



A University of Sussex PhD thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details



Being and Doing Boy
Marginalised Young Masculinities
and
Professional Practice

Roma Thomas

Thesis submitted for PhD Examination at the University of Sussex

July 2021

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Acknowledgements

My first thanks and acknowledgements must be to the young people, staff and parents at Riverdale Pupil Referral Unit along with professionals from the local authority involved in this research. Your participation made this study possible and I thank you all deeply for the time and space you gave to me. I hope that what I present here honours your contribution.

I am not the first person to acknowledge the team effort involved in producing a doctoral thesis, I know that particular claim is far from original. I simply wish to place on record some of the debts of gratitude owed to those who have supported me on the journey of my studies.

Beginning at my own beginning, I thank my parents, Joy and James Thomas. Your lives and my memory of you continue to inspire and sustain me. From an early age you instilled in me a determination never to be 'less than'. These are capabilities that you knew were essential for us as black people in the world. My upbringing seeded resilience and resistance in equal measure within me and I thank you for that, this has provided a driving force for me in my studies. For your many gifts to me, I salute you Mr and Mrs Thomas.

Huge thanks and gratitude must go to my supervisors Gillian Ruch and Rachel Thomson for your insight, steadfast support and guidance. My studies have been life changing, expanding my horizons and the life of my mind, and that is in no small part due to you both. In the early stages of my doctorate I sometimes told myself that I should 'be more Gillian' or 'be more Rachel'. The gift of working with you both has been to come to the realisation that I can and should be 'more myself'.

Last, and by no means least, thanks must go to friends, family and study buddies. You all know who you are, many of you have been in my corner for years. Special mention here to a number of people: Rachel Larkin, we have forged a lasting friendship in our doctoral studies and I look forward to more wine, food and talk in our continued exchanges. Thank you Isabelle for your support and encouragement and thanks to Debi for being a kind host, and an eagle eye for my thesis. Thanks to my dear friends

Yvonne and Valerie, your friendship and love sustains me, and still we rise together. Thanks to Max, whether or not you know it – you sowed a seed in me about the value of an academic contribution. Finally, thanks to Gaim (GK) for being part of my life – I wonder which of us is most looking forward to you not asking the question, “are you working on your thesis?”

Summary

This thesis examines the perspectives of a group of teenage boys, marginalised through school exclusion, and the practice of professionals. Central concerns are the accounts these boys give of themselves discursively and through their material and embodied practices. The roles and relationships of professionals and the situated context of a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) setting are key elements that are also examined.

The study uses a mixed methods approach within an overall approach of ethnography. In addition to participant observation, twice-weekly group work sessions were undertaken at a PRU in London over a three-month period. The research was conducted with a group of five ethnically diverse boys aged 14 and 15. Drama based creative and participative methods were used in the group work. Interviews and focus groups were undertaken with professionals. Borrowing from longitudinal research methods, the research design used reflexive and recursive methods to explore data with research participants at different time phases. This included returning to the research site one year after the group work phase to involve a second group of boys (age 15-16) from the PRU in data analysis for the study.

The study examines enactments of identity and subject positions taken up by and conferred upon boys in this research. It explores how the practice of professionals, including teachers, teaching assistants, social workers and multi-disciplinary professionals, can contribute to possibilities for excluded boys. The thesis explores the work of gender and critically engages with theories of hegemonic masculinities that shape the field. The methods used are designed to enable close listening and affectively attuned attention to participants' ways of *being* and *doing* boy in the PRU context, working creatively with the analyses and insights provided by the young men themselves. The research is set within a post structural framework and informed by psychosocial approaches and theories of affect and materiality. Through these approaches the study develops thick descriptions that produce new insights into the relationship between identity, subjectivity and performativity. The voices of boys who took part in the research are central to the conclusions of the study.

The PRU is presented as a transitory and inherently contradictory space that is caught between its role as a return pathway to the often idealised space of mainstream school, and its role as a therapeutic space that offers young people the attention they need. It is argued that this contradictory context also contributes to conditions of impossibility for excluded boys. Key contributions to the research field include an expanded understanding of the situated nature of identity and subject formation and an analysis of masking and concealment as carried out at the PRU by boys and professionals. The study highlights complexities and challenges for professional practice with excluded young people and presents ways of stimulating reflective practice as well as the central importance of listening to the voices of marginalised boys and understanding their motivations.

Declaration.....	0
Acknowledgements.....	2
Summary	4
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	10
How Did I Get Here?	12
Boy ‘Problems’ and Excluded Subjects	14
Policy Landscape	16
Development of Research Questions	20
Writing in First Person	20
Thesis Structure	21
Chapter 2: Situating the Study – Conceptual Framing	24
Introduction	24
Youth and Adolescence: Disciplinary Perspectives.....	24
Mapping the Interdisciplinary Terrain	27
Post Structural Thought	32
Identity ‘always in process’	38
Subjectivity – How a boy comes to ‘be’ ‘who’ he is.....	39
Performativity – Citational Acts	41
Hegemonic Masculinity and Multiple Masculinities.....	42
Local Hegemony.....	45
A Psychosocial Lens.....	46
Affective Attunement	48
Conclusion.....	50
Chapter 3: Methodology – Ways of Noticing.....	52
Introduction	52
Ontological and Epistemological Orientation.....	52
Research Aims.....	54
Research Methodology and Design	55
Negotiating Access to the Research Site.....	59
The Research Site – Riverdale PRU	59
Research Participants.....	61
The Role of Professionals.....	64
Methods.....	64
Ethnography.....	64
Group Work and Creative Methods.....	66

Drama Based Methods	68
Interviews.....	70
Professionals - Focus Group Discussions	70
Data Sharing Group.....	71
Analysis	72
Transcription as Analysis.....	73
Developing Themes from the Data	74
Reflexivity.....	75
Research Diary	76
Free Writing	77
Analysis Group – A ‘Many Minds’ Approach.....	78
Ethics.....	81
Informed Consent	81
Confidentiality.....	83
Beneficence – Whose good?.....	83
Rigour and Generalisability.....	84
Conclusion.....	86
Chapter 4: Context – The PRU, Mainstream School and Home Spaces.....	87
Introduction	87
The PRU – A Space of Contrasts and Contradictions	88
A Transitory Space	92
Proper Behaviour - Being Good	94
Embodied Practices – Affectivities Flow	97
Mainstream School in Mind and Matter.....	101
Jared’s Journey.....	102
Laurent’s Journey.....	104
‘Home’ – Parents.....	105
Cal’s Journey	108
Sending ‘Back Home’ – Parental Agency	111
Conclusion.....	113
Chapter 5: Professionals – Roles and Relationships.....	116
Introduction	116
TAs – Friends at the PRU	117
Communication and Rapport – Differences and Common Ground.....	119
TAs – Joining In.....	121

Emotional Regulation.....	124
Shared Biographies and Identities	125
Teachers – The ‘Doing’ of Professional Roles and Relationships.....	127
Safe Teachers	127
Making Second Chances	131
Multidisciplinary Professionals	134
Social Work Discourse.....	135
Hearing Voices	136
Conclusion.....	139
Chapter 6: Excluded Boys – Being and Doing.....	142
Introduction	142
Looking at Trouble	143
Good and Bad Trouble	143
Being and Doing Trouble.....	145
Embodied Trouble.....	148
Trouble and Police - Routine Practices	149
Embodying PRU Subjectivities	152
Leaving and Returning	152
Rap Music – Techniques of Self.....	156
Performing Masculinities	159
Defensive Masculinities – Fighting Boys	159
Being a Man	164
Big Men	167
Multiple Masculinities.....	168
Masks and Masking Practices	169
Cover Story.....	173
Conclusion.....	176
Chapter 7: Being and Doing Exclusion	177
Research Questions	179
Realms of Impossibility	181
The PRU – Defended Against Impossibility	181
Mainstream Impossibility	184
‘Second chance’ Impossibility.....	185
Material Practices and Social Relations	186
Citational Chains	186

Self Creation and Solidarity: The Role of Rap Music.....	188
Bridging Work - Social Relations with TAs	190
Local Hegemonic Masculinities.....	191
Relational Identities – Parents in the Picture	194
Study Limitations	195
Conclusion.....	197
Chapter 8: Conclusion – Research, Policy and Practice Agendas	199
Supporting Hopeful Futures.....	200
School Exclusion Transmobilities: Parents and ‘Sending Back’	201
Participatory Data Analysis	202
Time and its Meanings	203
References	205
Appendices	223

List of Figures

Figure 1 Research Design - Representation to Research Participants	56
Figure 2 Research Design Illustrating Recursive Methods	58
Figure 3 Focus Group Discussions - Professionals Outside of the PRU.....	63
Figure 4 Research Diary - Recording Fieldnotes and Reflections.....	76
Figure 5 A Green slip Part of the Riverdale Reward and Incentive System for Good Behaviour	95
Figure 6 Statements Drawn from Group Work and Interview Data	138
Figure 7 Flowchart Illustrating the Process of Discussing Research Material with the Data Sharing Group	148
Figure 8 Mask in Riverdale Activity Room.....	169
Figure 9 Jared and James (drama facilitator) Wearing Masks	171
Figure 10 Ceramic Puzzle on Display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London ...	177

List of Tables

Table 1 – Riverdale Core Group	62
Table 2 – Data Sharing Group	63
Table 3 – Interviews, Boys and Professionals	63
Table 4 - Multidisciplinary Professionals Focus Group	64

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis focuses attention on processes of identity and subject making among boys in their mid-teens who have been permanently excluded from school. Almost two decades ago the authors of a landmark study of young masculinities, Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002) pointed to gaps in our understanding of the ‘multifarious ways in which young masculinities are made’ (p2). While it is known that schooling is a key site for identity formation (Reay, 2010) the context of school exclusion remains underexplored as a site for the making of young masculinities. The exclusion of boys from school is both a public and private concern. In England (the country focused upon in this study), boys significantly outnumber girls in rates of permanent and fixed-term exclusion, by three to one in cases of permanent exclusion (Department for Education, 2021). These are longstanding trends. Certain groups of children are overrepresented among those who are excluded including black Afro-Caribbean boys, mixed race boys, young people in receipt of free school meals, looked after children and children and young people who have a diagnosis of Special Educational Needs (Timpson, 2019). The problem of disproportionality in school exclusions is also a persistent and longstanding issue (Parsons, 1996, 2009; Graham et al., 2019). We also know that exclusion leads to poor outcomes, risks and vulnerabilities (Parsons, 1996; Daniels et al., 2003; Briggs, 2010; Gazeley, 2010; Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2013).

This study examines the lived experience of boys in the situated context of schooling in a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU). Through ethnographic approaches, it attends to social, psychic and affective dimensions in the lived experience of marginality arising from exclusion. The thesis seeks to foreground the perspectives of excluded boys and bring insights derived from discourse and material practices into conversation with professional practice. Gaps in knowledge of the lived experience and theorisation of exclusion and young male identities highlight the space for contributions to enrich professional practice.

A key premise for this study is that greater understanding of young people’s perspectives can change the practice of those who work with them. This speaks to

method, that is, ways of finding out and interpretive approaches. The study uses a mixed methods approach within an overall approach of ethnography. In addition to participant observation, twice-weekly group work sessions were undertaken at a PRU in London over a three-month period. The research was conducted with a group of five ethnically diverse boys aged 14 and 15. Drama based creative and participative methods were used in the group work. Interviews and focus groups were undertaken with professionals and a single workshop conducted with eight ethnically diverse boys aged 15. The research design used reflexive and recursive methods to explore data with research participants at different time phases. This included returning to the research site one year after the group work phase to conduct an analysis workshop with a second group of boys from the PRU.

Teenage boys are frequently positioned as both troubled and troubling. Boys who have been excluded from school are among those who are most marked by this positioning. The 'disruptive' and 'bad behaviour' of boys and their exclusion from school is a focus of much concern yet this tends not to be informed by theoretical work on gender, identity and social positioning. The study aims to provide a theoretically informed vocabulary for practice. The research is situated within a post structural framework (Butler, 1997; Davies, 2006; Hall, 2007) informed by psychosocial approaches (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008; Woodward, 2015) and theories of affect and materiality (Youdell, 2010; MacLure, 2013; Kraftl, 2016). It also engages with masculinity theories (Connell, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2019) which shape the field. A contribution of the thesis is to foreground the discourses and material practices of boys in a PRU setting and build theory from empirical examples. Through writing ethnographically, I present a nuanced and rich picture of how boys position themselves and are positioned in the context of exclusion. The study seeks to offer ways of understanding gendered performances of identity and subject positions together with the social relations and context which mediate these enactments. If we are to challenge marginalisation and improve practice for excluded boys, it is vital to understand their everyday experience of school exclusion. In other words, we need to understand how exclusion is *felt* and what is *done* within the situated context of exclusion and schooling in a PRU. Deeper understanding of 'being and doing boy' and marginality in the circumstances of

exclusion brings to the fore psychic, emotional, material and embodied impacts of school exclusion and the responses of the social actors involved. The thesis seeks to improve practice through the use of fine-grained analysis and theory drawn from rich empirical examples. It is hoped that the knowledge presented in the study will contribute to theory building for informed practices of care and support by professionals.

This introductory chapter is organised as follows. I begin by setting out my positionality in the research, drawing on an episode from my own biography which illustrates the origins of my emotional and intellectual connection with the research topic. By way of context and background, I provide a brief commentary on the pathologising of young male identities and the policy landscape for school exclusion. This contextual background underscores why the thesis topic is an important area of study. Finally, I provide an overview of the thesis chapters. Definitions of key terms used throughout the thesis are set out at Appendix 1 of the thesis.

How Did I Get Here?

One of the family stories I grew up with in my Caribbean family comprised an oft-repeated tale of triumph by my parents on my behalf against the forces of the British education system. This was a system I was born into, my parents having arrived in London from the West Indies in the 1960s. In my teens and early adulthood, I began to re-tell the tale myself. I drew a sense of comfort and reassurance as well as pride from the victory. In brief, these were the events that comprise the story: At five years old, shortly after beginning at infants' school in South London I had come home crying. I told my parents that I didn't like the fact that I was not allowed to stay in the 'nice' teacher Mrs H's class but always had to leave part way through to go into the 'special group' that was Mrs J's, the 'horrible' teacher's¹ class. I did not like it in Mrs J's class, I sobbed because it was noisy and crowded and Mrs J could hit people – I had heard her talk about giving us a clip around the ear. I do not know if I ever saw her actually hitting children but I know that I was fearful that this might happen to me. The next day my mother went to see the Headmistress of the school, Mrs W. My mother

¹ As I recall it 'nice' and 'horrible' teacher were the names used by children in the class to refer to the two teachers.

demanded to know why I was being put in a different class from other children, all of whom were white and middle class. My mother did not refer to race or class (that is my gloss); she simply complained that she could not see why I should be treated differently from Jacqueline, Tracey, Louise and Debbie (all of whom were white children). My mother proclaimed proudly to Mrs W “my Roma can already read” she then enquired (and this is the part of the story that was most often repeated in my family) “can they [Jacqueline, Tracey and the others] spell cat or bat better than Roma?” There was a long silence until finally Mrs W said that the arrangements would be changed, I would no longer be required to go into Mrs J’s ‘special group’. During my schooling years my parents pursued a successful strategy of ‘going up to the school’ to demand explanations as to why I was being treated differently from unnamed others. These challenges resulted in a change of heart by teachers and the end of the different treatment in my individual case. There is another significant detail in this story, a couple of weeks prior to my mother’s intervention the Headmistress, Mrs W had bumped into my mother and me having tea in the restaurant at the local department store. According to my mother, Mrs W had looked surprised to see a black mother and her child in a restaurant, my mother was sure that Mrs W had remembered that meeting and that this had influenced the case for me to remain in the class with the nice teacher. Mrs W had ‘seen us in a different light’ according to my mother. In my late teens and early twenties I used to tell these stories with relish, full of admiration for my mother, I still am. I cannot say precisely when the question of what happened to the other children who did not escape Mrs J’s ‘special group’ occurred to me. Reflecting back we in our family had realised that the ‘special group’ was for ‘backward’ children (Coard, 1971), separated for what was called ‘remedial teaching’. The class comprised almost all of the black children and poor white children in the reception year; we were classified and marginalised on arrival at school. Now all these years later the question of what happened to the other children who did not have my good fortune remains pivotal. In undertaking this study I am still asking what happens to such children and young people.

The thesis topic is the identities and subjectivities of teenage boys, aged 14-16 who are marginalised through school exclusion. The autobiographical tale with which I began

this introduction presents some of the reasons for my interest in marginality and schooling. As a London born, black British woman, born to parents who migrated from the Caribbean to the UK in the 1960s our family story of education and risk was not unusual and the hurdles did not end in the reception class of my South London school. However, this personal story is only a partial explanation of my motivation for embarking on this study. My decision to focus specifically on the experience of teenage boys arose from encounters with teenage boys and their families in the context of a social work research study.

In 2012 I joined a research team at the University of Bedfordshire engaged in undertaking a large scale randomized control trial (RCT) observing social workers communicating with families in a child protection team. Our job as researchers was to accompany social workers on their visits to families and observe their conversations with clients. During the fieldwork I noticed that workers often expressed pessimism when the family included a boy who was aged 12 or in his early to mid-teens. In these cases social workers appeared to struggle to respond to the families. In cases where there was more than one child in the family I noticed a tendency on the worker's part to overlook the teenage boy and focus on what needed to be in place to support the younger child. There was often a silence about the boy while other family problems such as domestic abuse were discussed. On one occasion, I remember the gloomy regret expressed by one worker. He felt strongly that the 15 year old boy they were working with was likely to 'end up' in the criminal justice system. In my conversations with workers after family visits the ages of boys and their gender were named as significant factors which led social workers to speculate that they were unlikely to be able to offer effective interventions. It is these research encounters and a pervading sense of pessimism that I observed which led me to focus on marginalised teenage boys and professional practice.

Boy 'Problems' and Excluded Subjects

The 1990s onward saw growing levels of concern, globally and locally, about 'masculinity in crisis' (Epstein et al., 1998). This has often been described as a 'boy problem' (Skelton, 2001), with boys constructed as *both* a 'problem' and 'at risk' thus locating them as "both victims and threats to others" (Francis and Skelton, 2005 p.52).

In public discourse boys can be variously described as “troubled”, “in crisis”, “problematic” and posing a “threat to society” (Bleach, 1998; Hoff Sommers, 2001 cited in, Francis and Skelton, 2005). The pervasiveness of pathologising ideas about boys makes it imperative to give space to the voices of boys themselves, this is a focus for the thesis. As Frosh et al. (2002) highlight, an apparent crisis in contemporary masculinities can be attributed to a range of social phenomena. Examples include the collapse of traditional employment routes for boys in post-industrial society, documented in Willis’s classic text *Learning to Labour* (1977), challenges to dominant forms of masculinity in Western societies (Seidler, 1994; Connell, 1995). While there is ambiguity in the literature about the age of boys who are the focus of concern (Frosh et al., 2002), it is the onset of teenage years which are a particular locus for the start of problematising, and this is also the locus for my study:

What we are referring to is a period mainly in the teenage years in which boys are becoming acculturated (or acculturating themselves) into increasingly salient masculine identities. (Frosh et al., 2002, p.1)

Relevant to the thesis topic is the fact that mid-teenage years are a high point for school exclusions. Department for Education statistics show that permanent and fixed-period exclusions increase as age increases and reach the highest peak at age 14 before starting to decrease gradually (DfE, 2021). In sociological terms as Nayak and Kehily (2008) observe, investment in ideas of childhood innocence can be sharply contrasted to problematisation of youth as dangerous and needing to be ‘contained’.

There are different emphases for gendered ‘problem’ narratives for boys. In education discourses of academic ‘underachievement’ in boys (especially, compared to girls) is a key theme (Phoenix, 2000; Francis, 2006; Bettis and Adams, 2011) concerns about an anti-learning culture in boys, which is often racialised (Sewell, 1997) or classed (Reay, 2002). In the field of health and social care, concerns focus on a range of vulnerabilities including suicide rates and lack of help-seeking (NSPCC, 2009; Campbell et al., 2013). In more recently established fields such as child sexual exploitation (CSE) there is growing visibility of boys as victims (Cockbain et al., 2014) and, as perpetrators of peer-on-peer abuse among young people (Beckett et al., 2013). In crime and youth justice policy, concerns over boys and offending behaviours predominate (Baumgartner, 2020). Pathologised discourses often overlap with the phenomenon of

school exclusion. Excluded young people are at the forefront of those who are positioned as a dangerous threat to society (Parsons, 1996; Brodie, 2001; Briggs, 2010) and problematic young masculinities play into these ideas. Contemporary concerns around youth violence have tended to be linked to exclusion, with a focus on excluded boys and young men as perpetrators as well as victims of youth violence. This is also an area where race is prominently featured as well as gender, with a key focus on black boys (Perera, 2020). The accent is often on boys as perpetrators, or culprits rather than victims (Parsons, 1996; Squires, 2009). The alternative education settings of PRUs introduced in England and Wales in 1994 (Hart, 2013) are also deeply implicated and stigmatised in these pathologising discourses. Young people and PRUs have been linked in the media and elsewhere to knife crime. A Sunday Times newspaper headline, “the scandal of schools for knife crime” (Griffiths and Das, 2019) typifies stigmatised narratives around PRUs, including a lurid graphic of a large knife. The notion of a ‘PRU to prison pipeline’ is also emblematic of stigmatisation affecting PRUs (Perera, 2020). PRUs may frequently be seen as sites where young people face increased risk of becoming victims of criminal exploitation and at increased risk of becoming offenders (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, 2013; Timpson, 2019). These factors underline the importance of attending to the situated context of schooling within a PRU in this study.

Policy Landscape

Exclusionary processes and constructions of the disruptive child largely locate problems within the individual child and their family (Parsons, 1996; Brodie, 2001; Youdell, 2006b; Gillies, 2016) rather than the wider social context of discrimination and inequalities (Gillborn and Youdell, 1999; Gazeley, 2010; Gillborn, 2014; Gazeley et al., 2015). As studies show, the problem of school exclusion is far from new, research across the past three decades presents a disquietingly similar picture to contemporary times (Blyth and Milner, 1993; Parsons, 1996; Daniels et al., 2003; Munn and Lloyd, 2005; Duncan, 2013). Drivers of exclusion include: The impact of league tables, marketization and competition on schools (Parffrey, 1994; Gillborn and Youdell, 2009), inherent unfairness and inconsistency in exclusionary systems (Parsons, 1996), school exclusion as a key factor associated with social exclusion (Blyth and Milner, 1993; Hayden, 2003; Daniels and Cole, 2010), racism and discrimination in education

(Gillborn, 2006; Weekes-Bernard, 2010) and social inequalities, poverty and class disparities (Gazeley, 2010; Reay, 2017).

Key debates in contemporary policy can be well understood by reflecting on both the Timpson (2019) review of school exclusion and the government's response to the report. The review was commissioned by government in 2018 against a backdrop of rising public concerns linking excluded young people to involvement in crime and serious youth violence. Although notably the review was commissioned partly in response to racial disparities in exclusions highlighted by the governments' race disparity audit (Cabinet Office, 2017). The terms of reference for the Timpson (2019) review focus on school practices in exclusion and disproportionality in the exclusion of certain children. This includes black boys of Afro-Caribbean heritage, young people with special needs and young people eligible for free school meals (Graham et al., 2019 p.5). Reading the thirty recommendations of the Review together with the government's response in accepting the recommendations sets the stage for how exclusion is currently constructed and key critiques and evidence gaps arising from this. Notably, while there is clear support for removal of barriers to education for certain groups of children, including those with special educational needs and/or disabilities (SEND) (Timpson, 2019, p.39), the Review operates from a key premise; namely, that exclusion is ultimately a *necessary* sanction (emphasis added), albeit a sanction that should be a last resort according to the Timpson review:

Schools must be calm and safe places, and it is right that we fully support head teachers in using exclusion where this is appropriate. Head teachers considering exclusion have a tough choice to make ... We must support school leaders in this difficult task, whilst making sure no child gets left behind. (Timpson, 2019, p.3)

In accepting the Review's recommendations the government response makes the policy priority clear. The first of four commitments in the Response is to support head teachers to:

...maintain safe and orderly environments for the benefit of all pupils and staff in their schools. (DfE, 2019, p.5)

This is developed further by stating a commitment to provide school leaders with "greater clarity about when and how it is appropriate for children to be removed" (DfE,

2019, p.5). The unequivocal note in the statement by use of the word 'how' as opposed to 'if' children should be removed is striking. The government response thus indicates that the 'prescription' for those young people who are perceived as a threat to a safe and calm school environment, is the improvement of alternative provision. This latter point thereby shifts the focus to effective interventions and improving alternative provision rather than consideration of fairness and inequities within the system. Instead, it is alternative provision that must be improved through good practice models via initiatives such as partnering. Emphasis on safety in this policy discourse tends towards the construction of excluded young people as dangerous threats. While ideas of danger can be readily associated with violence and physical harm, it is striking that 'low level disruption' by students is also constructed in these discourses as a threat and this provides another of the key justifications for exclusion. Ethnographic research conducted by Briggs (2010) found that many of the young people in his study were permanently excluded for a mix of reasons which included uniform issues and "back chatting" as well as aggressive behaviours (Briggs, 2010, p.11). According to government statistics for 2018/19 school exclusions, persistent disruptive behaviour is the main reason for both permanent (35%) exclusions and fixed-term (31%) exclusions (DfE, 2021). The dominance of persistent disruptive behaviour among reasons for exclusion is a longstanding trend. For instance figures for 2008/09 show 29.6% permanent and 23.3% fixed-term exclusions (DfE, 2010). As a matter of policy and regulation exclusion remains within the discretionary powers of individual schools and head teachers. This policy is underpinned by a behaviourist ethos with much less scope for understanding the factors which may drive certain behaviours (Gillies, 2016).

The impact of race, ethnicity and stereotyping remains unaddressed in the Timpson review and social inequalities, though acknowledged, are also overlooked when it comes to practical prescriptions for tackling inequalities. The report adopts an individualised rather than systemic view, focusing on the performance and behaviour of young people and schools. Although the Timpson review commissioned an independent literature review by Graham et al. (2019) of disproportionality in school exclusions, no firm conclusions are reached from this evidence. Instead it is arguable

that the Review silences the issue by referring to a “complex” picture regarding links between ethnicity and exclusion (Timpson, 2019, p.6). This example brings to mind Phoenix and Hussain’s (2007) arguments about the “normalised absence/pathologised presence” approach to race and ethnicity (Phoenix, 1987; Phoenix and Hussain, 2007, pp.7-8). The Timpson review is also inconclusive with respect to gender, simply stating that it can find no clear evidence for why boys make up the overwhelming majority of exclusions (Timpson, 2019, p.44). Although the review does mention hypotheses of boys acting out and girls internalising behaviours. It is apparent that although there are some students who may be deemed ‘deserving’ of support, for example, SEND students, those who are categorised as disruptive *must* be excluded to keep others in a safe learning environment (Graham, 2013; Parker et al., 2016). A quote from an Academy Trust among a range of perspectives quoted in the Timpson review typifies this view:

[I]t is not inclusive to have one child severely disrupt the education of twenty-nine others in the class. (Timpson, 2019, p.24)

In summary, the current policy approach for school exclusion in England remains similar to policy prescriptions adopted in the past. Exclusion of certain children and young people can be said to amount to a policy of segregation where a significant minority of young people are educated in separate spaces from their peers in mainstream school (Gillies, 2016; Reay, 2017). As previously noted there are persistent patterns of overrepresentation of certain groups of young people who are excluded (Gazeley et al., 2015; Graham et al., 2019). Salient to the thesis topic, boys continue to outnumber girls by three to one among young people excluded, see Osler et al. (2002) for a discussion of the overlooked subject of excluded girls. As part of exclusion policy PRUs play an important role in the mixed economy of the school system in England, though as Ball (2018) highlights, inherent inconsistencies mean that this can hardly be called a system.

This brief overview of the school exclusion policy landscape helps to set the scene for the thesis. The persistent problem of school exclusion and through this the marginalisation of young people is an urgent cause for attention in society. In

examining exclusionary processes it is imperative to understand more about the lived experience of exclusion from mainstream school and schooling in a PRU setting.

Development of Research Questions

Engagement with the policy landscape and its implications for practice was an important starting point for the research questions in this study. The specific questions, outlined later in the thesis (in the methodology chapter 3) were further shaped by theory and methods for the research. By way of introduction, I share here some of the thinking which informed development of the research questions. Given the policy backdrop I have outlined above, I wished to make a contribution to building the knowledge base focused on 14-16 year old boys, a key group in terms of school exclusion. In particular I wished to examine ideas about what might be possible for these boys and in the work of professionals. Exploring how and why these boys might be seen as impossible subjects formed an important part of this research agenda. Central to my enquiry was a desire to engage with the perspectives of boys themselves in relation to the policy and practice of exclusion.

Writing in First Person

The ways in which we recognise our own role as researcher when writing about our research brings risks that are well debated in academic literature (Yates and McLeod, 1996; McLeod and Yates, 1997). In reflections about post structural writing Laws (2004) discusses the experience of objectifying her academic writing, so that her authorship became “transposed” into a “transcendental anonymity” (Rabinow, 1984, p.104 cited in, Laws, 2004, p.116). I have used the first person throughout the thesis. This is both in service of transparency, about my own role as researcher, and it is integral to reflexivity in the research process. I do not claim the centrality of my own views but instead seek to be open about my role in knowledge creation. My perspectives are part of the layers of meaning in this research. This is in keeping with the feminist, post structural positioning of the study (McLeod and Yates, 1997; Gannon and Davies, 2014) and is intended as an approach which:

...takes seriously the learning, knowledge, interests and conditions of work [of the researcher] and the different interests and conditions of the participants of the study, and does not insist that these always can reduce to a common participatory agenda. (Yates and McLeod, 1996, p.91)

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into eight chapters including this introductory chapter. The study proceeds with Chapter 2, where I present the theoretical tools and conceptual framework for the thesis and locate the thesis contribution within a post structural tradition of socially situated, affectively attuned youth studies. The chapter begins with an exploration of professional and disciplinary debates between developmental and sociological perspectives. This helps to position the research within the interdisciplinary field of childhood and youth studies. I examine relevant literature for the thesis, including key studies of gendered identities and masculinities, that are influential for the research. I explain the post structural framework for the thesis and my reasons for adopting this approach. Key concepts, including identity and subjectivity are discussed as resources for the study. The chapter situates my research within an inclusive theoretical approach encompassing psychosocial approaches, hegemonic masculinities, affect and materialities. The theoretical underpinnings set out in this chapter provide the rationale for the thesis research questions and the methodological approach taken in the study. At its heart this chapter charts my journey through the use of post structural theory and complementary theoretical approaches to grasp the thesis topic.

Chapter 3 sets out the methodological approach and methods used for the study. A key function for this chapter is to introduce the field site and research participants, this is vital for the ethnographic character of this study. The chapter moves on from the conceptual and theoretical groundwork covered in the previous chapter to set out the thesis aims, research questions and design. It gives an account of ethnographic approaches used in the study together with methods of analysis and reflexivity. The use of group work, creative methods and drama based enquiry is discussed. The discussion in this chapter engages with methodological debates and literature relevant for the thesis. Ethical considerations and challenges encountered in the research are discussed.

The data chapters of the thesis, Chapters 4, 5, 6 present the study findings as follows: Chapter 4 examines the situated context surrounding the boys in this research. It explores three key dimensions of their social world, the PRU, mainstream school

(which it is argued is inextricably linked with the PRU) and ideas of 'home', represented by parents. Within the post structural framework for the study examination of these three key spaces provides a way to understand how possibilities for the boys' identities and subjectivities are shaped. This is a vital precursor for the remaining findings chapters. Chapter 5 presents findings about the role of professionals and the social relations that are condensed within their roles. My discussion focuses chiefly on Teaching Assistants (TAs) and teachers and briefly examines the practice of other professionals involved in the research. The chapter findings suggest that TAs at the PRU are positioned in ways that are unconventional when compared with the customary role of TAs. This chapter sheds light on the bridging role which TAs play and their connections as professionals with the boys. The focus on teachers examines power and social relations including relationships of trust and support. The examination of the role of professionals in this chapter provides a way to understand how professionals contribute to shaping conditions of possibility for the boys in this study. In Chapter 6 I focus attention on how the boys enact identity and subject positions. Drawing on Stuart Hall's notion of multiple and always in process identities and subjectivities (Hall, 1996a) I conceptualise boys as 'speaking and doing subjects' who are active agents in constructing their own identities and subjecthood, and who are also shaped by surrounding social relations. Gendered identity performances are explored and the concept of hegemonic masculinities is drawn upon to illustrate marginalised/protest masculinities (Connell, 2005) and what may constitute local hegemonic masculinities. Through this approach I am able to engage with the boys' vulnerabilities and the material practices that they deploy in relation to the circumstances at the PRU. In particular I argue that the marginalised positioning of boys mirrors the marginalised status of the PRU.

Chapter 7 outlines the contributions to knowledge claimed in the thesis. This chapter brings my research findings into conversation with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and my research questions. My claims for the thesis relate to three main areas: Firstly, boys' identities and subjectivities, articulating a theorised analysis of 'doing' school exclusion and 'the play' of gender and masculinities. A second contribution is the conceptualisation of the PRU/mainstream school as impossible spaces for the young

men. My third contribution to the field involves attention to the significance of the relational identities of parents in the experience of the boys – including how transnational identities complicate notions on inclusion/exclusion and ‘home’.

In Chapter 8, I conclude the thesis, reflecting on how insights gained from the study findings and methodologies might inform practice, policy and research. I also reflect on the significance of time as a unifying theme for my experience of undertaking this research and the analysis presented in the thesis.

Chapter 2: Situating the Study – Conceptual Framing

Introduction

This chapter draws on existing scholarship to position and explain my study. It establishes the key concepts used in my analysis and locates the work in terms of a theoretical tradition. The chapter sets out to review the state of the art in the field of gender research within youth studies and masculinities, while also highlighting previous empirical research projects that have influenced this study.

The chapter begins with a brief summary of research literature from different disciplinary perspectives that highlights teenage years and schooling as key sites for enquiry, enabling me to position my own study within these disciplinary and professional debates. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework for the study, including my adoption of a post structuralist framework for understanding the thesis topic. I discuss post structural concepts of identity, subjectivity and performativity which provide conceptual resources for the study. Following this I examine key debates in gender and masculinities research literature with a view to making a contribution to these through the study. In the last section of the chapter, I outline how my adoption of a post structural framework has expanded over the course of the research to include psychosocial approaches and theories of affect and materialities. The chapter concludes by summarising the conceptual and theoretical framework for the study.

