less than fulfilling all that can be done, for a teacher, with a vocation to help young people develop in the best way they can, and make the most of the opportunities school can give them, to give them the best preparation for the adult world. It is this imperative to respond to the call of teaching, more than other factors of overwork, shortage of time, money and resources, which affects some teachers the most.

Teachers work each day within the constraints imposed upon them, by society, by government legislation and by council regulations, as well as parental demands and children's needs, and the difficulty in balancing all of these puts pressure on teachers. There is an expectation that schools will be able to deal with the larger problems of society, as they come into school each morning, with the children. The weight of this expectation, from all levels of society, lies heavily on teacher shoulders. Alongside this, however, is a certain amount of resistance from some teachers, parents and, on occasion, other pupils. Not all teachers are content with the shift in their practice, which has been called for under the policies of inclusion, resenting the twin demands of achievement for all and the wide range of additional needs of pupils in every class. It is senior support staff, who must work with them, to change attitudes, calling on those who have a broader vision of what may be accomplished, to show by example.

Senior support staff also report resistance to inclusion from some parents, who complain, when hearing from their children that there has been disruption in class, or that learning may not be advancing fast enough, on account of the presence of some pupils in the class. Staff must work against the widespread perception amongst some parents and children in the school, that academic results will be affected by the presence of pupils with additional needs,

and that such young people should be educated elsewhere. Young people with these views make them plain, in their manner of behaving with pupils, who are less fortunate than themselves, in some ways, and staff must work hard to overcome these attitudes and to show by example, that all are of value in the school, no matter what their background, behaviour or demeanour.

Learning Assistants notice how Guidance and Support staff are overwhelmed by the number of young people who call out for help, queuing at their doors each day, and at the amount of meetings with families and with external agencies, such as Police and Social Work. The Learning Assistants themselves feel personal concern, when individual pupils do not work as well as they know they can, disrupt classes through poor behaviour, to their own and others' detriment, and a personal sense of failure, at not being able to do more to help young people, particularly those "poor wee ones", who are so vulnerable. They can see the world from the children's perspective, seated in a classroom row, often nameless, and understand their cries for help with work, which is inadequately explained, or beyond their understanding, by a teacher who appears to have no emotional engagement with the pupils. They understand pupils through their own eyes as mothers, recalling their own children's difficulties, and feel other children's pain, as their own.

While largely untrained, Learning Assistants have a depth of experience and wisdom, gained over many years, which gives them a great understanding of the life of the young people in the school. They attend classes, smooth difficulties, make arrangements, accompany pupils and administer medical help when needed. There is almost no area of the pupils' school life, in which they are not involved, and they yearn for the recognition for their role, which additional training could bring to them, to be more effective in what they seek to do. Even when transferred into an administrative role, one Learning Assistant had decided that she would make children's lives easier, in any way she could, albeit from a distance. It was noted, with gratitude, by one young person with dyslexia, that the lady, who worked at the entrance desk, played her part in making the signing-in process easier every day, by quietly telling her the time and unquestioningly providing a black pen.

The notion that every adult in the school can effect inclusion is a powerful one. Each person can make a difference to young lives, by the manner in which they treat and speak to each other and to young people.

There is no question, but that it is hard to be a parent of a child with additional needs in the mainstream secondary school. Just as all parents, so they must come to terms with the

prospect of their child's increased independence from them, as the school years pass. But for these parents, this prospect brings with it concerns and feelings, which are more complex, far-reaching and intense. They know how difficult it has been to reach this point, and how slowly small gains and progress have been made. From the first, the mothers' lives have been closely bound with every detail of their child's life, as each seeks to understand and promote their child's way of being, taking on the roles of soldier, defender and advocate for their child, as circumstance demands. It is hard to let that vulnerable child go out into the world of the secondary school, where he may encounter many people and situations, where he will be at a disadvantage and unable to stand up for himself. Each parent is caught between the need to know all the details of the child's life, in order that he may continue to be guided in the best way, the understanding that, as a parent, she must let go of some parts of that hold, and the fear of doing so. Each day brings new concerns about events in school, concerning safety, social interaction, academic progress, isolation and a myriad of other worries about what may, or may not, be happening. This must be tempered by the extent, to which she has confidence that her child's wellbeing is at the forefront of the staff's collective minds, and to which she feels her child is truly known and understood.

While the comforting presence of an older sibling in the school, can alleviate some of those parental concerns, this does not last long, as that sibling will leave school and move on in her own life. The whole family is bound up with daily worry about the welfare, progress and happiness of a vulnerable child in a mainstream school, and may be engaged in an endless round of self-doubt about their placing decision, and of opportunities lost or gained, as circumstances change with the passing years.

Discussion

Teacher attitudes are known to have an impact on educational outcomes for young people (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011; OFSTED, 2010) and there has been a considerable amount of research on teacher attitudes to different aspects of inclusion over the past twenty years, as previously discussed (Boyle, Topping and Jindal-Snape, 2013; Ross-Hill, 2009; Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Farrell, 2000), which shows how there has been a gradual change in attitude towards inclusion over the years, but that a generally positive attitude amongst teachers to the idea in principle, is often gradually eroded due to the realities of difficulties and complexities in the classroom. In the UK, a fall in the numbers of teachers entering the profession, together with a significant increase in those leaving well before retirement age, high levels of teacher absenteeism on health ground and an amount of

discontent, would all seem to indicate a profession not particularly happy in itself (Foster, 2018; Ravalier and Walsh, 2017).

Not all teacher concerns are with inclusion, of course, but the impact of increased numbers of young people in mainstream schools, some of whose needs are different to those of many children, has been one focus of teacher discontent. However, there is an indication, that where further professional training opportunities are provided, partly in response to teachers' concerns at their own lack of knowledge and 'expertise' of additional needs, teacher attitudes towards inclusion are more positive (Male, 2011) and a considerable number of CPD opportunities now exist to enable teachers to recognise the manner in which they can extend their "pedagogical craft" to encompass all learners (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011), evidenced by research projects, as previously cited.

Initial teacher education courses in the United Kingdom are now predicated upon the presumption of mainstreaming, and for all teachers new to the profession, inclusion is the norm. For teachers, particularly secondary school teachers, who began their career some years ago, and who are graduates in a discrete subject area, the shift away from the 'academic' pursuit of a single subject, is more difficult, and exposes professional hierarchies between the primary and secondary sectors. Particularly important in this context, is that research has shown that where a whole-school collaborative approach to inclusion exists, as well as strong leadership and positive teacher attitudes, achievement does not fall, as sometimes suggested ((Florian, Rouse and Black-Hawkins, 2016).

Recent research (Scottish Parliament, 2017; OFSTED, 2011) found that there were considerable areas, in which teacher concerns were justified, and where provision for young people with additional needs was less than satisfactory. Research on teacher recruitment and retention indicates a variety of intrinsic and altruistic reasons are in play, as well as the extrinsic and professional reasons more reported in the popular media (Chiong, Menzies and Parameshwaran, 2017). There is less research on those teachers who feel a discontent of a different kind: where they feel unable to fulfil their calling as teacher, in the present climate; that teaching has moved away from a central tenet, as they might see it, of developing the whole person, to one of answering the calls of politicians and other sectors of society for performativity, targets and narrow achievements (O'Connor, 2008; Troman, 2008; Ball, 2003).

7.3 Emerging issues of importance

During the process of analysis, a number of important issues emerged, which contribute towards our understanding of the lived experience of inclusive education, but which were not findings arising from the data. These lead to a change of perspective, which may have implications for other researchers. There were three main areas:

i) The importance of ongoing ethical awareness in the researcher.
ii) Changes in the lived experience of inclusive education are constant and ongoing.
iii) The barrier in the language of inclusion.

7.3.1 The importance of ongoing ethical awareness in the researcher

Ethical considerations have been at the forefront of every aspect of this project, and, correspondingly, I felt that the interviews had gone well and that participants had all demonstrated their commitment to the process, by their questions and interest in the research, and by their willingness to share their own experiences with me. I felt that, when their thoughts and words had led people to a difficult, or emotional point, that I had responded ethically, in the way I had shown care for their wellbeing and sensitivity to the demands of the situation. However, the notion of a "moral imagination" requires that the researcher remain alert to possible ethical dilemmas during the research process (Israel and Hay, 2006). There were three occasions, on which I had to exercise judgment, weighing up the ethical considerations in the moment, and I include them here.

Wellbeing

A Learning Assistant, who had attended a young person's interview, in a supportive role, returned to me later in the day, and asked if she could do something about an issue that the young person had raised, in the course of the interview. She was genuinely concerned, and had noticed this difficulty with other pupils and wanted to be able to help. In the moments that she stood in front of me, I thought of the ethical importance of beneficence and non-maleficence, and weighed this against the confidentiality of the interview. It had been the young person's choice to bring this Learning Assistant into the interview, and this showed that he trusted her. I had already asked if I could be instrumental in bringing this issue to the attention of the management of the school, and he had declined. I decided that the Learning Assistant should ask him in private, and away from the interview area, if she could speak to

him about something he had said at the interview. If he was not in agreement with this, then she should make it very clear that he had every right to ask her not to take the matter any further, and in that case, nothing more would be said. She later informed me that he had requested that she take the matter further, which she had done. Both the Learning Assistant and the pupil concerned, told me on a later occasion that, while the matter was not fully resolved, the school had found a means of assisting this young person, in a way which was unobtrusive, but useful to him. I viewed my role in the outcome of the situation, as one of reciprocity, in which I could in some way 'give back' something to the participant and to the school.

Care and intermediating

As the second interviews were short, with no in-depth content, I was surprised when there were two occasions, when I had to make a decision, from an ethical point of view. Although different, both raised the question of how far I should intervene, or react to information I was given, or which became apparent to me, in the course of the interviews. In the first instance, it was a question of care, and the second concerned placing myself as an intermediary between two parties. I include them here, to illustrate how ethical issues may arise unexpectedly, at any moment during the project.

One boy, whom I was due to see immediately after the lunch break, did not arrive. I waited, assuming that he had been delayed. After a few moments, the gatekeeper came past to check if all was well, remarking on the absence. Shortly after that, the pupil appeared. He smelt strongly of cigarette smoke. We spoke for a few moments, and the short interview proceeded as planned. As he left, the pupil remarked that he had to go and see the Deputy Head, as he had been seen coming in to school late, after lunch. I wondered if I should mention to the gatekeeper about the cigarette smoke, as I knew that smoking was against the school rules, and I was concerned for his health, particularly as he was still only a young teenager. It occurred to me simultaneously, however, that with such a strong smell of nicotine, it was highly likely that it had already been noticed. I was unsure whether I would be going beyond my remit in the school, in intervening in this way. On balance, I felt that I would inform the gatekeeper, out of care for the young person. In the event, the dilemma later resolved itself, as the gatekeeper asked me if all had passed well that afternoon. He mentioned that this particular pupil was getting into a lot of ongoing trouble and had become a regular smoker, and I said that I had noticed the smell of cigarette smoke, as he had entered the interview room.

At the feedback interview with a parent, she told me of one or two incidents, which had taken place in the school, which had affected her son. She mentioned that both her own, and her son's, efforts to be heard on these issues had not resulted in any changes being made. She asked me if I could mention it at management level. Once again, I had to think carefully. As it was an issue concerning her son, I said that I must consult him first, to see if he wished me to raise the matter, and that I would reply to her in a day or two. She agreed with this approach. Her son had initially said he did not want me to do anything, but then at a later point in the interview, had said that he would. I told him that his mother had also mentioned this to me, as an issue, from her point of view. I later sent an email to the parent, outlining what I planned to say to a member of the school management team, and asked her if I had rendered the information correctly, and if she wished me to go ahead. She responded very quickly in the affirmative and the following morning I raised the matter with a member of the management team. I was aware of the triangle I was in: as a guest in the school, I did not wish to appear to criticise the school, or any individual in it, but the mother and her son had now both asked me to do so. I was also aware that the school had always been very open to me about difficulties and issues, and had asked me to raise their awareness of any areas, in which they might improve. I spoke very positively of all I had seen, and also conveyed how much the family (whom I did not name) was grateful for all that was being done for them, which they had communicated to me very strongly. I suggested a written resource, which I had used in my professional career and which I thought they might find useful in the context. The conversation was well received, and the school management representative was very gracious. I heard later from the mother, that it had resulted in a meeting and an open exchange of views, which helped to improve the communication issues between the home and the school.

7.3.2 Changes in the lived experience of inclusive education are constant and ongoing

While it is clear that changes occur in education at every stage, most particularly at periods of transition during the life of the school, or to reflect social or political changes, locally or nationally, it is important to note the speed with which change can occur and the great impact which can follow. In a very short period of time, small or large events can cause young people to change the manner, in which they perceive and manage school. Small experiences can ameliorate, or worsen, the totality of a young person's life, as well as those of teachers and families. The importance of an awareness of this is far-reaching, beyond the lives of young people in school, and I shall return to this in chapter nine.

When I returned to Lochanview, some six months after my first visits, there were a number of significant changes in the lives of the participants, and I include them here, to illustrate how necessary it is to remain vigilant in schools, and to be open to what is there, in order to be able to respond appropriately.

Most of the young people were positive about school, with only one saying that things had become more difficult for him, in some respects. Two older pupils both seemed different: more confident in their bearing, than when we had spoken, six months earlier. Both had now made decisions about their future, with one planning to leave school at the end of the current term, in a week's time, having taken up the firm offer of a paid training position nearby. The other had decided to stay on in school, until the end of the academic year, the following June, as she had secured a provisional place in her chosen career area, subject to success in an examination. Her manner and body language told a story of confidence and happiness. She was now sitting upright, and looked me clearly in the eye. I noticed a 'Prefect' badge on her blazer lapel, and before I had the chance to congratulate her, she showed it to me and told me proudly, about the process of gaining the award. It was clear affirmation that she had overcome her previous difficulties, both in her own being, and in how she was perceived in others' eyes.

I posed a similar question to the adult participants, about change since we had last met, and there were mixed responses. The teachers, who were most involved with support in the school, indicated that things were even worse, with increased workloads, staffing difficulties, and an ever-increasing need for support from young people in the school. The transition from second year into third year had brought with it issues of challenging behaviour, on the behalf of many of the young pupils, particularly boys, which were becoming increasingly difficult to manage, as the younger pupils now mixed more with the older age-group. It was the end of a long term, but I perceived a weariness about their being, together with a sharp tension that it could not all be sustained for much longer. The flame was there, but it was bending and flickering, in the intensity of the wind.

One classroom teacher had been asked to lead a new project, and was enthusiastic about his new responsibilities. A Learning Assistant told me of how their numbers had been reduced again, and of the impossibility of the many tasks, they were called upon to do, with so many young people's needs being unmet. The two parents were markedly different in their views. One was very positive. Her child was doing well, and was becoming more integrated into the life and activities of the school. The parent felt happy with the decisions she and the school had made about her child's welfare. The other parent expressed grave

doubt and a deep concern for her child's well being. The situation had worsened as more self-reliance and personal responsibility had been expected, with the transition to the higher year group. The old problems had not gone away, and new ones had emerged. She seemed close to despair.

7.3.3 The barrier in the language of inclusion

There is a constant theme, which runs through the literature on inclusion and inclusive education, that there is linguistic confusion around the terms and the different ways, in which they are used and interpreted. However, it is clear that, however termed, to describe schools as 'inclusive', is misleading, when so much of the daily experience of young people would indicate that they do not always feel welcome, supported or included in the life of the school. This is clearly evidenced in the lived experience of these young people, in an educational system, which describes itself as inclusive, and in the face of numerous policies at national, local and school level. It would appear, from this research, that many features of the school system continue to act as barriers to inclusion, across all aspects of school life, from the nature of the buildings, the curricula, pedagogy, and the facilitating of social groups, both within the school and in the wider community. Negative attitudes remain at all levels of the school, to young people who present as 'Other', to an accepted norm, across a range of markers.

As a means of addressing this ongoing problem in the ways, in which the language of inclusion itself acts as a barrier, I would like to suggest a reconceptualisation of inclusive education, as a theoretical perspective, which has emerged during this research. I will return to this aspect in chapter nine.

7.4 Summary of the findings

It is clear from the findings from this research on the lived experience of inclusive education that it is the individual as unique and valued for herself, which emerges as of particular importance. The themes of 'my being' and 'being in the community of the school' run through eight of the nine main findings. It is the notion of each unique individual within the community of the school, which is of the most importance when we consider the implications of these findings for policy and practice, to which I shall return.

The lived experience of an inclusive education in this secondary school is mixed. There are highs and there are lows for all participants. There are ways in which inclusive education is difficult and demanding for all concerned, and it is a struggle to manage the many aspects and demands. Levels of stress and anxiety are high for all, be they parents, young people or teachers. Many of the aspects of this lived experience might be true for any individual at a similar school, and many issues raised are those raised by other pupils, teachers and parents. Here, what is significant is the consideration that everything is more difficult, every experience more intensely felt, and every adjustment unpredictable, for a young person with additional needs, for their parents and for their teachers. There is an acute lack of understanding of what is needed, and of how schools are trying to fulfil what is asked of them, from those outside the school gates, coupled with a significant shortfall in terms of resources, most particularly, the vitally important presence of human beings. While there is some agreement, that in an ideal world, the common school may be the right environment for the majority of young people of secondary school age, it is clear, that, not only is this not an ideal world, but one as yet not fully aware of, nor prepared for, the needs that such a common school must be able to fulfil.

There are tensions evident everywhere in inclusive education, in all aspects of the school. One difficulty occurs in the manner in which the indeterminate notion of 'inclusion' appears to have been imposed on the school, at a time of societal upheaval, as well as political and educational change. It is not always clear to those in the school, exactly what governments and councils expect of them, as there are so many competing, and sometimes contradictory, demands and expectations, in which the intrinsic importance of the individual may be lost.

Where inclusion is understood to mean that, under the policy of the presumption of mainstreaming, the majority of pupils are to be educated in the mainstream school, school staff struggle to find appropriate curricula, rooms, facilities, resources and support for pupils, who might otherwise have been educated in alternative, and perhaps more suitable, provision. At the same time, where inclusion is understood as offering opportunities to all, the teachers must work to create an environment of learning and living, where all can flourish and be equally valued, and where there are no barriers arising from religion, ethnicity, gender, academic ability or social background, and where, paradoxically and simultaneously, difference and diversity are to be celebrated. In a third interpretation, inclusion is seen as keeping young people engaged in education, for as long as possible. This is achieved by means of individualised curricula, which may involve removing young people from classes, or even the school building, for portions of their time, to alternative learning opportunities.

This is seen as an important means of reducing exclusion and improving some young people's long-term life chances.

In this school, all these aspects of inclusion are enacted: the school seeks to include pupils with learning differences and additional needs, even where these are considerable, in a full timetable of classes and activities, where practically possible, as with all pupils. At the same time, it is a fact that some pupils need extensive support, and for some, this means an adapted curriculum. The school management does not wish to 'extract' pupils from classes for additional work, such as 'extra reading' in a separate area of the school, but there is some individual timetabling and small group work, which is considered a necessary solution to meeting the needs of some specific pupils, often weighed against the needs of a larger group. While this approach is seen as time-consuming to develop and its delivery has a significant impact on scant human resources, this is weighed against the consideration that it is an essential part of the enactment of inclusion in the school, and is seen as very positive by the pupils involved, as well as the adults.

There is also a recognition that for some young people with very particular needs, which may be medical, social, emotional or behavioural, managing in the school is not possible, for their own flourishing and for the welfare, and sometimes, safety, of other pupils. Issues of managing the differing demands of the curriculum, legislation and society, the available human resources, the limitations of the building, which was designed and built for a different type of education, as well as the ongoing and changing needs of individual young people, all put huge strain on staff at the school, at every level, and every day, and for which they feel no end seems to be in sight.

National curricular changes in Scotland have emerged over a period of political change, austerity and a changing demographic, concurrent with the rise of computer technology and social media, as powerful and influential issues, and not always for the good. While international and national targets in school performance and assessments put pressure on teachers, the effects of austerity mean cuts to resources, including the numbers of support or learning assistants, increased class sizes and greater demands on pupils. At the same time, other effects of austerity and societal changes 'out there' mean upheaval and difficulty for some families, and these problems too impact on school life. Cuts elsewhere in society, also have an impact on the school, as staff are less able to call on partners in the community for health care, training, work experience and other, broader aspects of school life and educational opportunities. Teachers are caught between the triplet rocks of an increase of social, emotional, health and learning needs in the school population, the reduction in

resources, human and non-human, to meet those needs appropriately and the constant pressure of an ethos of performativity and surveillance over all they do.

Despite the ideal of an inclusive education being more democratic and socially just, there are young people who are still on the margins, present in the school, but not in the life of the community of their peers. Needs are not always met, despite the best efforts of the school, and on occasion, are not recognised. The lives of many young people are very complex, with difficulties at home, and a range of needs, which impact on their ability to manage the complex daily life of the school, the size of the building and the numbers of people, in addition to the demands of the curriculum. Some pupils are not able to look after themselves in the manner demanded of a mainstream secondary school, in terms of finding their way about, mixing with others at social times, changing for sports lessons, or remembering to eat and drink enough. Some of these young people are very vulnerable and choose to, or are chosen to, be separated from their peers during social times, spending their breaks and lunchtimes in a different part of the school, not mixing with many other pupils and not going outside.

Some teachers still seem to fail to recognise, or acknowledge, the impact of the range and extent of some pupil difficulties, on occasion, and in particular, where they are manifested in behaviour, learning differences, or a failure to engage with school. This creates difficulties for young people, in their daily life in school, in classes and in their learning, as well as tension between teachers, as some resist the acceptance of inclusion and diversity in the classroom. A lack of consistency of approaches from different teachers means that there is an additional level of anxiety for pupils in some classes, as they must either justify what their additional needs are, or remain quiet and try to manage. Some young people lack the safety of a nurturing home from which to come to school, and look for that care in their teachers and in their peers. While some teachers are able to recognise and respond to this need, others do not seem to be able to, as they deal with their own struggles to meet the demands of the curriculum, the pressure of attainment targets and mixed ability grouping, where the most able pupils may be several years ahead of their peers in the same class, working independently to a high academic standard, while others are not able to be in the classroom without additional adult support and where, in some cases, the gap widens as the years of secondary education pass.

The young people in this study are serious about their education, and want to do well, in order to move into the adult world after school, with hopes for careers to follow, but understand that they need time, help, guidance and ongoing support to be able to do those

things, and to develop a level of independence. Where teachers listen to them, support and value them as individuals, pupils are happier, more able to deal with difficulties they encounter and to flourish. For some, this has meant a transformation of their lives, and their inner selves, and this is inspirational to see. Some pupils, however, find that teachers do not seem to care about the young people before them in the classroom, and do not know them as individuals. Some feel that they are always in trouble, or are treated unfairly, and this has an impact on their ability to do well in school, and causes them to feel undervalued, unhappy and marginalised. Many do feel, however, that they are able to turn to one or two members of staff, who know them and whom they trust, and this is a help, when things are difficult to manage, but this is not universally the case. Some young people have an arrangement, whereby there is close daily communication with the home, and this additional level of support is helpful.

These young people are dependent on their group of friends for relaxation, mutual support and to boost their self-esteem. For one or two young people, who have few or no friends in the school, and are not able to cross the divide between an acquaintance and a friend, their school life is much harder and more difficult to bear alone. Pupils who are vulnerable in a number of ways, often have difficulty with changes in routine, which other pupils may accept without issue. Many everyday activities pose challenges for more vulnerable pupils, which, where not recognised or addressed, bring anxiety and stress. Outings, as well as changes of routine, or seating in class, a different teacher, or interaction with people with whom they are unfamiliar, particularly from outside the school, such as Careers representatives, employers in work experience, or college tutors, who are unfamiliar with their personality and needs, all pose a particular difficulty, which is often overlooked, or underestimated, by teachers in the school. These issues become greater, as young people progress up the school, where the general expectation is of increased personal responsibility, and a corresponding diminution in support from adults. This expectation is misplaced for many vulnerable young people, who take longer and need a greater level of support than other young people, across a broad spectrum of areas, to understand and master the complexity of school and of the human relationships within it, and to achieve levels of autonomy.

The young people have lives outside the school, in which they are valued and understood, and where they have strong identities, achievements, of which they are proud and are competent actors in their own lives, whatever limitations there might be. Inside the school, they feel on occasion, that they have little value, individuality or positive identity, which has an impact on their own self-esteem and ability to manage every day, as well as limiting their opportunities, through lowered expectations, both in terms of academic work and in extra-

curricular activities. Some are known only for negative reasons, such as poor behaviour, or by a label ascribed to them by their 'additional need' and this shapes their reputation in the school, and creates difference and marginalisation. The negative perceptions of others, of the differences brought by additional need, cause isolation, misunderstanding and, on occasion, bullying in different forms, by teachers and pupils.

Parents in this study have mixed views. Some have children in the school, or who have recently left, or have children in other schools. There is a general feeling that the school is very supportive, where pupils have been identified as having additional support needs, but perhaps not always very proactive in suggesting ways, in which these needs might be met. The parents worry a great deal about their children's wellbeing, academic progress and even safety, on occasion. They put a great deal of their own time into dealing with issues, as they arise, with their children at home and by liaising with the school. The communication with the school, particularly the direct link to one or two named staff, generally works well, but the flow of information is mostly one-way from the home to the school, and this can create difficulties, worries and misunderstandings about exactly what is happening, both for the parent and for the pupils. The two mothers in this study have very different approaches to their child's education, with one convinced that the right choices had been made for her son, and that he is benefiting from the breadth of the curriculum and the exposure to a greater number and variety of people in the mainstream setting; with the other not sure if her son is placed correctly, and that as the time goes on, these doubts are increasing. Their views underline the importance of the need for an openness to the diversity of young people's changing needs, with individual differences, needs and wishes at the forefront of every decision, at every stage of their education and development.