Youth and Adolescence: Disciplinary Perspectives

In the introductory chapter, I explained some of the impetus behind my personal motivation for a focus on marginality and teenage boys. I give a brief overview here of perspectives from the literature which highlight the significance of adolescence/youth as a key stage of transition and significant social category. The terminologies ‘adolescence’ and ‘youth transitions’ signal important disciplinary differences between developmental psychology and the sociology of youth. Yet both agree that the teenage years are important. Psychological storm and stress, “*sturm und drang*” theories (Hall, 1904, p.207) and notions of adolescence as a sequentially staged period (Blos, 1967) continue to influence contemporary conceptions of adolescence (Petersen et al., 1996; Coleman, 2010). Such theories have helped to shape our views of young people,

normality and abnormality. Professional practice, informed by a range of disciplinary knowledge (including psychological approaches) present adolescence as a period of intense vulnerabilities of personality, arising from puberty:

[A] professional hegemony can be identified within which the lives of *all* children and young people have been constructed through the dominant discourses of development and socialisation. (Coppock, 2005, p.288)

From a clinical perspective “emphasis is laid on the likelihood of maladaptive behaviour” (Coleman, 1990, p.13). Approaches influenced by biological understandings of adolescence suggest that “young people are in the grip of hormonal and psychological changes that produce an erratic range of feelings and behaviour” (Kehily, 2012, p.13). Although Coleman (1990; 2010) provides a useful counter to this thinking. He advocates a theory of normality rather than abnormality for teenage years, suggesting that most young people navigate this period of life without major trauma (Coleman and Hagell, 2007).

By contrast to psychological/developmental approaches, as Mary Jane Kehily observes:

The term youth suggests a more social orientation, a concern with young people as a socially constituted group and an interest in ways in which young people are positioned and defined in society. (Kehily, 2012, p.13)

It is this approach that I adopt for this study. This is not to eschew an interest in developmental discourses. These remain significant given the power of their influence on the practice of professionals and young people’s ideas of themselves. As I will reflect in the conclusions to the study, time and temporality are vitally important in making sense of the experience of young people moving in and out of mainstream education. These are areas that developmental frameworks give emphasis to, yet which tend towards naturalising in unhelpful ways that draw attention away from the specific environment, resources and relationalities that contextualise the individual and group.

There is broad, and cross-disciplinary consensus on the onset of adolescence/youth as a significant transition in life (Rutter and Rutter, 1992; Coleman and Hagell, 2007; Coleman, 2010). Brown and Gilligan (1998) in a study of girls and women’s development, employ the metaphor of a crossroads to describe adolescence. Connell et al. (1982) describe the state of being a teenager as “a constantly dissolving one,

[which] dissolves in the direction of adulthood” (Connell et al., 1982, p.163). Key studies by Rutter and Rutter (1992), which take a life-span developmental perspective, highlight a range of factors that encompass and go beyond puberty. This includes the significance of social experience in adolescence. Adolescence is identified as a time when peer relationships take on a growing significance, with the balance of time vis à vis friends and family shifting (Rutter and Rutter, 1992, p.251). Key institutions such as schooling and relationships are recognised as shaping the lives of young people, with the move from primary to secondary school seen as a highly significant factor (Hagell, 2012). Connell et al. (1982) point out the rise of adolescence as a social category.

There are numerous ways of defining adolescence/youth. According to Coleman (1990) “chronological age ... although giving us a broad indication of the adolescent stage, cannot be a precise definition” (p.8). Hagell (2012) uses a broad definition encompassing the second decade of life and preparation for moving into secondary school, while pointing out variations with formal definitions of youth ranging up to the mid-twenties. Interestingly, adolescence and youth data may frequently feature such a wide age category that it is hard to draw useful learning from such evidence (Hagell, 2012). Salient for the thesis, Nayak and Kehily (2008) suggest that the terms ‘child’ ‘youth’ and ‘adult’ gloss over complexity. This complexity is reflected in the porous border between the status of adult and young person in the self-identities of my research participants. Nayak and Kehily (2008) consider childhood and youth as “contingent constructions, forever in the making” (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.7). It is crucial for my own study, both in terms of analytical power and social policy application, not to see adolescence as an abstract or homogenous category:

We do not regard adolescence as a homogenous life stage, but see all sorts of ways of sub-dividing groups, by age and also by ‘pathway’ and socioeconomic status. (Hagell, 2012, p.2)

This perspective speaks to the heart of the thesis subject matter, that is the situated nature of the context examined and the interplay between subject position, practices and context.

There is further interest in the early to mid-teenage years from a social policy perspective. The age of 12-15 is a key period of change with young people moving

from primary to secondary school. Hagell (2012) highlights this stage as an intensely social period in life, where key institutions and relationships structure and dominate young peoples' lives. Importantly, as this informs much professional knowledge and practice, the developmental psychology paradigm depicts the stages and transitions of Western childhood framing this phase as an 'apprenticeship for adulthood' with the developmental process as a path to rational subjectivity (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.8).

Mapping the Interdisciplinary Terrain

The sociology of childhood (Qvortrup, 1994; Prout, 2011; Mayall, 2013) provides part of the intellectual backdrop for this research and, as previously noted, these ideas are a counter to essentialised, taken-for-granted categories embedded in developmental models (Mayall, 2002; Thorne, 2007). In the following brief overview I map the interdisciplinary terrain which informs my use of post structural approaches in the thesis.

For sociology theorists there is consensus about the importance of the adolescent transition phase. However, sociological approaches focus on socialization processes and role assumption, rather than the internal factors stressed in psychoanalytic theories. Key features of the sociological paradigm according to James and Prout (1997, cited in, Nayak and Kehily, 2013, p.11) include:

- Childhood is understood as a social construction
- Childhood is a variable of social analysis
- Children should be seen as social agents
- Studying childhood involves an engagement with the process of reconstructing childhood in society.

Social construction (Jenks, 2005), children and young people's agency and voice (Moran-Ellis, 2010), and children and young people as a distinct social group, with interests that are worthy of study in their own right (Mayall, 2002) are key ideas in play across this study. Given the influence of developmental models on the practice of professionals involved in this research, this is significant for the research. Since engagement with professional practice is part of the thesis aims, through bringing together the perspectives of young people with the practice of professionals, I am acutely aware of the need to do more than seek to replace one set of (developmental)

orthodoxies with another set of (social construction) orthodoxies. Additional conceptual tools are required to support critical engagement with practice. ‘Insider critiques’ by childhood studies scholars (James, 2010; Prout, 2011; Tisdall and Punch, 2012) provide helpful discussions of the theoretical steps needed to acquire these conceptual tools. Three key arguments from this ‘insider’ literature are explored briefly here to shed light on how an interdisciplinary approach has led me firstly to post structuralism and, through this framework to other conceptual tools such as affect and materialities, in this study.

The first of these critiques concerns what might be thought of as weakness in childhood studies’ theorisation (Tisdall and Punch, 2012) through an overemphasis on establishing the case for social constructivist perspectives. James (2010) suggests this problem is amplified by a proliferation of empirical studies in the field. While acknowledging the validity of these studies within their own context he urges reflection as to the contribution of yet more studies:

... that demonstrate yet again, the fact that childhood is socially constructed and that children are active social agents in the construction of their own childhoods. (James, 2010, p.486)

Relatedly, Tisdall and Punch (2012) indicate a loss of criticality in theorisation arising from key tenets of the sociological paradigm becoming “mantras” (p.251) about childhood and youth. James’s words provide both a caution and a stimulus for scholars to search for ways of achieving greater depth of meaning from empirical findings. Blazek and Kraftl (2015) provide useful examples of ways in which theorisation from empirical findings can be made more salient and compelling. This includes reflexivity in engagement with empirical evidence and applying this to policy and practice. Kraftl and Blazek (2015) describe their own emotional and ‘visceral’ responses to the experience of South African youth in an account by van Blerk and van Blerk (2015). Moving beyond their own individual responses Kraftl and Blazek state:

Yet, future research might ... examine the emotional after-lives of texts produced about and by young people in policy-making and practitioner contexts (as well as the texts produced by academics). (Kraftl and Blazek, 2015, p.295)

Other examples which demonstrate reflexivity in engagement with empirical findings include Youdell's (2010) account of a teacher's pedagogic practices in a special school for boys, and Davies' (2014) account of listening as a radical pedagogy. These examples have in common the use of affectively attuned methods within post structural frameworks. Theory is brought to bear in ways which enliven empirical findings, importantly these approaches *include*, but go beyond, social construction in their analyses. Constructivism is used as a generative theoretical tool and can more properly be called a point of departure. This avoids the limiting features of a 'mantra'. In seeking to enrich professional practice, the "emotional after-lives" alluded to by Kraftl and Blazek (2015, p.295) are embodied in the empirical data within my own study. This can be drawn upon as a resource to contribute to furthering understanding of what school exclusion *feels* like for young people and why this matters. Through theorising from these empirical insights, the thesis aims to engage with developmental approaches in professional practice by offering a deeper level of theorisation. Agency and social construction within sociological approaches therefore provide a starting point rather than a destination for this research.

The second of the 'insider critiques' which is pertinent for this study relates to the problem of universalism in the construction of childhood within childhood studies (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Given my focus on marginality through school exclusion this is especially salient. While Tisdall and Punch (2012) highlight the issue from a global and development studies perspective, they also draw attention to the overlooking of groups and categories of children and young people in Western or Minority World contexts. Cultural perspectives on youth, that is work which is informed by the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies (Hall, 1990; Brah, 1996; Kehily, 2013), provides a route to addressing problems of universalism:

A cultural perspective suggests that young people make sense of the world and take their place within it through engagement with social practices. Viewing young people culturally also positions them as active meaning makers in their own lives. (Kehily, 2012, p.12)

The work of Kehily and Nayak (Kehily, 2013; Nayak and Kehily, 2013) provide examples of culturally informed perspectives which bring nuance and socially situated understanding. Kehily and Nayak's (1997) study of the use of humour by boys in a

secondary school yields rich insights into game-playing, story-telling and rituals used by boys to 'defend' and regulate gendered and sexual hierarchies. This understanding is set against the cultural backdrop of working class masculinities. In a study of stigmatised identities among young people in a working class community Nayak and Kehily (2014) explore ways in which the young people 'speak back' to social class stigma. These fine grained, culturally informed perspectives locate the authors' research in the social sphere of young people's lives as opposed to strong emphasis on individual development inherent in biological/psychological models. Emphasis on the social world, as woven into the textures of young people's lives has informed the research approach for the thesis.

Relevant to the thesis, a third argument drawn from the literature relates to Prout's call to "intensify the interdisciplinarity of childhood studies" (Prout, 2011, p.9). Prout seeks to critique and reformulate the sociology of childhood in ways that equip sociological perspectives for the problems of twenty first century contemporary society. It is notable for instance that Prout draws on network theory (Latour, 1993) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) theories of assemblage to add to the conceptual frame of childhood studies. The breadth of Prout's (2011) discussion is beyond the scope of the thesis. For this reason I focus here specifically on his argument for interdisciplinarity. His argument is two-fold, relating to methodological collaboration between social science and the arts and humanities and secondly, bridging the gap between psychological and sociological frames. While both strands are relevant to my study, since the call for interdisciplinary collaboration chiefly relates to research methods and I have used creative approaches in my study (see Chapter 3 for my methodology), it is the latter point which is of chief interest here.

In his discussion of interdisciplinarity Prout (2011) also calls for more direct engagement by social scientists with developmental models and crossing the divide between sociology and psychology. The theme of bridging a disciplinary gap is echoed elsewhere in the childhood studies literature (Lee, 2001, cited in, Tisdall and Punch, 2012, p.254). Thorne (2007) though less eager to cross the divide, laments the "wall of silence" (p.150) between disciplines. Prout makes a strong and pragmatic point regarding the necessity of engaging with developmental models given their dominance

in professional and policy arenas. This is especially relevant for my own engagement with professionals. However, it is less clear in his argument how this is to be achieved in a theoretically coherent way, Prout himself admits that this is challenging. Although the argument, that we can only comprehend the complexity of contemporary childhood and youth through a “medley of culture and nature” is persuasive, this does not fully address the analytical challenge posed by the “ontological hesitancy” which Prout recommends for interdisciplinary scholarship (Prout, 2011, p.9). As an alternative approach to ontological hesitancy I seek to reframe engagement with professionals through adopting a post structural perspective complemented by theories which foreground the emotional and embodied content of my research. Affect and materialities and psychosocial approaches are integral to this complementary approach in theorisation. Before expanding on this aspect I develop further the arguments which led to my use of a post structural lens.

Writing at the start of the millennium Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) concluded their review of modernist and post-modernist frameworks for research on youth identities (a key site of enquiry in this thesis) by highlighting the signal importance of interdisciplinarity. In so doing they underscored the need to theorise in ways which draw on a range of conceptual tools. In reviewing the literature and theoretical traditions for this study I have had to define my starting point and chart my own interdisciplinary course. Through this approach I have located my study in understandings of youth and adolescence as a socially constructed stage of life rather than a universal state:

Cultural investments in the idea of childhood as a state of innocence can be contrasted with notions of youth as difficult, ‘out of control’ and potentially dangerous – a symbol of what is wrong with the neighbourhood or the country more generally. (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.7)

This is salient for my focus on marginality through school exclusion. Nayak and Kehily’s (2008) example of a fear of crime survey exemplifies this point. In their example school students aged 12-15 living in suburban neighbourhoods were repeatedly described as children. By contrast young people of a similar age from urban environments and a working class estate were depicted as “youth” (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.7). The authors also point to the gendered nature of relations; with the survey

showing boys significantly more likely to be stopped by police than girls. Nuanced reading of context (Youdell, 2006b; Nayak and Kehily, 2014) and conditions of possibility (Davies, 2011, 2014) for my research participants, are central concerns for this thesis. This is the rationale for building on interdisciplinary perspectives by adopting a post structural lens and moving through this to encompass wider theoretical and conceptual resources for the study. In the remaining parts of this chapter I explore key features of the theoretical and conceptual grounds for the thesis, beginning with post structuralism.

Post Structural Thought

Post structuralism can be defined as:

[A] very loosely connected set of ideas about meanings, the way in which meaning is struggled over and produced, the way it circulates amongst us, the impact it has on human subjects, and finally the connections between meaning and power. (Kenway et al., 1994, p.189)

While I use the term post structural throughout the thesis, the terms postmodern and post structural are sometimes used interchangeably (Lather, 1991). Although distinctions can be drawn, these are not always clear cut (Gannon and Davies, 2014). Differences and overlaps between these frameworks are beyond the scope of this thesis but are well discussed elsewhere (Gannon and Davies, 2014). Relevant for the thesis is the common ground for these perspectives, that is the move away from taken-for-granted notions of established truths (Søndergaard, 2002; Gannon and Davies, 2014). In post structuralism meaning is not fixed:

It shifts as different linguistic, institutional, cultural and social factors come together in different ways. (Kenway et al., 1994, p.189)

As with distinctions between post modernism and post structuralism, a comprehensive review of post structuralism is well beyond the remit of the thesis, contributions to these understandings are well addressed elsewhere in the literature (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005, Hodgson and Standish, 2009; Davies, 2010; Howarth, 2013; Gannon and Davies, 2014). Søndergaard's (2002) sharply observed methodological question (cited below), about post structural ideas provides a helpful overview of theoretical and conceptual contributions which are relevant for my own study:

What methodological approaches can we use if we let post structural thinking - with its curiosity about the subjectivating processes, the constructions of social and cultural conditions, the effects of discursive power etc., and its ambitions to transgress ahistorical and naturalized taken-for-granted - serve as the impetus for a destabilizing discourse analyses? (Søndergaard, 2002, p.189)

In order to illustrate how post structuralism has shaped the theoretical ground for this research I begin by drawing out elements of the main tenets of a post structural lens which are fruitful for the thesis topic. As part of this I explore the conceptual tools of subjectivity, identity and performativity which are drawn upon in the study. Through this discussion I seek to demonstrate the possibilities post structuralism has offered my research together with some limitations and ways in which I have extended my theorisation to address these limits.

Returning to my earlier definition of post structuralism, that is, where meaning is not fixed. Fluidity and complexity in post structural theory can attract a critique that it is too abstract and ambiguous to be useful, whether in social theory or for policy and practice applications. As is often the case, difficulty and challenge in theorisation can also be interpreted as strengths. Jones (1993) in a commentary on post structuralism for feminist research in education refers to “positive uncertainty” (p 158). She employs the term “useful” post structuralism (Jones, 1993, p.158) citing in particular the work of Walkerdine (Walkerdine, 1986) and Davies (Davies, 2000). As an aside, it is noteworthy that the term ‘useful’ is not deployed by Jones to make a distinction against ‘unhelpful’ post structuralism. As her discussion suggests, the word “useful” is better understood as opposite to a “paralyzing ambivalence” (Jones, 1993, p.158), which arguably was caused by the shift from modernist to post modern thought; and in particular the destabilisation of gender categories (Butler, 1990). It is highly relevant for the thesis that the “positive uncertainty” which is valued by Jones (1993, p.158) creates space both to overcome agency and structure dualisms and, to shed light on diversity in lived experience. Jones’ research concerns girls’ experience of schooling, that is their gendered subjectivities. Applying a post structural lens allows her to explore ways in which young girls can both be ‘made’ subject and enact agency. Jones (1993) emphasises the usefulness of post structuralism for moving beyond monolithic notions of patriarchy to understand diversity in race and class in girls’ experience of schooling.

Uncertainty as a post structural concept is also highlighted by Canadian scholars Todd and Burns (2007) in the context of child protection practice. The authors use a case work example to illustrate ways in which the post structural approach of uncertainty offers a basis for developing practical strategies:

Working with uncertainty demands a slower intervention in which a worker must carefully engage with the stories by players in that specific context. (Todd and Burns, 2007, p.27)

Through their commentaries Jones (1993) and Todd and Burns (2007) provide different models of post structural uncertainty. There is a unifying thread in the way that application of a post structural theoretical framework has created space for research insights into gendered subjectivities (Jones, 1993) and for reflective professional practice (Todd and Burns, 2007). Post structural uncertainty is a useful construct which has played a sensitising role in this study. It has contributed greatly to my research approach, adopting and adapting creative participatory methods to elicit research participants' perspectives (this is explored in the methodology chapter 3).

While uncertainty is a relatively abstract notion, situated context in post structural terms has shaped this study in far more concrete terms, providing a site for enquiry and analysis. This extends thought beyond the individual excluded boy to the contextual circumstances and relations that surround him in his social world. It follows that in order to understand a boy we also need to understand the forces, relations and institutional settings which surround and produce subjects (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005). The post structural idea of situated truth(s) has therefore profoundly influenced my ways of understanding in this research. A situated framework side steps the universalising and decontextualising effects of developmental paradigms which position the individual as an instance of a developmental phase. In feminist post structural thought for the researcher, owning the partiality of situated truth is crucial and must be accounted for with transparency in interpretive frameworks (Gannon and Davies, 2014). Adoption of a post structural lens therefore sets an agenda both for *what* is focused on in this research, namely the context of exclusion and schooling in a PRU, and for *how* this research is done, including being transparent in my analytical processes. As a result of applying this framework the conditions of possibility (arising from the situated context and social relations) for my research participants is a key

focus. Through investigating the contingencies of the relationship between subjects and the contexts of their lives I am able to ask, what is a boy in this situation and who is it possible for him to be? This is a key area for the thesis contribution to knowledge.

The work of Nayak and Kehily (2008) demonstrates the analytic power of such a situated framework in the thesis research. In their exploration of how gender is produced and performed in youth in late-modernity they ask:

What does it mean to be a 'proper' girl or boy? What are the costs of failing to inhabit this identity? And what are the possibilities of doing gender differently. (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.3)

Other examples from Nayak and Kehily also provide helpful models for the thesis. These include a study by Kehily and Nayak (1997) which explores boys' use of humour to reinforce heterosexual hierarchies in two secondary schools. In their study of young working class femininities, consumption and culture, Kehily and Nayak (2008) present a view of globalisation 'from below'. This situates young women in the context of their everyday lives, speaking for themselves as well as shaped by cultural/social forces including consumerism. Using an ethnographic approach, the strength of their analyses (and a common thread throughout their work) is an understanding of gender and identity categories as "complex and contingent constructions" (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, p.76). Ways in which the subject is discursively formed are a major contribution of post structural theory. Having considered the importance of situated context, it is helpful to explore the importance of discourse and subject making for the thesis.

Gannon and Davies (2014) state:

[R]elations of power are understood as established and maintained through discourse and through positions taken up and made possible within particular discourses. (Gannon and Davies, 2014, p.4)

Notably, discourse, after Foucault, is understood beyond the literary and linguistic conventions of text. For post structural analysis bodies, systems and institutions are in play (Gannon and Davies, 2014). Knowledge is therefore:

[P]roduced (not discovered) through ideas, practices, images, words, and ways of being in the world which shape who we are and what it is possible to think according to specific sets of knowledge. (Woodward, 2015, p.146)

Butler illustrates the power of discourse to ‘speak our existence’ with the literary example of David Copperfield telling the story of his own birth:

The story means something as he relates it, since we are being introduced into his rather remarkable self understanding. (Butler, 2015, p.4)

In another example from academic literature, the analysis of Queensland State’s education policy by Graham (2007) provides a worked example of discourses creating subjects. This is highly relevant for the thesis subject matter. In this case it is Queensland State’s inclusion policy which as Graham illustrates, works to exclude certain children and young people:

Those who either do not/cannot/will not position themselves to take advantage of ‘opportunity’ become positioned themselves. Once constituted as an object of a particular sort, individuals can be dispersed into disciplinary spaces and, from there, become subject to particular discourses and practices that Butler argues results in, the “on-going” subjugation that is the very operation of interpellation, that (continually repeated) action of discourse by which subjects are formed. (Graham, 2007, p.207)

Graham (2007) goes on to describe the “arbitrating discourse” that works to construct both the centre and the margin, creating the self-regulated ‘proper child’ and the “improper child” who is described in deficit discourses (Graham, 2007, p.210). Similar forces are at work in creating impossible learners (Youdell, 2006b) the chimera child (MacLure, 2008) and young people who are pushed to the edge in Gillies’ (2016) study of Behaviour Support Units.

Relatedly, in academic literature, studies of zero tolerance/no excuses regimes in schools (Graham, 2018; Stahl, 2019) also provide useful critiques for the thesis topic. A brief discussion of zero tolerance schooling is included here to illustrate how this can be understood within a post structural framework. This provides further tools for understanding the lived experience of school exclusion.

Briefly, by way of explanatory context for the study, zero tolerance refers to school cultures which conceptualise a student as ready to learn when they are a compliant, still and frequently silent subject (Stahl, 2019). Importantly, students are deemed to be ready to learn *because* they are compliant (Golann, 2015; Duoblys, 2017). The influence of zero tolerance approaches beyond their original site of US Charter schools,

located in predominantly working class black and Hispanic neighbourhoods (Kupchik, 2009) underscores the relevance of theorising this phenomena. Its growing influence in other countries including the UK is recognised (Duoblys, 2017; Graham, 2018; Stahl, 2019). Through a post structural lens zero tolerance approaches can be understood in a number ways including situated context, discursive formations of the subject (dealing with who a boy can be) and through embodiment. Explanations from the literature are briefly highlighted here. In terms of situated context, zero tolerance culture contributes to exclusionary processes which help to shape context:

[T]he use of school exclusion, suspension, and expulsion, is a cornerstone of zero tolerance policy. (James and Freeze, 2006, p.588 citing, Skiba, 2000, p.10)

Cultures of compliance lead to constructions of certain young people as non-compliant subjects who must be excluded in order to ensure they do not hinder the learning of others. Discursively, these subjects are thus categorised as part of an ‘unincludable’ group:

The zero tolerance practitioner does not probe for intent and pursues predetermined consequences that are enforced without any consideration for individual students and their needs. (James and Freeze, 2006, p.588)

Beyond the discursive, Stahl (2019) theorises bodily control in ‘no excuses’ cultures as a corporeal curriculum. This curriculum holds bodily control as a prerequisite for academic excellence. The regulation of bodies and minds exercised through zero tolerance approaches in schools (Duoblys, 2017; Graham, 2018) is relevant subject matter for the thesis when considering school behaviour and discipline cultures.

Importantly, analysis of situated context (Nayak and Kehily, 2008) and examination of discourses of marginalisation and stigma (Laws and Davies, 2011) have value well beyond the descriptive power of reporting ‘how things are’ in a specific setting. There is potential value in pursuing a larger project, which is, to shed light on possibilities for change. This is an important area for the thesis contribution. Such possibilities are alluded to in Kehily and Nayak’s question “what are the possibilities for doing things differently?” (Kehily and Nayak, 2008, p.3).

As previously noted, three post structural concepts; identity, subjectivity and performativity are of signal importance for the thesis. I explore the significance of these concepts for the thesis here.

Identity 'always in process'

Stuart Hall's formulation of identity calls attention to post structural decentering of the subject whereby identities are continuously shifting and always 'in process':

[I]dentities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions...[They] are constantly in the process of change and transformation. (Hall, 1996a, p.3)

Elsewhere he has referred to the contradictory nature of identities "pulling in different directions" (Hall, 1992, p.277). Drawing away from essentialisations so that no individual identity can occupy the centre (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005) is a key strength of post structural theorisation for the thesis' conceptual framework.

Individuals occupy multiple positions which derive from classed, raced and gendered status, as well as other categories of social identity. Crucial terrain for enquiry then becomes ways in which subjects may be inserted into pathologised discursive framings (Rattansi, 1992; Reay, 2004). Skeggs (2008) problematises the concept of identity in ways that are useful for the research, given my concern with marginality. In conceptualising identity as an unequal resource that is always underpinned by recognition, Skeggs' critique brings to the fore the politics of identity. Through this we can understand identity as ascribed and constrained; Skeggs (2008) speaks of identity for many as a position that may be "forced" and which "has to be occupied" (p.26). Furthermore, since experience and perspective are crucial components of identity a key question then becomes, whose experience and perspective produces identity? The thesis position is to recognise constraints and a lack of alternative identity positions as part of the contestation and antagonisms inherent when identities are in play. Various identities may be ascribed but may equally (or unequally) be taken up by boys in this study. Through this understanding of identity I seek to recognise participants' enactment of agency, as well as the identity and subject positions which are conferred upon them. Nayak and Kehily's (2014) study of marginalised youth is a highly relevant example for this research as it counters an over-determined notion of

identity. The authors illustrate how stigmatised discourses adhere to particular bodies and spaces but importantly, the young men and women in the study ‘speak back’ to disparaging discourses and are seen as creative actors in the social world. In a similar vein Bottrell (2007) theorises resistance as a type of resilience among marginalised youth in Sydney, Australia. Here, resistance is framed as necessary identity work in the context of young people’s marginalised status. Bottrell (2007) posits two distinct forms of identity: That which is claimed and, or, chosen and that which is ascribed and unchosen, and it is outsiders’ perspectives which are largely the unchosen identities for the young people in the study. The perspectives offered in these studies (Bottrell, 2007; Nayak and Kehily, 2014) highlight the signal importance of undertaking analysis which is capable of producing nuanced interpretations of identity processes (this is explored further in the methodology chapter 3). Identity provides scope for the thesis to consider those categories which are bestowed and taken up by boys in this study. This focuses attention upon the processes through which their identities are enacted.

Subjectivity – How a boy comes to ‘be’ ‘who’ he is

In the opening chapter of her book on school exclusions and student subjectivities Youdell (2006b) describes the need for an understanding of an array of factors such as context, local school processes, inequalities and identity categories. She underscores the need for theorisation which places understanding of the subject within this constellation of factors. Through the concept of subjectivities she invites us to an understanding of the subject (the person) that can:

...account for the interplay of individuals, groups and institutions; engage both intent and limits; and understand constraint without suggesting determination. (Youdell, 2006b, p.5)

Through her theoretical discussion of identity categories, policy context and subjectivity Youdell provides an account of how the student comes to “be who s/he is” (Youdell, 2006b, p.5). This is my own point of departure in theorising subjectivity in this thesis and it informs my research question, what kind of subject is it possible for boys to be? Subjectivity provides scope through which to examine the minutiae of everyday practices in the situated context of my study. This works alongside the concept of identity (and other facets of my theorisation) to develop nuanced interpretations of what is going on, or what can be said to be going on, in the setting

and how this is constitutive of the research participant. Subjectivity can be defined in numerous ways. Bernstein (2016) for instance, draws on a number of post structural scholars to locate subjectivity as an expression of identity, a type of positioning. She cites Weedon's notion of identity as "a temporary fixing of a particular mode of subjectivity as apparently what one is" (Weedon, 2004, p.19 cited in, Bernstein, 2016, p.178). Hall describes questions of subjectivity (and the unconscious processes of subject formation) as developed "within the discourse of psycho analytically informed feminism and cultural criticism" (Hall, 1996a, p.2). As with identity, subjectivation eschews monolithic categories. In the remainder of this discussion of subjectivity I sketch out Butler's (1997, 2015) theorisation of subject formation and the idea of doubleness which has most salience for the thesis. These ideas are primarily located in the discursive formation of the subject. Later in the chapter I draw on theories of affect and materialities to extend thought beyond discursive formations.

Davies (2006), drawing on the work of Butler and Foucault, highlights a paradoxical doubleness in the constitution of the subject. This process, variously referred to in the literature as subjectification, subjectivation and subjection is conceptualised as an "impossible doubleness" (p.428) where:

[W]e are both acted upon and we act – not in separate acts of domination and submission, but with submission relying on domination/mastery, and mastery relying on submission. (Davies, 2006, p.428)

Using an example from her own study of teachers' social relations and practices in a school Davies illustrates the double process of subjectivity. In this instance, boys who have been disciplined for playground fighting also exhibit defiance. Davies describes the boys laughing and singing "we are the naughty boys". This is done in tones that are not provocative but "loud enough for the teacher to hear" (Davies, 2006, p.428). In this way the boys can be seen to have submitted to their teacher's definition of them as 'naughty boys' but at the same time they do not submit to emotions of shame or to a desire for reform (deemed appropriate by their teachers). Categorisation as 'naughty boys' is subverted by the boys, at the same time as the category is being ascribed to them. This empirical example vividly illustrates Judith Butler's (1997)

theorisation of subject formation in which power both acts and *enacts* the subject into being (p.13, original emphasis):

Power acts on the subject in at least two ways: first, as what makes the subject possible, the condition of its possibility and its formative occasion, and second, as what is taken up and reiterated in the subject's "own" acting. (Butler, 1997, p.14)

Davies (2006) has commented that Butler, as a philosopher, does not go on to link her analysis to the details of everyday lives but "instead leaves this for professionals in education settings and elsewhere" (2006, p.425). A potential area for the thesis contribution is to provide insights which are illustrative of this theorisation. A number of empirical examples and theoretical discussions in the literature are highly generative for my own study, in particular the work of Youdell and Davies (Youdell, 2006b, 2006c, Davies, 2010, 2014). In theorising from my empirical data I seek to contribute to understandings of subject formation in respect of marginalised young masculinities in the context of school exclusion. As previously noted, ideas of post structuralism open spaces for change and new possibilities (Youdell, 2010; Laws and Davies, 2011). Subjectivity provides a conceptual tool for analysis and identifying space for possibilities for change.

Performativity – Citational Acts

Performativity is the third of the trio of post structural concepts used in the thesis. Here I briefly outline the concept and how it is employed in the thesis as an analytical category for capturing ways in which identities are performed across the research.

Butler's theorisation of performative identities, ways in which we 'do' gender, are also drawn upon in this study. Performativity, defined as citational acts:

... is thus not a singular act for it is always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms, and to the extent that it acquires an act-like status in the present, it conceals or dissimulates the conventions of which it is a repetition. Moreover, this act is not primarily theatrical. (Butler, 1993, p.xxi)

As Jackson and Mazzei (2012) articulate, in Butlerian terms, performativity "constitutes a subject and thus produces the space of conflicting subjectivities" (p.8). Butler's insights remain powerfully influential for gender research (Jackson, 2004; Youdell, 2006c; Davies, 2008) and beyond. By destabilising gendered categories (Butler, 1990,

2004) turns our attention to ways of *doing* boy and girl (emphasis added). We can apply these approaches in destabilising other categories that are raced and classed as well as gendered. Youdell (2006c) puts these theories to work to examine the way in which young people of Arab descent are positioned in an episode involving a multi-cultural celebration day at their school. She describes a “porous network of discourses” which act to frame the students as both “good Arab” student subjects and students who are also subjected to teacher authority when their guests are ejected from the event. In these instances “a teacher/student binary is the subjectivating divide” (Youdell, 2006c, p.522). Importantly, these discourses are not uni-directional, subjects ‘speak back’ so that agency is enmeshed in these processes (Davies, 2006). Gender identities are done and undone as “reiterative and citational practices” in discourse, power relations and material practices (Jackson and Mazzei, 2012, p.67) so that this provides a rich canvas for qualitative research to explore the consequences of performative identity categories. I seek in this thesis to present my research participants’ ways of ‘doing boy’ and other aspects of their identities, such as PRU student.