The members of the support team in the school are hugely dedicated, caring and committed, but almost overwhelmed by the enormity of the level of need in the school, and feel constantly pressured by trying to meet all the individual needs. Learning Support assistants have a wide range of roles and tasks and little training or preparation, either prior to beginning the role, or during their time at the school. In many ways, they provide a strong backbone to the school, giving support to young people and to teachers, by their presence and many years of experience in the classroom.

The teachers in this study are all hard-working, dedicated and selfless in what they do for the young people in their care, in planning for the present and the future, in working with what is available to them, in terms of time, money, resources and the human beings with them. They work to find solutions to problems on an everyday basis, within the restrictions and

conditions, which exist. They have regrets and they have wishes, but they do not flinch from what they see has to be done. They speak of their calling and responsibility to do this and feel a personal, and sometimes physical, reaction when they cannot complete what they see is needed.

Of the four teachers in this study, three have important pastoral roles, in addition to their teaching remit. These three feel that, in some respects, they have moved away from their roles as teachers and there is some regret in this. There is frustration at the way they feel unable to put in place solutions to the diverse problems they encounter daily, on account of cuts, or initiatives imposed upon the school from outside, or factors beyond their control, as well as huge demands on their time and personal resources. There is regret that the partner organisations, whose work with individual pupils has been so valuable, are unable to continue to support the school to the same extent, on account of significant cuts to their own budgets. The teachers feel that, in many ways, the building itself is not suitable for young people with certain types of additional need, and this also imposes restrictions on what might be offered, in terms of additional support. They feel sadness and frustration that so many of the difficulties of society are brought to the school, and played out in the lives of individual young people, and note the acute rise of mental health issues, often linked to social media, which are untreated, on account of a national lack of available and timely healthcare provision. It is felt that, were a range of other professionals, such as psychologists, nurses and counsellors, available to pupils in the school building, many of the issues affecting young people's health, wellbeing and education could be addressed at an early stage, preventing an escalation of difficulties. Frustration and disappointment, along with a sense of not being able to fulfil their calling to better children's lives, continue to be felt. It is constantly difficult to be able to see solutions to many of the issues in the school, but to be unable to put these into place, because of limitations of staffing, money, resources, space and time.   All feel that while, in an ideal world, the common school is a good idea, in the current realities, there are some children and young people for whom the large mainstream secondary school is not the most appropriate, from all points of view, including health, wellbeing, safety, academic and learning needs, and personal and social development.

The importance of the voice of the individual comes across from all the participants in this study. Almost all participants talk of being listened to: where their voices are heard and their words are heeded, in a manner, which is respectful and thoughtful, and which conveys to each one the sense of his or her own value and worth in the community. This is crucial, even where it exists in just one human interaction between two people. The power of the intersubjective human relationship, whether faced or faceless, to build up, or break down an

individual's sense of being and worth, is very significant. Where this is denied, the negative impact is significant on people's wellbeing and affects many aspects of their lives. All of the participants talk, in their different ways, of having the opportunity to speak, of being allowed to voice their opinions, of being listened to, in an open, respectful and receptive manner, and of the wish for a response to their presence and words. This is true of young people, in relation to their peers and their teachers; it is true of learning assistants and teachers in relation to their professional peers; of parents in relation to staff in the school; and of staff in key support and management roles, in relation to the Council and to the more distant entity of the 'government'. The one participant in this study, who has very little speech, has other means of conveying his views, and has others who advocate and speak on his behalf, but, it must be noted, even his mother is unsure of his true feelings about his life.

Schools built for a 'normal' school day, with young people who all broadly follow the same curriculum, in the same classroom, working at a similar rate of progress, are not necessarily fit for purpose as an environment, where there are so many different learning needs. Society has changed, but schools are still largely working to an earlier conception of secondary education. No one, not teachers, not parents and not the young people themselves, is asking for extensive resources for themselves. Each acknowledges that there are others with similar or greater needs, and that all are working within reduced circumstances. The greatest things they ask for, are to be listened to, to be respected, for their views to be taken account of, their individual needs and differences to be acknowledged, their expertise and knowledge to be recognised, and to be given the time, space and support to live and to learn to be in the school. While one parent expressed some doubts that the mainstream school was the right environment for her son, not one of the young participants expressed a wish to be in any other form of education.

7.5. Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I gave an overview of the aims and methods of the research, indicating the steps taken at all stages. *I identified nine findings, indicating how each emerged from one or more of the three main themes.* I then discussed each finding in the context of this project and of new areas of literature, which had opened up, and raised three further considerations, which had emerged during the research.   I concluded the chapter with a summary of the findings. I turn next to the final stage of the phenomenological method, the eidetic reduction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EIDETIC REDUCTION OF THE PHENOMENON OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

8.1 Outline of the chapter and introduction

In the previous chapter I identified the findings, which emerged from this project, and discussed each in the context of the project, and in the wider context of the landscape of existing knowledge and research. I now turn to the concluding part of the phenomenological method of research into the lived experience of inclusive education, the eidetic reduction (Moustakas, 1994), or synthesis of meaning and essences (van Manen, 2014). This description, whose aim is to capture the 'essence' of the meaning of the phenomenon, emerges from the other stages of the method. Thus, I have used bracketing to become aware of my own presuppositions and assumptions about inclusive education and I have engaged reflexively, in thought and word, in the rich descriptions of experience, given to me by the participants, in an intersubjective way. I have used their words and my reflections as part of the analysis process, to enable the phenomenon of inclusive education to be seen, 'as it is'. I then attempt to capture this essence, or being, in a thematic description, which evokes the intensity of the human experience in the reader (van Manen, 1997).

A reduction, such as this, is not a universal summary, nor a definitive statement. It suggests itself as an evocation of the lived experience of inclusive education of these people, at this time, revealed to the researcher, who adopts the natural attitude in the phenomenological interviews and analysis (Van Manen, 2014; Finlay, 2014), in an attempt to remain open to what is there, and in a frame of mind, which allows the unexpected to be seen (van Manen, 2014; Dahlberg, Dahlberg and Nyström, 2008). In so doing, the description may touch upon universal aspects of our lives.

8.2 The eidetic reduction

8.2.1 Theme one: My being

The young person has a strong sense of her own being, in the world of home. Here she is known and understood, a part of that close-knit community, which is family. Here the child has a place and a part to play: as a daughter, a son, a sibling, a grandchild, and her presence is essential to the whole. Here she has individual and shared interests, strengths,

quirks of character, achievements and milestones, which are recognised, accepted, valued and celebrated within the family unit.

At home the young person can feel herself to be known, valued and respected for who she is. At the same time, she knows, without question, that she is given support in the world beyond the home and that her being in that world, depends on the unconditional gift of care from the family. This type of care is supportive and responsive: the carer reaches out to the child, responding to a deep understanding of the child's being, present in the face of the child, as she turns her gaze on the carer. Such a care gives the child a world, at which she is the centre, as that most precious of beings, which allows her the strength to grow and develop more fully, as a human being. The care of home extends to the child in school, supporting, advocating and bridging the chasms that open up daily. The child depends for her being, for her security and her wellbeing, on this unequivocal loving acceptance and response.

Where a young person is described by means of a label, this diminishes her being in her own eyes and in the eyes of others. Such an attributed description is only ever partial, seeing and addressing only that part of the being, considered lesser, in need of help and as a problem to be addressed, managed: a different Other. The label acts as a guide for others, but also as a barrier and limit to seeing what is already there and envisioning what may be possible. The child sees and accepts herself as whole, a complex individual made up from many different parts, with hopes and dreams for the future, but finds it difficult and confusing to understand herself, seen through others' eyes.

The young person comes to the secondary school, not as a blank slate, but moulded by the encounters and experiences of the primary school, which shape the sense of self. Where these early years are criss-crossed with difficulties, of health, family, of learning to learn and learning to be, that delicate, emerging being, barely five years old, finds herself on the edges of the school, her being no longer valued, respected, or cared for, but ignored, isolated and hurt, unable to be in the community and unable to know how to find the way in. Those adults to whom she turns, for care, protection and understanding, do not seem to be able, or are unwilling, to respond. She sees other children, happy, forging friendships and being together, but she looks from beyond, unable to be part of the inner circle. The child seeks for causes within herself: she must be different, other, unworthy, diminished and valueless, for reasons she cannot comprehend.

The young person needs time. She needs more care and understanding than others, but it is not easy to find those personal encounters, space and time to help her develop as a being, in the rush and crowd of school. Other children race pass, reaching goals more quickly, understanding how to fit into the world at a younger age, already adept by twelve, for the demands of the life of the mainstream secondary school.

8.2.2 Theme two: Being in the bounds of the school

The secondary school is a large presence. 'Moving up' to school is talked about in the later primary years, as a rite of passage into an unknown world. A number of serious difficulties and issues, with adults, children, and methods of teaching and learning in the primary years, can cloud the attitudes of the young person, making her wary. She carries the memory and effect of these earlier years with her, as she approaches the secondary school, and finds that it is not possible to escape her previous positioning as other, different, less, or stranger, in the eyes of her peers, who are now also present in her new life at the secondary school.

It is a world, which can take on a difficult, alien and menacing form. The building is large and complex, presenting areas to be avoided and areas, which must be braved and endured. Pupils and teachers who own the space, become as one with the building, flowing smoothly along the corridors, up the staircases and into the classrooms, with an ease denied to the child, who attempts to navigate the spaces, and remains uncertain of the shifting nature of the systems and rules, spoken and unspoken, for every aspect of life.

There are uncertain encounters, where the child feels little seen, heard, known or cared for, with many young people and teachers, each with different expectations and manner of being, who engage with each other with the solidarity of acceptance. The curriculum is extensive, the paraphernalia of learning unwieldy and the flow of information can be overwhelming. There is an air of the need to manage one's own life, which discourages seeking help with difficulties, which others do not seem to have encountered and which may appear trivial. The lifeline of the support of home is further away and less tangible, added to the difficulty of expressing to another the complexity of a situation, which is barely understood. The overwhelmed child seeks to make sense of what is happening, struggling with the pace and demands of every day. She longs, in turn, to be included and to melt away, into anonymity.

8.2.3 Being in the community of the school

It is not easy to enter into the communities of the classroom and of the school, but teachers can enable this to happen, by their own being. Where the teacher's face inclines towards the child and reaches out, the child feels empowered to respond to, and reciprocate that trust, to engage with the teacher and with learning. This reaching out indicates a caring respect, which knows and values the child as she is, seeking to understand the world from her point of view and to make unbidden changes to facilitate her passage through the social world of the classroom and the academic world of learning. Such a teacher fulfils her calling as teacher. She draws others into this community, by her manner and example, creating an ethos of inclusion, in which the child's needs are understood and met, in a way in which they become intrinsic and natural to the manner of teaching and learning. Thus the child can flourish, casting off the shackles of the past, developing as a person, who is at ease with herself and who can begin to achieve and be proud of those achievements, whatever they may be, and who is able to see herself, as a valuable member of the community, with a visible path ahead.

The young person longs to be accepted by her teachers and peers in the community of the school, in a way which values and sees her as fully human and not in terms of disability or need. It is teachers who hold the power to do this and to show others how to do this, but they also hold the means of withholding the response to the face of the other.

Where a child reaches out to a teacher, but that call is not seen or heard, the child feels disempowered and of little or no value, and cast adrift from the community, marked as other. The teacher's being controls the ethos of the class, creating, or diminishing the inclusion of the child, in such a manner that the child's learning, social and emotional needs are perceived as negative and intrusive additions to the task of teaching, limited by the teacher's lack of expectation and will. When teachers fail to respond to the call of the young person, she must dwell on the margins of the community. Here, she becomes the target for classroom jokes, or she is ignored, or silenced in her calls for help. At times, it is as if her very presence is undesirable and she must be removed from the community of learners, feeling the pain of that expulsion as failure and injustice. Where she attempts to resist and fight back, she is further derided and belittled, denied help and silenced.

A child who is ignored and set apart in this way, becomes increasingly distanced from others in the class, unable to escape the frustration, anger and pain that is caused, as she turns

inward to blame herself. Her mind is too full to be able to engage with learning, but must concentrate on finding a way to survive the turbulence of her situation.

A single caring teacher may begin to transform the life of the child at school, but, where many such teachers work together, sharing their understanding amongst others, that transformation is more likely to take place, from marginalised child to a being, who is able to face the world, knowing that she is valued. However, where a teacher conveys a message to a child, that she is unworthy of help and care, that her presence and being are of no consequence, and where no personal help or support for learning seem to be available elsewhere in the school, the unintended consequences on that child's being may be severe and long-lasting.