It is relevant for the thesis focus on gender and masculinities that there is common terrain in post structural perspectives and hegemonic masculinities. It is to masculinities scholarship, including the concept of hegemonic masculinities, to which I now turn. In the course of this discussion I also outline common ground, or at least complementary positioning, with my use of post structural theory.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Multiple Masculinities

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, originating in Connell’s scholarship and other key scholars work, including Ashenden, Kessler and Messerschmidt (Connell et al., 1982, 1996, 2000; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) has greatly shaped scholarship and practice. Connell (2005) defines hegemonic masculinity as:

[T]he configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (Connell, 2005, p.77)

The concept informs professional discourses and understanding as well as debates about masculinities and research agendas (Skelton, 1993; Martino, 2000; Dalley-Trim,

2007). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) document over two hundred mentions of the concept in academic literature and cite its use in applied fields of education, health and anti-violence work. In 2020 a Special Issue of *Boyhood Studies* journal marked two decades since publication of Connell's key text, *The Men and the Boys* (2000). Articles from Brazil (Torres Toledo and Pinto de Carvalho, 2020), India (Mukherjee, 2020), Germany and Sweden (Wojnicka, 2020) attest to the global significance of the concept. Other examples of scholarship from the last decade which draw on the concept include: Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010), an exploration of hegemonic masculinity in the gendered identities of Australian-Sudanese young men and, Bhana and Chen (2019) which examines hegemonic masculinities among teenage boys in a South African township. Multiple critiques of hegemonic masculinity can be found in the literature (Jefferson, 1994; Alexander, 1996; Hearn, 1996; Wetherell and Edley, 1999; Whitehead, 2002; Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2012; Anderson and McCormack, 2018). Relevant critiques for the thesis topic are firstly the argument that hegemonic masculinity presents too static a concept and is therefore essentialising (Whitehead, 2002). Secondly, the concept pays insufficient attention to psychoanalytic dimensions of gendered identity processes (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). As regards race, Alexander (1996) argues that the masculinities field has been overly concerned with problematised identities. She contends that this has resulted in black male identities being equated solely with race. In turn, according to Alexander this has led to a focus on violence and criminality with black masculinities positioned uncritically as "subordinated to hegemonic ideals" (Alexander, 1996, p.17). A fuller account of these debates is beyond the scope of the thesis but it is relevant to note that Connell (2005) has stressed that hegemonic masculinity is intended as an abstract concept rather than providing a typography. This understanding holds masculinities as relational and connected through hierarchical and excluding power dynamics with inclusion producing exclusion. There is common ground between post structural concepts and Connell's theorisation. The significance of situated context is one example of this commonality. Institutional/cultural contexts, conceptualised as 'gender regimes' by Connell (1996) produce masculinities and schooling as a prime site, just as situated contexts create meaning in the social world (Kehily and Nayak, 2008). Hegemonic masculinity is relational and dynamic, so that gender is achieved through active

processes, again this is similar ground to active processes in post structuralism such as intersections between setting and identity enactments. The dynamic processes of masculinity in Connell's theorisation are relevant for the thesis:

...masculinities come into existence as people act. They are accomplished in everyday conduct or organizational life, as configurations of social practice. (Connell, 1996, p.210)

In considering practices which produce performances of types of masculinity, a number of studies provide models for the thesis. These include Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Frosh et al., 2002; Savage and Hickey-Moody, 2010. In studies by Kehily and Nayak (1997) and Martino (2000) we have examples of ways in which the boundaries of what is deemed acceptable and desirable in (hegemonic) masculinities are policed by young people themselves and there are identifiably emotional costs for those who are subordinated. Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010) apply the concept in a study of Australian-Sudanese young men. The authors pay attention to the ways in which ideas and ideals of 'gangsta' masculinities orient the imaginations and subjectivities of young people in their research. This is a process which, it is argued "needs to be understood as gendered and gendering" (Savage and Hickey-Moody, 2010, p.281). Considering my thesis topic, the imaginations and subjectivities of excluded young people may often be overlooked. In light of this potential overlooking, a key task in my research is to bring the voices of the young people involved to the fore. The Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010) study provides a useful prompt for ways of interpreting the hopes and ambitions expressed by research participants. As noted in the thesis introduction, Frosh et al. (2002) is an influential study for the thesis. The authors find that hegemony, expressed in a variety of ways, is a socially produced practice with high levels of awareness of these processes by boys. Interview material in the study provides a powerful illustration of "popular masculinity" (Frosh et al., 2002, pp.81-83) involving attributes such as hardness, physical size and sporting prowess. It is of signal importance for my own study that there is complexity in boys positioning, involving constraints and contradictions:

The ways in which boys warranted their positions in relation to hegemonic masculinities demonstrate how accounting for themselves frequently produced troubled subject positions. (Frosh et al., 2002, p.98)

Hegemonic masculinity makes boys' everyday practices a key site for how we understand the ways in which gender is performed in this research.

Local Hegemony

One of the key ways in which Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have developed the concept of hegemony has been to emphasise the importance of local hegemonic masculinity and, the complex interplay of local, regional and global forces in the production of gendered identities. This interplay is evident in studies such as Kehily and Nayak (2008) and Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010). In Archer's (2003) study of young Muslim masculinities and secondary schooling she uses hegemonic masculinities to examine ways in which certain discourses may be hegemonic in localised instances. For instance she shows how Muslim boys may attempt to exert patriarchal power over Muslim girls in ways that do not have the same purchase in relation to white femininity or masculinity within their setting. Local hegemonic masculinities foregrounds practices in a micro-context. This sharpens the effectiveness of theorisation in developing our understanding of how gender practices shape identity and subject positions in specific local contexts. In Archer's (2003) study this illuminates choices open to Muslim boys and young Muslim girls in the school setting. As the literature reviewed demonstrates, hegemonic masculinity is a highly generative concept. It has already been observed that post structuralism can create space for change and enrich practice (Laws and Davies, 2011). Similarly, examination of hegemonic practices in empirical material may provide fruitful ground for developing practice (Martino, 2000). This requires detailed analysis through an interpretation of practices which can move beyond identification and description of hegemonic and other types of masculinity. Martino (2000) suggests that the concept of hegemonic masculinities creates space for reflection (by boys and professionals) about gender practices and the emotional costs of certain types of masculinity. Other studies which show the fruitfulness of this theorisation include Kehily and Nayak (1997) who examine humour as a technique for the regulation of masculinities and the establishment of gender-sexual hierarchies among secondary school students. Mayeza and Bhana (2020) consider playground practices among boys in a primary school in a South African township. This sheds light on hegemonic and heterosexual identity creation among boys who heavily dominate girls during school break-times.

Overall the thesis contribution is sited within a range of studies which recognise multiplicity and complexity in young masculinities (Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Frosh et al., 2002; Archer, 2003; Nayak and Kehily, 2014). These studies connect the complexities of gendered identities with the structuring forces of social relations and cross-cutting issues of race and social class. Importantly, boys' ideas of themselves and self-expressions are very much in play here. So too are questions of the reasons for their investments in certain types of performance of masculinity (Phoenix, 2000).

A Psychosocial Lens

The desire to link inner and outer worlds is something shared between developmental and sociological approaches to understanding youth. As a body of ideas psychoanalysis has been a resource for both approaches. That is to say, these ideas have been used both in the normative project of developmentalism and for deconstructive projects that seek to understand psychoanalytic ideas as techniques of power in the world. Finding a middle way through, has been the project of psychosocial studies. I have turned to psychosocial perspectives (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008; Sclater et al., 2009) to address a key gap in the literature, studies about how marginality through school exclusion *feels*, as well as how it is performed and positioned (emphasis added). Post structuralism, as discussed earlier in the chapter, offers much for this theorisation. However, there is a need for greater depth in analysis, which can be achieved by attending to emotional registers in my research participants (and myself) placed within socio-cultural dimensions. This takes the focus of my study beyond discourse to encompass emotion and bodily and material practices. Psychosocial approaches are reflected in the research design and analysis of this study, discussed in the following chapter. The remainder of the current discussion focuses on psychosocial theorising as complementary to my post structural positioning.

Pertinent to this study is the work of Nielsen and Rudberg (1994) who consider the interplay between gender identity, subjectivity and social conditions at the point of adolescence (Nielsen and Rudberg, 2002; Rudberg and Nielsen, 2005). Their accounts draw attention to key tensions between psychological and social/cultural understandings of gender. The authors present nuanced arguments which counter the

binary positioning of the psychoanalytic versus the social. In doing so they demonstrate the generative capacities of psychosocial theorising:

Understanding the subtleties of psychological gender is not an alternative to social or cultural analyses of gender discourse and power, but a necessary theoretical complement. (Nielsen and Rudberg, 2002, p.45)

The interweaving between culture and subjectivity is again highlighted in their intergenerational study of masculinities and social change (Rudberg and Nielsen, 2012). Here social relations are shown as a crucial part of the discursive formation of masculinities:

Discourses on masculinity do not invade young male heads like aliens from outer space, to become internalized without any mediating relational experiences. (Rudberg and Nielsen, 2012, p.62)

Nielsen and Rudberg (2002) highlight a key tension in post structural thought regarding the psychological concept of subjectivity. This rests on the position of the subject as a figure that is constituted (Butler, 1997; Youdell, 2006c) and so cannot be an inalienable, unitary self. Subjectivation, the process through which one becomes a subject, entails simultaneous acts of mastery and submission. As noted previously in this chapter, Davies (2006) explains Butler's extension of Foucault's notion of subjectivation as a paradoxical process through which subjecthood is made possible. In her reading of Butler, Davies (2006) addresses the problem of agency that this creates. She holds that subjects are not passively shaped by monolithic forces but instead have a "radically conditioned agency" in which subjects "reflexively and critically examine their conditions of possibility" (Davies, 2006, p.426). However, rather than agency my focus here is on the problem of the privileging of inner worlds through the concept of subjectivity. This is well articulated by Nielsen and Rudberg (2002) who demonstrate cracks in post structural theorising regarding subjectivity. Rightly in my view Nielsen and Rudberg (2002) point to concepts of construction and discourse as, in many ways replacing development and subjectivity. This leaves open the question of how discursive constructions are actually lived by individuals:

The subject may be discursively constituted but *how* does this constituting happen? How do discourses turn *into* psychological subjectivity? (Nielsen and Rudberg, 2002, p.45, original emphasis)

Nielsen and Rudberg (2002) acknowledge that contemporary post structuralists have turned to the body in answer to this question but conclude that this remains problematic. In applying these theories to my own work my answer has been to draw on theories of affect and materialities, in common with other scholars (Youdell and Armstrong, 2011; Hein and Søndergaard, 2020). This is not to abandon my post structural framework but instead to enrich my theorisation.

Affective Attunement

As Lisa Blackman observes, there is no single unified theory in the field of affect and materialities scholarship (Blackman, 2015). An example of affect theorisation that is pertinent to the thesis is highlighted in Deleuzian inspired approaches:

[A] Deleuzian approach to the social is as much a mapping of what is impossible, what becomes stuck or fixed, as it is of flux and flow. (Coleman and Ringrose, 2013, p.9)

As well as setting a challenging agenda for methodological approaches in social sciences (Lury and Wakeford, 2012; Coleman and Ringrose, 2013; Knudsen and Stage, 2015), affect and materialities scholarship shifts perspective in terms of what is to be studied (Knudsen and Stage, 2015). For instance, affect moves away from a distinct focus, in post structural terms, on the human body to “bodies as assemblages of human and non-human processes” (Blackman, 2012, p.1). Theories of affect and materialities extend the sightlines of this thesis by engaging with flows, movements, capacities and felt processes (Blackman, 2015; Knudsen and Stage, 2015). From a survey of the literature I have identified key examples of affect and materialities studies that are highly relevant to the thesis (Zembylas, 2009; Henriques, 2010; Youdell, 2010; Watkins, 2011; Horton and Kraftl, 2018). For instance the Horton and Kraftl (2018) study focuses on socio-material processes in the outdoor play of children on a white working class estate. The authors present a visceral picture of processes which are often ‘hidden in plain sight’ in traditional social science research approaches:

[M]uch scholarship in Childhood Studies and Children’s Geographies retains a characteristic inattentiveness to socio-material process, which we critique by highlighting social-materialities which are smearing, swarming and percolating. (Horton and Kraftl, 2018, p. 927)

Two studies by Kraftl (2016) and Youdell (2010) provide helpful empirical models for extending the thesis' perspective beyond discursive formations of the subject and identity categories. Both of these studies draw attention to the value of attending to embodied practices. Kraftl (2016) conceptualises education spaces as key sites for channelling the habits of children and young people. Youdell (2010) draws attention to the complex interplay of subjectivities, bodies and affectivities in the classroom of a special school where boys' attention constantly shifts in and out of participation in their lesson. In Youdell's (2010) work we can see a focus on what is felt (both by the researcher and participants) and draw out meaning which can create insights for practice:

The feelings of this classroom are palpable and are entwined with what the boys and Miss Groves can do and be here. (Youdell, 2010, p.320)

Other empirical examples include: Taylor's (2013) ethnographic study of a sixth form college in which she draws on Barad's theorisation to highlight objects, bodies and space as entangled material agencies; Dannesboe (2020) illuminates involvement of parents with school in a Danish context through a focus on the materiality of objects such as a child's school bag.

Wetherell's (2012) conceptualisation of affect and emotion for the social sciences is also relevant for the thesis. Her description of affective attunement is helpful:

Affective attunement combines with social processes that carve out who we pay attention to, whose affect we are open to, and whose experience becomes our experience. (Wetherell, 2012, p.142)

In thinking about the affect-laden experience of school exclusion, Wetherell's interdisciplinary approach is fruitful. In particular her conceptualisation of affective practice as deeply relational and embedded in the everyday practices of the social world is generative for the research:

[A]ffective practice also places relationality at the heart of its explanations but understands this in more ordinary terms. (Wetherell, 2012, p.155)

Furthermore, Wetherell's (2012) theorisation of ways in which affect can pass from one to another, interwoven with the social context, opens the way to think of affect and relational identities. Affective 'waves of feeling' as part of relational identities

provide useful conceptual tools for the thesis. Although much of Wetherell's conceptualisation of affect is distinct from other influential scholars in the field (Massumi, 2002; Ahmed, 2004; Thrift, 2008), these debates are largely beyond the scope of this study. In relation to this research Wetherell provides ways to examine affect without losing sight of the human subject and social context which shapes identity and subject positions. As previously noted the relational aspects of this theorisation are highly pertinent to the research:

[W]e also need to locate affect not in the ether... but in actual bodies and social actors, negotiating, making decisions, evaluating, communicating, inferring and relating. (Wetherell, 2012, p.159)

In summary, affect and materialities theories gives an added dimension to this study, as an accent which sensitises my research to affective flows and material practices.

Conclusion

In the introductory chapter of this thesis I highlighted the importance of binary categories such as 'good' and 'bad' students in school exclusion. This chapter has charted my theoretical and conceptual journey to adopting a post structural lens. I have situated my study in an inclusive theoretical approach with key concepts such as identity and subjectivity and signalled the importance of attending to situated context. Post structural uncertainty is seen here as generative, enabling me to deconstruct binary positions and fixed identity categories.

The literature presented in this chapter provides empirical models which are socially situated and bring young people's voices, as agentic subjects clearly into view (Frosh et al., 2002; Youdell, 2006b; Nayak and Kehily, 2008). The thesis aims to contribute to this body of literature. In building a theoretical and conceptual framework for this study I have drawn on scholarship from a number of fields including youth and gender studies (Frosh et al., 2002; Connell, 2005; Nayak and Kehily, 2008), post structural perspectives (Butler, 1997; Laws and Davies, 2011,) and psychosocial approaches (Nielsen and Rudberg, 2002; Frosh and Baraitser, 2008). Theories of affect and materialities also inform this research (Youdell, 2010; Kraftl, 2016; Hein and Søndergaard, 2020). The studies reviewed in this chapter employ a number of research methods, ethnography is often drawn upon. Also, the studies frequently demonstrate an inclusive theoretical approach within a post structural tradition (Youdell, 2010; Kraftl, 2013). The range of

literature and theoretical strands discussed here signal my choices of theoretical tools. These tools are selected in order to grasp the complex interplay of identities, subjectivities and social relations within the micro-context of exclusion and schooling for teenage boys in a PRU. This provides conceptual and theoretical framing for my research. With these perspectives in mind, in the next chapter I set out the methodological approaches for this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology – Ways of Noticing

I want to suggest that the value of sociological work is to be found then in the trajectory of the sociologist's attention and the quality of attentiveness we train on the world. (Back, 2012, p.36)

Introduction

In this chapter I outline the methodological approaches employed in the thesis. Les Back's (2012) suggestion (quoted in the chapter preface) reminds us that method is always integral to our purposes in research. Taking this observation as a point of departure for the chapter, I seek to ground my choice of approaches in methodological literature. Through this discussion I aim to make explicit how I have come to ways of noticing in this research and the depth of attention I have secured. The chapter includes a descriptive account of methodology and methods, however writing in retrospect also allows me to reflect critically on how and why the research took the form that it did.

The chapter is organised as follows. It begins with a brief overview of the ontological and epistemological orientation of the thesis, followed by the research aims, methodology and design. This is followed by accounts of the methods employed, analysis of data and reflexivity in the research. The chapter concludes with a discussion about research ethics and the generalisability of theoretical claims made in relation to this qualitative research.

The names of the research participants, the PRU and other schools named in this thesis are pseudonyms. The PRU is referred to as Riverdale.

Ontological and Epistemological Orientation

I situate my work within an interpretivist paradigm which "seeks to open up the social world in all its dynamic dimensions" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013, p.146). Drawing on interpretivist traditions in qualitative research, which eschew single truths and determined positions, provides me with the scope to focus on social realities and the lived experienced of my research participants. Through this I seek to make their social world visible (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). In the research process this requires methods which interpret the meaning-making of my research participants (including my own sense-making as a researcher). It also requires interrogation of how such meanings and

positions are produced and the possibilities/impossibilities which may arise as a consequence. In exploring the marginality of boys through school exclusion the everyday setting of schooling was crucial to the social embeddedness of the thesis research. Such interpretivist approaches and situated accounts are demonstrated in a number of important empirical models for this study (Walkerdine et al., 2001; Frosh et al., 2002; Nayak and Kehily, 2008). From the outset I began this research with a strong desire to draw out the perspectives of the boys involved in this research. Engagement with the literature (explored in chapter 2) has deepened my commitment to representing my research participants as 'speaking and doing subjects' (Nayak and Kehily, 2008, 2013) and to conducting the research within the everyday setting of their schooling in a PRU.

Stanley (2013) from a feminist perspective, defines epistemology as:

...a theory of knowledge which addresses central questions such as: who can be a 'knower', what can be known, what constitutes and validates knowledge, and what the relationship is or should be between knowing and being (that is, between epistemology and ontology). (Stanley, 2013, p.26)

I take the latter point, the "relationship ...between knowing and being", as a helpful starting point in my account of the thesis' epistemological underpinnings. As previously acknowledged (chapter 1), some of the impetus for this research can be traced to my own biography. Jane Haggis (2013) speaks of the conjuncture between her social experiences as a woman and her educational career. This connection helped to make Haggis's research topic become 'visible' to her. In a similar way I have found that my own experience of marginalisation in early schooling has helped to make my subject visible to me. Rather than the specific, individualised details of my experience, which are different in time (as well as in other aspects) from the lives of my research subjects; it is a sense of education as a site of struggle for myself and my family that informed my understanding of the research topic. This has provided a strong motivating factor to focus on marginality. It has also promoted a sense of solidarity with my research subjects since school exclusion also renders education as a site of struggle through marginalisation.

In epistemological terms, marginality can also be seen as a force to be channelled. hooks (1996) has written of marginality as a source and location of strength. She

deploys her own biography, a story of having moved physically across the railway tracks from the margins of a poor neighbourhood to the centre in her account. In hooks' (1996) conceptualisation, margins are more than a site of deprivation, they represent a way of knowing and are, as such, a space of resistance in which she *chooses* to locate herself. I remember discussing my strong identification with hook's conceptualisation with my supervisor Rachel. Looking a little unconvinced (my interpretation of course) Rachel asked me 'is that true?' I replied yes. At the time, I was thinking about how my own early experiences of education had shaped me. Since I had not yet begun my fieldwork the 'connection' with my research subjects lay in my intentions. In the course of getting to know the boys and professionals involved in this study I forged a new sense of connection. Privileging my participants' voices through listening methods (Brown and Gilligan, 1998; Back and Puwar, 2012a) and representing them as 'knowers' whose knowledge must be taken seriously is central to the research aims. My sense of my own marginality (hooks, 1996) thus provided a space for the beginnings of connection with my research participants and my positionality as a researcher. Engagement with my participants has moved me beyond personal biography. I have used methods designed to foreground the voices of my research subjects and own my part as a researcher, among the knowers whose knowledge must be accounted for in this study.

Research Aims

The aims of the research were threefold: Firstly, to listen to the voices of excluded boys and hear their accounts of themselves. Attending to the perspectives of a marginalised group is a social justice aim with a political imperative. Gillies (2016) highlights the politics of exclusion and Back and Puwar (2012a) remind us of the need to engage politically and ethically with our subject. Secondly, I aim to examine the role of multidisciplinary professionals, seeking to understand how their practice contributes to conditions of possibility for my research subjects (Davies, 2011). Professionals are positioned in two main ways in the research: as key informants and as research participants, whose practices shed light on social relations with young people and the social context of exclusion. Thirdly, I aim to bring together the practice of professionals with the perspectives of boys with the purpose of generating insights that can enrich practice.

As Buckingham points out in Thomson et al. (2018), the voices of children and young people are not simply “out there” waiting for us as researchers to observe them (p.xi). Rather, we are actively constructing young people in specific ways. Having decided on young masculinities and school exclusion as my research topic my focus on the voices of teenage boys meant that I also had to decide how I could best hear those voices and where this listening should take place. This involved a theoretical journey as outlined in chapter 2, as well as a methodological journey through which my plans were revised in the face of material realities and finally turned into action. By the end of this research process, the research questions that shape this enquiry were as follows:

- What accounts do teenage boys (aged 14-16) excluded from mainstream school give of themselves?
- How are excluded boys’ identities and subjectivities expressed?
- How do excluded boys’ identities and subjectivities intersect with the practice of professionals?
- What kind of subject is it possible for excluded boys to be?

Research Methodology and Design

This is a mixed methods, qualitative case study using ethnographic methods. The research was conducted with teenage boys aged 14-16 and professionals in a PRU setting. The study focuses on identity and subjectivity in the context of exclusion and schooling in a PRU. I operationalised my focus on boys who are marginalised through school exclusion by conducting my research in the single setting of a PRU. The photograph in Figure 1 shows a flip chart page which I used to explain the research to the boys and professionals involved.

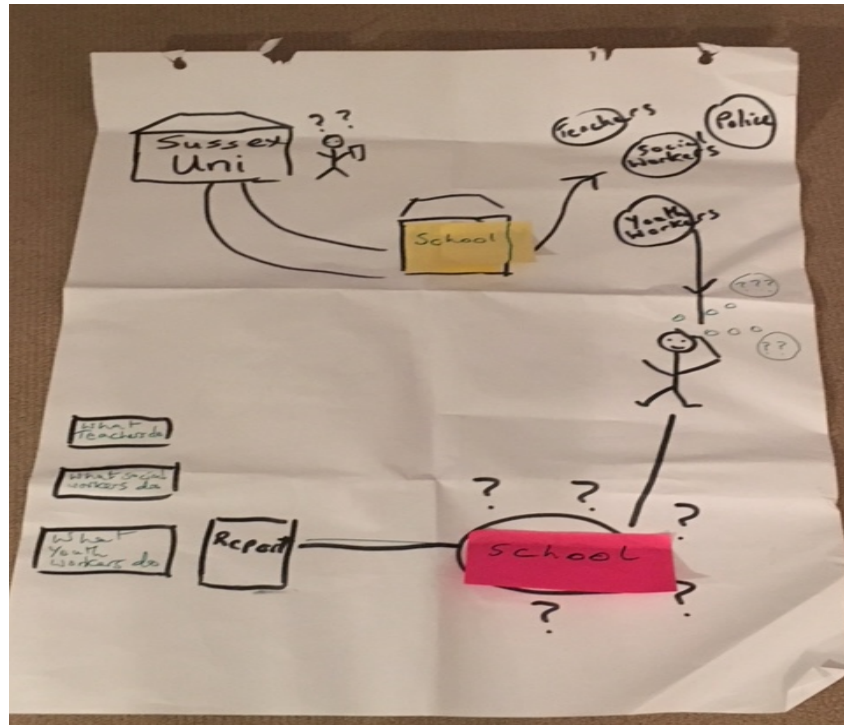


Figure 1 Research Design - Representation to Research Participants

While my research aims and questions have remained stable throughout the years of my doctoral studies, my research design and methodology has evolved considerably from the original starting point and intentions. I began with the intention of exploring family social work with excluded boys through dyadic interviews. This approach was influenced by a desire to use methods (interviews with professionals, families and young people) which I had used before and, as a consequence felt a degree of comfort in adopting. Relatedly, it was also shaped by my prior research experience observing social work practice while embedded in a local authority social services department. As mentioned in the thesis introduction, my observations of social work practice with teenage boys and their families contributed to my interest in research with boys in this age category. However, I eventually situated my research in the context of a school. This was as a result of having found that I was able to use this as a space from which to engage with young people in ways that enabled me to gain insight into their emotional and social worlds. Use of this space also provided a way of exploring boys' interactions with a range of professionals. Led by my theoretical journey (see chapter 2) I found a need to adopt approaches better suited to understand the perspectives and context of my research participants. This need drew me to the affordances of ethnography. In keeping with an ethnographic approach, I drew on data in this study to generate 'thick

descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) which required careful analysis. A focus on a single research site, Riverdale PRU, was another key feature of the ethnographic character of the study. This allowed me to draw on contextual knowledge to inform understanding.

The field work for the study was undertaken over a year-long period using participant observation, drama based group work and the keeping of a reflective journal and field notes which were written up on the day of the research encounter. Interviews and focus group discussions were also conducted. Combining these approaches and methods has brought together richer and more complex narratives and perspectives than would have been possible through the narrower focus of dyadic interviews. The group work element took place over a three-month period during which time I spent two days a week at the PRU. This element of the research brought deeper levels of engagement with my research participants through the passage of time, dialogue and activity. Focus group discussions were conducted with professionals outside of the PRU. I returned to the PRU one year after completing the group work to conduct a data sharing workshop with boys which informed my analysis.

Locating this research primarily within a single site means that this work can be identified as a type of case study. According to Yin (2017) case study research investigates phenomena in-depth within its real world social context. Methodological features of case study research includes the use of multiple sources of evidence with data converging in a triangulated fashion. Frequently the boundaries between the phenomena being examined and its social context may be blurred. Stake (1995) highlights attention to multiple realities within the boundedness of a case example.

This research has settled as an exploration of the identities of marginalised boys, through a case study of a single educational establishment using a range of qualitative and ethnographic methods. Importantly, use of recursive methods for data collection allowed empirical material to feed into and influence data collection across the stages of the research. For example, data gathered in the group work and interviews was used as stimulus material in the focus group discussions with professionals and material from interviews was used in the second interview with Joe. The significance of the use of recursive methods (including affective dimensions) is highlighted in the study findings.

Research Design - Illustrating Recursive Methods

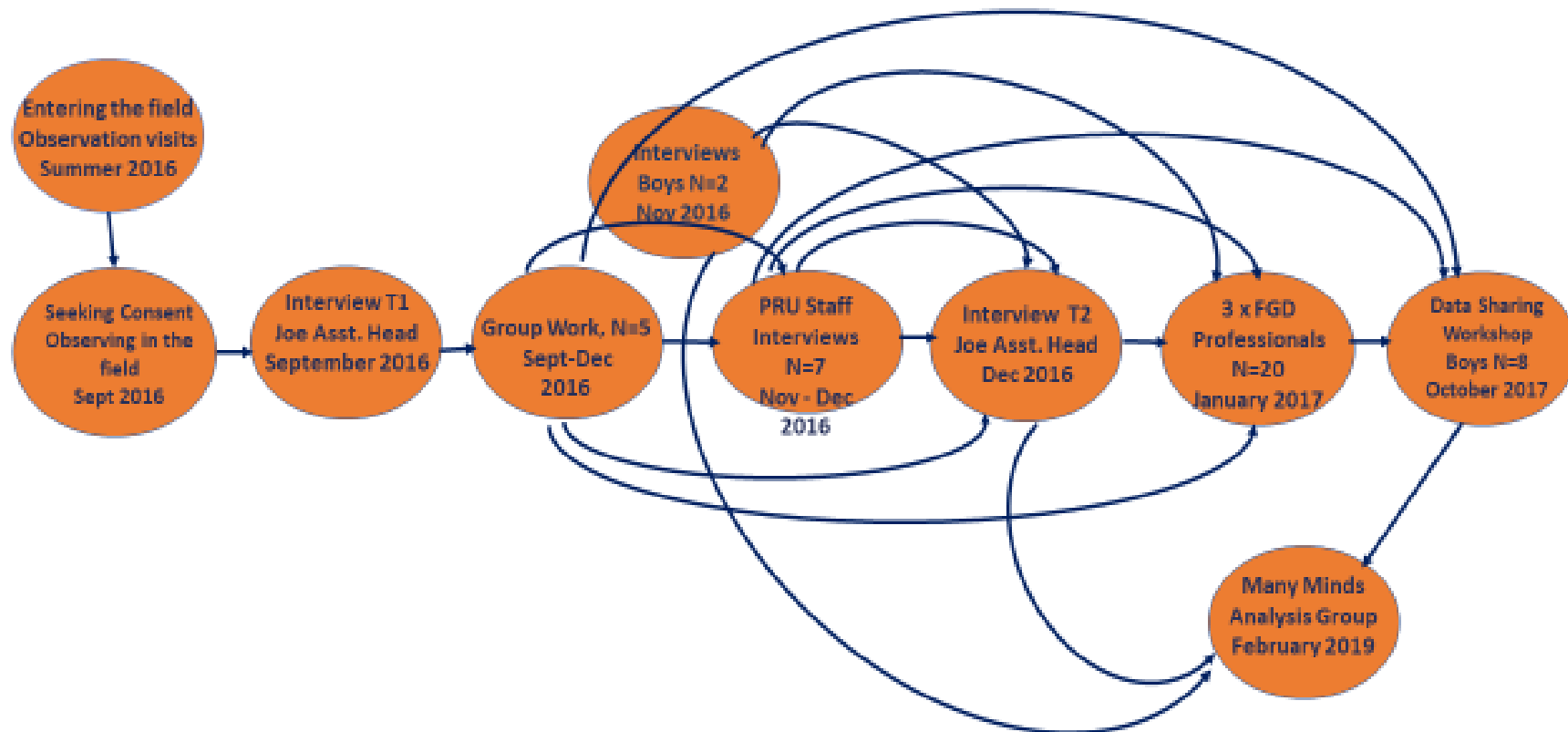


Figure 2 Research Design – Illustrating Recursive Methods

Negotiating Access to the Research Site

Gaining access to a research site can be a fraught and challenging process. A small body of methods literature on access in qualitative research highlights relational processes, problems with gatekeepers and the challenge of negotiating access to school settings (Burgess, 1991; Feldman et al., 2003; Wanat, 2008). Having begun this research with a number of unsuccessful attempts to gain access to mainstream schools, my own experience confirms much of what is suggested in the literature. One of my 'unsuccessful' schools was a new academy. My contact, a counsellor at the school, informed me that although there had been initial interest, senior staff at the school felt that undertaking such a project was likely to pose a reputational risk for a new academy which was seeking to establish itself. Ironically, I learned during my time at my eventual research site, Riverdale PRU, that the academy (which has an excellent Ofsted rating) was one of the schools which regularly referred pupils to Riverdale.

Despite a systematic process of publicising the research and reaching out to my network, it was finally good luck which played a large role in my gaining access to Riverdale PRU. I spoke about my research project at a Schools Roundtable event. As a result I was contacted by Mary, a local authority senior manager with a strategic role in safeguarding, gangs and criminal exploitation of young people. Mary's interest in the project led to an introduction to the Head Teacher of Riverdale PRU and other senior staff. Subsequently, Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher agreed to take part in the research and he became a key informant. Reflecting on the contrast between the difficulties I experienced in trying to gain access to a mainstream school and the enthusiasm and comparative ease of access at the PRU, I note the different stakes involved for both settings. Joe saw participation as an opportunity to gain enrichment activities for the PRU through the group work involved in the research. This was in marked contrast to the concern about reputational risk at the mainstream academy.

The Research Site – Riverdale PRU

The research was mainly undertaken at a PRU in London, referred to throughout the thesis as Riverdale PRU or simply the PRU. Riverdale PRU provides education for students aged 11-18 who are unable to access mainstream school for a variety of

reasons including permanent and fixed-term exclusions for challenging behaviour. The PRU is located on two main sites, Riverdale for students aged 11-15 (up to Year 10) and Riverdale Higher for 15-18 year olds (from Year 11). The PRU also provides an outreach service for students at home. The PRU website includes scrolling pictures of staff interacting with students. One of the images features the Riverdale Higher building. The photograph of the site was taken on a sunny day. It shows the building in a good light, beside lush green playing fields. Ironically Riverdale students do not have access to these playing fields (which are reserved for local residents but not the PRU). I conducted the main part of the research, that is, group work, participant observation and interviews at the site of Riverdale. At Riverdale Higher I carried out a Data Sharing Workshop one year after the group work at Riverdale. Details of this are outlined in the Methods section of this chapter.

The majority of students at the PRU are in Year groups 10 and 11. The PRU is ethnically diverse and boys substantially outnumber girls, approximately 80 per cent boys to 20 per cent girls at the time of the research fieldwork in 2016/17. According to the PRU's Ofsted report the proportion of young people eligible for free school meals at Riverdale is above average. Breakfast is served each day at both sites of the school. A small number of students have statements of SEN or a health plan, though a number of students are recognised as having emotional and behavioural needs. One third of the students are placed on dual registration with a mainstream school. The PRU work regularly with a wide range of external providers and specialist services. Two Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS) workers are embedded at the Riverdale site.

The website includes a downloadable document which lists items that are prohibited in school. The list includes: energy drinks, glass bottles, cigarettes, hats and excessive amounts of sweets and crisps.

The school staff is a well established team. When I carried out the research, I found that many of the teachers, TAs and the school secretary had worked there for a number of years. The Head Teacher having been appointed in 2013 was a relative newcomer compared to staff like Joe the Assistant Head Teacher who had been at Riverdale for over ten years.

Riverdale offers a varied curriculum, during my time there this included cookery, boxing, and woodland activities. Fridays are dedicated to projects and enrichment activities. The PRU is rated good by Ofsted with leadership, teamwork, staff morale and pupil relationships all recognised as good. Punctuality is identified as a key area for improvement; this was also identified in the previous Ofsted report. According to Ofsted, school leaders at Riverdale are committed to offering students a 'second chance' at their education.

Riverdale's website states that there are just three school rules:

- Be respectful
- Be responsible
- Be safe.

During my time there, I often heard staff and students talk about 'taking responsibility', perhaps distilling the three school rules into one message.

Research Participants

A total of 13 boys were involved in the research. The group work cohort, who I refer to as the Core Group, comprised five boys aged 14-15. They are: Cal, Jared, Aaron, Hector and Laurent, listed in Table 1 below. See also Appendix 2A for pen portraits of each of the boys in the Core Group. The second group of boys involved in the research were the Data Sharing Group, comprised of eight boys aged 15-16. This latter group took part in a single data analysis workshop, brief details of these boys are listed in Table 2 below. Both groups of boys were diverse in terms of race and ethnicity and two boys in the Core Group, Aaron and Hector, were twin brothers. All of the boys in the research had been permanently excluded from school. Sample criteria for participants in the Core Group included boys in the age category 14-15 years. The group was selected by Joe the Assistant Head Teacher, using criteria we agreed for the project, this was; boys who could work together in a group and who would be likely to benefit from the group work activity. I also asked for a racially diverse group of boys. Joe identified an initial list of ten boys in the summer term (before the start of the group work); this was subject to change due to the fluid nature of admission and exit from the PRU.

I conducted interviews with two boys from the Core Group, Cal and Jared (listed in Table 3). The twins, Hector and Aaron left the country during half term so did not continue at Riverdale and thus left the research. Laurent also left Riverdale part way through the research. Although he had agreed to take part in an interview with me at his new school, Laurent did not attend on the day or respond to my invitation for him to get in touch for a rescheduled interview. It may have been that Laurent changed his mind about consenting to take part in an interview or the interview was not a priority for him. Both may have been true.

Seven professionals were interviewed (details listed in Table 3); all were staff working within the PRU. In addition, boys in the Core Group conducted 'interviews' which were staged as part of the group work drama based activity. During these group work activities the boys interviewed Joe and Ciara, one of the TAs. These drama based and staged interviews provided rich content which I have drawn upon in my findings. Three focus group discussions were conducted with a total of 20 professionals. The focus groups were publicised within the local authority area of Riverdale PRU, see Appendix 14 for the publicity/information leaflet circulated. These took place shortly after completion of the group work phase and were held at the local authority headquarters, sponsored by Mary, the safeguarding senior manager. The focus groups comprised, social workers (n=8), teachers (n=3) and a multidisciplinary group of professionals (n=9). Attendance at the teachers' focus group was impacted by extremely adverse weather conditions on the day. Focus group and interview schedules are included in Appendices 4, 5 and 6 in the thesis.