Whilst at home, the young person does not see herself as Other, but she is aware that she may appear as other to her peers. This othering may be in her presence, which is ignored, or in her words, which are silenced, or her appearance, which is derided and mocked. Even where she reaches out to others, she finds the other's face is turned away, and there is no response to her appeal. Such a rejection creates a questioning of the value of the self, who must be so valueless, as to be not seen, not heard and not taken account of, and unworthy of the presence of the other. Where there is futile resistance, this reinforces the powerlessness and hopelessness of her being. Where acceptance cannot be earned by assimilation, by reaching out in friendship, or by challenge to authority, her position as stranger is reinforced as marginalised with other strangers, or in lonely exile.

When the young person reaches out to her peers, and her call is answered by the response of acceptance and the possibility of friendship, it can transform her being. Friendship is a significant factor in being in the community of the school. It is not only the presence of a group of friends, who provide the strong support of being valued, but also the companionship, laughter, the sharing of successes and more difficult times. Importantly, it is also the act of being a friend to others, which reassures the child that she is needed, valuable and is included in a very particular part of the world of school. To be valued, is to be human. Just as she reaches out to others to find meaning in her life, so do others reach out to her and she is eager to respond to their call to her humanity.

Where there is no friendship within school, the child must face alone all the high and low points of her life. She must navigate alone the corridors and the encounters, trying as best she can to make sense of her isolation. The solitude of a world, where no other seeks to understand the child, is indeed hard to bear.

8.3 Summary of the chapter

This short chapter concerned a final phase of the phenomenological method, in the description of the essence of the lived experience of inclusive education. My focus now turns to the limitations of this study, some implications of the findings for policy and practice, and my conclusions.

CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSION: LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

9.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter draws the project to an end, with some final words. I indicate the limitations of the study, and then draw conclusions, discussing the implications of the research evidence on the policies and practices of inclusive education and special education.   I identify some areas for further research and suggest ways, in which this study may make a contribution to knowledge. I end by looking at the ongoing difficulties of inclusive education.

9.2 Limitations of the study

It might be legitimate to pose the question, as to whether a study, as small and as localised as this one, can usefully add to the knowledge we have. This study is located in Scotland, in one school, at one particular moment in time. Interviews took place over two months, in the early summer of one year, with seven young people and seven adults.

The young people in this study were all identified to me as having 'additional needs', sufficient to mark them out as vulnerable by the school authorities. While they are unique individuals, they cannot 'represent' all children with different needs, and this is a limitation of the study. There were, for example, no young people whose first language was not English, no child who was identified as gifted or talented, no 'Looked After' child (in the care of the State) and I was not able to speak to any pupils who were excluded or educated off-site.   In addition, I was conscious that there are children, who experience difficulty in schools, but who do not come to the attention of support staff, are not identified as having 'additional needs, and yet who may need additional support. There is a limitation here, both in terms of the absence of their silent and unheard voices in the research, and also in how they show us that in adhering to a 'list', policies on additional needs lose sight of the uniqueness of each individual by attempting to categorise and manage. It would have taken a different study to reach those hidden voices, and a much larger study, with a different approach, to incorporate a wider base of 'need'. However, the participants did present with a range of experience, across the age-range and from different backgrounds and educational stages, and were appropriate for phenomenological research of this sort.

A further limitation can be identified in the manner, in which I worked with the gatekeeper in the selection of participants. My initial intended approach to the selection of individuals, through a two-stage process, was not considered practical in the context of the school. However, the gatekeeper enabled me to meet vulnerable young people, whom I may not otherwise have been able to meet. The extent of his involvement in the selection of participants, and in the management of my time in the school meant that I gained the trust of the school management and of the participants in a way, which benefited my ability to conduct meaningful interviews. I worked closely with the gatekeeper to ensure that the participants were appropriate to the study, and were not suggested by the gatekeeper as individuals, who might in some way give any particular account or impression of the school. This was clear from the manner, in which the gatekeeper responded to my request for other participants and retained no control over the duration or form of the interviews, allowing me access to the whole school building and to conduct interviews in any way I saw fit. On no occasion did the gatekeeper attempt to question me about the content of any interview. The range of experience, which emerged during the interviews, indicated that the participants were speaking freely.

In terms of the adults, it was interesting that only one teacher volunteered to be involved, who was not part of the support or guidance structure of the school. Thus, all the adults had a positive interest in, and attitude to, the role of inclusion in the school. A broader range of views from other teachers, may have given greater insight from the teacher, or support assistant perspective. Similarly, both parents had a child in the school, with a particular range of difficulties, and these families already had significant involvement with the school support team. This may present a limitation, as there is no first-hand account of the experiences of other parents, in different family circumstances.

The study was located in one school, near a small town, in a small country. While, the location and school were selected as being as 'average' as possible, in terms of size and location in an area of mixed demographic, the school takes its ethos and interpretation of inclusion from the staff and from a number of variables, specific to that school. In identifying itself as willing to participate in the study, and in its open and receptive manner, it demonstrated a commitment to a greater understanding of its own approaches to inclusion. A comparison with other similar, or different schools, in terms of location, size, ethos or organisation, might cast light in a different way. In terms of Scotland, while a small country, devolved within the United Kingdom, it retains a particular identity in its approach to education, in the education system and in the manner of interpreting inclusion through legislation, policies and practices.

There is some limitation in my own stance as researcher. My initial impetus to the research had been through my professional teaching career, in mainstream and special schools and units, where I had encountered many young people, whose paths through school were far from straightforward. While I did not set out to prove, or refute, what I thought I knew, that knowledge and experience lay, nonetheless, behind the research. As a phenomenological researcher, I had to weigh the balance between bracketing what I knew and assumed, and allowing that very experience to create opportunities for greater understanding.

During the research process, I felt some limitation in the extent to which I might discuss some of the broader issues around inclusive education, which began to emerge, but which were not seen directly as findings. It seemed that there were significant aspects relevant to the experience of inclusive education, for which recommendations for practice might be made, in addition to areas for further research. This section includes a number of these related topics, which are important for our understanding of inclusive education.

9.3 Implications for the policies and practices of inclusive education

The aims of this study have been to reveal the nuances of the practices and processes of inclusive education in a mainstream secondary school, through the lived experience of some young people with additional needs, together with that of teachers and parents. Thus, the researcher sought to gain understanding of the lifeworlds of young people, by giving a voice to some who have been 'voiceless', or seldom heard, in research. As they speak of their experiences, joined by the voices of teachers and parents, it is possible to glimpse their worlds, in the hope that by gaining understanding and knowledge, we may be able to look again at our schools, build on what is good and address those aspects of our education system, which prevent some young people from sharing the opportunities to be, to grow, to develop and to learn, within the community of school. Further, it may allow us the opportunity to consider again the different discourses, which surround inclusive education and examine not only our understanding of the notion of 'inclusion', but also what it is we address, when we describe an attitude, action, process or policy as 'inclusive', calling upon us to examine critically, that which we are describing.

The evidence of this research indicates that for some young people, education described as 'inclusive' in national, local and school policy documents is not always experienced as inclusive, and indeed, on occasion is experienced as exclusive and marginalising. This suggests that there is not only a gap between policy and practice, but also between the

vision of inclusive education and the reality. This has implications for policy, in the manner in which inclusive education is conceived, and for the ways in which it becomes interpreted into practice. It has been an aim of this research to bring to light the experience of inclusive education, and it is hoped that policy makers and practitioners may use the evidence of this research, and of other research, which I have cited, in order to make changes to bring about education which is truly inclusive.

Generalised language and rhetoric in national policy documents lead to a lack of conceptual clarity, which allows for a multiplicity of policies at regional, local and school level. As educational policies are used to inform practice within schools, this lack of conceptual clarity enables numerous interpretations to result. Significantly, therefore, governments must clarify exactly what is meant by the concepts 'inclusive education' and 'inclusion', how these two concepts may differ and how they relate to the aims of education. This research has shown that where many conceptions of 'inclusion' and 'inclusive education' exist concurrently, diverse practices continue at every level, which may appear to be inclusive, but which are not always so, in the experience of young people, parents and teachers.

The lack of clarity about the aims and meaning of inclusive education results in a narrowing of opportunity, as schools appear to address those aspects of inclusion, which they consider to be the most important, or the most achievable, given their resources and limitations, while barely addressing others. Thus, where inclusion in interpreted as reducing exclusion and keeping young people in school for as long as possible, resources are directed to pupils who are at risk of exclusion for disciplinary reasons, for example. Elsewhere, the emphasis may be on bringing those into the mainstream classroom, who may otherwise spend a significant amount of time out of class, in a learning or behaviour base, for different reasons. Other interpretations mean that schools may focus on young people from disadvantaged social backgrounds, for example, as they interpret inclusion as a means of achieving greater social justice and equity (see section 1.5). With clarification at national and local level, schools can develop policies, which allow for the broader understanding of inclusive education, to recognise the value of all in the community of the school (see section 1.6.3).

There is a lack of understanding amongst those developing policies of inclusion at national, local and school level, of the complexity of the needs of many children and of the need for an individual approach for each child, rather than for broadly labelled groups. The evidence of this research indicates that difficulties with inclusion, for young people and for schools themselves, lie in the minutiae of everyday life, as well as in broader areas of education. This indicates a need for schools to develop policies which recognise that young people with additional needs and their families need an individual approach to almost all aspects of

school life, and that this acknowledgment must be reflected in practices, which are consistently applied and adhered to across the school. It would seem from this research, that even where policies for 'additional support needs' exist in school, these do not carry sufficient weight to ensure they are prioritised, despite the evidently high profile of 'inclusion' and 'inclusive education' in the rhetoric of Scottish educational policy (see Section 1.4).

There is a clear indication in this research, that young people know and understand their own needs, and when they are consulted, are happy to have different arrangements and opportunities to enable them to make progress at school. Where there is confusion in the conception of inclusion, schools are concerned not to appear as if they are doing something 'different' for some young people, while at the same time, explaining and justifying why they are doing just that. If the concepts of inclusion and inclusive education were clarified and the aims of education restated, to indicate how these concepts are not mutually exclusive, then schools and teachers would be able to develop policies and practices, which extend opportunities for all, in the manner which is of most benefit to individual young people, rather than trying to work in a manner, which appears to be counter-intuitive. Thus, small groups such as a Nurture Group, extra sessions to catch up with work, different arrangements for homework, sport or altered timetables are all viewed as positive by young people, when they are consulted about the nature and manner of delivery and when the attitude which surrounds them is positive, and they form an equally important and valuable part of the daily life of school. It is the dangers of ascribing broad-based labels to young people, which can serve to limit opportunities and to create marginalisation, by losing sight of each individual, which are so detrimental to young people's experiences and chances.

The evidence of this research indicates that the role of the teacher as an agent of bringing about inclusive education is extremely important, in terms of the manner in which young people are viewed, valued and included in the community of learners and in the social environment of the school. It is also clear that teachers, who continue to resist inclusive education, and who hold negative attitudes and limiting assumptions about the place of young people with a range of additional needs in the mainstream school, can act as powerful agents against inclusion in practice. It is hoped that the evidence of this research may act in a positive way to enable teachers to improve their manner of being with all young people and that those who develop policies, to do so in a manner, which allows teachers to be able to make effective changes in practice, vision and ethos, to bring about inclusive education.

The notion of 'support' is a keystone in Scottish educational policy (Scotland, 2017) and occurs in many policy documents. The key features of pupil inclusion are stated as 'present,

participating, achieving, supported' (see section 1.4), and the replacement of the expression 'special educational needs' with 'additional support needs' is considered a positive move away from the deficit views previously associated with SEN (see section 1.3.6). Despite this, the notion of the central place and importance of 'support' in the achievement of inclusive education does not appear to be borne out in practice.

Senior staff in the research clearly acknowledge that the numbers of young people with learning needs, which are different to the majority, create difficulties for some teachers, and that where there is evidence of effective support, this is by no means consistent between teachers, even in one school. Findings from this research indicate that while some teachers have intuition, knowledge, experience or personality traits, which enable them to perceive and understand young people's needs, others do not. Furthermore, it was clear from the words of some of the adults in this research, and the experience of the young people, that there was, on occasion, a lack of support for young people on behalf of teachers, indicating at best, an ignorance of their different needs, and at worst, an underlying assumption that in the mainstream secondary school, pupils should already be able to do certain things for themselves, personally or academically, and therefore were not to be helped, or that it was not the responsibility of the class teacher to do so.

Some teachers in the secondary school context find mixed ability teaching very difficult, alongside the extent of the range of complex physical, social and emotional needs of some young people. The demands of performativity targets and the hierarchical structure of secondary schools create particular difficulties for teachers, who are usually subject specialists, rather than the generalists of primary school education. Policies cannot be written on the assumption that all teaching professionals have understood, or agreed with, the implied changes in their approach to teaching and learning and in their manner of being as teachers, which are called for if inclusive education is to be successfully implemented. The recognition of the importance of professional development on inclusive education for all in school should be a significant policy decision in schools and the nature of support given to staff should be recognised as an important part of all policies on inclusive education, to enable real changes to occur in practice. Most particularly, it will require the recognition by governments that a commitment to inclusive education will require a change in policy, to reflect the increased need for financial, material and human resources, as well as ongoing training, at every level.