Name	Race/Ethnicity
Laurent age 15	Mixed race
Jared age 14	White
Cal age 15	White – Algerian heritage
Aaron age 15	Black
Hector age 15	Black

Table 1 – Riverdale Core Group

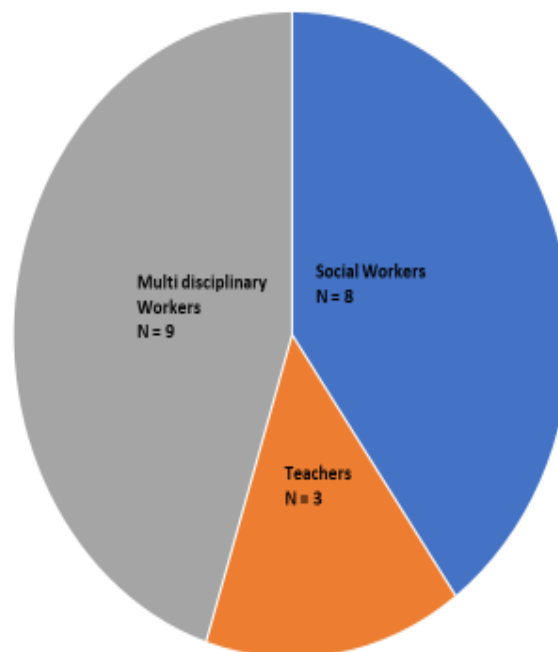
Name	Race/Ethnicity
David age 15	Mixed race
Ainsley age 15	White
Ezekiel age 16	Black
Santi age 15	Mixed race
Alex age 15	White
Damian age 15	White
Carl age 16	Black
Paul age 15	Mixed race

Table 2– Data Sharing Group

Boys from Core Group
Jared age 14
Cal age 15
PRU Staff
Faye – Senior Mentor
Henrikh – TA
Jason –TA
Joe – Assistant Head Teacher – key informant x 2 interviews
John – Art teacher
Rose – SEN teacher
Vivianne – Embedded CAMHS worker

Table 3 – Interviews, Boys and Professionals

Professionals - 3 Focus Group Discussions



Multidisciplinary Focus Group
Youth Offending Team Officer x 1
Youth Offending Team Operations Manager x 1
Youth Worker x 2
Police Officer x 2
CAMHS Primary Care Worker x 1
Teacher - Pastoral Support Lead x 1
Teacher x 1

Table 4 - Multidisciplinary Professionals Focus Group

The Role of Professionals

Professionals were involved in the study as gatekeepers, key informants, interviewees and focus group participants. I also observed professionals' practices at the PRU.

Interviewees were purposively sampled, Assistant Head Teacher Joe was interviewed twice, at the start and at the end of group work. Joe's role was pivotal in introducing me to the field site and to the boys in the Core Group. His trusted status among the boys meant that his recommendation for them to take part in the group work greatly influenced their participation at the start. It was also Joe's decision to provide me with the assistance of a TA for each of the sessions, again this proved pivotal. This is discussed in the thesis findings (Chapter 5). TAs were present in all but one of the group work sessions and they played a key enabling role in encouraging and supporting the boys' participation in the research.

Methods

Ethnography

As previously noted the research conducted is a mixed methods, qualitative case study using ethnographic methods. Locating the research in the bounded space of the PRU and spending time in this space allowed me to become acculturated to its routines and culture (Atkinson et al., 2002; McLeod and Thomson, 2009). Among the ethnographic studies which have influenced my research design, there are obvious parallels in subject matter and social justice aims with Gillies (2016) study. Alexander's (2000) study of identities among Asian youth has provided a useful model through the attention paid to researcher positionality and social relations with her participants. Connolly's (2002) study, which uses Bourdieu's fields analysis, focuses on small children's active part in constructions of masculinity. His study underscores the need to view agentic capacities within contextualised understandings of their social worlds.

Taking forward these varied influences I discuss the type of ethnography I have carried out. While ethnographic research spans diverse fields, there are commonalities in that studies are:

...grounded in a commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of (though not exclusively by) participant observation. (Atkinson et al., 2002, p.4)

“Ethnographies are conventionally conducted within specific bounded spaces”

(McLeod and Thomson, 2009, p.80). The study took place in the bounded space of the PRU. Methods employed demonstrate a nested and inter-linked approach where I drew on sources of data from one phase of the research to inform data collection in another phase. This is instanced in the use of group work data to provide material for focus groups with professionals, and in the Data Sharing Group where boys who took part in a workshop as research participants have contributed to my own data analysis. In this way I have drawn on “a cluster of methods to build descriptive accounts” (McLeod and Thomson, 2009, p.80). Positioning research participants as active producers in their social worlds reflects the feminist epistemology which underpins this research (Stanley, 2013). Use of ethnographic approaches has enabled me to place boys, as speaking and doing subjects, in the situated context of the PRU. This is crucial in understanding processes of subject formation and ways in which boys in this research are hailed (Butler, 1997; Youdell, 2006b). Use of ‘thick’ description (Geertz, 1973; Alexander, 1996; Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005; McLeod and Thomson, 2009) has been pivotal to this research. The volume, richness and texture of my data, arising from the use of thick description, has been a source of inspiration for me throughout the stages of undertaking and representing this research. This is particularly the case with regard to data drawn from the group work and field notes. A key example of the use of thick description is my account of 15 year old Cal and his mother walking slowly together towards the PRU. This event (discussed in chapter 6) conveys feelings of sadness and hopelessness shared by mother, son and myself. While rich insights can be gained through thick description, this approach can also be critiqued for promoting holism, that is over-claiming the power of thick description as giving a ‘total’ picture of the researched.

Interestingly and pertinent to this research, Back and Puwar (2012a) call for a rethink of the relationship between time and scholarship. Slowness, attention and noticing are also a part of the ethnographic approach used in this research. Although I spent considerable time in the field site (visible time) I have spent much more (invisible) time living with my data. This has involved many activities including; reading, transcribing, analysing and writing about and with the data. The immersion of ethnography does not solely refer to the physical time spent in the field. All of the research processes I have listed can be viewed as part of an ethnographic whole. Allied to this Back (2012) appeals for slowness in methods in order to pluralize vantage points. *Taking time* through being situated (two days a week) in the field, and *spending time* in the group work sessions enabled me to pay attention to the development of repetitions and patterns in the material practices and discourses within the PRU (emphasis added). Through this approach, matters that might otherwise have been overlooked became areas for attention. One example of this is in my transcription of a side conversation during the group work between one of the boys, Jared and a TA (see Appendix 12). Through listening to this conversation, I came to see friendship in the social relations between the boys and TAs as well as professional support. Back (2012) urges researchers to attend to multiple registers of the senses. While the term 'ethnographic observation' privileges the eye, in the process of undertaking this research my aural senses have been greatly stimulated. Hence my attention to the uses of rap music by my research participants in the data (explored in chapters 6 and 7), and this has deepened my perspectives on the material I have gathered.

Group Work and Creative Methods

Group work using creative methods was conducted with the boys in twice-weekly 1.5-hour sessions over a three-month period from the end of September 2016. All sessions were audio recorded. Group work provided ways to engage with my research subjects in their peer group over a period of time. Group work is a key element in the research methodology in studies which were influential in my research design (Punch, 2002; Gillies, 2016). Harland and McCready's (2009, 2015) practice based principles (drawn from the authors' decades of work with boys in Northern Ireland) provided a useful starting point for deciding on specific methods within the group work. The authors identify critical success factors for their work with boys which include programmes

which combine reflection, activity and emotion (Harland, 2009). Gillies and Robinson (Gillies, 2016) devised four principles to guide their practice in group work with pupils in Behaviour Support Units. I adapted these principles and added a fifth dimension (highlighted in italics) for my research:

- Explaining the research clearly and gaining informed consent
- Involving the boys in developing ground rules
- Flexibility – do not panic but be prepared to adapt activities as needed
- Activities should be aligned with the research questions – that is, the purpose of the activities should have meaning that is related to the research
- *Activities should be engaging and enjoyable for the young people (fifth principle).*

‘Engaging and enjoyable’ activities is implicit in the Gillies approach. Making this explicit in the principles for this research allowed me to focus on beneficence in ways that could be readily understood by my research participants. However, in practice application of these principles was much less clear-cut. Problems I encountered included a tendency for games which were intended as warm-up activities to take much more time than had been planned. This often happened because the boys enjoyed games and were reluctant to move on in the session, unsurprisingly they often saw no distinction between ‘warm-up’ and the main activity since this was essentially a feature of the research design rather than emanating from their desires and motivations. At times this tipped the balance of the activities heavily towards enjoyability and engagement but this also risked becoming chaotic. Gillies (2016) gives a vivid account of events almost spiralling out of control during a volleyball-based activity in their research:

This incident, unfolding at incredible speed, almost lost us our place within the school. (Gillies, 2016, p.35).

Literature on creative research methods is extensive (Buckingham, 2009; Kara, 2015; Mannay, 2015; Satchwell et al. 2020). Creative research offers opportunities for engagement, participation and co-production (Punch, 2002; Satchwell et al. 2020). Gillies and Robinson (2012a), highlight important challenges such as ideas of creative and participative research as a “fool proof technology for ethical research with

children” (Gillies and Robinson, 2012a, p.162 citing, Gallacher and Gallagher, 2005, p.7). Mannay (2015) highlights key ethical questions about the use of research subjects’ time and the problem of incongruence of research methods with the everyday lives of research participants. Evidence from literature on creative research with marginalised groups (Mannay, 2015; Gillies, 2016) emphasises the need for tailored approaches which attend to the interests and capacities of young people. I looked for methods which aligned with the theoretical grounding for my research and the interests of my research participants. I was wary for instance of relying on approaches which might prove difficult for students with poor literacy skills. Given my target audience of excluded students, this was a live issue. Indeed this proved to be justified as four out of the five boys in the Core Group presented with literacy difficulties.

Drama Based Methods

At the start of the group work I had expected to call the methods used ‘drama based’. However, my experience of the research led me to revise this description to mixed methods using drama, games, group discussion and creative activities (Swale, 2009; Gillies and Robinson, 2012a), see Appendix 8 for a group work session plan example. Use of drama provided space for self-expression and activities where research questions could be integrated. Literature on drama as a research tool often focuses on the narrower field of drama within education (Warner, 1997; Norris, 2000; Gallagher and Rivière, 2007). There is also evidence to support the use of drama for wider social research. Heap and Simpson (2004) highlight the value of experiential or process drama, that is, contextualised drama which connects to people’s everyday lives. Crucially, experiential drama does not require an audience, its value lies instead in the benefit that is created for participants (Heap and Simpson, 2004). Conrad’s (2004) objective of wanting to “better understand the experiences of youth from their perspective” (p.12) also resonated strongly. A key challenge was the fact that there are a myriad of approaches and theoretical foundations for the use of drama as a research tool. Examples include: Performance ethnography (Conrad, 2004), process drama (Heap and Simpson, 2004; Gervais, 2007) and Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed (Opfermann, 2020). Before beginning my fieldwork I explored Verbatim theatre (Paget, 1987), a participatory technique which centres the voices of participants and close

listening (Inchley et al., 2019). I drew on verbatim methods for one of the sessions in the group work.

The use of a broader range of techniques outside of a tightly defined notion of drama proved to be effective in engaging participants and better served the research aims. This confirms approaches advocated in the literature (Punch, 2002; Mannay, 2015). Early in the group work I had worried that the drama elements were insufficiently well delineated so that at times the boys were 'playing' around in ways that signalled a loss of control in the research project. Time for reflection through looking back at the research has demonstrated that the messiness and situated nature of ethnographic fieldwork using creative methods was itself a generative process.

As a result of choosing to use drama in my methods I sought additional expertise to facilitate the group work. Use of specialist expertise provided a means to improve quality and skills in my research approaches and honour the use of participants' time (Mannay, 2015). I engaged² a freelance drama specialist, James, to work with me in the group work phase of the research. James is white and in his early thirties. He had worked with young people in a number of settings including drama work with care leavers and youth groups and was enthusiastic about being involved in the project. We agreed respective roles as facilitator (James) and researcher (me). James led the group sessions and I played a support role, positioned as researcher and observer. Our ground rules prescribed that I would not usually intervene or suggest changes of direction during a session unless James requested my input. We explained our respective roles to the boys in the Core Group.

James' role as creative lead included devising games and activities for the sessions. We met up after each session for a debrief and held two reflection discussions, mid-way and at the end of the research. Discussions were framed in our agreement as an integral part of the research project. This provided ways that enabled us both to talk about our challenges openly without feeling shamed or blamed. Challenges arose from differences in our professional identities. As a drama professional James was oriented towards performance. In the early stages of the group work I experienced this

² I obtained funding to employ James from my employer, the University of Bedfordshire.

as James wanting to 'get things right' and appearing anxious if this was not achieved. From the exchanges recorded in my research diary it appears that James experienced my 'everything is data' researcher attitude as being too 'laissez-faire'. Spending time as part of the research process on debriefing and joint reflection was crucial in addressing these challenges and developing our working relationship.

While plans for the sessions were agreed in advance we soon found that we needed to adapt these. Gillies (2016) notes a similar experience. Planning alternative activities was the chief strategy adopted. Varying levels of attendance and frequent lateness to school by the boys meant that we always needed to adapt our approaches, again this was the experience in the Gillies study.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with boys (n=2) and professionals (n=7), these took place at the PRU and were positioned as part of the ethnographic research process. Apart from the two interviews with Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher (which took place at the start and conclusion of the group work), all of the interviews were timed to take place later during the progress of the group work. This meant that all of the participants (professionals and young people) were familiar with me by the time the interviews took place. Interviews (see Appendix 6 for interview schedules) were focused on exploring the context of the PRU through a focus on social relations and material practices in the setting. Interviews conducted with the two boys I interviewed (Jared and Cal) focussed on their views of themselves and their reflections on the group work (see Appendices 5A and 5B for interview guides). In Joe's second and final interview, I used data from the group work sessions, including verbatim accounts from the boys, to frame our discussion. Use of affective material in this interview, as well as in the focus groups (discussed below) proved to be impactful for both participants and myself as researcher.

Professionals - Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions are widely used in qualitative research to serve many purposes (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). In feminist research, focus groups can be positioned as addressing power inequalities between the researcher and the researched and amplifying the voices of the researched (Wilkinson, 1998). Focus

groups can fit well with ethnographic methods by providing a means to place lived experience within a wider social context (Smithson, 2008). I conducted three focus group discussions with professionals, all of which took place outside of the PRU, two months after completion of the group work phase (see Appendix 7 for the Focus Group Discussion guide). The professionals involved did not work with the boys involved in the research, and this proved to be challenging (discussed in chapter 5). In the original research design I had intended that these groups would provide a method for drawing out the perspectives of professionals. However the lack of relational connections between the boys and the professionals meant that the focus groups functioned chiefly as an 'audience' for my data, highlighting affective qualities of the research material. The focus groups also provided a means of triangulation, allowing me to check my interpretation of data against the perspectives of professionals who customarily work with excluded young people.

Data Sharing Group

One year after completing my fieldwork at Riverdale, I returned to conduct a Data Sharing Workshop with a different group of boys, aged 15-16 in Riverdale Higher. Beth, a senior teacher and a key informant selected the boys for the workshop using the same criteria used for selection of the Core Group. The Data Sharing Group comprised eight boys. The group were also racially diverse, comprising three white boys, three black boys and two mixed race boys (see table 2). Prior to the workshop, I had visited Riverdale Higher four times in weekly visits before the workshop took place. I spoke to each of the boys individually explaining the research and obtaining their consent for participation ahead of the workshop. My friend, and at the time fellow PhD student, Rachel L supported me as a co-facilitator. We agreed roles in advance, I led the workshop and Rachel assisted. The workshop was audio recorded and transcribed by me. I asked Rachel to focus on noting physical movements and activities. In addition to a transcript of proceedings I later produced a co-terminus transcript (Appendix 11) which combined my own notes and details recorded by Rachel L. I have drawn on this material in my data analysis.

The intention behind the Data Sharing Workshop was to share aspects of my data and invite the boys taking part to help me think with the data. This gave the workshop a dual purpose both contributing to my analysis and generating new data. Material for the Data Sharing Workshop was selected by me from across my empirical data. The workshop format (see Appendix 10) consisted of a range of activities framed around my research questions. This included posing discussion points and open questions. At different intervals Rachel and I read from the data, treating it as a script which we ‘performed’ and then invited the boys to respond. The workshop has functioned like a Greek chorus in drama, whose role is to comment on the action in a play. This process amplified and at times animated the empirical material, providing insights into identity and subject positions of the boys involved in this later phase of the study in ways that often mirrored findings from the Core Group. The workshop has also provided a means for assessing the quality of the research, allowing me to explore whether and how my own ideas about research material from the Core Group resonated with the boys in the Data Sharing Workshop.

Practices in the workshop matched other episodes in the data from the Core Group. A single focus on movement in Rachel’s field notes yielded many insights into material practices at the PRU, such as the repeated practice of leaving and returning to the classroom at will. This together with field notes and diary reflections from elsewhere in the study has provided a significant affective and embodied dimension to this research. Phoenix et al. (2016) describe a porous boundary between primary and secondary sources. Perhaps the Data Sharing Workshop illustrates another porous boundary, between data collection and analysis.

Analysis

This research has yielded a wealth of data, generated for example through group work, interviews, focus groups and field notes. An overview of the multiple sources of empirical data gathered is presented at Appendix 15. Due to the range and volume of material I adopted a number of strategies and tools for analysis. I explore here the key analytic processes used. This begins with transcription as an analytic process.

Secondly, I discuss challenges for the coding of data within a post structural framework. Thirdly, I explore psychosocial approaches, examining reflexivity. I

illustrate psychosocial processes used in the research through three elements: the Research Diary, Free Writing and the convening of a Group Analysis, 'Many Minds' workshop.

My approach to analysis can best be described as layered and spanning time. It is also informed by ideas developed during my attendance at a PhD course on qualitative analysis at Aarhus University in Denmark. In brief, the workshop leaders proposed a continuum for measuring the quality of analysis. This ranged between stringency (systematic and thorough processes) and creativity, described as playfulness, and openness to new ways of thinking. These processes are fluid rather than linear and proved fruitful in my own work.

Transcription as Analysis

Transcription is often relegated in academic literature to the status of a mechanical process with scant attention paid to its generative, methodological role as part of interpretive processes (Bird, 2005). I transcribed data from the Core Group Workshop sessions and the Data Sharing Workshop, combined this yielded over 16 hours of material³. I experienced transcribing the group work / workshop data as an almost bodily process of absorption. Through repeated listening to the voices of my research subjects I became familiar with the way they had appeared in the research at a much deeper level than would have been possible had I not personally transcribed the recordings. I noticed side conversations and material practices in ways that gave me a profound sense of the liveliness of my own data (Back and Puwar, 2012b). Transcribing involved many hours of labour and it required me to improve my skills considerably through additional training⁴. The amount of time spent transcribing provoked anxiety in me. I worried that I should have 'got on' with my analysis *instead* of spending time on the lengthy task of transcription. I mention this here because I have come to see this as a period of data immersion which laid foundations for my analysis. The physical and mental processes of transcription have provided a way for me to hold my data in mind and from this foundation develop insights critically and creatively. The process demonstrated stringency which in time led to creative analytical processes.

³ Interviews were transcribed by a specialist transcription company.

⁴ During the research I learned how to touch type and audio transcribe with transcription software attending short courses in each of these skills.

Transcription provided a first stage of analysis which brought micro-processes and social relations into view. For example, the nature of professional and social relations between TAs and boys in the Core Group (explored in chapter 5). Immersion through transcription also posed challenges arising from my closeness to the empirical material. This material became privileged in my mind above that of other sources, particularly data from the professionals involved in the research. Having begun my research with a commitment to deep listening I found myself less willing to listen to the voices of professionals. Principles of stringency helped to focus my mind on ways of bringing in the professionals' data. Psychosocial theorisation heightened my awareness of the importance of attending to blind spots and areas of discomfort as a provocation for deeper enquiry (Thomson et al., 2012). This also helped me to address these tensions.

Developing Themes from the Data

Working within a post structural frame poses challenges for conventional approaches to coding (MacLure, 2013; St. Pierre and Jackson, 2014). St. Pierre and Jackson refer to coding as, "brute data waiting to be coded, labelled with other brute words" (St. Pierre and Jackson, 2014, p.715). Coding can also be a barrier to retaining one's sense of data as a whole, instead of interpretations based on breaking material down into its constituent parts (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). My own position is pragmatic and more inclusive than that of St Pierre and Jackson. I have used coding for thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to establish order across a large a volume of different data sources. This helped me to achieve a balance in attending to different sorts of data, for instance, recognising the value of field notes (Punch, 2012) alongside interview transcripts. Crucially, this has enabled me to read within and across the data offering different perspectives on the same episode. My processes involved an initial process of reading and notetaking followed by mapping the data against the research questions. I also produced summaries of group sessions to help sort and order my data (see Appendix 9). Early in the analysis process I created a series of portraits of each of the boys in the Core Group (see Appendix 2 for a sample of this material), this was important in establishing the boys as individuals as well as seeing them within their peer group. In addition to this mapping of the data, I looked for what my supervisor referred to as 'heat' in the data. Such episodes are conceptualised by MacLure(2013)

as wonder in data, these are “moments which have a capacity to animate further thought”(p.228). She describes the concept further:

Wonder is not necessarily a safe, comforting, or uncomplicatedly positive affect. It shades into curiosity, horror, fascination, disgust, and monstrosity. And the particular hue or tenor that it will assume is never entirely within our control. (MacLure, 2013, p.229)

Drawing from a psychosocially informed framework these moments included times when I felt tearful or anxious and moments where I witnessed emotion in my research subjects. Paying attention to ‘heat’ in my data was an emotional and intellectual engagement which made a crucial contribution to my analysis, enabling me to develop themes that are affectively attuned. A further layer of analysis was added by applying theory derived analytic questions to examine my data (Søndergaard, 2002). This enabled me to deepen my analysis beyond descriptive thematic categorisation. An example of this lies in my use of Butler’s (1993, 1997) theorisation of power and subject formation to consider in more depth conditions of possibility and impossibility for boys in this research (see chapters 6 and 7).

Reflexivity

Looking at the researcher self is not simply a form of reflexive lip service, nor is it autobiographical indulgence; it is evidence – the manifestation of the space between what is familiar and what we are seeking to know. (Macleod et al., 2013, p.159)

Reflexivity, the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, is central to my research approach and lies at the heart of the layered approach used to analyse my data. The Frosh and Baraitser (2008) definition of reflexivity is helpful for this research as it captures the dynamics of the concept:

...an interactively critical practice that is constantly reflecting back on itself and is always suspicious of the productions of its own knowledge. (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008, p.350)

Reflexivity has provided a path for me to draw on myself and move beyond myself to make meaning from my data. I began with hesitant steps, fearful that adopting a psychosocial approach would centre myself and position my research subjects in the margins. Over time I have come to see that ‘owning’ the interpretation of data opens

space for transparency and accountability in the research process (Stanley, 2013). I examine here three processes in the research through which psychosocial approaches are realised, all of these are underpinned by reflexivity. The processes are: Use of a research diary, free writing and group analysis.

Research Diary

I feel tearful and fearful about Cal – in fact, tears have come to my eyes. I am wondering who will be in his corner – who will fight for him. (Research Diary, 7 November 2016)

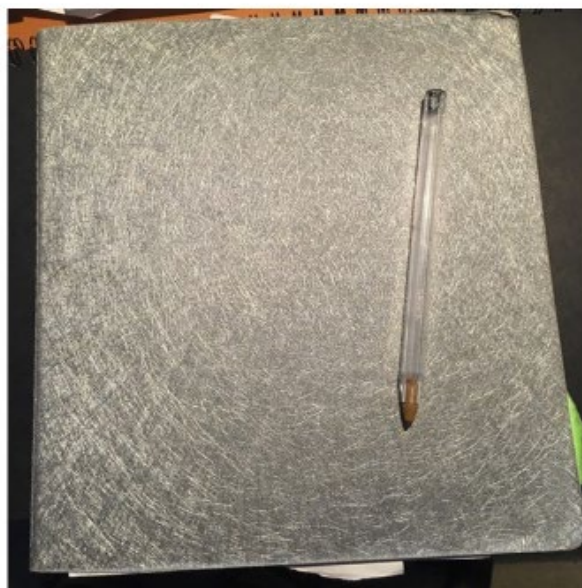


Figure 4 Research Diary – Recording Field notes and Reflections

Regular diary keeping has proved to be essential to how I have made sense of research material. Beyond chronological and descriptive accounts of ‘what has happened’ diary entries have provided material that is rooted in the everyday experience of life at the PRU, together with my own responses to the data. In turn this has yielded many insights, for example, the extract quoted above relates to Cal’s suspension from the PRU following an act of violence on his part. Re-reading the diary passages I was struck by the strength of my feelings in wanting to defend him. The mix of factual observations in my notes together with my reflections enabled me to trace the embodied feelings of both myself and research participants. The diary is a key resource because it is data that has added texture and depth to my analysis. Laws (2004) writes in a similar vein about her research notes:

Rather than structuring the events of the school to collect data, using interviews to explore particular questions ... I wrote the data. The notes reflect the ambiguity, the contradictions, the binaries as well as the consistencies, the patterns, and the lived experiences of those at the school. (Laws, 2004, p.114)

Free Writing

Contradictions – they weren’t so perfect after all. I saw distance in John [the PRU Art teacher] and Rose [SEN teacher at the PRU] highly motivated but showing a dislike of Cal. I need to think how to show snapshots of these things, how to as Rachel [my second supervisor] has put it, ‘stage the telling’. In writing this I see that I’m afraid that after labouring intently and intensively over the professionals chapter I might have to pick it to pieces and think again. (Free writing text, 4 April 2020)

The extract quoted above is an example of my use of free writing as part of my writing practice. I adopted free writing (Elbow, 1989), initially as a strategy to overcome blocks in writing from my data. My process involved, writing for five minutes without stopping then reading back the text, sometimes highlighting words that resonated. Free writing evolved from a tactic to become an integral and reflexive part of my writing process. I used the technique as a way of getting beyond surface detail and to address the challenge of myself as a ‘defended researcher’ (Thomson, 2010; Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). As well as the anxiety expressed in the extract quoted about the possibility of having to unpick my work, the words ‘they weren’t so perfect after all’ illustrate my disappointment in two members of staff, revealing questions of identification in my approach and revealing my own part in ‘judging’ other

professionals. Elsewhere I have used free writing to tease out meaning, sometimes in revising text at other times as a way of thinking about the material practices I observed, see Appendix 13 for free writing extracts which illustrate the use and importance of the process in this research. I do not wish to over-claim the status of free writing in this research, it did not yield insights every time I used it; indeed many of my texts were laid aside. Instead, I place free writing as a helpful, creative and necessary writing practice which freed me and gave me space to 'play' with my data.

Analysis Group – A 'Many Minds' Approach

Group analysis can be highly generative in qualitative research (Thomson et al., 2012; Phoenix et al., 2016). Benefits identified in academic literature include enriching qualitative research, strengthening research skills and bringing to the surface undeclared feelings (Hollway and Froggett, 2012; Thomson et al., 2012; Phoenix et al., 2016). Processes which draw on the insights and responses of other researchers can also help to demonstrate rigour through triangulation (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013).

Group Analysis is referred to in the thesis, and within the Sussex University doctoral community as a 'Many Minds' approach. These techniques are adapted for research purposes from the Tavistock model of infant observation. The Many Minds group meeting for this research took place in the form of a three-hour session at Sussex University in February 2019. The group comprised my supervisors, Gillian and Rachel and two lecturer colleagues from my work place, Matt and Ash. Both Matt and Ash shared with me a research interest in work with marginalised boys. Although Matt and Ash had some knowledge of my research, this was not in detail. There were obvious power differentials in the group given the supervisor/supervisee relationship and privileged knowledge about the research among my supervisors and myself. Phoenix et al. (2016) highlight the importance of the positioning of group members in relation to data. Matt and Ash were positioned as secondary analysts (Phoenix et al., 2016), while Gillian and Rachel's position was more akin to my own as primary analyst, given the supervisory relationship and their familiarity with the research. My own positioning was not explicitly discussed. On reflection there were elements of passivity in my positioning of myself as a receiver and listener. While the differentials in knowledge and positioning were not erased, processes of hospitality and facilitation

operated to mitigate differentials. My own hospitality featured in the hosting of the group. I had shopped carefully the night before with this in mind and provided refreshments for the group. Gillian played the role of facilitator for the group, setting out parameters and explaining the process. The fact that I knew all of the group members and everyone involved knew at least one other person (apart from me) also helped provide a sense of ease and of joint endeavour.

Following Gillian's introduction I gave a brief overview of the research. Each group member was given a copy of the data extract to read for themselves while I read the extract aloud. My reading of the data was a way of re-voicing the data, a technique I had also employed in the professionals' focus group discussions and the Data Sharing Workshop with boys discussed above. These re-voicings stimulated emotional connection with the data by lifting them off the page from text to talk and in this way contribute to affective attunement (Thomson et al., 2012). After my reading, Gillian invited the others to each give their initial impressions. Each person had made their own notes on the text as I read from the transcript.

One point of learning from the process for me is to treat group analysis as a 'natural' (that is unsurprising) part of the research process, this would in future help to guard against tendencies to passivity. The 'Many Minds' approach of group analysis has provided one of the steps to achieving rigour in terms of authenticity and trustworthiness in qualitative research (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). These collective processes helped me to check myself against 'wild' analysis by hearing other perspectives on the research. An example of this was my learning from the interview extract (Joe's second interview) I chose for the group analysis session. I had chosen this extract because I had experienced discomfort around how I positioned Joe in the research. Joe was a figure that I admired greatly due to his relational practice, but I also felt a sense of disappointment that he had not challenged the system of exclusion. At the time I experienced these feelings as largely unsayable (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). Enabling me to bring these paradoxical feelings to the surface was one of the most significant contributions I derived from the 'Many Minds' process:

It was not until I opened the process up to others that the more difficult picture emerged. (McLeod and Thomson, 2009, p.158)

The extract below is from my notes of the 'Many Minds' discussion. The details included in the extract illustrate points which later became central in my findings within the research.

<p>Segment from Interview Extract - Opening of the Interview</p> <p>Roma: Maybe we'll start with the boys, some of them anyway who were in the project. One of the things that struck me, Jared, when he was telling us, that's James and me, about his interview for his new school, he said the Deputy Head had said to him that there would be no more chances and that he'd had his chances here.</p> <p>Joe: Yeah.</p> <p>Roma: What do you think of that, Joe?</p> <p>Joe: I think in a way, I mean this is something we make clear to all the students right from the very beginning, for any students who are sort of in the middle of Year 10, who are permanently excluded from school, no matter what they are like, it's very difficult to get them a second chance in a mainstream school, not so much because of behaviour but because of what they will have missed</p>
<p>Group Analysis – Comments and Discussion</p> <p>Pointed out that I make a strong start in the interview by starting with the boys – this is how I introduce the interview. This is a powerful way of starting things, I am positioning myself with the boys and this way of doing things changes things in the engagement of the interview.</p> <p>Interesting to note that Joe's responses to my questions are at first quite guarded, he is in a sense giving the party line about and to some extent using policy speak – he speaks a lot about systems in reply to my questions which started with an individual boy, Jared. Question occurs as to whether Joe felt a bit exposed by this line of questioning, hence perhaps reasons for this guarded response. Is there a vulnerability for Joe – are you criticising me?</p> <p>Rachel pointed out that I refer to Joe as Joe in the transcript i.e. that I don't include his title as Assistant Head, this might suggest that I see him in this personal way too.</p> <p>Matt commented that the word 'chance' occurs multiple times – this brings to mind ideas of missing this chance and what might this mean for the boys to miss the chance to become something – what happens if they do miss this chance - the chance that appears to be offered in the mainstream – the future, chance of a future of belonging.</p>

The group analysis process also strengthened my skills and confidence as a researcher. For instance, I had previously felt less confident about the value of the interviews I had conducted, often feeling that I should have asked better questions or spoken less. Group analysis taught me to move beyond focusing on my own performance and to read more deeply in order to examine the interview content. Ethnographic processes require significant investments of time. Group analysis is also time and labour

intensive. For me it repays the investment through its contribution to the quality of analysis in terms of depth, richness and rigour.

Ethics

In the introduction to the second edition of their book on ethics in qualitative research Miller et al. (2012) reiterate their call for a “contextual, situational and practice-based approach to ethics” (p.1). Rightly, the authors point out that ethics permeates the research process. In contemplating the broad canvas of ethics in my own research, I am faced with many choices about where to focus in this methodological chapter. From the realities of consent seeking and confidentiality (Miller, 2012), ethics in the interpretation of data (Walkerdine et al., 2001) ethics as feminist practice (hooks, 1994; Doucet and Mauthner, 2012) and ethics as political solidarity (Cannella, 2013). I have chosen to focus on processes for obtaining informed consent in the research and the question of beneficence for my research participants. Other key factors such as researcher positionality and transparency in the interpretation of the data were explored earlier in this chapter and in the thesis introduction.

Informed Consent

Consent seeking has been a highly relational process in this research. As I had spent time at the research site as a participant observer the boys in the Core Group and in the Data Sharing Workshop became accustomed to seeing me at the PRU. At the time of the research all of the boys were below the age of 16. I therefore sought parental consent before seeking consent from the boys to participate in the research. Five out of seven families approached for the Core Group consented to their son’s involvement. In all cases it was mothers who gave consent. In the early stages of the research I encountered difficulties in obtaining written consent from parents. None of the letters sent home were returned. As a result I adopted a strategy⁵ of telephoning parents from the PRU to explain the research. Consent giving was then witnessed by a member of staff at the PRU. After explaining the research to the parent and seeking their permission to do so, I placed the phone on loudspeaker for the parent to give their consent. Having these conversations with mothers proved to be extremely fruitful. I was able to explain the research and answer questions. Most of the mothers I spoke to

⁵ I obtained ethical clearance for this change in approach.

voiced interest in the research, one parent refused immediately when I mentioned that the research was aimed at improving professional practice including that of social workers. She explained to me that she did not want any involvement with social workers. Two of the mothers made the point to me that their sons were old enough (at age 15) to give consent for themselves. I reflected on this point as it highlighted questions of whose interests were being served in the consent procedures. The additional time spent obtaining consent also proved to be valuable in fostering greater familiarity among the boys. Friendly smiles and nods of greeting exchanged briefly over the weeks preceding my conversations with each boy to explain the research and gain their consent provided helpful dynamics. In Gillies (2016) study, the researchers found that information about the research often did not interest the boys. Cal (one of the boys in the Core Group) exhibited impatience as I talked through the information about consent and the right to withdraw. There was interest from a number of boys in the material practices of the research particularly audio recording. I showed the boys my audio recorder and played back sections of the group work session on two or three occasions during the group work. Telephoning from the school was largely positive. However, my call upset one mother since she associated a call from the school with signalling that a problem concerning her son's behaviour at the PRU had arisen. I apologised profusely for this and was able to explain the research to her for which she gave her consent. She was one of the mothers who had pointed out that the boys were old enough to give consent for themselves.

Written consent was obtained from each of the professionals for interviews and focus group discussions. My presence at the morning staff briefings and brief introductory talks to explain the research also fostered good relations with staff ahead of the interviews conducted. Attendees at the focus group discussions were self selecting and were provided with written information prior to taking part in the research. I repeated the information in introducing the focus groups and obtained their consent in situ. This proved to be valuable since many of the professionals had not read the information sheet and, in the case of the social worker group, the workers had been under the impression that I was going to provide training on 'how to work with boys' (see chapter 5).

See Appendices 3 and 4 for Ethical approval, consent forms and information sheets for the research.

Confidentiality

The complexity of confidentiality extends well beyond the need for anonymisation of data (Wiles et al 2008). Ethical concerns involving confidentiality explored in the academic literature include: The need for researchers to think more clearly about what confidentiality means and what participants understand it to mean (Wiles et al 2008), generational power relations between parents and children in research involving multiple perspectives, and the implications of networked confidentiality (Harden et al 2010), and the need to address issues of confidentiality and authentic representation (Neale and Hanna 2012). Doucet and Mauthner (2012) point to the ‘indelibility’ of data collected through research approaches that create “trails, which in turn raise new ethical questions for confidentiality and anonymity”(p.34). Pertinent to the thesis research, Delamont and Atkinson (2018) explore distinctive ethical issues in ethnographic research. The authors highlight tensions between ethical protocols and practical research. A key point for my study concerns the tendency for ethical protocols to construct research participants as separate, unconnected, individuals. By contrast, the highly relational, small-scale ethnographic nature of the thesis research (where participants are well known to each other within a PRU) presents particular challenges for confidentiality. The reflexive nature of my research design adds further complexity. Research encounters in my own study create trails which are similar to those described by Doucet and Mauthner (2012). Neale and Hanna’s (2012) call for responsive situated ethics together with Thomson and McGeeney’s (2018) reflection on the need for ethical and analytical labour at every stage of the research process helps to explain the approach adopted for the thesis research. Awareness of the complexity of confidentiality has informed the thesis and all aspects of the research process.

Beneficence – Whose good?

Beneficence is defined as the “quality or state of doing or producing good” (Merriam and Webster n.d.). Denzin and Lincoln (2013) instance the principle of beneficence in institutional ethical frameworks where researchers are “enjoined to seek the well-being of their subjects” (p.137). In introducing my research to stakeholders and

gatekeepers I framed group work in the research project as offering those who took part a chance to have their say 'about themselves and ... about the way different workers relate[d] to them'. In conducting the group work I was less prepared for my own ethical anxieties about whether the sessions could be justified as a good use of the boys' time. At the same time as wanting the young people to have their say I became caught up with an idea about providing 'value' in the context of education in an academic sense. My feelings were amplified by a sense of gratitude to the school leaders at the PRU for granting me access. Lack of clarity about how to evaluate beneficence was a source of anxiety for me. Ruch (2014) highlights the fact that the concept of 'do no harm' is highly articulated in ethical frameworks but scant attention has been paid to beneficence as a "subtle conceptual perspective" (p.524). She argues that there is evidence of "more nuanced benefits" that can arise from the process of conducting research (Ruch, 2014, p.524). It is ironic that much of my anxiety arose from concerns about professional perspectives and institutional expectations rather than the views of the boys who were central actors in the research. This may have been partly because I received direct (and frequent) feedback from the boys about their experience of the research. However, I also experienced self-created pressure and anxiety in relation to academic standards and what may be deemed valuable in schooling. In psychosocial terms this discomfort signalled an area for critical reflection. As regards beneficence, returning to principles adapted from Gillies (2016) for the group work discussed earlier in this chapter provided a constructive way forward. Focusing on engaging participants, aligning activities to the research questions and the value of listening (Davies, 2011, 2014) helped me to bring the perspectives of the research participants to the fore in assessing how it may be said that 'good' has been produced.

Rigour and Generalisability

Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose a two-fold system for demonstrating rigour in qualitative research. Firstly, authenticity criteria – this focuses on research outcomes and compatibility with research participants' experience of the research process. Secondly, trustworthiness, focusing on criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. This relates to research design and processes. In keeping with this approach to rigour the use of recursive and reflexive methods

throughout this research has provided me with a means to ‘check’ my data with research participants. These processes also extended to involvement of my supervisors and peers at key stages throughout the research. This approach has provided a means to generate multiple perspectives, enabling me to triangulate my data. Importantly, this has also enabled me to draw on interpretive methods to tell a complex story in the research (Walkerdine et al., 2001). This latter point about complexity leads me to the nature of my theoretical claims in the thesis. The findings of this study are tied to the context within which they are generated. Against this backdrop I am able to develop careful theoretical claims based on this research. As Walkerdine et al. (2001) point out “interpretive methods do not give greater proximity to the truth” (p.99). The research methods and theoretical approaches in this research enable new lines of thinking about school exclusion, its context and the lived experience of those who are subjects of exclusion. My theoretical claims for the thesis are thus situated in providing ways to understand the contextual and emotional affects and effects of exclusion. This offers fresh perspectives and a conceptual language through which we can interpret school exclusion. Expanding ideas about the way exclusion is constructed and *felt* opens space for change and intervention against its destructive impacts. Such an understanding goes to the heart of the value and significance of qualitative research and the interpretive methods adopted in this study. This stands in tension with ‘what works’ frameworks for knowledge creation (widely dominant in education and social care research) that tend to privilege positivist approaches. See Fendler (2006) and Smeyers (2006) for engaging critiques of ‘what works’ ethos and approaches in education research. The tension with positivist frameworks is necessary and also generative in taking seriously the significance of lived experience, emotion and context as part of building knowledge. Yates’ (2003) discussion of methodological warrant for qualitative longitudinal research with a small number of subjects is also illuminating for claims for the thesis contribution. Yates (2003) emphasises meaningfulness which stems from elements such as reflexive critique and interpretation as opposed to claims of significance which are rooted in positivist frameworks of factor analysis:

...because the meaningfulness and potential contribution of such studies lies in acts of *interpretation* and dialogue with the broader field. (Yates, 2003, p.224) (original emphasis)

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the iterative nature of the methodologies employed in this study and conveyed a sense of the journey of the research. Looking back I can reflect on my doctoral studies with a keen sense of having greatly expanded my appreciation of the profound importance of method in shaping what it is possible to find in research. At the start of the research I certainly understood at a cognitive level the significance of method. However, the passage of time and the experience of using my methods has facilitated a deeper level of engagement and sense of purpose. At the start of the research my emphasis was focused on my own accountability in the research. In other words addressing questions of how I would be able to describe (and justify) what I had done? Accountability and transparency of course remain crucial factors. These elements are key components of good research design. In addition, theoretically informed development of methodology in this research has enabled me to draw on methods which could engage with complexity and nuance and avoid deterministic positioning. At the end of the research process I have gained a greatly increased sense of confidence and purpose in my methodological approaches. This appreciation has come about through the use of methods capable of engaging with the messiness and uncertainty of my research context. In the following chapters I outline the thesis' findings which arose from the methodologies employed.

Chapter 4: Context – The PRU, Mainstream School and Home Spaces

[Riverdale] places emphasis on the fact that mainstream school is the normal place to be. (Riverdale School Re-integration Policy, undated)

James says he thought it felt less like a school more like a youth club. I tell him that a lot of PRUs are like this – though I wonder if I am right. (Research Diary, July 2016)

Like they [teachers] think oh yeah everything can be fixed by one phone call about a kid's behaviour but sometimes that relates back at home. (Ainsley, 15, Data Sharing Group)

Introduction

The quotations which preface this chapter represent three key spaces - the PRU, mainstream school and home – these spaces form the context for the research subjects in this study. Riverdale PRU, as the policy document indicates, defined its purpose and objectives in relation to mainstream schooling. While mainstream school is posited as an unquestioned norm this sits uneasily with the culture and material practices I observed at Riverdale. Everyday practices at the PRU depart significantly from the teaching practices of the mainstream. This is what was alluded to by James (the drama/group work facilitator) when he referred to a “youth club” atmosphere at the PRU. While mainstream schooling is arguably idealised (or exempt from critique), home, by which I mean parents, appears to be positioned very differently at the PRU. As Gazeley (2012) shows, home occupies an emotional space between young people and professionals.

The focus of this chapter is the context for my research subjects. The configuration of the PRU, mainstream school and the home is what forms the situated context in this study. In this chapter I show that these three spaces stand in relation to each other and are connected in ways that are consequential for boys in this research. I document tensions and contradictions in the relationships between the three spaces. I seek to examine how boys' subject and identity positions are shaped by their context and the possibilities that may be open to them as a result of the context which surrounds them.

Before proceeding further, briefly and by way of explanation of terms and the position of a key informant: I use the terms 'Riverdale' and 'the PRU' interchangeably throughout the chapter. Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher is a key informant in this study whose voice (mediated through the interview process and ethnographic observation) contributes substantially to my findings about the role of the PRU. As a senior leader who has worked for many years at the PRU, Joe spoke with authority about policy and procedures at Riverdale. Drawing on his voice therefore allows me to illustrate how the PRU was 'officially' presented and the implications of this for everyday practices at Riverdale. While Joe's voice is given significant space in this chapter there are also counter-narratives which characterise the overall context of the PRU. Throughout this chapter I convey these through my ethnographic data, including field notes, reflections from my research diary and extracts from the group work transcript.

The chapter is organised as follows: I begin by exploring the space and role of the PRU and material practices observed within the space. Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) highlight a re-theorisation of the social in post structuralism, away from fixed trajectories, to institutional complexes that are subject to 'dislocation, fragmentation and contingency' (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005, p.105). In a similar vein, the micro-context of the PRU proved to be a space of contradictions and contingencies; this is illustrated in the chapter. Secondly, I examine how the *idea* of mainstream school is a constant presence at Riverdale. Here I am mindful that mainstream school occupies an emotional space, and of the importance of paying attention to the way emotion impacts policy and practice in children and young people's lives (Zembylas, 2011; Blazek and Kraftl, 2015). Lastly, I explore the space of home, focusing on the role, positioning and constrained agency of parents (McDonald and Thomas, 2003; Gazeley, 2012).

The PRU – A Space of Contrasts and Contradictions

Overall the buildings of the school are very modest, look rather temporary quite a contrast to some shiny huge academy buildings I've seen in the course of my work. (Research Diary, 17 June 2016)

School buildings play a symbolic as well as a material role. The impermanence and relative invisibility of the Riverdale school buildings stands in marked contrast to the solidity and visibility of the mainstream schools I am accustomed to seeing in everyday life and in other research contexts. Riverdale is a school which has been created by amalgamating an array of different services in the locality. These services are designed to serve the needs of various different categories of excluded students. These include; pupils excluded for disruptive behaviour and 'school phobic' young people who struggle to attend school due to anxiety and depression. This 'combining' of categories of students and services at Riverdale has taken place over a number of years. Its physical manifestation is the separate geographical locations and re-purposing of buildings that now comprise Riverdale and Riverdale Higher. The two parts of the PRU (Riverdale and Riverdale Higher for students aged 15 plus) together form one school which is located on separate sites about a fifteen minute bus journey in distance apart from each other.

The extract below underscores the significance of the PRU building from the perspective of 14 year old Jared, one of the Core Group research participants. Jared had arrived at Riverdale over one year before which means that he had been present at the PRU for longer than many of its other students. During the conversation Jared contrasts Riverdale to another PRU he knows and which he says looks like a prison:

Jared: Like when I got told I was gonna come to Riverdale I didn't think it would look like this.

James: What did you think it would look like?

Jared: I thought it would be some brick building, like you know where you can actually see the bricks. I thought it was gonna be like high walls so you can't jump the fence or something like that. Not that high, I don't know why.

James: What like a prison?

Jared: Kind of yeah.

(Group work 13 October 2016)

Both Riverdale and Riverdale Higher remind me of prefabricated houses constructed in post-war Britain. Riverdale buildings and layout appear temporary and unplanned, the building is the opposite of imposing. Jared's image of a PRU as a prison-like building reminds me that the modest and unthreatening appearance of Riverdale helps to

guard against it presenting as an intimidating space. When Joe tells me that Riverdale used to be a nursery school it explains the small-scale of the PRU compared to the large sprawl of many secondary schools. Joe is upbeat about this, highlighting the usefulness of the central space as a hub for the school. This small area does indeed serve as a place where students and staff alike congregate before proceeding to their respective classes. Students are also served breakfast and lunch here. It is an open and social space, and this is where I locate myself for observations of daily life at the PRU. It is interesting to think about how different the building design might have been if Riverdale had been purpose-built as a PRU. Perhaps the free-flowing central space which forms the hub of the building would not have been the design choice for a PRU, I wonder if instead the design might have conformed to the image of high walls and security conjured by Jared.

The openness of the internal space at Riverdale stands in marked contrast to the security and surveillance structures and practices in place at the entrance. As is common in many schools a buzzer system is used for entry into the school. However, the layout of Riverdale provides an additional level of security. There is a small vestibule at the front of the building so that one cannot fully enter the school until the second door is unlocked. Students and visitors alike wait in the vestibule before being admitted through this second entrance. Adult visitors (including me) sign a visitors book before being admitted. Every time I sign the book I see a host of names of visiting professionals and organisations recorded. Unlike adults, all students have to wait for a member of staff to come into the vestibule to carry out 'wandering' before they can be admitted into the building. Wandering is a security check with a metal detector (wand). This procedure is conducted every time a student enters the school. In my field notes I record my feeling of surprise that no one appears to object to 'wandering'. Most students appear passive, sometimes they look bored while the airport style search is carried out. The staff member on duty passes the wand lightly around students' bodies and possessions. This is usually done by Joe or one of the TAs. I watch as casual conversations take place between staff and students during this short interlude. This informal chatting has the effect of making what at first seemed to me to be an intrusive practice into a commonplace activity. During the passing of time at the PRU I

too become habituated to the security practices. I come to see the practices as highly relational as well as performing a disciplinary function on students' bodies. My conversation with Jason, a TA, about the practice of wandering is a good example of the way wandering is a taken for granted and relational activity at the PRU:

Roma: So Jason, you're often at the front and sometimes you do the wandering, so what do you think about the sort of mood people come in?

Jason: I think it's to do with erm what's happening with you lot (addressing the boys in the Core Group who are sitting nearby). The mood depends on what, how you've had the night before or the morning ride on the bus or who you see. You know I think that influences the way you behave or the way you feel about going into lessons. I think that might affect it. What's happening outside of school. (Group work, 17 October 2016)

Whilst it may not be intentional on his part, Jason's words about what is 'happening outside of school' play into a sense of Riverdale as 'defended' against danger(s) being brought into the PRU. Weapons are a tangible symbol of these dangers, hence the importance of wandering procedures. There is also an intangible sense of danger being seen as coming from outside versus the PRU appearing as a 'safe space' inside its environs. The embodied process of wandering, the Riverdale school building and the emotional responses observed come together in ways that remind me of Coleman and Ringrose's (2013) use of Deleuzian assemblage and paying attention to 'what becomes stuck and fixed' as well as flows (p.9).

The two sites of the PRU (Riverdale and Riverdale Higher) are easy to miss because they are both partly hidden from the public view. Each site is set back away from main roads and can only be accessed via small approach paths. This is in contrast to the nearby secondary school for girls, Queen Anne's (QA) which is located a few minutes walk away from Riverdale. The large modern looking building of QA stands prominently at the apex of a main road. It is located at the top of a hill which leads downwards to the PRU. On my journeys to and from Riverdale I walk past QA following in the footsteps of Riverdale students. In the mornings, I see a teacher on duty at QA standing close to the entrance. The teachers watch over and greet the uniformed girls as they enter the school. At Riverdale I occasionally hear QA School mentioned in a negative way. Fifteen year old Hector, one of the boys in the Core Group of research participants, speaks about being stigmatised by the students and staff at QA, 'they're

saying disabilities and all sorts' he complains (Group work session). The grounds of the two schools back onto each other. I gather from Joe and some of the TAs that a frequent source of complaint is Riverdale students climbing over the wall from their small space into the much larger grounds of QA's. I also hear staff at the PRU describe QA's staff as 'always complaining' about Riverdale students. PRU staff look weary as they speak about this, their looks suggest that they have sympathy with their own Riverdale students.

The PRU is a complicated space which is rendered invisible through its hidden location and in this case it is literally (as well as metaphorically) overshadowed by a mainstream school. The contrast between the internal and external spaces of Riverdale emphasises ideas of danger as coming from outside of the PRU, from the street and neighbourhood and perhaps other spaces such as home. Mainstream school (represented here by QA) also plays a part in creating a stigmatised discourse of Riverdale as the poor and disruptive neighbouring school that is perhaps looked down upon by QA staff and students. Against this backdrop the securitised entrance to Riverdale helps to code the PRU as providing a space that is defended within its own boundaries.

A Transitory Space

Young people's time at Riverdale is uncertain. The entry and exit of students to and from the PRU and the length of time they attend is bound up in a complex process of categorisation which is implicit in Joe's account of the curriculum at Riverdale:

We have a pathways curriculum here at the moment ... we have Group A which is about a more sort of practical focus and we've got B, which is a transition group, C which is essentially a respite/reintegration group and then we've got D, which is also respite and reintegration but tends to include any Year 10s as well, just so we can match their curriculum needs. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, First Interview, 22 September 2016)

When I ask Joe to choose a phrase which sums up the work of Riverdale he responds immediately, "Just giving the young people the chance to change and the support to change". He uses the words "reintegration" and "return to mainstream" and "second chance" numerous times throughout his two interviews (at the start and conclusion of the fieldwork). Below is a typical example:

For us, essentially at Riverdale, the focus is always reintegration, it's about getting students in, doing work with them around behaviour ... and then getting them back into mainstream school. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, First Interview, 22 September 2016)

Notably, he says little about outcomes other than reintegration. In his first interview where he is introducing me to the school, the realities of what happens if a return to mainstream school is not achieved are only briefly mentioned:

It [reintegration] doesn't work for all students, for other students we will always be looking at an alternative provision, we'll work around getting them EHC [education, health and care] plans, we'll work around other alternative provisions. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, First Interview, 22 September 2016)

The brevity with which Joe mentions alternatives to mainstream reintegration is at odds with the fact that many of the young people I meet at Riverdale do not return to mainstream provision. During my time at the PRU I learn that students move on in many directions outside of mainstream options. For example, the trajectories of members of the Core Group followed in my research include: a return to mainstream school followed shortly afterwards by a repeat exclusion (Jared), an immediate transfer to Riverdale Higher after a violent incident (Cal), a move to a Specialist Sports Academy (Laurent) constructed as a 'mainstream move' by the PRU (this is discussed later in this chapter). Finally, there is a move outside of the UK to the Caribbean for twin brothers, Hector and Aaron, who later return to the UK. Given these events, it appears surprising that Joe speaks so little about what happens outside of returning to mainstream school. His emphasis on reintegration may also be viewed as a way of promoting the ethos of Riverdale and an ambition to achieve mainstream outcomes for students. The idea of what constitutes a mainstream outcome also appears to be complicated. Laurent's move to a Specialist Academy which is described as a mainstream move by Joe does not appear to be a return to what is usually recognised as a mainstream space. This is a point which I develop further in my account of Laurent's journey later in this chapter. The point of emphasis at this stage is the powerful discourse about returning to mainstream school in contrast to the relative silence about alternative outcomes:

...what happens here is because there is this constant shift of students back into mainstream school, it makes the other students aspirational. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Joe's accounts call attention to how the PRU depends on the existence of mainstream school; rather than standing in its own right, in this way the PRU appears to be an adjunct of mainstream school. Although the rituals at the entrance to the PRU underpin ideas of Riverdale creating a safe space which is as previously mentioned secured against the outside, at the same time its discourses pronounce the PRU emphatically as a space that is transitory where young people cannot remain because they are on their way to somewhere else. These narratives are almost always about returning to a mainstream space. The role of the PRU is established, in school policy and practice, as an interim space on a journey towards the goal of reintegration.

Proper Behaviour - Being Good

The idea of return to 'normal' school, that is, mainstream reintegration is central to the official policy of the PRU and the narratives of the school leader, but how do these sit with the everyday practices at Riverdale?

Like many schools, Riverdale operates a system of rewards and recognition for good behaviour. Literature on school behaviour policies and practice show that these techniques are not unique to the PRU but are well established approaches in mainstream settings (Shreeve et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2010; Payne, 2015). As Maguire et al. (2010) point out, a key idea underpinning these systems is the idea that "fixing" behaviour will "fix" learning (p.155). At Riverdale the green slip is the most visible symbol of the reward system at the PRU, this is a green form (see figure 5) that is completed by teachers and TAs alike and awarded to students who demonstrate good behaviours.

Figure 5 A Green slip - Part of the Riverdale Reward and Incentive System for Good Behaviour

The green slip system at the PRU is similar to the “complex series of stamps in diaries” observed at several secondary schools in a study by Maguire et al. (2010, p.163). At Riverdale at the end of the day each student takes their slips to Joe who makes a note of the good behaviours which have been recorded on the forms. A daily account of students’ behaviour is discussed in the School Briefing meeting at the end of each day. Green slips function as an aide memoire which capture proper behaviour. The slips provide a physical marker for what Joe calls “catching students doing the right thing”, this is a statement I often hear him repeat.

In my role as a participant observer I attend the twice-daily staff briefings (mornings and afternoons) during my fieldwork at the PRU. Although I am generally careful to maintain silence occasionally I am drawn into conversation at the briefings. This includes staff discussions about the awarding of green slips. At first I am reluctant to be part of this dialogue. However, my hesitance rapidly disappears as I begin to see how much the boys value the slips and the importance of the system to staff. Each of the boys in the Core Group is keen to collect their slips from me after our group work sessions. On one occasion, instead of hurrying away, as all of the boys in the group customarily do after our sessions, 15 year old Cal waits patiently for me to complete a green slip at the end of a session. James and I had thanked him for his work in the session and praised him for his participation. Thanking the boys for their efforts clearly sets up an expectation in them that we should provide green slips as a reward. We are

taking part in the PRU's system rather than standing outside as I had originally envisaged for the research project. Such school-wide approaches for rewards and sanctions are common across UK schools (Maguire et al., 2010; Payne, 2015). Fourteen year old Jared, speaks enthusiastically about the possibility of being rewarded with JD Sports vouchers 'if you collect a certain number of green slips' by the end of each term. Fifteen year old Laurent, much to my surprise, given his frequent oppositional behaviour in the group work (discussed in the following chapter), is also enthusiastic about collecting his green slip from me. My conversation with the TA Ciara conveys the significance of the green slips and illustrates my own involvement in the system:

I made out green slips for the boys – at first I only did four because I was partly thinking that Laurent hadn't been that good. I realise I am acting a bit like a teacher. I ask Ciara for advice, she says in a sort of question – did he join in afterwards reasonably? I say yes and we agree quietly with a happy nod to each other. I get up and go to the office to get another green slip and complete this for all five boys. (Research Diary, 10 October 2016)

Ciara's prompt to me echoes Joe's mantra about highlighting good behaviours. This approach provides a way of counteracting students' accustomed visibility for doing the wrong thing, a "pathologised presence" (Phoenix and Hussain, 2007, pp.7-8). Being highlighted for 'bad' and problematic behaviours is of course a common experience for all of the Core Group and many of their peers at the PRU. Interestingly, discourses of staff at the PRU focus on rewards and incentives represented by green slips far more than penalties and sanctions. Although I observe that sanctions such as suspensions and phone calls to parents are very much in operation these are not spoken about in the same way as green slips. Emphasis is usually on the positive reinforcement of 'good' behaviours. In the example I give of Laurent, Ciara and I are able to agree that Laurent's eventual 'joining in' merits a reward for 'good' behaviour. Instead of being measured against a 'universal' or mainstream standard Laurent's behaviour can be assessed in relation to a more nuanced and flexible standard. Eventually joining in comprises 'good' behaviour for Laurent. The green slip reward system provides a way of keeping the PRU in dialogue with mainstream approaches to school discipline. It also creates space at the PRU for tailored approaches where young people can be recognised as individuals.

The materiality of the green slips may be ephemeral, tiny paper slips with ragged edges, but what they represent is more substantial. Green slips certify that their bearers, like Cal and Laurent, can be called good. Recording good micro-behaviours in this way is an act which is intended to help create a transformation story for PRU students. This intention operates amid the constraints of short and uncertain timescales for a transition to mainstream school. For instance I was told at the start of the three month group work that Jared's move to mainstream school was 'imminent'. However, it transpired that this move took several months. This also followed a previous unsuccessful interview for Jared at another mainstream school. This interview had taken place months before the research project started. Since it is uncertain how long a student may remain at Riverdale it becomes doubly important for the PRU to capture individual stories of good behaviour. As Cal's case illustrates (discussed later in this chapter) one incident can easily undo the 'good' work that is signified by green slips. Post structural theories focus attention on binaries such as good and bad. The incentives and rewards system at Riverdale operates against a backdrop of tremendous volatility. In the face of this uncertainty these attempts to create an evidence trail of green slips for 'being good' cannot always succeed in their purposes of countering 'bad' narratives many of which led to students being excluded from their previous mainstream schools.

Embodied Practices – Affectivities Flow

Each time things seem to be settling another young person sets off something, making it hard for the session to flow. (Field note, observation of a youth worker led session 17 June 2016)

In the summer before commencing my fieldwork I visited the PRU on the occasion of sessions which were led by a worker called Natalie from an external youth organisation. The session was part of a project aimed at countering youth violence. Approximately twenty young people from across year groups at Riverdale took part and I was invited to observe the session. Natalie also led a separate session for a smaller group of Riverdale students, young people who did not attend school due to problems with anxiety and depression. The following accounts give a picture that is emblematic of the practices and affectivities (Youdell, 2010) I observed at the PRU. The

first of the sessions involved the larger group of twenty students. Two boys (twin brothers, Hector and Aaron) who eventually became part of the Core Group were also present in this group.

On the day I note the large number of staff present and that staff appear highly alert, each of them seem to be ready to intervene should the need arise. The staff position themselves around the young people, like sentinels around the edges of the square formation in which the young people are seated. There are about eight or nine people on duty, mainly TAs along with Assistant Head Teacher Danielle⁶ and one or two teachers. Activities proceed against a backdrop of loud talk, jokes and lots of movement from the students. While the vigilance of the staff and their physical positioning harks back to the securitised entrance to the PRU (discussed earlier in the chapter), there is also an atmosphere of jollity:

It's noisy and very boisterous, there are lots of staff, teachers and teaching assistants – they surround us – they obviously know the young people very well and are vigilant. At the same time as all this disruption it feels safe, there is noise and argument going on. (Field note 17 June 2016)

There is a 'settled' state of unsettledness throughout the class. This reminds me of Deborah Youdell's (2010) ethnographic account of a 'special' school in which she describes how boys slide in and out of participation, "affectivities flow around [the class room] moving from body to body" (p.320). The field note (below) of an interaction between 15 year old Aaron⁷ and Irvin, one of the TAs, exemplifies the constant distractions, transgressions and movement during the session:

On entering the classroom Aaron places two chairs back to front and sits astride both chairs with his legs splayed out. Irvin, a TA, is standing silent with his arms crossed. Irvin is a middle-aged black man who wears a serious expression, leaving one in no doubt that he is on duty. He unfolds his arms and steps down to tell Aaron quietly that he must sit properly. Once Aaron shifts his position Irvin steps back and folds his arms again and resumes his unsmiling vigilant stance. A short while later Aaron returns to sitting astride the two chairs. The equivalent of a two-step dance takes place several times between Aaron and Irvin. Aaron complains about being told to 'sit properly' but he

⁶ Danielle is one of the two Assistant Head Teachers at Riverdale, she works alongside Joe, a key informant for this research who is also an Assistant Head Teacher.

⁷ Aaron is one of the twin brothers Hector and Aaron who are part of the Core Group, at this stage of the field work I had not yet got to know the brothers so I cannot be absolutely certain which of the boys is involved here.

quietly acquiesces and shortly afterwards, just as quietly, he slips back into his preferred position. Each time Irvin steps forward and insists sotto voce on what he (Irvin) calls 'proper behaviour'. This repeating scene plays out quietly several times. Neither Aaron or Irvin appear to lose their equilibrium in this quiet contest. (Field note, 17 June 2016)

At the youth worker Natalie's session the students are highly engaged and take part enthusiastically. They tell funny and, at times, indignant stories about being stopped by the police. One of the boys appears to me to be like a 'mini-lawyer'. I record in my field notes that he shows comprehensive knowledge of the law about what the police can and cannot do in stop and search procedures. At one point, in a bid to prevent students talking over each other, Natalie produces a cup. She states that only the person holding the cup can speak. After a few minutes a couple of boys start spinning the cup. The students continue to talk over each other. Eventually Irvin steps forward and quietly removes the cup 'nobody seemed to mind this' (Field note, 17 June 2016). In the field of affect studies Dannesboe (2020) uses a focus on school related objects such as school bags to show how school is actualised within the family. Elsewhere in the research literature Youdell and Armstrong (2011) interpret a traumatic incident on a school outing by focusing on (among other things) a teacher's belt. The focus on the belt is used to enable the authors to think beyond the subjectivated subject. The cup incident in my own study illustrates an attempt to channel the students into proper behaviours such as talking in turn instead of talking over each other. The quiet abandonment of this attempt to control behaviours offers tacit recognition that it was an unsuccessful strategy. It also appears that it was not really needed since the session progresses well despite the fact that the young people do not conform to standards of calm and quiet which might have been expected in a mainstream setting. Acceptance of the Riverdale students' boisterous ways of participation frames the practice here instead, with staff apparently ready to 'step in' quickly if they judge that this is needed.

The second session which I observe that is led by Natalie takes place with students from the part of the PRU which serves the needs of students affected by anxiety and depression, this part of the PRU is sometimes referred to by staff as Riverdale 2. My field notes illustrate a very different tempo and atmosphere in this session from that of the first:

Period 2 – Danielle [Assistant Head Teacher responsible for Riverdale 2] has invited me to observe her group – there are more girls here but some boys as well... this time the session is very different [from the previous session with the larger group] and the young people are very quiet. One boy has been in police cadets. (Field note, 22 June 2016)

Natalie, appears much less confident in this session compared to the boisterous noisiness of the previous week's session where she appeared at ease. She struggles in this group to get the young people to respond. This time we are in a smaller classroom and in contrast to the numbers of staff on duty in the previous visit the only other adults present are Danielle and myself. We sit quietly with the students in a small square formation. The atmosphere is calm and completely different from the frenetic movements of last week. The students here speak in quiet tones and no-one talks over each other. Afterwards Natalie says she felt "outside of her comfort zone" and that she will need to adapt her session to suit these young people. "I'm more used to pupil's throwing chairs – then I'd know what to do" is her verdict (Research Diary, 22 June 2016).

Albeit these two encounters take place within the PRU, the contrast between the subdued atmosphere of Riverdale 2 and the liveliness of Natalie's first session brings to mind another contrast. That is between mainstream discipline and practices at the PRU. Mainstream requirements for quiet, docile bodies are reflected in policy discourses (Timpson, 2019) and elsewhere in the literature (Bánovčanová and Masaryková, 2014; Stahl, 2019). Docility, as opposed to the frenetic movements and loud talk in the first of Natalie's session, is what is judged in mainstream terms to show that the student is ready to learn (Graham, 2018). Although in the first of session (with Riverdale students) I observed moments of engagement interspersed with distractions among the young people, this still does not meet standards of behaviour required for mainstream standards. There is fluidity in the positions of the young people at Riverdale, as in the Youdell (2010) study where "boys are not *either* student and learner or SEBD boys or cool boys" (p. 320) (emphasis added). The two-step dance between Hector and Irvin and the youth session described illustrate that in practice there also appears to be some space for fluidity within the PRU. This documenting of micro-practices also shows the intensity and vigilance involved in the labour of staff to 'police' and scaffold codes of proper behaviour. This is matched by great agility as

well as persistence on the part of young people as they move back and forth between challenge and compliance with these codes.

The PRU is a space of contrasts, while the dominant discourse at Riverdale is about mainstream reintegration it is less certain that such returns will be possible for its students. The PRU also emerges as offering a space that is secured (literally as well as metaphorically) and defended against potential dangers from outside the space. This security does not though appear to protect the PRU from being looked down upon by others such as the neighbouring mainstream school. Furthermore, security practices at the PRU cannot be interpreted solely in terms of policing. The relational nature of these routine events means that they are also times for informal conversation and closeness between staff and students. We can see from the discussion so far that students have the possibility of being seen as good and this is supported by efforts at the PRU at capturing 'proper behaviour'. In the introduction to the chapter I described mainstream school as a constant presence at the PRU. I now turn to explore this in detail within my findings.

Mainstream School in Mind and Matter

Across my data, mainstream school is constantly referred to as a 'normal' place against which the PRU appears as a space that is placed in deficit and potentially stigmatised. The boys at Riverdale Higher in the Data Sharing Group, who are responding to material gathered in group work (the main setting for the field work), voice this opinion strongly. They often use stigmatising discourses which reflect on themselves when they talk about the PRU and their peers:

Ainsley: You need to ask some normal people questions.

Roma: (quietly) I think they were normal.

Santi: I reckon you should go mainstream, you're not going to get much done in this school.

David: This school is with a bunch of twats.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

In the earlier part of this chapter I stressed the role of the PRU as a transitory space. Significantly, this impermanence is also complex because it involves periods of waiting, perhaps for reintegration into mainstream school. Waiting for these 'second chances'

as Joe and others term reintegration also creates the space for mainstream school to become a pervasive idea that is always held in mind. I gained insight into mainstream school as a pervasive idea by following the 'reintegration' journeys of 14 year old Jared and 15 year old Laurent, two of the boys from the Core Group.

Jared's Journey

Jared is preparing for an imminent interview with the Head Teacher of a new mainstream school, Deansgate Academy, which he hopes to attend. As Joe describes it, this is Jared's 'second chance'. Jared speaks to James and myself about the interview in his final session of the group work with us. He is the only boy in attendance that day, Cal has been suspended, Aaron and Hector sent to the Caribbean and Laurent (discussed below) has transferred to a new school. Jared is relaxed and there is a feeling of camaraderie between us. James suggests that we look together at the website for his new school. Jared is keen to do this. James and I both want to support him as he prepares for the interview. He tells us about a previous unsuccessful interview for another school a few months earlier. Jared describes that particular interview with the Head Teacher:

Jared: And then the teacher didn't like it because I kept saying er, oh what was it again, let me think (long pause while he tries to recall) she didn't like it because I kept saying 'wotsit' in a sentence or something like that she didn't like it and she didn't like it because I kept saying Miss, she wanted me to call her Ma'am instead of Miss.

Jared adds: So that's why I didn't get to go to Bidmead School because I didn't like the Head Teacher.