Findings from this research indicate that (non-teaching) support staff are not well used in the school. While their numbers have been greatly reduced over recent years, the number of

young people who need additional support of different kinds has increased. Policy documents in Scotland indicate that pupil support is the responsibility of individual class teachers, most particularly in literacy, numeracy and wellbeing across the whole curriculum (see section 1.4), but with little additional training and policy guidance as how the need for this support may be recognised and addressed.   At the same time, as the numbers of additional support staff in schools have been reduced, teachers are now required to assume responsibility for some of the roles and duties previously undertaken by non-teaching support staff in the classroom. The range of tasks for non-teaching support staff is extensive, and they are often deployed to tasks which take them away from classroom support, such as supervision, first aid, administration, visits and outings. Some support staff have many years' experience of working with young people in schools, and this is undervalued by the schools and often unrecognised by teachers. Evidence from this study indicates that while some young people may receive support, this is not necessarily the support they feel they need, and that some teachers do not work collaboratively with support staff in the classroom setting, both of which point to an inefficient use of scant human resources. Despite legislation, which indicates that 'targeted' support is available to all, on an individual basis, this is not borne out in the research, and the 'one size fits all' approach continues to be apparent in many aspects of school life.

I suggest that policies concerned with 'additional support' should be altered, to clarify the important role of 'support' in school and exactly how individual and targeted support (see section 1.4) is to be delivered in practice, by all teaching and non-teaching staff, in the context of inclusive education. This must be developed in parallel with an understanding that there are other types of support which young people may need, beyond that of learning, but which are crucial in order that they may be able to make the most of their educational opportunities. This fact should be acknowledged in policy and become an integral and central part of practice. Schools should have a policy for the ways in which support staff are deployed in the school and how they may work with teachers, in order to support young people in the most appropriate way. This is a crucial area for the success of inclusive education and one for which further research is needed.

Current policy documents in Scotland place the child at the centre and talk of the importance of every child, the home-school relationship and the individual voice, and yet, from the findings of this research, it is clear that aspects of everyday life at school are marginalising and excluding of some children. While young people may be 'present' in the school, there is clear evidence from this research, that the other fundamentals of inclusion, as conceived by

the Scottish government, of the young person as 'participating, responsible and supported', are also significantly lacking and must be addressed.

National and school policies reflect the importance of the notion of voice and agency for young people (see section 1.3.5) and yet practice does not seem to reflect this. It was clear from this research that young people clearly felt they were not always consulted about issues concerning their own wellbeing and learning, and that sometimes they were actively ignored and silenced. Mechanisms for pupil voice did not seem to work well and avenues for communication were closed down on occasion, reducing the opportunities for an exchange of views or an open discussion. Significantly, parents felt the same way on occasion, and this view was also expressed by teachers as a factor in their professional lives. This would seem to suggest that some policies are nominally in place, but that their importance is not high and there is no real effort to implement them, for reasons that are unclear. There seems little purpose in having policies, which do not result in practices, which achieve their aims.

It is imperative that schools enact in practice the policies they themselves draw up, and do not merely talk of 'inclusion' and being 'inclusive' in general terms. The evidence of this research suggests several areas where this may be done and some areas where further research may build on these findings. In particular, it is essential that young people feel they are individually known and valued, and that their presence is acknowledged as important and that their words are attended to, by teachers and by their peers. This works together with an understanding of the importance of close meaningful communication between teachers, parents and children, to achieve inclusive education. This is most important for young people with additional needs, when the particular knowledge and experience of a parent or a sibling can provide means and solutions to issues, large and small, and the sharing of this knowledge can bring benefits to many young people, to teachers and extend to other schools.

The evidence from this research suggests that there are many areas of school life, in which parents and young people themselves are a source of expert knowledge, which could be used in the collaborative creation of policy documents and practices within school, to achieve a greater level of inclusion. While the notion of home-school communication and increased pupil and parent 'voice' is written into the policy documents of the school, this remains an area, where policy and practice do not appear to relate sufficiently to the daily reality and where further research might be useful.

Policy changes at national and local level have not kept pace with the ever-increasing numbers of young people with identified 'additional needs' in the school, alongside the rapid

changes in society, which create difficulties for families and for schools. Changes in policies surrounding inclusion, and the range of available educational provision in different local authority areas, mean a lack of consistency of approach and a complexity in possible arrangements for families, schools and individuals.

This indicates a need for a change in mindset, to one that is able to admit to the shortcomings of current policies and the need for change. First amongst these is the recognition that each individual is unique, and that 'difference' does not mean 'less'. Despite changes in words, it would appear that 'additional needs' is still closely associated with an image of difference as deficiency and linked to an earlier vision of 'special education' as being of less importance in society, and worse still, a place where people can 'be sent', away from the main community of the school. This view is present in the language of inclusive education: the support centre, the base, the ASN room, additional support needs and the collective phrases often used for young people with additional needs, such as, 'with problems', or 'the autistic kids' and a host of other, less acceptable terms used by pupils and staff. Even where well meant, such terms are divisive and indicative of a view, which places some young people as different and less than others and may serve to limit opportunities. Young people themselves know that they often have different approaches to living and learning to many other young people, and that these issues, be they short-term differences or lifelong difficulties, can be met within the context of the learning community, with positive acknowledgment at every level, where they are listened to and valued for themselves.

The most important finding to emerge from this research is that of the importance of the human relationship in all aspects of education in school. Where the aims of education are expressed in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, targets and outcomes, the importance of the individual human is diminished and policies are developed to answer the question of 'how' to meet the aims, rather than addressing the more profound question of 'why' we educate. Such a question requires a restating of the aims of education in terms of its value as a transforming human good.

If governments are genuinely concerned with an inclusive education system, and the notion of the 'common school', then they must be seen to be committed to this whole-heartedly. This requires a recognition of the shortcomings of the current situation, and a genuine will to address these and to make changes in many different areas. All of this will take time, energy, vision and, of course, financial commitment. Research such as this, and other studies I have cited, clearly indicate where changes could be made, to move towards an education system which is inclusive.

9.4 The paradox of special education

Under the policy of the presumption of mainstreaming, the place of special schools within the education system has become unclear. The number of special schools has been greatly reduced, to a situation where some local authority areas have none, and there has been a corresponding loss of a very particular sector of educational provision, the expertise of staff, specialist resources and a reallocation of budgets. Policies on inclusion do not clearly express the rationale for this, but it may rest on the assumption that, as ever greater numbers of young people are 'included' in the mainstream school, there is a corresponding reduction in special school places, but it may also be a part of the homogenising effect of the elimination of human difference and individuality. Thus, it is an example of how the lack of clarity in the language of inclusion may mask the true rationale of policies.

This research allows us to gain a greater understanding of the experiences of some young people with additional needs in the mainstream school, but further research is needed on the extent to which these experiences lead them to positive outcomes as young adults. Evidence from young people, parents and teachers suggests that, at present, there remains a need for special schools and units, where the range of professionals and experts involved is wide, class sizes are smaller and specific and flexible individual arrangements can be made, in terms of the physical environment, the curriculum and many aspects of education, offering social, as well as academic opportunities for personal growth, development and fulfilment.

In this research, each mother had to make a decision about whether her son should be within the mainstream secondary or the special school, and accept whatever compromises that brought, whether good or bad. One mother, who opted for an arrangement, which, unusually, included time in both, indicated that her son benefited from this arrangement, as each school afforded him different opportunities. She was regretful that the expertise of the teachers in the special school, to enable her son to gain basic literacy and numeracy and to build his confidence, could not be used in the mainstream school, while this latter provided a much broader general experience and increased exposure to many different people and activities. Her son's social and emotional needs were met in the ethos of the special school, but he was considered vulnerable and at risk when alone in the much larger mainstream school.

Warnock had made it clear when answering her critics, that inclusion did not specify the 'where' of education, so much as the manner and ethos (Warnock and Norwich, 2010;

Warnock and Cigman, 2005). As such, I suggest that further research should be done, to identify those aspects of special education, which are of the greatest benefit to young people and their families, which may be lacking in mainstream secondary schools. Such research might include young people who have transferred to alternative education, after a period of time in mainstream schools. It might also include research on a range of different collaborative approaches, currently being used in some local authorities in Scotland, between mainstream and special schools and units, but which are not incorporated into national policy. These approaches may be described, somewhat paradoxically, as 'inclusive special education'. The evidence from such research might then be used to enable schools to achieve inclusive education, by broadening the current concept of 'inclusive education', envisaging the possibility of a more fluid and integrated approach to mainstream education and drawing on a wider base of knowledge and expertise. It might further identify that more intangible aspect, the ethos, which recognises and responds to each child, as a unique individual, with infinite possibilities, and not in terms of labels or descriptors, which can be managed by policies and strategies. Such research might indicate a means of addressing some of the current difficulties in mainstream settings.

Further international comparative research might identify different approaches to incorporating a greater proportion of children within the mainstream school, or in the recognition of the importance of allocating a greater proportion of the education budget to allow the policies of inclusion to be delivered into practice. Such comparative studies might indicate differences in the manner in which education is organised, but also in the ethos, which lies behind what is happening and in the student, teacher and family experience. While the notion of the importance of every child is present in the rhetoric of inclusion and inclusive education in Scottish educational documents, it is the evidence of this present research, that the practice does not reflect the idealism of the policies.

9.5 Levinas and inclusive education

The contribution of the philosophy of Levinas to education has been recognised for some time, and provides new and different ways of conceptualising aspects of education. Whilst Levinas' oeuvre itself is not always directly concerned with education per se, it runs nonetheless as a major theme through his work. Levinas writes extensively of the manner in which we 'learn' from the Other, in a relationship which is prior to all others. His work on ethics as first philosophy and alterity can provide a counterfoil to many the assumptions,

which have surrounded education, as it has developed from its roots in the Western philosophic tradition and can disrupt current thinking. This can allow the possibility of the emergence of new and different avenues of research and of thinking around some of the major issues and perplexities in education.

During the course of this research, I have drawn on the work of contemporary philosophers to gain understanding of the different ways in which the work of Levinas can be brought to bear on many aspects of education, particularly work that addresses the notion of being human, and the manner in which our intersubjectivity finds expression in education. Thus, among others, I have been drawn to the work of Strhan (2012) on subjectivity and ethical responsibility; Biesta (2005, 2009) on the question of the nature, role and impact education may have on what it means to be human; Joldersma (2001, 2014, 2016) on the on the nature of the student-teacher encounter and the notion of the teacher as other; Todd (2001, 2008) on different approaches to the relation between Levinas' ideas and education; Standish (2005, 2001a, 2001b) on the relation of the idea of the other to learning and teaching, and more recently, Zhao (2016a and 2016b) on subjectivity in education and the notion of community. As space does not allow for an extensive review, these few must serve as a limited indication of the breadth of this field, into which I am setting out.

It had not been my intention, prior to this research, to incorporate a detailed discussion of the work of Levinas, but it was during the research, as the importance of the intersubjective relationship and encounter began to emerge as a strong theme during analysis, that I began to be drawn further into Levinas' work, particularly on the binding nature of the call to respond, and the ethical nature of the intersubjective relationship. While it is apparent that all teaching should be an ethical encounter between teacher and learner, it is in Levinas' work on the vision of ethics as first philosophy and the relationship of responsibility we have towards all Other, that I began to perceive its implications for inclusive education.

Levinas' work on the relationship of responsibility brings into focus aspects of the depth of the encounter between teacher and student. In a similar way, Levinas' notion of the ethics of alterity as first philosophy must call into question other conceptions of the teacher-student relationship, and can disrupt the assumptions that dominate so much current thinking in education. It has been the distortion of this relationship which has allowed the Other in education to be sidelined, ignored, humiliated and turned away from, in much the same way as Levinas describes the abnegation of responsibility we have to all Other. In this understanding, we must respond to the call of the other, and it is in our so doing that we ourselves become fully human. But this is an asymmetrical relationship, in which we neither

ask nor expect anything in return from the Other, but one in which we are commanded or required to respond.

Many of the different drivers and justification for inclusive education are ethical, and based on morally acceptable premises. Thus, bringing those excluded from education into mainstream education, the redistribution of opportunity and educational goods, the promotion of equity, social justice and democracy are all envisaged in different conceptions of inclusion and inclusive education. However, the aims of education must then be expressed in language which can meet these competing demands, which has a tendency to give rise to policies which lead to guidelines, strategies and methods for practice, giving what Veck has termed "the comfort of rules' (Veck, 2014, p.453). Such an approach not only restricts teachers and schools in what they feel they should or can do, but leads to pedagogy which focuses merely on what and how teaching is to be done, in order to meet the stated aims in the most effective manner, to reduce differences and make good our 'deficiencies' through 'pedagogies of indifference' (Lingard, 2007), where the human and individual is lost sight of and becomes devalued.