(Group Work, 14 November 2016)

While we do not remark on this, it is interesting to note how Jared guards against the idea of the school rejecting him by saying that he did not like the teacher. For my part, use of the archaic word 'Ma'am' made me recall my own school days at a grammar school in the 1970s where we were required to stand up if a teacher entered the classroom. Jared goes on to explain that Deansgate (the new school he hopes to join) is much more to his liking than Bidmead. He says that he is looking forward to returning to mainstream school, his responses are full of hope:

It doesn't matter what school I go to I just want to get back into another school to get my education. I feel like in Riverdale it's hard to get education, 'cos

you've got other children running in and out of your classes and I know in the mainstream school, especially somewhere like Deansgate where I'm going, that ain't gonna be happening. (Group Work, 14 November 2016)

So from this it is clear, Jared equates mainstream school with getting 'an education' and this is much less possible at the PRU. It is clear also that Jared sees this possibility as a product of the strict codes of behaviour required in mainstream space as opposed to the fluidities of the PRU.

The Deansgate school website includes a YouTube introductory video. Jared sits with James and I to view the website and I record the sound of the video on my audio recorder together with our conversation. The film opens with the Deansgate Head Teacher telling his audience that he has been at the school since 1997, excerpts from the transcript are used here to show how this particular mainstream school presents itself:

Head Teacher says "as anyone can see the children here are highly motivated, well behaved and achieve extremely well" background music in the video. Head Teacher says "we have a motto, it's excellence is a habit not an event" (Jared starts speaking before the Head Teacher has finished his sentence) "which originally comes from Aristotle".

Jared: I'm gonna bring that up in the meeting I'm gonna say 'because I think excellence is a habit not an event', I'm gonna say that.

(Jared on preparation for his interview at Deansgate, Group Work, 14 November 2016)

The YouTube film emphasises prestige and ambition. Jared admires the school buildings. The Head Teacher refers to Eton and Harrow as the most successful public schools and remarks 'we want Deansgate to be equally as successful, equally as passionate'. Later in the video a series of sixth formers feature. Boys and girls from diverse racial backgrounds appear, all of them are neat and well presented in appearance. One of the students introduces himself and says he is hoping to go to Cambridge, another young woman says she is aiming to go to Durham University. James and I are silent as we watch the film. We wonder how Jared will fare in this shining Academy. On my return to the PRU one year later in October 2017 (to carry out the final part of my fieldwork) I learn from the staff that Jared was successful in

gaining entry to Deansgate. However he was subsequently excluded from the school for his behaviour and has transferred to attend another PRU.

Laurent's Journey

Fifteen year old Laurent also leaves Riverdale to go to his new school part way through the first school term (this is also part way through the study). Laurent's move, to a Sports Academy follows the outcome of a long running Court Case. As a result of the Court outcome Laurent no longer faces being sent to a Young Offenders Institution. Now that things are 'settled' according to Joe, Laurent has to move on quickly from Riverdale. Joe stresses that it will not be possible for Laurent to remain at Riverdale although he does not discuss the reasons for this. Ultimately it seems that Riverdale has functioned as place to wait while other matters were decided about Laurent's future.

The new school, Sanderson Academy, specialises in sport. Laurent's talent for sport has gained him entry but according to Joe, his mother is unhappy about her son going to this type of school. Joe tells me that it is the only option for Laurent to continue his education. I am a little surprised at how drastic this sounds, Laurent is only 15 and it makes me wonder how this can be posed as his only chance for an education.

Although the transfer to Sanderson is referred to by Joe and other staff as 'mainstream reintegration' I note that in an email exchange that Sanderson Academy is also referred to 'alternative provision' used by the PRU. As Laurent has consented to do an interview with me I travel over to the Academy which is just a short journey away, within a bus ride from Riverdale.

On arrival I am surprised to find that the 'new school' barely appears to be a school at all. The building is a temporary single storey structure set beside a large area of playing fields. The grounds are clearly the main focus for activities at the Academy. A large room serves as what looks like a temporary classroom space, it is sparsely furnished with a few chairs and workbenches. There are a few computers lined up against the back wall and the room is cold so I keep my coat on. I introduce myself to the staff present, two young black men (in their mid-late twenties I guess). They are wearing track suits and I learn from them that they are employed as sports coaches and mentors for the students. They appear to play a similar role to the TAs at Riverdale.

One of the staff is engaged in a lengthy phone call about the fact that the Wi-Fi is not working. The coaches are friendly and welcoming to me. I wait two and half-hours for Laurent but he does not arrive. Throughout my morning there is no sign of a teacher or any structured classroom activity. During the period I spend waiting various boys (eight in total) aged about 15-16 years arrive at different times. The boys greet each other with fist bumps and the coaches with warm words, everyone is on friendly terms. Two or three of the boys make an attempt to complete a worksheet at a computer. Their efforts are hampered by the continuing problems with the internet. It is clear from their conversation that this problem is a regular occurrence. After the visit I wonder how this can be called an education.

On returning to Riverdale I speak to Beth a senior teacher at Riverdale Higher (a key informant in the research) about what I have seen at the Sports Academy. She tells me 'these schools do not employ qualified teachers' so you cannot be sure about the quality of the education provided. There is irony in the fact that Laurent had to move out of the PRU so quickly to an Academy where provision appears to be much less stable. The Sports Academy appears able to escape the stigma arising from the PRU because it can be called 'mainstream'. The power of the mainstream as an ideal persists, never appearing to lose its positioning as the 'best destination' for Riverdale students. By contrast there does not appear to be a possibility for the PRU to offer long-term alternative provision.

'Home' – Parents

The way that I encountered the 'home' as a space in this research was through my contact with parents in the consent seeking processes for the research. Although fathers are not entirely absent in the study data, in all cases, whether or not consent was given, mothers were my key contacts. Notions of the 'home' and 'parents' are central to research on educational inequality yet as Reay (1998) observes, it is frequently mothers who are the key social actors in negotiations between schools, students and the home. This was also the case in this study.

It was never my intention to follow boys home in this research. For reasons of time, the role of parents and carers⁸ in the study design was limited to that of gatekeepers for their sons' participation in the research. However, the work of gaining parental consent involved greater contact with parents (both face to face and through telephone contact) than at first anticipated. As a result of this engagement and, informed by the analysis process, the significance of home and its relationship with the PRU and mainstream school emerged strongly as an important part of my findings. Jupp et al. (2019) highlight the significance of what is traditionally held as the 'private' and invisible sphere of home and family. Using the lens of home thus provides a way of examining interconnections between subjectivities, lived experiences and "wider circuits and regimes of power" (Jupp et al., 2019, p.5). This study concurs with this view, understanding schooling in a PRU and mainstream school exclusion as one such circuit of power.

Exclusion is a deeply emotional experience for all involved, including parents who are often overlooked and/or seen as a problem (McDonald and Thomas, 2003; Kulz, 2015). Joe acknowledges the emotional difficulties facing parents at Riverdale:

Because one of the key things that we do here is just restore hope because they are very often, young people and their parents are at their absolute lowest ebb when they get in here, I mean so often when we're doing induction meetings, the parents are crying all the way through because they think their education is over and it's for us to give them hope again. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Wetherell's (2012) conceptualisation of circulating affect reminds us of the significance of affective practice, which places relationality at its heart. "Waves of feeling" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 140) can be located in the bodies and minds of boys, parents and school staff connecting each actor within the social context of school exclusion. The ways in which the home and the PRU connect with each other highlight a key tension between the mission of hope (voiced by Joe) and parents and young people's perceptions of entering a PRU where the chance of education may be seen as lost. This tension is exemplified in practices at Riverdale's for parental involvement. Calling parents on the phone, particularly mothers, to report on their son's bad behaviour is a

⁸ The terms 'parents and carers' are used inclusively here, in recognition of the many types of family structures relevant to the circumstances of young people and their families.

regular and routine part of life at the PRU. There are numerous examples of this across my data including observations from attending the daily School Briefing meetings. At close quarters I observe a 'return to school meeting' for Mrs D and her twin sons, Aaron and Hector. Return meetings follow a suspension from the PRU and must take place before a student is allowed to return. While Joe often speaks about calling parents to report the good behaviours of students, during my time at the PRU the phone calls I hear about are almost exclusively focused on poor behaviours or a specific (bad) incident. Joe acknowledges that this contact is stressful for parents:

...as soon as they hear the school, look at the number on the phone, it's the school ringing, they immediately assume they're in trouble. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, First Interview, 22 September 2016)

I inadvertently cause stress when I call a mother directly from the school's switchboard to ask her consent for her 15 year old son to take part in the Data Sharing Group at Riverdale Higher. I had assumed that I would provide reassurance through using the PRU phone number. Instead as the mother informed me, I had upset her with what she saw as an unnecessary phone call that had caused her to think (just as Joe had suggested) that her son was in trouble again.

Parental involvement appears to be a part of a strategy at Riverdale for regulating behaviour. While green slips (discussed earlier) are a way of providing material evidence that a boy is 'good', contacting parents is a way of *making* boys 'good':

'This school has a reputation for calling your Mum, having meetings'.

(David, age 15, Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

David's comment hints at the way interactions between home and school at Riverdale are experienced by the students as causing stress and trouble between parents and their sons. This is discussed in the Data Sharing Group where boys talk about their objections to these phone calls home and the routine way of involving parents in the PRU's disciplinary processes.

David: You see like you have detentions in mainstream schools, this school's detention is call your Mum. You're not allowed to school until your Mum comes into the school. Yeah bullshit – something like that. You have to go home.

Alex: Or you have to wait 'til your mum comes and picks you up.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

During the research I notice that mothers are called in for meetings at the PRU on repeated occasions. During the research all of the five boys in the Core Group have their parents 'called in'. The extract below from my field notes typifies these events:

In the morning briefing Joe had said that Jared's Mum was coming in for a meeting as she was concerned about his behaviour... Sari (a teacher) mentions that Jared was good yesterday, Joe says with a cheeky smile that he thought he would be. (Field note 6 October 2016)

So despite the security at the entrance, the PRU is a porous space – connected in the imagination to mainstream school and in very practical ways to the home through phone calls and visits. My findings suggest that parents are made unequal partners with the PRU in disciplining their sons. These findings also show the school/home partnership demands emotional labour from both parents and young people. Stress is engendered in these every day, routine practices of connection.

Cal's Journey

Lost hopes for a mainstream education are part of an emotional journey for parents and young people, this is something that is captured by Cal's journey into Riverdale Higher, the senior school site of the PRU.

Cal loses his chance to return to mainstream school after a violent incident which results in his suspension and immediate transfer to Riverdale Higher. This transfer means that Cal has to complete his education at a PRU. Ironically, this is the outcome that Joe defends against in the PRU policy of reintegration. Joe explains how the transfer has a profound impact on Cal's mother:

...her extended family in Algeria value education and she [Cal's mother] is ashamed because she's like, "what's going on with my son here?", so that's why she was very keen to work with us, to make a move back to mainstream more likely. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

At the start of the research I spoke to Cal's mother on the phone to request her consent for him to be part of the study. She was friendly and keen for Cal to be involved in the project. Joe tells me in his interview that she keeps in regular, almost daily contact with him about Cal returning to a mainstream school. She is hopeful that reintegration will happen soon. This is like Cal, who constantly asks about other

students who he knows have returned to school. On the day of the incident which leads to his suspension Cal's mother is called into the PRU for a meeting with Joe about what has happened. Later that day in the School Briefing, Leah, the Deputy Head Teacher, says that as Cal is 15 he will now transfer immediately to Riverdale Higher. She tells the staff that Cal's mother has talked about speaking to her lawyer to prevent the transfer. It is clear from the silent reaction of the staff that they have heard this before from parents and that they do not expect it will make any difference. Subsequently, this proves to be correct, Cal's move to Riverdale Higher is immediate. Joe sums up the position starkly, the transfer is 'what now needs to happen'. It is confirmed that Cal will complete his education in a PRU instead of returning to mainstream school.

I follow Cal to Riverdale Higher in order to interview him. On my first attempt he is absent from school – the staff at Riverdale Higher tell me that his mother often phones to say that he is unwell and unable to attend school. I surmise to myself that this may be his mother's way of objecting to her son attending a PRU. On my second attempt to conduct the interview I meet both mother and son on the road to the school. Cal is over half an hour late but the pair are walking very slowly, their footsteps drag and match each other's slow pace:

On the way there [Cal's mother] had told me that Riverdale Higher was a "bad school", she says that it is not good for her son as "there are bad people there".

(Research Diary, 1 January 2017)

His mother is friendly to me – she remembers me from our phone call at the start of the research. While Cal gives an indifferent shrug and says that he is 'okay' to do an interview, his mother is keen and says that she is pleased that I still want to interview her son. All three of us walk together to a café in a local supermarket so that I can conduct the interview. It does not appear to matter to either of them that this will make Cal even later for school. When we reach the café his mother is very accommodating. Without me asking she sits a short distance away in the café so that I can speak to Cal on his own. After the interview she thanks me for 'remembering' her son. We speak warmly to each other about ordinary 'normal' things outside of her son's schooling, it feels like there is some relief in this for both of us:

She was very pleasant to me – when it became clear that I knew the bakery where she worked she said I should come by one day. I told her the bakery did very nice cakes and bread, and that I had ordered party cakes from there in the past. (Research Diary, 1 January 2017)

After the interview, I watch Cal and his mother leave to return to Riverdale Higher, once again they walk in slow steps with each other, making a reluctant journey back to the PRU.

A key point about this encounter with Cal and his mother is the sense of sadness and defeat, something I experience acutely in relation to his mother. Compared to our first telephone conversation a couple of months before when she showed a lively interest in the research. At that time she had been hopeful of Cal's moving back to mainstream school. Now she speaks to me in quiet, subdued tones.

The story of Cal's journey throws into sharp relief how the PRU's stigmatised positioning is amplified when it becomes a permanent destination instead of providing a bridge back into mainstream school. The chance of an education appears to Cal and his mother to be lost as a consequence of his transfer to Riverdale Higher. The positioning of the PRU outside of the mainstream and as a temporary space of transition means that it also becomes a space in which education is an impossibility – something that is mourned by Cal's mother. This idea of impossibility is reinforced by professional discourses within the PRU itself, with mainstream school described as the 'normal place to be'. Contradictions are apparent if we compare the case of Laurent (previously discussed) where moving on to an academy is described by Joe as his 'only chance' of an education. The logical corollary of this must then be that to remain at the PRU leads to the loss of a chance for education justifying the fears of Cal and his mother. This gives us insight into the impact of constructing the PRU as a space that can only be provisional and is therefore pathologised in relation to mainstream school.

Ethnicity and cultural identity factors are visible undercurrents in this episode. I am struck by the fact that when I meet Cal with his mother in the street she speaks to him in a different language which sounds to me like Arabic. While she speaks in tones that I can hear Cal lowers his voice considerably, replying also in Arabic but almost in a whisper. I had not known before that he was bilingual and he seems embarrassed for me to hear this so I look away. I mention this aspect of our encounter because it hints

at depths of feeling and unrecognised identity processes which may also influence the experience of school exclusion. Although Joe alludes to the shame Cal's mother experiences about the PRU in relation to her family and their Algerian origins, it appears that there is nothing more to be said about this knowledge. Throughout my time at Riverdale I never heard ethnicity or culture mentioned in relation to Cal and his family circumstances. These factors suggest further layers of complexity arising from school exclusion that are not readily grasped.

The example of Cal underscores the hopelessness that is often felt about remaining in a PRU. Set against the messages about reintegration as the normative and, in most senses a required destination it is hardly surprising to find that when reintegration is not obtained it is seen by parents and students alike as a lost education. This emphasises the emotional and material high stakes involved when the PRU cannot be seen as a viable alternative space to mainstream education.

Sending 'Back Home' – Parental Agency

There are two examples in my data where parents acted to remove their sons from the PRU by organising a move out of the UK. Both examples presented in the research as parents exercising some power (a kind of agency) in a setting where social relations appeared to position parents and young people with highly constrained power and agency.

During the research field work in the autumn half term, 15 year old twin brothers Hector and Aaron, are sent by their mother to live with their father in the Caribbean. There is no direct communication from the home with the school about this, but it fulfils an action that had been threatened repeatedly by Mrs D:

Joe says that the twins' Mum came in today and she was very strict and angry. It's clear that if they don't improve she is thinking that she will send them to the Caribbean - they don't want to go and this is why he [Joe] says they are likely to be good over the next few days. (Field note, 10 October 2016)

The second instance of removal to another country concerns 15 year old Ali. He is one of the boys who had been due to take part in the Data Sharing Group at Riverdale Higher. I learn from Beth, a senior teacher at the PRU, that Ali has been taken by his father to Mogadishu. His friend, 15 year old Santi (another member of the Data

Sharing Group) tells me that Ali's father had said that he was 'getting into too much trouble'. In these examples we see transnational families evoking more complicated configurations of 'home' to include countries of origin as well as residence (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011; Qureshi, 2014). In both Ali's case and Hector and Aaron's, I learn that there has been no communication between home and school. Beth calls Ali's family home but she learns very little from the relative who answers the phone. According to Beth, the person (an adult family member) was guarded in their conversation with her. Beth tells me that the school has little power in this situation. Santi is visibly upset about his friend and he talks with the other boys in the Data Group as well as Beth asking what can be done to bring Ali back. It is from Santi that I hear a fuller account of the circumstances surrounding Ali. Santi tells me that his friend was tricked into thinking the trip abroad was a holiday. Ali's mother accompanied him part of the way then left her son in transit at the airport and returned to the UK on her own. Ali and Santi remain connected through their iPhones. Santi tells me that Ali has shown him the streets of Mogadishu on FaceTime and that things over there are "awful". He says that Ali is afraid because people are very poor over there "and he's there with his iPhone and his trainers" (Field note October 2017).

These actions by parents could be thought of as a way of exercising power and control over their sons' bodies. By their actions of removal these young people are de facto outside the jurisdiction of State authority (Qureshi, 2014; Erdal et al., 2016; Hoechner, 2020a). In these cases parents by dint of their actions appear to have lost faith in the British state education system to provide effective solutions. Interestingly both cases of 'sending back' in this research are characterised by parents as 'keeping out of trouble' in some way, this concurs with some of the findings in academic studies (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011). The lack of communication between home and the PRU underscores a lack of trust and or faith among parents. These parents are creating their own 'solutions' whether this is because they regard the PRU as problematic (as is the case for Ali's father) and, or because British schooling is perceived as ineffective at instilling discipline (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011). The latter was the opinion given by Mrs D in relation to her twin sons Hector and Aaron. For these parents the PRU is positioned as a place which holds the dangers of peer influence and appears unable to keep their

sons out of trouble. There are common strands in this positioning with Cal and his mother, although she is unable to prevent him from remaining in a PRU she too believes the PRU cannot help her son.

Yet these 'home-made' transnational solutions may themselves be temporary. A year after completing the Group Work in 2016 on my return to the PRU to conduct the Data Sharing Workshop I learn that twins Hector and Aaron have been expelled from their strict Caribbean school as a result of their behaviour. The boys have returned to the UK after living with their father for a year. It is planned that Aaron will return to Riverdale Higher while his brother Hector will start attending a school elsewhere. Struggles for young people and complexity in transnational 'return' mobilities (Hoechner, 2020b) are also evident in the literature (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011; Zeitlyn, 2012). These incidents of 'sending back' in my data indicate complexity and multiplicity in identity and subject positions for the boys. Here transnational mobilities give rise to transnational identities. Importantly, conditions of possibility for the boys appear to be constrained, the removals from the UK are not of their choosing. In at least one of the examples (the twins) the move is temporary and does not appear to lead to what can be called a successful outcome. Once again the PRU is not seen as being able to offer a viable alternative space, and the authority of the PRU is limited within the boundaries of the UK state. Although parents can be seen to be exercising a type of agency through authority over their sons this appears to be at the expense of their sons' rights. In previous examples (discussed earlier in the chapter) phone calls from the school were stressful occurrences for parents, in these transnational movement examples it is breakdown and disconnections in home / school relations that are very apparent.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored a context for boys in the study that is formed through three key spaces; the PRU, mainstream school and home. I illustrate the PRU as a space which is always determined as a transitory space where it is not possible for boys to remain. Discourses overwhelmingly position mainstream school as the desired and indeed only viable way for the boys to achieve an education. This chance is seen as lost when, as in Cal's case, boys have to remain at the PRU. There is complexity in the

role of the PRU where behaviour management practices seek to produce 'proper behaviour' in keeping with mainstream standards. Yet at the same time there remain possibilities for fluidity, different practices by the students can be accommodated (as occurs in the youth work session).

This chapter illustrates mainstream school as ever-present at the PRU. This presence is idealised, arguably, it is close to fantasy in the Deansgate video that Jared watches and it may sometimes be in the form of what amounts to a sleight of hand (as in Laurent's case at the Sports Academy). We also see an indication of strict and impossible 'zero tolerance' style codes of behaviour in mainstream school, such as calling the teacher Ma'am in Jared's unsuccessful mainstream interview. Finally, in the chapter the presence of parents throws into sharp relief the emotional costs of exclusion (parents crying throughout their first meetings with Joe) for both parents and young people. Despite the good intentions of the PRU to report good conduct to parents, relations between home and school are primarily characterised by stress with parents being made part of disciplinary processes. We also glimpse practices of resistance in the 'sending back' of young people by parents. This transnational element shows parents taking their own action to try to secure their sons' futures, the resources of the State (manifest through the PRU) are thus seen as failing to provide the support that is needed by families.

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter illustrate the PRU as a space that cannot fully exist in its own right. It is a porous space that is always connected to mainstream school and home. In the former case, the PRU exists to serve mainstream school both through receiving excluded students and through reintegration. In the latter case, connections with home, through phone calls and meetings configure relations with parents that are highly pressurised as well as constant. While the PRU offers a defended (and securitised) space, its capacity as a safe space is constrained by problems of legitimacy as a transitory space. Boys' identity and subject positions may be similarly constrained by the PRU's interim and deficit status. This suggests an interpretation that boys and their families may be being placed in an 'impossible context'. This is a central idea that I return to in my thesis discussion at chapter 7. In the next chapter I explore the work of professionals in the study.

Chapter 5: Professionals – Roles and Relationships

Our responsibility, as educational and social scientists, is to understand, to the extent that is possible, the complex conditions of our mutual formation. We must understand our own contribution to creating and withholding the conditions of possibility of particular lives. (Davies, 2006, p.435)

Introduction

Bronwyn Davies' premise of ethical reflexivity provides a point of departure for the chapter. Davies provides an ethical challenge for professionals to examine their contribution to "conditions of possibility" hence this is a fitting opening for this chapter which is concerned with professionals' contribution to subject making. I present findings from my data as a way of opening up a critical discussion of the way professionals interact with boys in the PRU and the positioning of professionals in this study. I seek in this chapter to address a key question for my thesis, what is the role of professionals in subject making for teenage boys excluded from school? The chief aims of this chapter are two-fold: To introduce and consider the professionals who work within the PRU setting and to explore the part that professionals play in shaping the possibilities of identity and subjectivity for the young people in this study. In doing so I reflect also on the possible trajectories for young people resulting from this intersection with the practice of professionals.

The chapter draws from across my ethnographic data set, including observations, interviews and focus group discussions. It is organised in three main sections: I begin with TAs, a role that is less considered in the literature and policy discourses and which is often categorised as para-professional (Mansaray, 2006; Clarke, 2021). Secondly, I explore the role of teachers who occupy a formal role that is significant in terms of power and professional status. Simultaneously teachers also occupy a highly relational role that is central to PRU students' possibilities both within the PRU setting and students' future trajectories. In the third part of the chapter I explore briefly the perspectives of multi-disciplinary professionals involved in the research. While the first two sections draw widely from my ethnographic sources, the multidisciplinary perspectives draw from the focus group discussion conducted with a multidisciplinary group of professionals, as well as focus groups conducted with teachers and social workers.

It should be noted that the participants in the three focus groups did not work with the boys involved in the research. This lack of relational connection presented a methodological challenge for the study. I believe it contributed to a tendency towards a generalised discourse about excluded boys. This was problematic given my goal of focusing on specificities. Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) highlight the limitations of methodologies “which only take account of ‘attitudes’ while ignoring the ethnographic necessity of close or ‘thick’ description” (p.107). I present evidence drawn from the social workers’ and teachers’ focus groups in the multidisciplinary section of the chapter. In the case of the professionals who did not work with the boys involved in this study I explore reflections which were stimulated by ‘hearing’ the voices of these boys through material presented in the focus groups. In this way I hope to mitigate methodological limitations and present findings in a way that is in keeping with the ethnographic and theoretical underpinnings of the study.

TAs – Friends at the PRU

While TAs at Riverdale have a highly prominent role in social relations and material practices at the PRU, there is heterogeneity in TAs’ roles in schools (Blatchford et al., 2009; Slater and Gazeley, 2018). My own lack of clarity about the role of TAs contributed to the fact that they were not at first included in my research design. Originally, I had intended to focus on teachers, social workers and youth workers. Entering the ethnographic field of the PRU changed my perspective.

Although the marginalised professional status of TAs is noted, Mansaray (2006) highlights liminality and the significance of relational boundary work carried out by TAs. The fact that TAs played an active part in facilitating the group work for my research gave me a close view of their role and practices. Four TAs, Henrikh, Ciara, Jason and Danny, were assigned by Joe the Assistant Head Teacher to work alongside James, (the drama facilitator) and myself. All four of the TAs were black. From my observations at the PRU, black staff were highly represented (approximately 60-70 per cent) among TAs while the majority of teaching staff were white. In addition to observations from the group work sessions I interviewed three of the four TAs who worked with me.

In the School Briefings which I attended regularly TAs contributed equally to discussions and planning about students. They were deployed to work with class groups of young people and with individuals and TAs' names appeared on the daily rotas alongside their teaching colleagues. The mentoring and broader social support nature of the role of TAs was implicit in the discussions and interactions I observed at the PRU. For instance, School Briefing discussions about the TAs' work tended to focus on how a young person was feeling or recent incidents rather than academic performance. In my field notes from an early stage of the research project I noted the friendly and informal nature of interactions between TAs and students. The extract below from a group session in the first week reflects my experience during the fieldwork:

I feel Henrikh was a real help today too – he's like a grown up friend to them – I think I should be taking more notice of the dynamics between the boys and the TAs as well. (Field note, 29 September 2016)

The relaxed and informal nature of the role is also illustrated in Jared's comment about how he sees the TAs:

It's all right because they're [TAs] not proper teachers ... They're not really like mentors but they kind of are because they're on your level, not like proper teachers. (Jared, Interview 7 November 2016)

Relatedly, Joe describes TAs' roles as equivalent to teachers. Joe even suggests in his final interview with me that students would 'refer to them [TAs] as teachers [as] they don't see the distinction' (Joe, 2 December 2016). However, this is contrary to what I observed at the PRU. For instance, I never once heard a young person refer to a TA as a teacher. Jared's description is much closer to what I saw during my time at the PRU. Joe's keenness to attribute equality in status and recognition for TAs is perhaps better understood as an attempt to validate the importance of TAs' contribution. It also underscores the limited ways in which such validation can be carried out, in other words we can only appreciate the role of a TA once they 'become' a teacher. Joe's reflections highlight differences between what may be possible for a TA in mainstream settings compared with the role in a PRU:

I think a teaching assistant here is very different probably to a teaching assistant in mainstream. Most of our teaching assistants would all be trained mentors ... It's also a port of call for that individual student if they're having a

difficulty, if they're having any issues or concerns, they can go to them. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Communication and Rapport – Differences and Common Ground

I explore here empirical examples of communication practices, participation and emotional regulation which shed light on the nature of TAs' boundary work (Mansaray, 2006) and links their role with youth work approaches and professional identities. This is significant for the positioning of the young people with whom the TAs work. The nature of social relations can create and foreclose possibilities for the kind of subjecthood that is possible. During the research a single TA was present on most occasions over the three months of group work. This was with the exception of one session towards the end of the group work⁹ and another session where two TAs (Ciara and Danny) were present during part of the group work.

My findings suggest significant correlations between youth work approaches and those of TAs at the PRU. Cooper (2018) suggests five key principles to define youth work including holistic approaches and "...positive regard and processes for working through supportive and friendly relationships" (p.11). The supportive and friendly relationships referenced by Cooper (2018) are prominent across my data, this is exemplified in the communication and rapport I observed between TAs and young people. The four TAs who worked with me had very different personalities and this was reflected in their communication styles and approaches. One striking example of this is a contrast between Danny and Jason.

Danny is a tall and rangy black man in his mid to late thirties. Usually (like the rest of the TAs who worked with me) dressed in a tracksuit, he cycled into the PRU often arriving late or just in time. He had worked at Riverdale for a number of years and clearly knew the young people well. He was immediately friendly towards me and engaged easily in conversation. In the staff room he joked with staff about his personal life, including his "demanding girlfriends" and talked in an open, easy manner. Observing Danny at work I saw that he enjoyed a deep rapport with the young people at the PRU. They spoke on first name terms often exchanging jokes. On

⁹ This was due to staff absence on the day. It was also the case that both Joe and I felt confident that James and I would be able to run the session on our own, having got to know the boys in the Core Group in the previous weeks of group work.

many occasions I saw him walking with a young person, which he regularly described as 'going for a quiet chat'. In the group work sessions Danny was authoritative, quick to tell off the boys if he felt they were not participating in the "right way". That is, if the boys were not doing what they had been asked by James and I to do. Sometimes Danny demonstrated a 'sergeant-major' style in his communication at other times he used jovial banter. Danny supported three of the group work sessions, joining Ciara in one session when he was clearly deployed by Joe in order to tackle the oppositional behaviour of Laurent during a session¹⁰. On this occasion only two boys, Jared and Laurent were present. Laurent had turned his back on James and myself, although he was 'participating' in the sense of speaking and answering questions. Ciara had earlier attempted to coax Laurent into turning around. The extract below illustrates Danny's approach:

On entering the room Danny greeted Jared, who was participating well in the activities, then he turned to Laurent:

Danny: I'm good, are you all right (speaking to Laurent).

Laurent mumbles something back to Danny – saying he's all right – Danny mimics his reply in a humorous but quiet way (along the lines of uh humhm)

Danny turns to James: Is he being co-operative?

James: He's talking to me I would like it if he was looking but he's not looking.

Danny: Oh I thought you put him in the corner like a silly little schoolboy.

James: No that was his choice.

Danny: Facing the corner is this your defiance mode yeah?

(Group work, 13 October 2016)

The TA Jason, is younger than Danny, in his late twenties to early thirties. He is small in build and softly spoken. He tells me that he began work as a TA in a mainstream school:

I found myself working with more of the naughty children in the mainstream school and just started working with SEN and found that was where I was more effective. (Jason, TA, Interview 24 November 2016)

¹⁰ During this session Laurent turned his back towards us. Joe had visited the room briefly and soon afterwards Danny appeared, hence my conjecture that Joe had sent Danny into the session.

Much quieter than Danny, Jason nevertheless has an easy rapport with the students. One day I hear him speaking to a student (who happened also to be called Jason) about his behaviour, “stop taking the name Jason in vain” he admonished the young person with a smile. The student responded with a rueful smile. In his interview I had asked Jason (the TA) about his demeanour, I commented that I had never seen him shout or appear ruffled. In answering me Jason contrasts his own approach to that of Danny, though he acknowledges Danny’s effectiveness:

...where Danny is very effective as well, I’ve seen him shout and saying, everyone back and they’ve all just gone straight back in the lesson. Whereas I don’t know, it’s different strategies but it worked for him. Mine was more calm so just different strokes for different folks I guess, but what works for me is just always being calm. (Jason, TA, Interview, 24 November 2016)

Jason’s comment is supported in my data by Jared, who independently of Jason, during a group work session remarked, ‘Danny sometimes shouts in our faces’ (Group work October 2016). Interestingly Jared does not show any sign of disquiet or disapproval when he tells me this, rather he presents it as an observation of fact about Danny. This is striking given the universal praise among the boys for Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher, and his habit of *not* shouting. Professional status and positioning can also be said to play a role here since a teacher shouting, particularly one with the role and authority of Joe is a very different proposition to a TA shouting. Moreover, shouting is only one facet of Danny’s mode of communication. The contrasting styles and approaches of Danny and Jason serve to emphasise that although I found considerable variation in each TAs’ approaches; I also found common ground in the depth of rapport and friendly interactions between TAs and students. This did not vary according to individual ‘tougher’ styles of Danny and those with a quieter approach such as Jason. While I observed four of the TAs at close quarters within the group work, my ethnographic observations at break-times and arrival times suggest similar supportive and friendly relations between other TAs and young people at the PRU.

TAs – Joining In

TAs played a crucial role for the study by working alongside James and myself in facilitating the group work. This was particularly the case in the early stages of the research when James and I first introduced ourselves to the Core Group. While all the

boys knew each other and the PRU staff, James and I were unfamiliar as was the group work project itself. The use of drama as a medium provided us with creative activities which we hoped that the boys would enjoy. However we found at the start that the boys were not keen to participate. TAs made a difference through joining in themselves and supporting the boys in the activities. The extract below, which shows Henrikh's practice, typifies the level of involvement by the TAs and the effect of this in enabling the boys' participation. This episode occurred soon after both Jared and Laurent had both been refusing to take part in a numbers game which we had intended as an icebreaker for the start of the session. After initial challenges, including twins Aaron and Hector making a show of the fact that they were going to sleep rather than joining in, Henrikh continued to participate providing encouragement to the boys to join in:

The game appears to be restarting – Laurent and Henrikh can be heard doing the numbers game together.

Jared and Cal are doing the game as well.

Things have got back on track and appear to be proceeding

Jared says "Oh Henrikh, you're out, Laurent wins" – Jared sounds like he's enjoying himself.

(Group Work, 26 September 2016)

In the following week Henrikh continued to encourage the boys to participate. For instance, in a short word game about different means of communication, when Jared says he does not want to take part Henrikh responds, "should I write it for you? I'll write this one" (Henrikh, quietly, helpful tones) (Group Work, 29 September 2016).

Communication between the TAs and the boys in the Core Group flows easily throughout the sessions. The informality of their interactions is illustrated in the following brief exchange:

Henrikh laughing at something Jared has got caught out on in the game– Jared says 'shut up Henrikh' said as though to a peer that's in the game with him, sounds like the way you would talk to a friend that is teasing you. The game now sounds like everyone is enjoying it. (Field note, 26 September 2016)

Outside of the group sessions I observe similar levels of engagement between TAs and young people at the PRU. During classroom activities TAs move easily between

interacting with whole groups (class sizes are small at the PRU) and individual young people. This is in marked contrast to the complexities of the positioning of TAs in mainstream schools. Slater and Gazeley (2018) highlight the significance of relational and spatial dimensions in their study of TAs in secondary schools. The authors show how deployment of a TA can signify separation of a young person from the class teacher and the main body of the classroom (Slater and Gazeley, 2018). By contrast, Riverdale TAs (in the group work and in classroom activities) are almost always positioned centrally as part of the main body of the class or grouping. I observed TAs facilitate participation in both timetabled academic subjects and broader enrichment activities and once again demonstrate similar levels of engagement whatever the type of activity.

Distraction was a constant feature of interactions with the boys involved in the study. Examples include leaving the room, talking about different topics from the main activity and throwing objects. TAs played a pivotal role in continually focusing and refocusing the concentration of the Core Group members. This involved constant repetitions and reminders as well as direct instructions. The TAs often performed the role of a supporting chorus to James and myself. While these interactions were focused on behaviour, the tones of voice and facial expressions of the TAs (smiling and not smiling) also addressed the mood and personality of the boys concerned. Communication took various forms from encouraging a student to 'relax' to admonition. Here for instance the TA Jason voices his frustration at the boys constantly tuning into rap music on You Tube during a group work session. He is softly spoken but firm:

Jason: Stop listening to music now (indistinct, but clearly referring to the computer and earphones) now, you're getting on my nerves now, you're not listening, you're not concentrating.

Aaron: I am.

Jason: You're not, you're not... Pause it, pause it, give us some attention now. (Group Work 17 October 2016)

The complex dynamics of the TAs' role and professional relationships with boys are thrown into sharp relief here. TAs are at once highly relational, reacting and responding to boys' moods and behaviours. They also seek to maintain an equilibrium

which supports boys' participation by constantly connecting and re-connecting young people with classroom activities.

Emotional Regulation

Like proper teachers tell you off. If we're messing about they'll [TAs] just say, "relax" or something like that. (Jared, Interview 7 November 2016)

A key facet of TAs' role in supporting young people's emotional regulation at the PRU is summed up in Jared's description. In using the term emotional regulation I refer to the ability to control one's emotional response and expression of feeling. This role is demonstrated in the empirical data in numerous ways. One of the most frequent examples is TAs 'having a chat' (one to one) with a student often after an incident or an outburst in class. I witnessed this on a number of occasions, sometimes as a 'walk and talk' as Danny describes the short strolls he takes with students around the PRU. Other times, it involves a quiet talk in situ, where words are spoken quietly by the TA to a young person. Henrik's accustomed quiet tones are a good example of this.

The field note below, from my observation of an interaction between the TA Ciara and Laurent, provides another prime illustration of TAs' roles in emotional regulation. By way of background, this instance concerns an occasion when Laurent was unhappy with a role assigned to him by James to play a particular character in one of the group work activities. The idea for the session was that each of the boys should read a 'script' which James and I had created by using the boys' own words from the previous week's session. All of the boys in the Core Group appeared to struggle with the idea that they should not simply 'play themselves' and utter their own words. The exchange between Ciara and Laurent is recorded in my field notes:

Asking the boys to read their 'script' had mixed results, they were okay but not terribly lively. Laurent wanted to be number one i.e. the first character to speak or to be himself. Once this was not the part he was assigned by James he was a bit disruptive and withheld his participation – leaving the room for a long while, coming back with a cup of water then gargling noisily. Ciara spoke to him quietly each time and seemed to get him back on track each time. At one stage he took his trousers off (he had football shorts underneath) because he said his leg was itching. Ciara asked/told him to put them back on because he "wasn't decent" he laughed but eventually put the trousers back on. (Field note 10 October 2016)

Here Ciara is well able to communicate with Laurent in a way that connects well with him. I often saw Ciara use this coaxing approach. She is quiet, speaking in a low voice directly to the young person she is addressing.

Shared Biographies and Identities

As previously mentioned all four of the TAs who worked with me were black, additionally they were all from an Afro-Caribbean background. It emerged during the research, through interviews and in the group work, that a number of the TAs had experienced challenges in their own schooling. Henrikh told a memorable story in a group session about a teacher who was a bully, Jason spoke of his struggles with maths and trying to get out of lessons:

I felt I couldn't keep up with my peers [I wanted to] just run and hide somewhere, it was always maths, maths, was the main one that I didn't want to go to. (Group work, 17 October 2016)

However, the most striking instance was that of Ciara. It emerged during a Group Work activity, a 'chat show' style interview with Joe, that Ciara had been a student at Riverdale over a decade previously and that she had been taught by Joe:

Ciara was very polite but she never did anything. She would sit in the lesson and just do absolutely nothing if she wrote the title that was progress. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, 13 October 2016)

All of us were surprised by this news and it leads to Jared asking Ciara lots of questions in a way that amounts to an unscripted and highly memorable interview. Ciara tells us that she was excluded from mainstream school for fighting. Interestingly, Jared asked her about whether she had obtained her GCSEs at Riverdale Higher. This is noteworthy because it hints at Jared's continued interest in academic progress, an interest that was explored in the previous chapter in the thesis:

Ciara: I got seven GCSEs at below a C, they weren't as good as I wanted them to be.

Jared: Asks about her getting a job back in the school (exact words indistinct)

Ciara: I was lucky. I shouldn't really have got a job but 'cos it was the old Head Teacher she gave me a chance.

Jared: Do you enjoy working with kids?

Ciara: Hmm, yes, kids like me isn't it.

(Group Work 13 October 2016)

Ciara's words 'kids like me isn't it' and 'she gave me a chance' strike me with a poignancy. After completing the field work I reflected on my encounters with Ciara. When I first met her I was a little unsettled by the fact that my casual friendliness did not appear to connect with her. She gave me very little eye contact and often appeared solemn and taciturn. This closely mirrored my experience on numerous occasions with three of the boys in the Core Group (twins Hector and Aaron, and Laurent). All three of the boys gave me little eye contact and often did not respond greatly to my demonstrations of friendliness. In her impromptu interview with Jared, Ciara had spoken about feeling a sense of shame at being excluded from mainstream school. In reflecting about what I could learn through the example of Ciara I recalled how feelings of warmth and connection had grown on my part through time spent working together. Small exchanges such as Ciara and myself agreeing on a justification for giving Laurent a green reward slip (discussed in chapter 4) provided a sense of connection which went beyond my previous efforts at casual friendliness. Through the parallels between Ciara and the boys in the research I was able to gain an insight into the value of time and authenticity of feeling in relationships. This also underscores the significance of shared experience of identity and subject positions between the TAs and PRU students.

The data presented here about TAs illustrates the value of strong relational working and the support that is made possible through the liminal space which they occupy in their professional roles. The TAs' understanding of boys in this research is frequently rooted in a sense of shared biographies and identities. This gives rise to solidarity and empathy in the way the TAs carry out their work. There are also limits to the role and support that the TAs can provide within hierarchical structures that are no less evident in the PRU than in mainstream schools. These limits are masked to some extent by the youth work positioning of TAs at Riverdale. This allows them to operate for instance, as mentors for young people, a highly valued role. Nevertheless, the professional status of TAs compared to teachers means that they cannot lead decision-making. The difference in status and the ability to occupy a less formal role than teachers can be an advantage. Arguably, it allows TAs to be close to young people since they are as Jared

points out 'not proper teachers'. These differences also pose limits for how TAs may, through their roles, fundamentally challenge exclusionary processes as opposed to mitigating their worst impacts.

Teachers – The 'Doing' of Professional Roles and Relationships

In chapter 4 I explored the nature of the PRU as an interim space of inherent contradictions. Understanding the PRU as transitory space which is intended as a bridge to a mainstream destination leaves open the question of *how* this is done. Insight into professional roles and relationships of staff within the PRU is crucial to achieving this understanding. Back and Puwar (2012b) highlight the importance of being attentive to the 'doing' of social life (p.11). Ethnographic methods lend themselves well to learning about the 'doing' of professional relationships (Youdell, 2010). Through these methods one is able to gain a sense of atmospheres and capture the minutiae of the material practices that create relationships and which underpin roles. While the role and practices of TAs (discussed above) illustrate the PRU as a space which can offer support and highly relational approaches, this is only a partial view which brings to the fore a bridging/liminal role of emotional support in professionals. My findings about the role and relationships of certain teachers who are leaders at the PRU shed light on how the PRU is made into space that offers both the support of highly relational approaches and at the same time enacts its role as a bridge to mainstream school. This is the 'doing' of safety and instability.

Safe Teachers

Joe is close to the students in their day to day routines at the PRU. At break-times and class changeover periods, I observe Joe ushering students from one place to another. He speaks to them in his customary quiet tones and takes charge of confiscated items of clothing. Riverdale operates a strict uniform policy which means that those who arrive 'inappropriately' dressed are expected to surrender forbidden items of clothing to Joe who keeps these items in his office for the school day. I watch as jumpers that are the wrong colour and casual tops with slogans on them are handed over to Joe. Sometimes, in cases where students are late, other items that are not forbidden such as anoraks and coats are handed over. Joe holds the items of clothing with respect, his look tells the students that their belongings will be properly looked after. He will care for them. Some students are unhappy that they have to surrender their possessions, they argue a little, but I am struck by the fact that they all appear to trust Joe with 'their stuff'. At the end of the day

I watch the young people retrieve their items. Joe hands back their clothing with the same care that he demonstrated in the morning when receiving their items. In Joe's hands an old school tradition of confiscating forbidden items becomes instead 'looking after' student's possessions. This is clearly appreciated by the students as though they feel a sense that valuing their belongings also values them as individuals. (Research Diary Reflection, 2018)

These simple acts of exchange provide an insight into why Joe is referred to by the boys in the Core Group as 'always kind' and 'safe'. Joe's kindness is a key theme of the boys' discussion in preparation for what became a memorable group work activity, interviewing Joe¹¹, using the device of a television chat show. In preparation for the interview we asked the boys to devise their own questions. James and I had 'chosen' Joe as an interview subject because we had felt that the boys would be comfortable with him and interested in finding out more about him. This turned out to be an accurate assumption, the boys were highly interested in finding out specific personal details about Joe including his salary level and speculating who his partner might be, they took to their task with enthusiasm. Questions devised by the boys included: "Are you always kind?" and "are you kind at home". Laurent, came up with the question, "how does it feel to be the best teacher?" This led to discussion about the reason "Joe never shouts". Hector observed "if anything he should be shouting at us". Elsewhere across my data there are numerous illustrations of high levels of trust and relational bonds between each member of the Core Group and Joe. One example of this is the way that Joe is described as "safe" by the boys. This came about during a group work session when Cal, who often expresses himself through jokes, referred with humour to Joe saying that the Assistant Head Teacher "should stop being a bastard". Swiftly, Hector countered this by replying:

Joe's not a bastard man ... Joe's the safest teacher I ever met in my life. (Hector, Group work, 10 October 2016)

The other boys, including Cal, all agree with Hector. At the time I was struck by the fact that Cal had suddenly (and momentarily) become serious and appeared reflective when he responded to Hector:

¹¹ Ciara the TA also featured in this episode of the group work, this is referred to earlier in the chapter.

Ah you know what? I actually rate Joe, Joe's actually safe. (Cal, Group Work 10 October 2016)

Cal spoke slowly in a thoughtful tone as if he was measuring out for himself what he actually thought of Joe. Away from the group, in an interview, Jared also expressed his trust in Joe:

Because I trust Joe a lot. I have a lot of trust for Joe. If it was any other teacher [to be interviewed in the group activity], I probably wouldn't have been as keen on asking them questions. I wanted to find out more about Joe. (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

The skill of relational, empathic approaches embodied in Joe's practice provides support for the young people at the PRU to navigate the everyday realities of their schooling and exclusion from mainstream school. Just as my earlier example in this chapter showed Joe holding student's possessions, there is a sense in which young people are also 'held'.

A similar pattern of trust and secure relationships is demonstrated by the responses of the boys at Riverdale Higher (in the Data Sharing Group) to Beth, a senior teacher. By way of context it is important to note that Beth is based at Riverdale Higher and that this is the part of the PRU (for young people aged 15 plus) where students are expected to complete their education. Although Beth is a senior teacher her responsibilities are pastoral rather than teaching. During my visits to Riverdale Higher I often heard the students there refer to themselves (albeit jokily) as "lifers". The use of humour does not lessen the significance of what is said here since humour can be used in a number of ways, for instance as a mechanism to 'downplay' events and losses that are difficult for young people to bear. See also Kehily and Nayak (1997) on the use of humour and school cultures among teenage boys.

During my visits to Riverdale Higher I observed Beth's personal rapport with young people at the PRU. Young people approached her easily, joking with her and speaking to her about their problems. On one occasion I heard a young person ask Beth to hold her phone for her because the student was expecting a call from her boyfriend who had been detained in Feltham. The young woman, aged about 15 or 16 explained to Beth that she did not want to follow normal procedure and give her phone to Kelly, the Deputy Head Teacher "because I ain't tight with her". Beth quietly took the phone

from her, giving a nod and a quiet smile in reassurance. Once again, as occurred in the case of Joe, the holding of belongings conveys a sense of how a young person is being held. Beth's trusted status is underscored in an episode where the Data Sharing Group use humour in a way which illustrates their relationship and Beth's role at the PRU. This incident occurred towards the end of the workshop as Beth entered the room and stood quietly at the back of the room. Santi, one of the boys in the Data Sharing Group, noticed her presence. He immediately began a chorus of "118 Beth", chanting the words rhythmically. The chorus was rapidly and enthusiastically taken up by the other boys. Santi continued to lead the singing:

Santi: If you're in trouble – you can go to Beth who do you go to guys?

Ainsley: Beth.

Santi: You know like you have 118 118 – you have 11Beth (other boys join in chorusing 11Beth).

Beth is laughing lots now.

Roma: Would you say that if she wasn't in the room?

Ainsley: 07 Beth (continuing to mimic the 118 adverts)

The boys answer Yes .

David: Beth is real.

Ainsley: Beth puts so much effort into every student.

(Data Sharing Workshop, field notes 3 October 2017)

While I have focused on examples of individuals' practices through Joe and Beth, both of whom occupy senior positions at the PRU, my findings can be interpreted beyond individual professional practice. In extending beyond the individual teacher I am suggesting the importance of these approaches in creating the PRU as a space that can be materially different from mainstream settings. The SEN teacher Rose, who at the time of the research had newly arrived at Riverdale, alluded to this material difference in her interview with me:

Definitely, what I've noticed is everyone is on a level with pupils. It's all first name basis, everyone says hello to students as they come in, it's very relaxed but it has to be because I'm guessing, in my short stay here, that some of these students have lost trust in their mainstream school. (Rose, SEN Teacher, Riverdale, Interview, 21 November 2016)

There are also differences between approaches at Riverdale and Riverdale Higher which shed light on how the PRU may be constructed as offering a different and safe space compared to mainstream school. I spent much less time observing practice at Riverdale Higher and in making inferences about practice in this setting I draw on an interview with Vivianne an embedded CAMHS worker. Vivianne was well placed to make a comparison since she worked at both sites. In her interview she comments on a key difference between the two sites. At first, she refers to the staff at Riverdale as 'more relaxed and caring' than the upper school. However she appears a little embarrassed and rapidly corrects herself:

... not caring, I shouldn't say that, more able to offer caring here than often they are over at the other site [Riverdale Higher], the exam pressure is there and the teachers have got to teach and try and get them to get some exams to go away with and so the focus is so much more on the work ethic and attending, whereas on this site [Riverdale], it's more about trying to engage them in lessons and trying to offer them some understanding of why they're here. (Vivianne, CAMHS worker, Interview, 21 November 2016)

Professionals face hard choices in how they use time and space in the two sites and the ethnographic mode allowed me to gain insights into the ways in which this underpins different kinds of practice. Riverdale Higher, as the ultimate destination for its students may also offer a perspective on the imperatives for academic success which are key drivers for mainstream settings. Indeed a key theme in the Teachers focus group discussion, which involved staff outside of the PRU, was a lack of time to nurture professional relationships with students.

Making Second Chances

Since reintegration is a key goal at the PRU it is essential to attend to the role of professionals in this process. This is crucial to understanding the realms of possibility for boys at the PRU. The 'second chance' is a shorthand phrase for reintegration to mainstream school. Joe uses the phrase constantly in his final interview with me and it can be found in academic literature (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011; Atkinson and Rowley, 2019). It denotes a young person's chance to recover their future after the consequences of exclusion and disciplinary incidents at school. Joe's response, cited below is a typical example of how he frames the role of the PRU in relation to the second chance:

We believe that everyone deserves a second chance, the decision has been made, the ultimate decision that these students have been permanently excluded from school, which their mainstream schools have been made before we are on the scene and then we work with them to make sure they get another chance and that's what we do. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Later in the same interview, in another of his repetitions about the importance of the second chance Joe says:

I think that's the reason why we all work here because we believe that everyone deserves a second chance ... (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Understanding the signal importance of the second chance as the *raison d'être* of Riverdale is key to understanding why the PRU (as well as providing a safe and empathic space) is a place where it is impossible for young people to remain without being seen to have failed. As illustrated in previous chapters, loss of the second chance of reintegration is a high stakes process. It is seen as the loss of the chance for an education. These high stakes mean that the role of professionals at the PRU must be focused on achieving this goal. The formal role of teachers and their place in the professional hierarchy in schools places teachers at the forefront of reintegration efforts. This provides context for practices which attempt to train the disciplinary codes of mainstream school into students at the PRU. The oft-repeated mantra of 'taking responsibility' which I hear from Joe and others (including students) illustrates these practices. Responsibility is a useful example since encouraging a sense of personal responsibility in students is a commonly stated objective of many school's behaviour policies (Rowe, 2006). Use of behaviour management approaches widely used in mainstream schools is explored in chapter 4 as part of the situated context of the PRU. Joe is well able to reflect on the challenges of marrying the task of achieving mainstream standards with what he calls the 'softer work' of the PRU:

I think the main challenge is it has to be personalised and we are stuck between, I think particularly here, where we are fundamentally preparing the students for return to mainstream placement, so we need to be sort of preparing them for what they're going to get [in mainstream settings] but at the same time, we need to be doing the sort of softer work around the behaviour, around the taking the responsibility and that kind of thing. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Interview, 2 December 2016)

Interestingly, Joe frames both the disciplining work of readiness for mainstream school and “softer work” (which may mean the more relational approaches I observed) within behaviourist understandings of professional practice. This suggests further connections with the ethos of mainstream school settings within the PRU.

My findings suggest that achieving reintegration also depends on complex processes of negotiation between the PRU and mainstream school. Joe explained a dual roll system operated at the PRU with mainstream schools. This entailed the receiving school being able to admit a student on a temporary trial basis and ‘return’ the young person to the PRU without having to formally exclude them. Joe described this as offering a ‘safety net’ which provided reassurance to the mainstream school, “it makes the school far more likely to give someone a real chance” (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016). In the ‘Many Minds’ group analysis of this part of my data we reflected on the purpose of a safety net in a circus as both providing protection for the performer and protecting the audience from the horror of seeing a performer fall. I can also draw parallels with Cooper’s (2014) theorisation of the covert role of child protection workers protecting society from the anxiety provoking knowledge of child maltreatment. Interpreting the social and power relations of school system processes for reintegration and professionals’ role in that system provides insight into the possibilities which may (or may not) be open to PRU students. The dual roll ‘safety net’ process suggests there may be considerable barriers to mainstream reintegration. The fact that Joe found it necessary to speak of obtaining a ‘real chance’ gives credence to the idea of barriers. This idea is also supported in the literature (Hart, 2013; Jalali and Morgan, 2018; Atkinson and Rowley, 2019). We can also draw an inference from the data that reintegration will require PRU students to maintain standards of discipline which are much more demanding (and less achievable) than the flexible approaches of the PRU. The challenge of stricter mainstream discipline codes for PRU students is exemplified in the influence of zero tolerance approaches in contemporary schooling (Duncan, 2013; Graham, 2018).

By considering Joe’s role and the ways in which professionals play a part in achieving reintegration we are able to see multiplicity in Joe’s role and professional relationships. He and others are valued professionals who are well liked and trusted by

the boys. Both Joe and Beth are indeed held in high esteem. At the same time these professionals play a key role in exclusionary processes which may reinforce deficit in the positioning of the PRU and its students. Ironically, given his use of the metaphor of the safety net, Joe is himself walking a kind of tightrope in attempting to maintain a balance between the strict discipline of mainstream school and relational approaches which are often far better suited to the needs of his students. In applying the safety net metaphor, my findings suggest that it is the students themselves who face the greatest risk of falling. I return to this theme in the discussion in Chapter 7. Overall, my findings suggest high levels of pragmatism in professional practice at the PRU. Joe and his colleagues are operating within a system where they are trying to achieve what is widely perceived as the best outcome for students. Furthermore the best outcome is constructed as mainstream reintegration. Use of psychosocial approaches in analysis of my data enabled me to recognise my own sense of disappointment that school leaders at the PRU did not offer greater challenge to exclusionary processes. Instead I found that professionals tried to work within these systems. Moving beyond personal disappointment, a key step in the psychosocial practice of reflexivity, has led me to a deeper understanding of challenges for students and professionals alike.

Multidisciplinary Professionals

I conducted focus groups with teachers, social workers and a multi-disciplinary group of professionals comprised of youth services workers, a CAMHS worker, police, and teachers from Riverdale Higher (who did not work with boys in the Core Group). So far in this chapter I have written about professionals who work within the staff team at Riverdale and who are well known to the boys at the PRU. My fieldwork also included research, through focus group discussions, with professionals who did not have connections with the boys in the study. I noted in the chapter introduction the limitations of including these professionals given this lack of relational connection. While these groups functioned as an audience for my data and contributed to my analysis, the focus for the brief discussion in this chapter is on the perspectives of professionals who work closely with marginalised boys and the implications for how this might shape their practice. I also present my learning about how one of my methods provided space for reflection among the professionals involved in the focus

groups. These perspectives contribute to understanding how professional practice may intersect with boys' identities and subjectivities.

Social Work Discourse

Lack of relational connections meant that the professionals in the focus groups could not fully 'hold in mind' the boys whose empirical data provided material for their discussion. As alluded to in the chapter introduction, it is highly likely that this contributed significantly to the professionals' use of stock phrases and general stereotypes about boys in their discussions. This essentialised discourse was particularly apparent in the social workers' focus group discussion. For this reason I discuss briefly some elements of the social workers' discourse before moving on to take a wider perspective on all three of the focus groups. Listening to how professionals talk about young people in a theoretically informed manner is a fruitful way to attend to practice (Winter, 2015). The extracts below typify the generalisations about boys which occurred in the social worker focus group:

Apparently boys have half the vocabulary of girls and as a consequence they cannot express things. Her colleagues nod in agreement. (Doreen, Social Work focus group discussion, 13 January 2017)

Boys can't be in front of a laptop, it is mind numbingly dull, their physical needs aren't being met and their physical frustrations just turn into behaviour. (Doreen, Social Worker Focus Group, 13 January 2017)

Girls have a stronger grasp of these skills for independence and are more able to cope... whereas boys, they put on a show of bravado. (Adele, Social Worker Focus Group, 13 January 2017)

Notably, for the social worker group, being mothers of sons was also commonly expressed during the discussion. This was an added dimension for their interest which did not occur in any of the other groups. Both the social worker and teacher focus groups were comprised of women, while the multidisciplinary group were mixed genders. Fatherhood was not mentioned by any of the participants. The account below gives the tenor of the social work discussion:

Adele adds that she has a son of her own and this session will be useful in 'a personal as well as a work capacity'. Several of the workers (who are all women) nod and smile in agreement. During the discussion a number of the workers talk about their own sons and make a comparison with the way boys are treated in social work. (Social Worker Focus Group, 13 January 2017)

Coupled with their observations about being mothers of sons, there was a focus on vulnerability in this group. In reflecting on vulnerability social workers drew extensively on their own practice experience which suggests that the 'real boys' they held in mind during discussions were clients and/or their sons rather than the unknown boys involved in my study. Here for instance are two social workers who have worked together in the past, talking about their past work with a client:

[Adele speaking to Karen about a boy in care they had both worked with] Remember the little one I brought to you, you facilitated things really well, there was secrecy, it was kept private that he had those toy soldiers to play with in the bath, he was so young. (Social Worker Focus Group Discussion, 13 January 2017)

I mention the theme of mothers and sons and links to vulnerability in the social workers' discussion here because it could be inferred that this construction of young people at least partly plays into ideas of innocence in childhood. In turn this may provide further challenge for the social workers and their helping strategies in working with boys, such as those involved in my study. The boys in the Core Group and the Data Sharing Group demonstrated highly agentic capacities and behaviours which may make them appear less (innocently) vulnerable. This positioning of young people goes to the heart of competing theorisations between developmental and social constructionist, for childhood and youth (Kehily, 2013). On reflection it would have been interesting to probe this issue further during the discussion. It is however noteworthy that one of the methods employed in the focus group discussion elicited greater reflection among the professionals across all of the focus groups about their own practice, it is to this topic that I now turn.

Hearing Voices

In my analysis of the data I looked for common themes and differences across the three focus groups, seeking to explore multiple professional identities. From this process I found that one of the methods I employed stimulated reflection and a move away from generalisation among the professionals in each of the focus groups. Briefly, by way of explanation, as a way of representing the boys' perspectives I used verbatim quotes and dialogue from the group work. At an earlier stage in the research design I had intended that some of the boys might be present to co-conduct the focus group. Taking the boys words into the focus groups then became a way of making the young

people present in the data collection. I presented their dialogue in short statements printed on simple laminated strips of paper (see figure 6) as stimulus material for discussion in each group. Having arranged the statements randomly on a table I invited participants to take some time reading them before choosing a statement which resonated with them.

In the social workers' focus group, this exercise led to the participants reflecting on their own practice with clients. For example, one of the social workers, Amanda, picked the statement 'I don't really like discussions with a lot of people...when people bring up different answers it frustrates me', this was a statement from 14 year old Jared one of the Core Group members. Amanda explained that this statement had reminded her of a 15 year old boy she had worked with in a family involved in domestic violence. The group discussion turned to Amanda's dissatisfaction with child protection processes. This direction presented a marked difference from the general flow of discussion which had previously placed boys in deficit positions compared to girls. Following her colleague's reflection, one of the other social workers in the group, Julie, described child protection as an "unnatural thing". Her colleagues nodded their agreement as she described the process as the "furthest removed you can have from being cared for by your parents" (Social Worker Focus Group).

I experienced similar levels of engagement and reflection when I used the statements in the other focus groups. In the multi-disciplinary group, Peter, spoke emotionally about his own struggles as a teacher. Responding to a statement from the data about teachers shouting, Peter observed:

I have been that teacher who's been shouting and getting nowhere because I'm shouting. I mean I have done it, don't get me wrong, of course I've done it and I remember being in an alleyway once having this all out row and I'm thinking, what are you doing, he's a kid? (Peter, Teacher, Pastoral Lead, Multidisciplinary Focus Group, 20 January 2017)

In another example of responding directly to dialogue from the research, one of the participants from the teachers' focus group, Jo, a Head of Year read the statement:

I don't understand why they say keep still, I just don't understand why they say it, it isn't even fun, at least make the lesson a bit fun if you can get at least to fiddle with something, like when you're fiddling with something it keeps you concentrated but when you're still you don't know what to do and you just look

about and stuff like that. (Focus Group Statement drawn from Group Work Data)

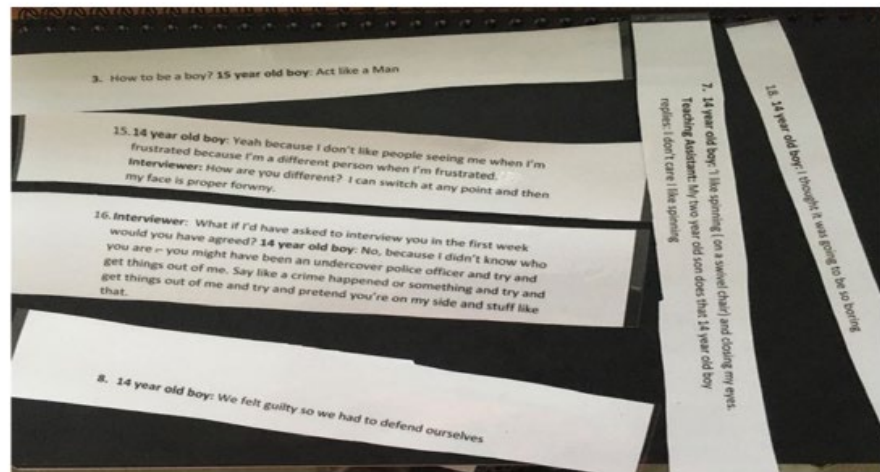


Figure 6 Statements Drawn from Group Work and Interview Data

In the ensuing discussion Jo gave the example of a boy in her school who had been given permission to take a sketchpad into each of his classes so that he could draw during lessons. According to Jo, allowing the student to draw had been beneficial as it enabled the young person to do more of his school work. However, it also led to his peers questioning why they were not permitted to do the same thing. Jo's reflection quickly turned to the practice of colleagues. She highlighted a lack of consistency where one staff member would not allow the boy to draw in his class. As with the other examples of reflections from the focus groups, Jo related the statements directly to her own practice and discussion focused on this rather than broad generalisations about young people as had occurred in other parts of the focus group discussions.

I do not wish to over-claim regarding the impact of this method. At the time of the focus groups I remember being a little surprised at the impact of this simple exercise. I was also struck by the fact that after the multi-disciplinary focus group, Peter (a teacher) had asked me if he could have a set of my statements to use with his colleagues because he had found them to be helpful in thinking through his own approach. The responses of professionals in these focus groups suggest the fruitfulness of bringing together methods of close listening with the aim of creating a reflective space for workers to consider their practice and their organisational

contexts. McGeeney et al. (2018) highlight the value of affective methodologies by proposing 'ventriloquism' that is the re-voicing of verbatim empirical material. This is proposed "as a practice with potential to create new knowledge in research" (McGeeney et al, 2018, p.150). My findings suggest that such 'ventriloquism' may also enrich professional practice. In my own research the verbatim re-voicing of young peoples' own words appears to have sparked some level of critical reflection among the professionals involved. Perhaps the performative element of re-voicing the data helped to forge an emotional connection which was otherwise hard to conjure since they did not know the boys. This helped the quality of discussion to move beyond generalisations and attend to the challenges of practice.

The earlier findings presented in this chapter about TAs and teachers indicates the effectiveness of relational approaches. Ruch (2005) in the social work field has shown that reflective practice complements relationship-based approaches leading to enhanced understanding of key elements, including professionals' knowledge of self, client and organisational context. The insights generated from professionals' responses to the focus group stimulus material indicates a promising direction for supporting reflective practice.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the role and relationships of professionals and how this may shape conditions of possibility for boys excluded from mainstream school. Post structural theory brings into sharp focus ways in which subjects are produced (and produce themselves). This allows us to see dominant discourses and practices as well as contradictions and binaries within school settings (Youdell, 2006a; Laws and Davies, 2011) and elsewhere. Arguably the impact of professionals contribution to young people's subject making and identity positions is amplified when young people are marginalised, as is the case with school exclusion (Youdell, 2006b; Gillies, 2016). For this reason the need for attention to *how* professionals are implicated in these processes is even more urgent and, this is an ethical requirement (Davies, 2006) (emphasis added).

The intersection of boys identities and subjectivities with the practice of professionals is a key site for enquiry if we are to improve practice. My discussion of TAs' roles

shows the signal importance of supportive relationships, with TAs positioned by the boys in the study as “more on [their] level” and therefore able to provide support and emotional connection. TAs play a bridging role, carrying out boundary work (Mansaray, 2006) that acts as an enabler for young people. Since TAs are not “proper teachers” (according to the boys), they are less encumbered by the power relations which attach to teachers. TAs are shown in the thesis to play a crucial role in subject making through helping to make ‘livable lives’ with and for young people. They are able to support young people’s participation and in so doing enable them to access education and this has at least the potential to follow young people out into their wider social lives. TAs support is shown to be crucial in emotional regulation in the study. Multiplicity in the boys identity and subject positions is a key theme in the previous chapter. This includes ‘doing PRU student’ and demonstrations of defensive and tough masculinity. The flexibility and youth work positioning of TAs equips them to work with multiplicity, enabling young people to be themselves (that is multiple selves). The study shows that TAs are also able to challenge young people and that this ability is founded on strong relations of trust and support.

The role of teachers discussed here also illustrates the value of trust and supportive relational approaches but the findings demonstrate complexity. These relational approaches may clash with attempts to bridge the gap between mainstream school and the PRU to gain the ‘second-chance’ of reintegration. This conflict of interest and practice mirrors contradictions in the positioning of the PRU setting discussed earlier in the thesis. It also reflects the precarity of the boys involved in this study. The efforts of professionals at the PRU to support young people in the face of considerable challenges through exclusionary processes further illustrates this precarity.

The study shows that power relations and the formal role of teachers, particularly school leaders such as Joe, mean that teachers can have a decisive role in boys’ futures. For instance in deciding whether or not they remain in a PRU or return to mainstream provision. Broadly, a professional such as Joe can help to make reintegration to mainstream school possible. Professional practice and the role of teachers at the PRU is heavily invested in securing the ‘second chance’ for PRU students to re-enter mainstream. This means that teachers have a key role in training

young people to be able to re-enter mainstream settings. Their role is however undercut by the same problems of deficit and legitimacy for PRUs discussed in the earlier thesis chapter about context (chapter 4).

We can see power and skill exercised by Joe in influencing students' trajectories and in managing the 'bargaining' processes of the PRU's dual roll system. Despite this, the fact that these powers operate within the narrow framework of exclusionary processes should not be lost sight of, we can also see that exclusion means that the odds remain heavily stacked against students. In concrete terms this limits the power of professionals within the PRU. The thesis findings suggest that professionals like Joe are essentially trying to 'manage' and bargain within exclusionary systems to secure possibilities for who excluded boys can be. This is a constrained role in subject making, attention to how these processes are enacted and material practices within spaces helps to shed light on both constraints and possibilities for professionals' subject making. The study findings suggest that teachers relational approaches can have a powerful supportive effect within the PRU space but that this support is limited and primarily operates within the space that is made safe by school leaders such as Joe. Outside of the PRU constraints arise because of the interim, transitional nature of the PRU. Secondly, teachers and other professionals capacities are limited because 'success' at the PRU is counted purely in terms of mainstream reintegration so that failure to secure the 'second chance' also limits what a professional can contribute.

This chapter has focused on the role of professionals, in the next chapter I present my findings about identity and subjectivity enactments by boys in the study.

Chapter 6: Excluded Boys – Being and Doing

Identity is not a closed book any more than history is a closed book, any more than subjectivity is a closed book, any more than culture is a closed book. It is always, as they say, in process. It is in the making. (Hall, 2007, p.282)

Introduction

This chapter presents my findings about boys as speaking and doing subjects (Kehily and Nayak, 2008, Nayak and Kehily, 2014). I engage with Stuart Hall's (2007) metaphor of identity as an open book which is always "in process" and "is in the making" (p.282). This image captures the fluid nature of identity and subject making which I found in the groups of boys involved in the study. In a previous section (chapter 4) I considered the role of context in identity and subject making for my research participants, this chapter focuses on the 'work' that is being carried out by boys themselves in their identity and subject making. I explore the accounts boys give of themselves discursively and through embodied and material practices. This brings into play psychic dimensions and the role of displays of hegemonic and marginalised masculinities (Connell, 2005). Drawing from my ethnographic data and through a post structural lens I seek to generate insights about the being and 'doing' of school exclusion and the gendered nature of these experiences.