I should like to suggest that a reconceptualisation of inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, in a Levinasian sense, can contribute to the manner in which we might look again at inclusive education, both in terms of research and in a reassessment of the concepts of inclusion and hence, inclusive education, challenging our acceptance of the familiar way of being.

What might such a conception of inclusive education look like? Of course, there are no simple or practical ways to move from a theoretical position to a practical one, and no formula, which might transfer directly into practice. However, I suggest that Levinas' work has a significant relevance for inclusive education, as a means of understanding some aspects, which appear to hold back its progress, and as a means of overcoming these to move inclusive education forward.

In this research, it was the human encounter, which emerged to be of the greatest importance. No genuine human encounter can flourish where one being assumes a position of superiority over the other. This is not to suggest that a teacher, who has subject knowledge, wisdom or status in a school does not exercise some kind of authority over the other, but it is to suggest that each of us is unique and must respond with humility towards all other. It is in the further recognition of the humanity of the other, who calls to me and places the responsibility for his humanity, and for my own, on my shoulders, which may allow us to

move away from the limiting (and totalising) view of the 'markers' of the other that society might place on her, in terms of ethnicity, gender, religion, appearance or ability, for example. Thus, the nature of the relationship between the teacher and the student is not dictated by social mores or pre-conceived notions of worth. Such an approach also disrupts the notion of the teacher as leader, and places her as learner, as the Other brings her own humanity to the encounter and responds to the call of the teacher.

It was evident in the words of the young people in this research, that they felt a responsibility towards their teachers: they worried about their wellbeing on occasion, and sympathised with the difficulties their own presence might bring to the teacher. By contrast, it was also clear to see that where teachers turned away from young people, closing down any response to their call, the results were negative, limiting and dehumanising, for both the young person and also the teacher, in the denial of the young person's humanity.

To turn away young people from educational opportunities, or to limit what they are able to endeavour to do, because it is too difficult, demanding, time-consuming, inconvenient or expensive is surely unethical, in any understanding of ethics. No education system can be called inclusive, where these attitudes continue to exist, no matter how well the rhetoric would seem to mask the realities of practice. I suggest that reconceptualising inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, in the manner of Levinas' alterity, will enable us to see differently and perhaps move away from some of the difficulties, which have arisen around inclusive education, and which appear to alter and proliferate in different contexts.

In this conception of inclusive education, it becomes the responsibility of the teacher to turn to the young person, to see him or her face to face. Thus, the teacher will find herself responsible for the humanity of the other, as an ethical responsibility far greater than any other, but, at the same time, and paradoxically, must learn from that other, reversing the concept of master and pupil, or teacher and learner (Hansel, 2012, p.190). In a similar way, each young person may also be called to assume a responsibility for the Other, extending the reality of a truly inclusive education.

Levinas made clear that the face to face encounter is not one in which one is aware of the physical details, whereby the other becomes objectified (Levinas, 1985, p85). Such an encounter cannot therefore see or recognise the other in terms of a label, a disability, or a deficit of any sort, and the response to the other is not limited by markers of any kind. This would remove the labels and aspects of individuals, which set them apart as lesser and have allowed some young people to be seen as less important, not able to contribute to the

narrow aims of the curriculum or education for specific national ends, and hence not a valuable investment in time, money and resources. All such limitations might be seen in the Levinasian understanding of "totality" which shuts down the boundless opportunities of 'infinity" (Levinas,1969). Where we change our relationship to all others, then both we and they are free to develop our humanity in an infinite way.

There are many areas of education on which contemporary philosophers have brought the thinking of Levinas to bear, and these, of course, also shine a light on the policies and practices of inclusive education. However, as inclusive education in schools brings with it some very difficult and apparently insoluble issues, there are aspects of Levinas' thought, which deserve particular attention. Central to these is Levinas' theory of being and subjectivity, and ethical alterity through the face to face encounter with the Other, which speaks most strongly to inclusive education. Thus, there would be no 'inclusive' education, but only 'education', as all others are encountered in the fulness of their humanity, and each of us responds to the call from the other. Such a response is not limited to our own expectations, assumptions or prejudices, but in Levinas' terms it is 'Infinite' and boundless. Thus, the notion of 'additional support' can also be called into question. There is no limit to support, and no support is 'additional' and there is no point at which a teacher, or a system may suggest, "You have reached your limit, there is no more for you. I will do nothing further for you."

Levinas' notions of 'home', 'dwelling' and 'hospitality' (1969) may allow us to reconsider the concept of the 'sense of belonging' of which Warnock spoke (see section 1.7.1), and which was lacking in the experience of many in this study: both young people and adults. The importance of being a valued part of a community, however small, is central to the experience of inclusive education and takes us beyond Ainscow's 'reaching out to all learners' (2000), which extends an invitation to enter the community of learners. Such an entrance is a move towards that sense of belonging, which brings comfort, strength and allows each of us in turn to extend that hospitable invitation to others, to take up the infinite responsibility for each, which Levinas calls for.

The role of the teacher is a crucial part of Levinas' work, which has much to address in inclusive education. Indeed, it is already limiting to speak of the 'role' of the teacher, as the complexity of the encounter between two beings moves far beyond the assumption of any role, face or part to be played. So important is the 'teacher' to Levinas, that he likens the relationship with a pupil to the Messianic encounter, "The pupil-teacher relationship, which seemingly remains rigorously intellectual, contains all the meaning of an encounter with the

Messiah" (Levinas,1990, p.85). Space does not allow me here to begin to discuss the complexity of this notion, either theologically or educationally, but I indicate its importance, in relation to how 'knowing' and 'being known' emerged as major themes in this research. In one sense, it links to the notion that teachers have expressed to me, in the context of special education, that they see only the unique child before them, known by name, and are taken as if by surprise when others refer only to a label or condition.

This research did not set out to explore the work of Levinas in relation to inclusive education, and it is clear that this is an area, which needs development through extensive reading of the works of Levinas and of those, who comment on his work and have applied it to research in different educational contexts. I do not suggest this reconceptualisation as some kind of a solution, at this stage, but rather, I see it as the germ of an idea, which may be nurtured and grow, through the thoughts of many.

9.6 The contribution to knowledge

The findings of this study reveal that, on many levels, inclusive education is far from inclusive in the daily lives of some young people, and that marginalisation and inequality continue to occur on a daily basis, in a myriad of different ways, in everyday encounters. These findings have implications for policy and practice, as they identify the gap between the ideal in the rhetoric of policy and the reality of practice, and give rise to the need for further research in some areas, as I have shown. While the findings indicate the extent and depth of the meaning of the experiences of young people, perhaps it is the disruption to the discourse of 'inclusion', as an acceptable, good and moral form of education, as it currently stands, which may make a contribution to the knowledge and understanding we have of inclusive education.

In this sense, by raising awareness of the experience of inclusive education, through the voices of young people, parents and teachers, I add my voice to others, who have sought to disrupt the status quo of inclusive education, and acknowledge the importance of their work, which I have cited earlier. While reconceptualising inclusive education in this way cannot, of course, provide a method or system which can be directly applied to practice, it might, however, provide future researchers a base, from which to build on this research, using a common language to clarify the conceptual confusion, which in itself remains a barrier to inclusion.

The lived experiences of these young people, and those of their parents and teachers bring into sharp perspective the importance of the role of ethics and care in our human relationships. These relationships are fundamental to the creation of our own identity, through our personal interaction with others in the world, as valued members of the community around us. It is only through turning to the face of the Other, in response to the imperative of the call of their gaze, that the being of each of us may be complete. As Levinas would understand it, we have the imperative to turn to others and respond to them. Conversely, to turn away from the unique Other, is destructive, not only to that Other, but also to our very self.

Teaching should never turn away from its roots, as an ethical relationship between two unique beings, in a moment in time. If we can conceive of inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, which calls to the heart of our being, we may be able to bring about real change, from the starting point of the responsibility we hold towards others. That central call to respond to that Other could become the central tenet of all relationships in school, whereby it becomes the responsibility of all to create an ethos of inclusion, of understanding and of the recognition of the value of each unique Other, within the community of school. Thus, children and adults are called equally to reach out and to respond, to create an ethos of inclusion in our schools. As with other aspects of learning to be, to grow and develop in the classroom, as in the world, children can learn to develop such a disposition from those around them, but, equally, adults too may learn from children, in a true democracy of the human spirit.

Secondly, the suggestion of the reconceptualisation of inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, in the manner of Levinas' theory of alterity, offers a different way of looking and being, in which we must all become responsible for the Other before us, not because we should, but because we must. To respond to this ethical call, brings meaning to the life of the Other, and to the life of the self, in a relationship of one to the Other and thence to a third Other, in a truly shared community.   Such an approach would mean that the unique alterity of all Others, is not avoided, passed over or devalued, but becomes central to every encounter, in a meaningful relationship. Such a conceptualisation would place value on each individual, as a human being, rather than in relation to a narrow conception of other markers. It would call us all to listen, attend and take full responsibility for the humanity of the Other before us, which may have implications for many other areas of human intersubjectivity, beyond education.

9.7 The ongoing difficulties in inclusive education

In line with the literature, and despite research evidence and legislation over many years, it would seem that inclusion and inclusive education remain unclear concepts, subject to a range of interpretation in policy and practice, at a micro and macro level. This lack of clarity leads to an inconsistency of approach, in terms of individual teachers in classrooms, school systems and policies, and of local and national government. While the legislation and policy statements promote a rhetoric of inclusion, individual experience does little to indicate that these words have had a beneficial impact on the daily lives of some young people in school.

In many ways, the earlier conception of inclusion, or integration, as bringing pupils with special needs into the mainstream school lingers on, as those with 'additional needs' are still often seen and known in deficit terms, as 'needing' something extra, over and above what is 'normal'. There is still a lingering air of benevolent philanthropy around some aspects of the enactment of the policies of inclusion, albeit within an ethic of care, in some classrooms, where the presence of some pupils seems to be 'tolerated', but where there is little evidence of any real participation or inclusive pedagogy. Elsewhere, it would seem that there is no account taken of individual needs, as teachers appear not to address, or recognise, individual differences in learning, or being, or, worse still, actively to ignore them.
At the school level, systems do not appear to have much changed, in order that a wide variety of individual needs can become the accepted standard, rather than 'additional' to what is already there.

The school building is arranged for the majority of 'normal' pupils, and space must still be 'found' for those pupils who need somewhere different to be. Similarly, wording on official forms takes no account of any kind of different need and it becomes an expectation, for example, that a child with additional needs may not go on an outing with others, unless accompanied by a parent, or carer from outwith the school. Such arrangements and the assumption, which lies behind them, are inherently marginalising, reinforcing the notion of otherness, difference and deficit. It is parents and children, who must adapt and make individual arrangements, in order to be included in what the 'normal' children and their families accept, as part of the school's provision. It is the fact that families do continue to 'fight' for their children's participation in these kind of normal, everyday events, that some children are able to be in the mainstream school, with any kind of normal experience at all. Young people themselves are rarely able to challenge the status quo, but, nonetheless, where they are able, may take on the responsibility for informing teachers about their learning needs, and in reaching out to other young people. Furthermore, parents may feel

gratitude for allowances that have been made for their child to be included in events and activities, which other parents do not need to question and assume by right.

Classrooms continue to be arranged in a traditional way, creating physical barriers for pupils who need additional space, resources, adaptations, or a support assistant nearby. Pupils may have to ask to use resources they have been given, or to be able to have minor adaptations, or 'reasonable adjustments', such as seating near the front, time to write things down, differentiated work and so on, all of which create difference and 'otherness' in the classroom. In terms of the curriculum and academic work, there is some differentiation, but little evidence of the effectiveness of this, as pupils continue to struggle to complete work, or even to access courses, as expectations of their abilities are sometimes limited by a lack of vision by staff, in the school. It is often parents and families who must 'push' for learning opportunities, or even, in some cases, for account to be taken of learning differences and needs, on an everyday level.

Participation, or inclusion, in the community of the school, seems least evident in the social aspects of school life. Those with additional needs seem often marginalised from their peers, both within the classroom and beyond. There seems little consideration by some school staff, that their negative or ambivalent attitudes might be a contributory factor to the manner, in which some young people are perceived and treated as other, nor is there an awareness that the school might be able to create opportunities for inclusion and participation between individual young people, in learning and social activities, which might extend into the community beyond school. In this context, it is all the more surprising, given that the school is known as a 'community school', with leisure and learning facilities shared with all the community, offering a strong starting point for developing more inclusive practices, to the benefit of all.

It is clear that many individual teachers work hard to enable young people with additional needs to manage in the mainstream school, and that individual schools create systems to support children and families. Merely 'managing' is not, however, sufficient and is limiting in any vision or hope of what may be attempted and achieved. It is apparent, however, that schools are restricted in what they can change and achieve, by a system of education, which is still rigid in terms of curriculum and learning possibilities, by a building designed for a different vision of education, by an ongoing shortage of money to fund staff, resources and initiatives, and by conflicting expectations and messages from government and society, which expect high academic achievement from all pupils, valuing product over process, without making significant changes to the system.

Evidence of the varied conceptualisations of inclusion is present in the experiences of the participants of this research. There are systemic and organisational difficulties, dilemmas of difference, labelling and (not) being seen as other; medical problems and difficulties inherent to the individual child, social barriers, societal and cultural expectations, assumptions and prejudices, the balance of needs and rights, and political issues concerning the aims of education. It is indeed, all a tangled web, for which, of course, there are no easy solutions, to begin the unravelling. A particular and ongoing problem remains in the static view of 'additional need' as something, which is a fixed entity, for which a type of provision can be made, rather than as a fluid set of circumstances, for each individual, which develop and change, on an hourly or daily basis, and which require appropriately open-hearted and flexible responses.

Education is a moral endeavour, between people, learning to be in the world with others. As such, it is profoundly disturbing that so many of these young people, their parents and their teachers feel they are not listened to, and their being and presence is not worthy of consideration. So many issues would be brought to light in the simple act of listening, attentively and with respect, to the words and being, of those on the margins of the school. Such a listening would uncover that young people, with additional needs or without, want to learn, want to be in school and want to be a part of that community.

At the heart of our schools are people. Anyone who has been in a school when it is empty knows that the heart of the school is gone, leaving echoes and traces of its life. Inclusive education suggests that the hearts and minds of people need to change, and it is in the single step, that inclusion can begin to take place. The very notion of 'being included' suggests that some young people need some kind of recognition, in order to gain that metaphorical entrance and acceptance into schools, thus casting them as inherently marginalised. If inclusion is to be seen as a school system for all, rather than for some, or even for most, then the current conception itself is flawed. When we are able to see that inclusive education is not a school or a system, but a manner of reaching out as individual humans, one to another, to respond to all learners, to create opportunities for all in the uniqueness of their humanity, then we will begin to transform ourselves and the experiences of others.

This conclusion should not paint a completely negative picture of the lived experience of inclusive education. Much was difficult, demanding and caused sadness for the young people, as well as their families and teachers, but the young people were, on occasion, positive and cheerful about some aspects of school life, strong and accepting in the face of

many everyday difficulties, often understanding of the problems their presence brought to teachers, but above all, immensely grateful to the school and to individual teachers for what they had done for them.

Looking forward, it would seem that there are aspects of educational polices and of practices in schools, which need to change, if any reality of the rhetoric of inclusion can be put into practice. Initially, governments need to be clear exactly what is meant when they talk of inclusive education, and identify how this conceptualisation fits with the stated aims of education. For the common school to be the main place of education for (almost) all pupils, significant changes will be required in the ethos and material presence of schools, to change the manner in which a greater diversity of young people can feel that "sense of belonging", which is lacking. This requires a transformation in the hearts and minds of all involved, to recognise that we all bear an individual and collective responsibility to allow young people to grow and develop, to share in the common good, to create schools where all young people can be valued, and not only those whose presence does not disrupt the equilibrium. It may require the bravery to admit that the notion of the presumption of mainstreaming, where it is interpreted as one type of school, is not in the best interests of all children.

There are a number of areas where further research could be carried out, which I have earlier identified, and most particularly amongst these is in the development of the reconceptualisation of inclusive education, through the work of Levinas. Within the context of this study, I have sought to indicate how this might become a way forward, but I have much further work to do in this field, as I engage more deeply with this philosophy, in the hope that it might allow us to move forward, as we search for ways in which to understand some of the most persistent barriers which surround inclusion: those of hearts and minds. It is possible that the reconceptualisation of inclusive education as an ethical endeavour, with the responsibility of each of us to that unique Other, may enable future researchers to reveal greater understanding of the complexities of this area, and together, we may begin to bring about changes in the lived experience of young people in our schools.

I leave the last words to Leah, who shines out as a beacon of a life transformed, by the school's vision of what might be possible and who expresses so eloquently, what it means to go from the abyss of despair to the hope of a bright future.

> It made me, it actually made me feel more like I was like everybody else.
> Was being judged as a human being, not as a person with a disability.

> Leah, aged 15.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A. DOCUMENTS AND FORMS RELATED TO THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH:
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A.1 Form of Level Two Ethical Approval from the University of Edinburgh.

Research & Knowledge Exchange
MORAY HOUSE SCHOOL *of* EDUCATION

The University of Edinburgh
Old Moray House
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh EH8 8AQ

Direct Dial 0131 651 6388
Switchboard 0131 650 1000
Email rke-education@ed.ac.uk
http://www.ed.ac.uk

Ms Diana Murdoch
PhD Student

Dear Diana

Title: *An exploration of the phenomenon of inclusive education in the life-world of young people, their families and their teachers in a Scottish secondary school*

The School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee has now considered your request for ethical approval for the studies detailed in the your application.

This is to confirm that the Sub-Committee is happy to approve the application and that the research meets the School Ethics Level 2 criterion. This is defined as "covering novel procedures or the use of atypical participant groups – usually projects in which ethical issues might require more detailed consideration but were unlikely to prove problematic".

A standard condition of this ethical approval is that you are required to notify the Committee, of any significant proposed deviation from the original protocol. The Committee also needs to be notified if there are any unexpected results or events once the research is underway that raise questions about the safety of the research.

Should you receive any formal complaints relating to the study you should notify the MHSE Ethics Committee immediately by email to .

Yours sincerely

Convener, School Ethics Sub-Committee

A.2 Project information given to Pupils.

Research Project: Experiencing Inclusive Education

<u>Information for Pupils</u>

<u>Aim of the research</u>:
This research is to find out what some young people, their teachers and their families think and feel about their experiences at school and of school. This will help me to understand how inclusive education is experienced on an everyday basis. It is hoped that this will help to improve educational experiences and opportunities for everyone in school.

<u>Can you help me</u>?
What you know, think and feel about your experience of school is very important. Only YOU really know about yourself. I would like to you to tell me, or show me about your experiences of school.

<u>What will it mean to be involved in this research?</u>
I know you are very busy in school and this won't take up too much of your time!
If you agree to be part of this research, I will meet with you, in school, for two interviews. These interviews will be like informal conversations and will last for about 30 minutes to an hour. You do not have to be alone with me during the conversations, and may have another person with you, if you like. During the conversations, I will ask you a question like, 'Can you tell me about a time in school when you felt included in the class?' or ' Do you remember a time when you did not feel included in an activity in school?'. You will be able to talk about anything important to you, which is to do with school. Some people may like to bring something like a picture or photograph to talk about. You may choose how to tell me about your experiences. For example, this might be by your artwork, drawings or photography, a journal, (like a blog, or a written diary), poetry, drama or dance, music or by sport. There are many different ways, which you may choose to express how you feel, and we can discuss which way you might prefer. If it's important to you, it's important to me.
I would also like to see you in and around school, perhaps in class or at an event, like match, a concert or an assembly. I will only do this, if you agree. I will be very careful not to draw attention to you individually, if I see you in and around school in this way.

<u>Privacy</u>:
Everything you tell me will be confidential. This means that I will not give any personal information about you, like your name or address, to anyone.
I may use the information you have given me as part of my research, but I will not use your real name. No one will be able to identify you or the name of your school, from what I have written, because that information will be anonymous. I will follow very strict rules about how I store all the information I collect in this research. Digital information will be stored securely in the University system for ten years. This data will not contain any personal information about you.

<u>Consent Forms:</u>
For you: If you would like to participate in this research, then I will ask you to complete a consent form. The consent form gives information about the research and by signing it, you show you understand what is involved. You can still change your mind, at any time, even after we have begun, if you no longer wish to be part of the research.
For your parent/guardian I will also give a blank copy of your consent form to your parent or guardian, so they know what you are signing. Your parent or guardian will also have to sign a form, to show that they agree to your participation in the research.

<u>About the researcher</u>:
My name is Diana Murdoch, and I am studying at the University of Edinburgh.   Before I began to do this research, I was a teacher in mainstream secondary schools and special schools for many years.   You can contact me with any questions, at my email address
I have received approval from Moray House Ethics Committee, to conduct this research.
The name of my supervisor is xxx
Thank you very much.

A.3 Project information given to parents.

Research Project
Experiencing Inclusive Education

Information for Parents and Guardians

Aim of the research:
This research is to find out what some young people, their teachers and their parents think and feel about their experiences at school and of school. This will help me to understand how inclusive education is experienced on an everyday basis. It is hoped that this will help to improve educational experiences and opportunities for everyone in school, by raising awareness of the reality of everyday life in schools.

Can you help me?
Everyone's experiences are unique, and we all understand the world in a different way. I hope that by talking to a number of people, I will be able to catch a glimpse of their worlds. I would be very grateful if you could tell me, or show me, about your experiences of inclusive education in your child's school.

What will it mean to be involved in this research?
If you agree to be part of this research, I will meet with you, for two interviews. These interviews will be like informal conversations and will last for about 30 minutes to an hour. The types of question I will ask at the first interview will be very open-ended, such as, 'Can you tell me about a time in when you felt that your child was included in the activity of the class?' or ' Do you remember a time when you did not feel that your views as a parent were valued?'. Your experiences, and how you feel about them, are what are important in this research. You may wish to keep a journal or write a blog, or use a photograph or other item to illustrate a point.
When I return to school for the second interview, I will ask you to verify that I have understood correctly what you have said to me, by reading to you what I have written.

Privacy:
Everything you tell me will be confidential. I will not reveal any personal information and will follow very strict protocols concerning data protection. I will not pass on to anyone in the school, anything which you have told me in confidence, unless it concerns your or your child's safety.
I may use information you have given me as part of my doctoral thesis, but all names, places, events and identifying features will have been changed and anonymised. The thesis will be published by the University of Edinburgh, and will then be in the public domain.
Digital information will be encrypted and stored securely in the University system for ten years. This data will not contain any personal information.

Consent Forms:
If you would like to participate in this research, I will ask you to complete a consent form.

About the researcher:
My name is Diana Murdoch, and I am studying for a doctorate at the University of Edinburgh. For many years I was a teacher in mainstream secondary and special schools, before embarking on this research. It was my experiences in schools, which led me to wish to undertake this research. I have PVG membership.
 Please feel free to contact me with any questions, at my email address:
I have received approval from Moray House Ethics Committee, to conduct this research.
My doctoral supervisor is
Email address:

Thank you very much.

A.4 Project information given to parents of participating minors.

Research Project
Experiencing Inclusive Education

Information for Parents and Guardians

Your child has expressed an interest in participating in some research, which I am conducting at your child's school.

Aim of the research:
This research is to find out what some young people, their teachers and their families think and feel about their experiences at school and of school. This will help me to understand how inclusive education is experienced on an everyday basis. It is hoped that this will help to improve educational experiences and opportunities for everyone in school.
What will it mean to be involved in this research?
I know that young people are very busy in school and this research will not take up too much of their time.
 I will meet each young person for two interviews, in school. These interviews will be like informal conversations and will last for about 30 minutes to an hour. I will ask a question like, 'Can you tell me about a time in school when you felt included in the class?' or ' Do you remember a time when you did not feel included in an activity in school?'. Some young people may like to show me a book, story, journal, photograph or drawing, to talk about, as a way of expressing their feelings. If your child needs additional support, or a teaching assistant, then I will ensure that this is available.
I would also like to observe in some of your child's classes, or at an event like an assembly, concert or match. This will help me to gain some understanding of how the school works. I will not draw attention to any young person individually, during these observations.
Privacy:
I take issues of confidentiality very seriously. I will not reveal any personal information about your child, and I will follow very strict protocols concerning data protection.
I may use information your child has given me, as part of my doctoral thesis, but all names, places, events and identifying features will have been changed and anonymised. The thesis will be published by the University of Edinburgh, and will then be in the public domain.
Digital information will be encrypted and stored securely in the University system for ten years. This data will not contain any personal information.
Consent Forms:
If you are happy for your child to participate in this research, then I will ask you to complete a consent form.
Your child will also be asked to sign a consent form. I enclose a blank copy of your child's consent form for you to keep.

About the researcher:
My name is Diana Murdoch, and I am studying at Edinburgh University. Before I began to do this research, I was a teacher in mainstream secondary schools and special schools for many years.   I have PVG membership.

You can contact me with any questions, at my email address:
I have received approval from Moray House Ethics Committee, to conduct this research.
The name of my supervisor is Professor xxx

Thank you very much.

A.5 Template of informed consent form for pupils.

Experiencing Inclusive Education

Informed Consent Form for Young People taking part in the research

Thank you very much for taking part in this project. I am looking forward very much to working with you. Please read the information and sign this consent form, if you are happy to be involved.

- I have read, or someone has read to me, the information sheet.
- I have had the chance to ask questions and I am happy with the answers.
- I can choose whether or not to take part in the research.
- I understand that I do not have to answer all the questions the researcher asks.
- I can ask the researcher not to write something I have said or done in the research report.
- I can change my mind about taking part at any time.
- My name and the name of my school will not be mentioned in the research report.
- The researcher will not tell other people what I have said to her, unless I say that someone is being hurt.
- The researcher will ask me about my experiences. I can bring something I have done to show her, like a painting, a story, or a photograph, if I want.
- I agree that the researcher can record what we talk about and what I show her, either by writing it down or by audio or video recording.
- I can ask the researcher not to make a recording, at any time.
- I am happy for the researcher to see me in my classrooms, or at events in the school, like assemblies.

- **Please tick ✓ the box below, if you would like to take part in the project:**

I consent to participate in this project ☐

Your name………………………………….. Signature ………………………………….Date …………..

Name of support assistant (if required) ………………… ………….Signature……………….. …….

A.6 **Template of informed consent form for participating adults.**

<div align="center">
Experiencing Inclusive Education
Informed Consent Form for Participating Adults
</div>

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this research project. Please read the information sheet before signing this consent form. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by email, or through the School Office.
Diana Murdoch Email address: xxxx

- I have read and understand the information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions.

- My participation in this project is voluntary and I am free to leave at any time.

- I agree that the researcher may record our talks, by handwriting, or by the use of digital recording audio and video devices.

- I agree to give information to the researcher, and that she may use information I give for the purposes of the research. I can request that she does not include something I say or do, in the research report.

- I understand that all my personal information will be confidential and that my name will not appear in any document or image, or be published.

- I understand that the research report will be published by the University of Edinburgh. Any information I have given will be anonymous, and it will not be possible to identify names, places and events in the report.

- I understand that if the researcher becomes aware of anything, which she considers might put me or someone else in danger (such as child abuse or neglect), she will inform the relevant person or official.

Please tick ✓ the box below:
I consent to participate in this project   ☐

Name …………………………….. Date………… Signature……………………………

A.7 Template of informed consent form for parents of participating minors.

Experiencing Inclusive Education
Informed Consent Form for Parents and Guardians

Your child has expressed an interest in taking part in this project, which is taking place at your child's school.
Please read the information sheet before signing this consent form. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by email, or through the School Office.
Diana Murdoch Email: xxxx

- I have read and understand the information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions.

- I have spoken to my child, and he/she is interested in participating in the project.

- I understand that my child's participation in this project is voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw from it, at any time.

- I agree that my child can talk to the researcher about his/her experiences, and share other material with her, such as stories, journals, pictures and photographs, for example,

- I agree that the researcher may record the talks, by handwriting, or by the use of digital recording audio and video devices.

- I agree that the researcher can use my child's answers in the research report.

- I understand that the name of my child or my child's school will not be identifiable in the research report.
    Please tick ✓ the box below:
    I consent to my child/ward's participation in this project ☐

Your name …………………………..   Signature…………………………….
Name of child…………………………..……   Date …………………..

A.8 Template of transcription form for adult participants.

Experiencing Inclusive Education Research Project

Interview Transcription

Thank you very much for participating in this project, and for the time and consideration you have given.

Please notify me by email, at xxxx by Thursday 22 December, 2016, if you have any further comments or concerns.

Please name, sign and date this form, to indicate your agreement with it.

I have received a transcription of the interview given by me, and I have been given the opportunity to read and comment on it.

Name……………………………………………………………

Signature …………………………………………………..
Date ……………………………….

A.9 Template of transcription form for minors.

Experiencing Inclusive Education Research Project

Interview Transcription

Thank you very much for participating in this project, and for the time and help you have given me.

Please read these statements, and then put your name and today's date, in the space at the bottom of the sheet, and sign, to show you understand and agree with the statements:

I have seen a written copy (a transcription) of the interview, and I have had the opportunity to read it, or to have it read to me.

I have been able to ask questions about the interview, and my questions have been answered.

I have read a report of the interview, or it has been read to me.

Your name …………………………………………

Your signature …………………………………….   Today's date

……………………………

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION CONCERNING ADDITIONAL NEEDS IN SCOTLAND

Table B.1 Numbers of pupils with additional needs in mainstream secondary schools in Scotland, 2012-2016.

	2012	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
All the time in mainstream classes	46,375	53,082	57,102	64,229	72,847
Some time spent in mainstream classes	1,620	1,457	1,468	1,568	1603
No time in mainstream classes	491	585	663	636	668
Total	48,486	55,124	59,234	66,433	75,118
Percentage of school roll	16.6	19.1	20.8	23.6	26.7

Extracted from: Table1.5 Pupils with Additional Support Needs in mainstream schools, 2007-2016, Pupil Census 2016 Supplementary Data, [online]
http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/dspupcensus/dspupcensus16 [Accessed 20 July 2018]

B.2 List of additional support needs in Scottish legislation.

The following is an extract from the Additional Support for Learning Statutory Guidance 2017 and gives a non-exhaustive indication of areas where additional need may arise. See [online] https://beta.gov.scot/publications/supporting-childrens-learning-statutory-guidance-education-additional-support-learning-scotland/pages/2/ [Accessed 20 July 2018].

Table B.2 Extract from Statutory guidance to the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004, as amended.

Summary of the Additional Support for Learning Act

2. The Act provides the legal framework for supporting children and young people in their school education, and their families. This framework is based on the idea of additional support needs. This broad and inclusive term applies to children or young people who, for whatever reason, require additional support, in the long or short term, in order to help them make the most of their school education and to be included fully in their learning. Children or young people may require additional support for a variety of reasons and may include those who:

- have motor or sensory impairments
- have low birth weight
- are being bullied
- are children of parents in the Armed Forces
- are particularly able or talented [15]
- have experienced a bereavement
- are affected by imprisonment of a family member
- are interrupted learners
- have a learning disability
- have barriers to learning as a result of a health need, such as fetal alcohol spectrum disorder
- are looked after by a local authority or who have been adopted
- have a learning difficulty, such as dyslexia
- are living with parents who are abusing substances
- are living with parents who have mental health problems
- have English as an additional language
- are not attending school regularly
- have emotional or social difficulties
- are on the child protection register
- are refugees
- are young carers

B.3 Lists of pupils with additional needs at Lochanview Community High School (generalised and anonymised). Reproduced with permission of Lochanview Community High School (a pseudonym).

Table B.3 Numbers of pupils who do not speak English as a first language.

School Year 2016-2017	
School roll	657
EAL pupils	35 [5.3%]

Table B.4 Total number of pupils with additional needs, in the School.
Total expressed as a percentage of the school roll. Range of needs shown in alphabetised list. Pupils are recorded in **one** category only.

Autistic Spectrum Disorder	**10**
Bereavement	**1**
Communication Support Needs	**1**
Dyslexia	**30**
English as an Additional Language	**6**
Family Issues	**2**
Hearing Impairment	**1**
Language or Speech Disorder	**11**
Learning Disability	**13**
Looked After	**8**
Mental Health Problem	**2**
More Able Pupil	**4**
Other	**15**
Other Moderate Learning Difficulty	**19**
Other Specific Learning Difficulty (e.g. numeric)	**11**
Physical Health Problem	**18**
Physical or Motor Impairment	**6**
Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulty	**31**
Visual Impairment	**2**
Young Carer	**10**
Total number of pupils	**201 = 30.5%**

APPENDIX C:

ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND TERMS USED IN THE THESIS

Table C.1 Terms used in the United Kingdom.

ADD	Attention Deficit Disorder
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
ASD	Autism Spectrum Disorder
ASDAN	Organisation providing alternative curricula and qualifications, based on skills for life and work.
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BOARDMAKER	Trade name of an assisted communication system, based on symbols and drawings.
CAMHS	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, run by the National Health Service
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
EBD	Emotional and Behavioural Disorders
ECER	European Conference on Educational Research
EPIPEN	Equipment for administering urgent medication against allergic reactions.
LAC	Looked After Child: Child in the care of the state.
MLD	Moderate Learning Difficulties
NASEN	National Association for Special Educational Needs.
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education: Government body concerned with regulation in children's services.
PISA	The Programme for International Student Assessment, run by the OECD.
PMLD	Profound and Multiple Learning Difficulties
SEAL	Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SEND	Special Educational Needs and Disabilities
SLD	Severe Learning Difficulties
SpLD	Specific Learning Difficulty, such as Dyslexia, Dyscalculia

Table C.2 Terms more specific to Scottish education.

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT	System of tiered support, to which children are entitled, from classroom level, to individually targeted, to specialist.
ADVANCED HIGHER	Public examination taken at the end of six years of school education, often in one or two subjects.
ASN (AN)	Additional Support Needs, also Additional Needs.
BASE/SUPPORT BASE	An area in a school, where individual pupils may go to have supervised time out from class, or for additional work. May be separated into behaviour or learning support
BROAD GENERAL EDUCATION	The curriculum followed by all pupils from the Early Years to the end of the third year of secondary school.
CARER	A person appointed to look after a child, who is in the care of the State. (See LAC). A Young Carer is a child who takes care of a parent or sibling at home.
CATCHMENT AREA	The geographic area around a particular school, from which pupils generally attend. Parents may request a school outside their catchment area.
CHILDREN'S PANEL	A system introduced as a result of the Kilbrandon Report, as part of the Care and Justice systems, to make decisions for the care and protection of vulnerable young people. The Panel is formed from trained volunteers from the general public.
CURRICULUM FOR EXCELLENCE (CfE)	The national curriculum set by the Scottish Government.
EAL	English as an Additional Language. Used as an indicator of pupils in school, whose first language is not English.
FOUR CAPACITIES	Key purposes of the Curriculum for Excellence, enabling all children to become, "successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors".
FREE SCHOOL MEALS	Pupils whose family income falls below a certain level are entitled to a free lunch at school. Often used as a rough indicator of the school demographic.
GIRFEC	Getting It Right For Every Child: The approach underpinning all policies in care, health and education.
GUIDANCE	A system of pastoral support in Scottish schools. Each pupil is assigned a Guidance Teacher, often in year groups.
HEAD OF LEARNING SUPPORT/SUPPORT FOR LEARNING	Person in charge of the Learning Support Department in the school. Often works closely with the Behavioural Support and with the Guidance Staff. In some schools learning and behaviour support are amalgamated into one department. Equivalent post to the SENCO in England.
HIGHER	Public examination generally taken at the end of five (sometimes six) years of school education. Pupils intending to go to university usually take five Highers in one academic year, or a mixture of Highers and Advanced Highers over two years.
IEP	Individualised Educational Programme, used for children with additional needs, to plan, track and review all aspects of an individual pupil's education.

LEARNING (SUPPORT) ASSISTANT (LSA)	Also known as Support Assistant (SA) or Teaching Assistant (TA). Person without teaching qualification, who gives whole class or individual help, as required.
LOOKED AFTER CHILD (LAC)	A child in the care of the State, or where the State appoints someone to act in loco parentis.
LS	Learning Support (also Support for Learning/SfL). Department in school, which is concerned with all additional learning needs.
MCR PATHWAYS	A Glasgow-based charity for Mentoring vulnerable young people in schools. MCR: Motivation, Commitment and Resilience.
NAMED PERSON	Proposed legislation, whereby each young person (up to 18 years) would have a named individual as a point of contact (such as a Head Teacher). Currently still debated.
NATIONAL 3, 4 and 5	Subject-based qualifications, gained with assessment and/or examination, generally after three, four or five years of secondary education, but with some flexibility.
PE	Physical Education.
POSITIVE DESTINATIONS	Educational outcomes for young people leaving school: employment, further education or training, higher education.
PRIMARY SCHOOL	School for children aged approximately 5 – 12 years, with Primary One (P1) for the youngest, up to Primary 7 (P7) for the oldest pupils.
PVG	Protecting Vulnerable Groups Scheme. A disclosure check run by the Scottish Government on all those who work with children and other vulnerable groups.
REGISTRATION	A short time (usually about ten minutes) at the beginning of each day, and after lunch, in which pupil attendance is checked, in class groups.
RME	Religious and Moral Education
SEBD	Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties
SECONDARY SCHOOL	Six-year school for pupils aged between 12 and 18 years old. Compulsory school ends at age 16. Year groups are called Secondary 1 (the youngest pupils) to Secondary 6, also known as S1, S2 etc., or 'First Year', Second Year' etc.
SENIOR PHASE	Final phase of education in Scotland for those aged 16-18 years, in schools (Secondary Years 4-6) and in other contexts, leading to qualifications for further study or skills for work.
SFL	Support for Learning (see also (LS) Learning Support).
SHANARRI	Acronym used for Wellbeing indicators, alongside GIRFEC: **S**afe, **H**ealthy, **A**chieving, **N**urtured, **A**ctive, **R**espected, **R**esponsible, **I**ncluded.
SIMD	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. A detailed system of locating areas of social deprivation in the population, from 1 (most deprived) to 10 (least deprived). Used in schools, as an indicator of demographic and need.
WELLBEING	See SHANAARI