The chapter is organised through four main themes. Firstly, I present 'trouble' as a concept and a way of creating identities and subjects, this encompasses self-expression and agency. I examine the consequence of differences between what may be deemed 'good' trouble and 'bad' trouble. Secondly, I explore how boys' subjectivities are embodied in this research drawing attention to the significance of material practices and use of rap music as a technique of self. In the third part of the chapter, I draw on theories of masculinities and empirical studies (Frosh et al., 2002; Connell, 2005) to explore young masculinity as an achieved practice that is performed and multiple in the study. In the final part of the chapter I consider how and why masks became emblematic for this study and discuss what may be covered or revealed by these processes.

Looking at Trouble

Understanding trouble as both a noun, which can be defined as disorder and disturbance and as a verb, meaning to *cause* trouble, is a useful point of departure for this chapter. While trouble, with its many meanings, is an obvious site of interest for a study of boys and exclusion, my thinking about the way trouble appears in my data was initially sparked by two empirical studies: O'Donnell and Sharpe's (2002) study of diverse teenage boys and Gillies (2016) study of behaviour support units in mainstream schools. O'Donnell and Sharpe's (2002) study highlights trouble as a recreational activity which counts among other leisure pursuits, undertaken by their research subjects. Gillies (2016) distinguishes between "troubled" and "troublesome" pupils (Gillies, 2016, p.27), the former being referred to pastoral support, while the latter are directed to a separate behaviour support unit within the school to address their conduct. Discussion during the 'Many Minds' group session (part of my analysis process) reinforced the idea of trouble as fertile ground for the research. During the session my second supervisor, Rachel, had drawn my attention to the way trouble was accepted as an inevitability by 15 year old Cal, one of the Core Group members. In his interview Cal spoke about how a boy needs to act:

Don't cause trouble. Let trouble come to you. Let trouble come to you so you can deal with it. (Cal, Interview, 21 November 2016)

Cal's words conveyed a sense of how he understood himself in relation to his social world. In exploring boys' perspectives it has been helpful to draw on psychosocial dimensions to consider the socio-structural processes which surround a young person, thus moving beyond the individualised approaches inherent in developmental perspectives (Phoenix, 2015). A focus on trouble has enabled me to consider who and what is called trouble and the social relations which arise as a consequence. Building on my understanding from the Gillies (2016) perspective of difference between "troubled" and "troublesome", together with insights from my empirical data led me to ideas of 'good' and 'bad' trouble, I now turn to develop these ideas further.

Good and Bad Trouble

'Good' trouble, may be understood as a position where a young person's need for care and support is explicitly recognised. By comparison, 'bad' trouble is attributed to a young person with responses which may tend towards 'fixing' the individual. Through

this classification the student can be recognised as a ‘trouble-maker’. Such differences can be compared to notions of deserving and undeserving poor (Romano, 2017) where fault, blame and sympathy are at play. Working with a post structural lens deepens the focus on binaries, in this case between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ trouble. This is relevant for PRU students because such categorisation leaves few options for their subject and identity positions. In the Gillies (2016) study of Behaviour Support Units a distinction between troubled and troublesome young people led to sharp divisions among school staff about the use of resources and overall schooling ethos. Arguably young people at the PRU have *already* been largely categorised as troublesome with all that this classification may entail.

This is relevant for the thesis topic because in the context of the PRU, the privileging of mainstream reintegration leaves less space for a more nuanced understanding of how boys can move beyond the binaries of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ trouble. Teachers and other professionals at the PRU may recognise the complex psychological needs and social circumstances (in other words ‘good’ trouble) of the young people with whom they work, this does not necessarily mean that they can accommodate these needs. It is reasonable then to suggest that there may be even less space for such recognition in mainstream settings. Trouble is important and the type of trouble which attaches to a young person is of great significance.

Across my data trouble is sometimes implicit in discourses and material practices as well as being explicitly named. A prime example of implicit ‘trouble’ occurs in the instance recounted below. Although the word trouble is not used, the surrounding circumstances suggest that this inference can be readily drawn. Here the phrase “we were a pain” is used by Jared, one of the boys in the Core Group:

Some teachers might have thought we were a pain, they wanted to get us out.
(Jared, Group Work, 6 October 2016)

By way of explanation, Jared’s statement occurs in the first group work session where James and I had begun with a series of introductory questions intended as icebreakers. James and I saw the questions as low risk and inviting dialogue about the research. Jared’s response is immediate and the rest of the group do not appear surprised or to disagree with his statement. I use this example because it illustrates my earlier

argument about students being seen to be troublesome. It also demonstrates Jared's acute awareness of the way he and his peers may be being constructed. This level of awareness is not strange or surprising. Examples where young people are similarly aware of how they are positioned include studies by Frosh et al. (2002) and Nayak and Kehily (2014). In my research the consequences of being seen as 'a pain' are summed up almost matter-of-factly by Jared 'they (teachers) wanted us out' this was in contrast to my own feelings of discomfort at Jared's response. Henrikh the TA, used humour, a technique that is often deployed by the TAs at Riverdale, to downplay Jared's assertion:

That's not why we're doing it, we want you to learn as well (said with humour).
(Henrikh, TA, Group Work, 6 October 2016)

It is noteworthy that Jared specifically named teachers as 'wanting (the boys) out' of the space. This can be connected to questions of who has the power to exclude (referencing the professional status and power of teachers). Jared's comment also underscores a challenge for teachers of maintaining a balance, with regard to the behaviour and needs of young people in their charge, and channelling the requirements of mainstream schooling. Trouble provides a useful way of talking about students being positioned as good and bad and their knowledge of the way their excluded status is marked.

Being and Doing Trouble

The Data Sharing Group of boys at Riverdale Higher also echoed the theme of trouble. Findings from this group suggest trouble as a way of being, as well as, doing. During this workshop, boys in the Data Sharing Group repeatedly 'named' each other as 'trouble'. Fifteen year old Santi for example commented to me mournfully about the frequent distractions and disruptions from his peers during the workshop. Since the Data Sharing Group workshop was the same length as a lesson period some parallels can be drawn with classroom practice. During the session as I struggled a little to make myself heard above the boys laughing and joking with each other, Santi complained to me:

You're not going to get much done in this school. (Santi, Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

Similarly, 15 year old David, although he frequently 'interrupted' proceedings in the workshop, expressed frustration at what he regarded as disruption by his peers. In the Core Group of boys at Riverdale, Cal complained about the 'bad' people (Cal's words) in the PRU. Once again being seen as 'troublesome' can be constructed as synonymous with being a 'bad' student. Significantly, Cal expressed these views in a one-to-one interview with me away from his peers. Interviews in the research provided another avenue for boys to express their views outside of the group work, as Frosh and colleagues (2002) observe, young people may often express themselves differently when among their peers:

Roma: What do you think it's going to be like when you go back to mainstream school?

Cal: It's going to change.

Roma: How is there going to be change?

Cal: People (are) not bad as here.

(Cal, Interview, 21 November 2016)

In locating being 'bad' within the PRU setting Cal also appears to be saying that positive change can only be achieved by moving back to mainstream school. In this way we have a clear delineation of the identity and subject positions which Cal feels are open to him within the PRU. Post structural binaries of good and bad, troubled and troublesome and psychosocial dimensions in this research provide valuable tools with which to grasp links between the positioning of the PRU (where in Cal's words, people are 'bad') and the ways in which trouble 'sticks' to the boys who are students at the PRU.

Trouble appears to provide a form of self-expression and resistance for my research participants in a number of ways. As with the O'Donnell and Sharpe (2002) study, there are times when trouble is shown to be a fun, recreational activity. A prime instance of this is Jared's description of skating dangerously at a local ice rink. During his interview with me he laughed as he gave me a detailed description of skating around a local ice rink:

I'm the people who will just skate past you and not even care and go really fast... I can spray ice at people as well...People scream as well. I remember one

time there was no gap and my mate was like, 'If you go under these people's legs you will win'. (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Jared eagerly recalled a clash with a manager at the ice rink and being suspended for skating dangerously. It was clear from his tone that he relished the memory:

...like when you get in trouble it gives you an adrenaline rush type thing. (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

I found Jared's humour infectious, during the interview I joined in with his laughter and afterwards when reading the transcript it still made me smile. Jared's behaviour presents as relatively trivial mischief. However, what may be conceived as fun by Jared and others (including myself) may in certain contexts feed into a pathologised narrative of Jared's behaviour. In schooling, the problem of low level disruption continues to receive attention as part of discipline problems (Tennant, 2004). As noted at the start of the thesis, it is the main reason given for school exclusions. A post structural lens illuminates how social identity plays a part in the interpretation of certain behaviours (Nayak and Kehily, 2008). Jared's 'mischief making' is accompanied by risks to his status. The costs to Jared of this enjoyable trouble making may well have been higher than suspension from the ice rink. Brodie (2001) makes the point that high profile media celebrities who were excluded from school are usually only celebrated when they have achieved success in later life. In such cases transgression can be read as signs of a creative free spirit. It is unlikely that such a positive interpretation would be forthcoming in the case of a PRU student.

Discussing Jared's ice skating episode in the Data Sharing Group Workshop (which took place one year after the Core Group sessions at Riverdale) elicited a response which shed light on trouble as resistance to authority. In this case the authority of teachers at Riverdale Higher. After hearing Jared's example Ainsley spoke with a passion:

I'll tell you why sometimes I get into trouble like when they (teachers) keep saying the same thing bruv it just gets annoying so I just want to do something to piss them off. Some people just get into trouble just to piss off the teacher innit. (Ainsley, Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

Trouble here, or rather the motivation for trouble making, is to rebel against certain teachers.



Figure 7 Flowchart Illustrating the Process of Discussing Research Material with the Data Sharing Group

Figure 7 gives an indication of the influence of the Data Sharing Group on the development of themes in my analysis. In considering Ainsley's motivations for 'getting into trouble' I have moved from the adrenaline rush of enjoyment expressed by Jared, to ways of expressing disagreement and resistance in the classroom. This latter is in some ways more personalised in that it is said to be aimed at individual teachers. It may also be influenced by the different status of young people in different parts of the PRU. Young people at Riverdale (Jared's location) still have the possibility of returning to mainstream school. By comparison, students at Riverdale Higher are on a known path of completing their education within a PRU setting.

Embodied Trouble

A further example from my data highlights resistance through embodied practices. This is one of a number of instances of oppositional behaviour by Laurent in the group sessions. Memorably on one occasion, Laurent lay across two chairs having stuck his head between the top of the chair frame and seat. Throughout the period he remained silent and continued to manoeuvre his body across the chairs. James and I matched Laurent's silence with our own, continuing the session as though nothing unusual was happening. The other boys in the Core Group sat on their chairs in the room and appeared to be unconcerned. I had the sense that they were much less disturbed by Laurent's act than myself and James. Perhaps Laurent's behaviour did not particularly

interest them. Laurent, who was usually taciturn in the sessions often used his body to express opposition during our group work sessions. Interestingly, he always sought to give justifications for his actions. These practices included: Gargling noisily from a glass of water ('my throat hurts'), removing his trousers (he had football shorts underneath) 'my leg itches'. Another highly memorable incident involved Laurent turning his back to everyone during the session. Unlike the other boys in the Core Group and in the Data Sharing Group, Laurent seldom physically left the room perhaps choosing instead to mark his presence in the space and using silent (in terms of words) but powerfully expressed ways of differentiating himself. It could also be the case that these ways of being gave Laurent a means of remaining attached to the group albeit in transgressive ways. Perhaps this was also a way for Laurent to express ambivalence about being in the space. I wonder now if Laurent felt it was not worth fully investing in being present in the session. The exchange with the TA Danny typifies the ambivalence, mixed with resistance, that appears to be being signalled through Laurent's embodied practices. This took place when he had turned his back on us during the group session:

Danny: Well it's either two things – either you stay in here and carry on like this which I can't have or you talk to me. So it's two choices and one of them's good and one of them isn't too hot for you so which one are you going to choose?

Laurent: Out of what?

Danny: Out of me or the group and being involved in the group.

Laurent: I am involved in the group.

(Group Work 13 October 2016)

In answer to Danny's challenge Laurent spoke plaintively, defending himself from the charge of not participating by saying "I'm talkin". Laurent's ambivalence may mirror a broader dilemma facing others in the interim space of the PRU.

Trouble and Police - Routine Practices

Involvement among young people at the PRU with police, usually on the streets, was pervasive across the research. Race and gender are key factors operating in young people's involvement with the police, I therefore include reminders of young people's racial identities in this section of the chapter. All of the boys in the Core Group had been involved with police, often on numerous occasions. Laurent (who was mixed

race) had spoken about being arrested in his bedroom at the age of 14. During my summer observation visits to the PRU I heard 15 year old Hector (who is black) recount his experience of being followed around his neighbourhood by the local community policeman. In my opening interview question to 14 year old Jared (who is white), I asked him if he had been interviewed before. His immediate response “yeah by the police” was uttered in a matter-of-fact tone. This reminded me of how routine and ‘to be expected’ trouble with the police was in the experience of the young people at the PRU. Jared recounted that he had been arrested three weeks previously. The incident arose when he was playing with fire snaps on the street. Jared described his experience vividly and clearly objected to the police response as disproportionate:

Jared: You’re allowed to have them [fire snaps] when you’re eight and then we got put in handcuffs, put to the floor, restrained and everything and just shows that the police think that they can bully young kids.

Roma: So were you frightened when that happened?

Jared: No. I’m not scared of the police.

Roma: Well some people would find it quite frightening to be put in handcuffs and down on the floor.

Jared: No. I wasn’t scared.

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Jared went on to tell me that he was not afraid as these encounters with the police had happened to him on numerous occasions. “Now it just don’t even worry me anymore”. Jared was small for his 14 years and I was conscious of this when he told me his story. He continued with his account:

But like imagine if I stabbed someone and the police found me then that’s when I would be scared because I know I’d catch a case or something like that. But having fire snaps, no way I was scared. They put me in handcuffs, put me to floor and I called my mum, told my mum. My mum dealt with it, I got out of handcuffs, got to go home. (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

I recorded in my field notes an equally matter of fact account from a member of staff about a student’s encounter with the police:

Rose [the SEN teacher] then spoke about a time Cal had gone up to a woman he didn’t know, very suddenly and gone “blah”. When she described it I could just imagine him doing this. Unfortunately a policeman had witnessed this and

it had resulted in Cal being put face to the wall and being warned by the policeman who had pointed out to Cal that doing that sort of thing could have very bad results if he picked on the wrong person. (Field note, Staff Briefing 7 November 2016)

In this research police involvement is normalised as an everyday occurrence which is expected by young people and professionals at the PRU. This finding suggests a model of trouble which includes an assumption by the boys at the PRU that they will be targeted and are always highly visible to the police, once again a pathologised presence (Phoenix and Hussain, 2007). The everyday nature of these experiences can be compared with Bakkali's (2019) "munpain", a psychosocial concept which identifies a sense of malaise permeating everyday experiences of marginalised young people. It is an habituated sense of trouble which has commonalities with the findings in my study.

This type of routine involvement with police connects with criminalisation of PRU students. Perera's (2020) case study of criminalisation of black working class youth and the English school systems charts structural issues of race and class in the marginalisation of young people. Perera (2020) adapts the notion of a 'school to prison pipeline' from its US origins to a 'PRU to prison pipeline'. This illuminates interconnections between the English school system and criminal justice processes. The pervasive and often physical interactions between young people and police in my own study shed light on the lived experience of structural issues of marginalisation and criminalisation of boys at the PRU. While the boys' objections to their treatment by police demonstrate resistance, it is also interesting to reflect on the response of staff at the PRU. In the case of Cal being held up against a wall by a police officer, there was no discussion among the staff about the police response. Attention was focused on the behaviour of Cal rather than the actions of the police. This may have been due to the frequency of such occurrences for PRU students. Acceptance by professionals of routine police involvement underscores the accuracy of young people's perspectives, that trouble is to be expected and that they must therefore deal with the trouble themselves. I will argue later in the chapter that certain types of defensive masculinity can be understood as a response to this marginalised status. The findings confirm that

trouble is to be expected but it remains unclear that trouble can be responded to in ways that avoid potential criminalisation.

Having considered the way trouble appeared across the data I now turn to consider boys' performative identities through a conceptualisation of 'doing PRU student'. This offers a way of understanding how young people's identity and subject making reflects the space of the PRU.

Embodying PRU Subjectivities

James says he feels a bit "dislocated", having observed the way kids go in and out during the Friday project session, leaving rooms and walking off at will, he thinks it will be difficult to establish and maintain a contract.

(Research Diary, July 2016)

According to Joe, these weekly project days are part of curriculum enrichment and this means that things are "less structured" than the rest of the week.

(Field note, July 2016)

In the Staff Briefing meeting the Head Teacher Angela spoke about young people constantly leaving their classrooms as a problem where students were often to be found "wandering around". She told staff "you can't afford to let young people go off because our young people will go off, it's your duty to engage your students and motivate them to stay in the classroom".

(Field note, October 2017)

15 year old Hector: I'm coming back (stated as he is leaving the room)

Roma: Where are you going?

Hector: I need to shit.

(Group Work, 10 October 2016)

Leaving and Returning

Observing the way young people at Riverdale regularly left and returned to their classrooms, at will and always without seeking permission, is one of the most memorable experiences from my fieldwork at the PRU. Leaving and returning to the classroom amounted to constantly repeated patterns of movement which occurred so often that I became used to, though not inured to these actions. Leaving and returning

to the classroom can be described then as a collective habit of PRU students at Riverdale, that is “routine, repetitive acts, performed instinctively in a given situation” (Kraftl, 2016, p.117). The extracts from my research diary and field notes quoted above give a flavour of these everyday habits at the PRU. In reflecting on this empirical data two theoretical concepts are highly salient. Firstly, Kraftl’s (2016) post human conceptualisation of habit, in particular his ideas of education spaces as key sites for channelling habit and the importance of considering habit as collective. Scholarly attention to collective habit provides a way to understand “how bodies/affects are ‘made flesh’ in the classroom” Kraftl (2016, p.119) after Youdell (2010). The second key concept for my reflection is that of citational chains, using Judith Butler’s reconfiguration of Bourdieu’s bodily habitus (Youdell, 2006b). Citational chains represent a “tacit form of performativity” which is “lived and believed at the level of the body” (Youdell, 2006b, p.47). Habit and citational chains provide a useful framework to capture and account for the significance of ethnographic observations which might otherwise be unremarked beyond signalling transgression against mainstream school codes of behaviour/habits.

Before proceeding further, the apparent discrepancy between the accounts of two school leaders at Riverdale, Joe, Assistant Head Teacher and Angela, the Head Teacher (quoted in the introduction to this section of the chapter) is worth noting. Joe had earlier ‘explained away’ students’ leaving and returning by linking this to the Friday project activities at the PRU which were less structured than timetabled classes during the rest of the week. Undertaking the group work in the research as well as observing everyday practices at the PRU quickly presented me with a different picture. I found instead that leaving and returning at will was a routine occurrence that was not restricted to the more relaxed enrichment activities of Fridays at the PRU. Similarly, Angela’s comments at Riverdale Higher confirmed that this was a regular practice. Perhaps Joe’s explanation amounted to a defence against the PRU being seen negatively in relation to mainstream settings. It may be that if the practice could be ‘explained’ as contained within a framework of timetabled informality at the PRU this allows Joe (and the PRU) greater space to be seen as upholding professional standards and it also renders the students as ‘good subjects’.

Throughout the group work sessions I cannot recall a period where at least two of the boys from the Core Group did not leave and return, almost always without seeking permission. Oftentimes nothing was said either before leaving or upon returning to the room. Although in later sessions, perhaps because the boys had become more familiar with me they would usually announce that they were leaving the room. Adults also transmit habits to young people (Kraftl, 2016), it is likely that as a result of greater familiarity the boys and I responded to each other. I am sure that I became less anxious about boys leaving the room once I saw that they almost always returned. Indeed, I reflected on the source of my anxiety during the closing stages of the fieldwork:

The thing I feared was not the boys themselves but I feared disappointing them, I wanted them to be pleased to be part of the group and how my heart sank when Jared said he wanted to go back to Art. (Field note, November 2016)

There was sometimes a sense of a power struggle between myself and boys about the issue of leaving the room. In the brief extract below Hector gave an explanation for leaving and both of us appear to have modified our tone slightly from the previous encounter which had happened only a few minutes before:

Hector: It's bare hot Miss – actually I need water man. I feel like I'm dehydrated (leaves the room) (Group Work, 10 October 2016)

Notably, I did not ask him where he was going this second time. Possibly his previous graphic reply ('I need to shit') had the effect of silencing me. The first encounter might also have affected Hector's responses slightly. Perhaps we had both established a kind of boundary with each other about what needed to be said before leaving the room.

Working with the boys in the Data Sharing Group illuminated the practice of leaving and returning to the classroom. The Data Group Workshop, comprised of a single event compared to the three months of twice-weekly group sessions with the Core Group. As a result of this method themes which had their origins in the longer sessions of the group work took on a more concentrated effect. This is instanced in findings about the practice of leaving and returning which was magnified in Data Sharing Group's workshop, this session was full of movement. In her ethnography of a boys' 'special school' Youdell (2010) describes the way boys seem to "slide in and out of participation" in the classroom (p.319). Her findings resonate with my own study

where boys made large and small gestures, played with different objects (a book and a small ball were among the items). The boys also passed things to each other and they moved around within as well as outside of the classroom space. At the same time the boys took part in the workshop, sometimes engaging with my questions sometimes laughing and talking amongst themselves and at times doing both simultaneously. Constant movement among the boys characterised this session. This closely mirrored the experience of conducting the Core Group sessions a year earlier at Riverdale except at a faster pace in the Workshop. The animated movement of the Data Sharing Group is captured in the field notes below:

One boy comes in and sits down. Another comes in and walks up behind him – he pokes him in the ribs and the first boy jumps up – he turns and laughs and tells the other boy to F Off. He goes to sit down again but is wary – the other boy is still behind him & laughing. First boy moves suddenly towards the first, who runs across the room laughing. They are smiling but circling each other around the tables. They are laughing and saying– “I’m gonna kill you man”. One leaves the room and the other follows.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2016)

The extract below typifies the way in which the boys engaged with me as I led the workshop:

A boy puts his hand up to ask Roma a question. Roma moves forward and makes eye contact.

The card game is still going on and has moved to another set of boys. Roma moves a step towards the boys when they don’t answer her question and they look up. She repeats the question.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2016)

Youdell’s (2010) theorisation provides a way to interpret the habituated practices in my own data. This involves thinking about what the boys (and I, as researcher/facilitator) can do and be within these sessions? If we think of these practices as citational chains they can be viewed as ways of enacting a PRU student identity, in other words a way to ‘do PRU student’. The boys are involved in the sessions but this is mostly on their own terms or at least the terms of the collective group. It is often difficult for individual boys to follow a different path from their peers. At the start of this discussion of embodied subjectivities I quoted Angela the Head

Teacher referring to her students as likely to leave their classroom if they were not sufficiently engaged “our young people will go off”. Through this expression Angela is obviously referring to the fact that these are Riverdale students. Her statement can be read as an identity claim on behalf of the PRU students for whom the staff team at Riverdale are responsible. For Kraftl (2016) after Dewey and Ravaisson, habit is a force that enables agency. The Head Teacher Angela’s claim can be paired with the material practices of boys in this study to account for how bodies and affects are made flesh in the classroom (Youdell, 2006b; Kraftl, 2016). The PRU is a key site for channelling these habits but the will (conscious and unconscious) of the boys themselves are also key forces. I return to the implications of these embodied ways of doing and being a PRU student in the next chapter.

Rap Music – Techniques of Self

Santi: Tell them if they go, no comment (chanting lyrics from rapper Boss Belly’s song ‘Real like that’).

David (Rapping) I went no comment ‘cos I’m built like that.

Rapidly, as in a chain reaction all of the boys, led by David, begin to chant the lyrics together, they keep in tune and in rhythm with each other.

Ainsley: ‘Cos I’m built like that.

Santi: I went no comment ‘cos I’m built like that. They try to do dirty but I heal like that.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

Rap music appears in this study like a character who never leaves the stage in a play. The presence of music is a constant element in the group work within the Core Group and in the Data Sharing Group. Music took the form of rap lyrics, made-up chants and parts of songs as well as ‘background’ music played by boys during sessions. During my day at Riverdale Higher for the Data Sharing Workshop, on three occasions young people perform informally together chorus style. During our twice weekly sessions in the Core Group, boys would sit in the corner by the computer and search for YouTube clips of music. This was an informal activity that the boys *chose* to undertake, no doubt taking advantage of the fact that there was a computer in the room although it was not intended for our use. Music often provided a distraction from the group work activities. One of my abiding memories is the number of times either myself or a TA

quietly asked group members to turn down the volume. The boys would respond by lowering the volume only to return to gradually raising it again until a further request was made. While it could be said that we as facilitators made space for music in the group work sessions, it is more accurate to say that the boys *took* the space and we tried to accommodate this within the sessions. There was sometimes a sense of us (James and myself), competing to gain the boys' attention. Jason the TA's exasperated tone typifies our experience:

Pause it [playing music], pause it, and give us some attention now. (Group Work 17 October 2016).

I have referred to rap music as a technique of self. This is because it appears as a material practice which uniquely 'belongs' to the boys themselves. Music is introduced and created by young people in this research without the direction of the professionals working with them. Rap music provides modes of self-expression and at times it brings the young people together, connecting them within its rhythmic forces. This is akin to the affective vibrations theorised in Henriques' (2008, 2010) relational model of rhythmic materialism. The 'no comment' lyrics sung by the Data Sharing Group (quoted earlier) are a prime example of both self-expression and connection between the boys through the rhythmic forces of rap music. The chanting of lyrics is used by the boys to answer the questions I had posed in the Workshop and this is expressed using humour and in a rhythm of their choice. As well as humour to convey their point (Kehily and Nayak, 1997) there is a depth of feeling in the expression. The content of the lyrics relate unmistakably to recognisable situations for the boys involving police and the criminal justice system. They appear to be 'speaking back' not so much to my workshop questions but beyond this. These lyrics can be seen as providing a way to express how they feel about their lives. It is also noteworthy that this instance of performance brought the boys together moments after a brief flare-up between David and Ainsley (both part of the Data Sharing group). David had behaved aggressively towards Ainsley, accusing him of taking a juice carton. As Gillies (2016) found, minor events could rapidly escalate into serious incidents. The 'juice incident' had only just been resolved when the rap chanting started. Significantly, both David and Ainsley joined in together with no trace of the previous ill will between them. Chanting these

lyrics together appeared to allow them space for at least a spell of unity. In recalling this event I can close my eyes and still remember how the rhythm appeared to be transmitted from one boy to the other. The two boys, along with their peers appeared to be swept up in the rhythm of the moment. The performance of the boys highlighted their connectedness where each boy cued the other until they reached the chorus and sang out together 'Cos I'm real like that'. Earlier in the chapter I discussed citational chains (Youdell, 2006b), this is another example of performative identity involved in these material practices. I present it here to shed light on the significance and use of rap music in this affective chain.

Rap music in the data featured in other ways beyond performances and the playing of music. The boys in the Core Group at Riverdale displayed an encyclopaedic knowledge of rap performers, lyrics and related information about celebrity gossip, fashion brands and style. When we asked the boys to create their own characters as part of a group work exercise both Jared and Cal decided to 'create' real rap artists, C Biz and Wiz Khalifa, as their models. Perhaps they found it easier or more appealing to relate to rap artistes than inventing characters. During this activity Jared spontaneously chanted lyrics from CBiz, 'get the cocaine in a foil bring the water to a boil' (Group Work, 29 September 2016).

In considering the significance of rap music in my data it is noteworthy that I learned in a short exchange with Hector that he had written and performed rap lyrics as part of an English lesson and that he had enjoyed producing these lyrics. When I asked him if he would like to perform the lyrics once again in the group work he replied with a quiet non-committal "maybe". The look on his face strongly suggested he was saying no to my request. Reflecting on this I think that my actions in asking Hector to perform his lyrics created an inauthentic way of connecting with his interest in rap music. The instances of music across my data highlight a depth of interest among young people and suggest a need for authentic ways of connecting with these interests in classroom settings. This points to a need for creative practice which takes young people's interests seriously. This is a theme that I return to in chapter 7. In the group work, elements of permissiveness from us as facilitators and the boys' own agency around

the use of rap music created space for them to be and to create themselves, this was often a collective endeavour.

Performing Masculinities

There are inherent challenges in making sense of boys' motivations and what may lie behind their performances of masculinity. As Frosh et al. (2002) suggests, being 'boy-centred' in research does not mean uncritical acceptance of boys' versions of themselves (Frosh et al., 2002 p.4). In exploring young masculinities in this research I have paid attention to ways in which young masculinities are achieved in an array of gendered practices. These practices are: relational, multiple and performative (Frosh et al., 2002; Connell, 2005). The social setting of schooling is a key space for performances of masculinity, acting as an agent and, as a site where young people are agents (Connell, 2000). The data explored in this chapter focuses on boys as agents, both within the peer milieu and as individuals. For as Connell (2000) points out masculinities and femininities are actively constructed not just received. By examining gendered practices I aim to show how masculinities play out in subject and identity making by the boys involved in the study.

Defensive Masculinities – Fighting Boys

The ability for boys to fight and to defend themselves featured in a number of accounts across the research data. In one of my examples, this was also racialised:

They [the boys in the Core Group] had 20 minutes or so before boxing and so were having a chat before going onto the boxing session. I joined in and we chatted about boxing ... Derek¹² a black 12 year old boy [who is also small for his age] said that his dad had told him that he would "beat him" if he got beaten up by a white boy. When I pointed out that it was better for him not to get beaten up by anybody he didn't have a response. His main preoccupation was with what he'd said and the potential for someone to come and beat him up - a bigger boy than him. He talked quite a bit about fighting. (Field note, 24 November 2016)

Derek's concern here is about defending himself from attack by his peers and at the same time maintaining status as a tough boy who cannot be beaten. His account shows that the stakes are high since he risks not only being beaten by his peers but also by his father. Even if we cannot take his words literally we can see that Derek is

¹² Derek was not a member of the Core Group. He had recently joined the PRU.

under pressure facing the threat of his father's strong disapproval. Not fighting (and not being able to fight) scarcely seems like a viable option for Derek here. He needs to project a tough identity and this is also linked to his race, it is now doubly important that he should not be 'defeated' by a white boy. Tough masculinity in this example, can be equated to 'hardness' which is among the desirable attributes of "popular masculinity" among boys in the study by Frosh et al. (2002, p.77). Significantly, they also point out that "being bigger than other boys could be helpful" (Frosh et al., 2002, p.77). It may also be that Derek's small physical stature also played into this narrative. Elsewhere, outside of the group encounters, 14 year old Jared, a white boy in the Core Group, who is also smaller than his peers, spoke to me in his interview about a key moment in his mainstream school. This was the time when he realised that he could fight and defend himself:

I remember this one day we were on the courts [sports fields], this was one of my first ever fights and we have the year eight and nine courts and they had brand new things and the year nines used to think they were big and one of the year nines booted our ball over and I was like, "Why the fuck you kicking our ball over?" They go, "What you going to do?" And they punched me. I started fighting the boy and I actually knocked the boy to the floor and I was on top of him and then the teacher grabbed me off of him and then that's when I realised. I didn't know I had that much power. And then that's when I realised I could finally stick up for myself ... Because I'm quite short innit? If I used to get picked on I used to just take it and ever since I had that fight with that boy, that's when I realised listen, I can actually fight. I didn't know I had that much strength. And that's when I used to start fighting. (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Although fighting for Jared is not racialised, unlike the example from Derek, it is still associated with the signal importance of having the power to defend and 'stick up' for himself:

And then in year eight I used to get into a lot of fights and that's when they got me the mentor and then I got kicked out maybe it was the end of year nine? (Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Jared mentioned fighting multiple times during his interview. He also told me that getting into fights was a prime reason for his exclusion from mainstream school. It is ironic that Jared names fighting as giving him power when his demonstrations of aggression have cost him dearly. Fighting is also a behaviour that Jared *intends* to

suppress when he returns to mainstream school (emphasis added). I emphasise the word 'intends' because Jared was excluded from the mainstream school he joined after completion of my fieldwork at Riverdale¹³:

Jared: But it's not going to be like fighting Jared or anything like that. He's gone now.

Roma: Fighting Jared's gone?

Jared: Yeah. He's not gone when I'm out on the streets...

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

The examples of Jared and Derek allow us to see the importance attached by the boys to fighting and aggression as defensive capabilities that they must possess in order to preserve their status, perhaps survive in school as well as elsewhere on the streets outside. Survival outside of the PRU is what is hinted at when Jared talks about maintaining his fighting identity on the streets. Within these two examples there is multiplicity, while Derek's example is mediated through race and the approval of his father, the two boys are possibly united by the importance of physical stature. Importantly, the costs for both boys of demonstrating physical toughness in their performances of masculinity are high. While they may acquire a type of power among their peers, these displays have also led to the boys paying the heavy cost of exclusion from mainstream school. At the same time we can see that attempts by professionals to intervene and divert boys from problematic performances of masculinity are complex and challenging. It is also noteworthy that Jared talks about being given a mentor in his old mainstream school. Although I have drawn attention to physical size in this discussion, this is only one facet of the empirical data about fighting and aggression. Among the boys in this research there is great attachment to the importance of fighting and being capable of defending themselves. Fifteen year old twin Aaron describes the importance of projecting tough capabilities in a new school:

See if you're in a new school, all the people don't know you - the bullies in that school will try to come to you – they think that you're like, you're vulnerable innit, but then they don't know that but you know that you can defend

¹³ Although I cannot be certain, it appears likely from Beth the Senior Teacher's account of Jared "getting into trouble again" and "being kicked out", that fighting was also part of the trouble for Jared after reintegration in his new mainstream school.

yourself so when they try and bully you – like you show levels innit. (Group Work, 3 October 2016)

Aaron's idea of 'showing levels' fits into Connell's (2000, 2005) framework of marginalised protest masculinities:

Rule breaking becomes central to the making of masculinity when boys lack other resources for gaining these ends. (Connell, 2000, p.163)

Aaron positions himself as being powerful in relation to his peers, there is also a hint of sophistication in his argument about deploying his power by 'showing levels' so that presumably it is not always necessary to actually engage in fighting. On the face of it this suggests that Aaron possesses greater power than either Derek or Jared since they may have to show that they can fight by actually fighting, perhaps this is made more important for them because they are of small stature, remembering the point made by Frosh et al. (2002) that being bigger can be helpful for tough masculinity. Ultimately though, Aaron's position is similar to that of the other boys for he too has been excluded because of his behaviour, including fighting and aggression. Aaron has paid the same price as his peers. The boys' discourses of power and defence of their identities as tough individuals are ultimately trumped by the consequences of being seen as dangerous individuals whose fighting behaviour (or readiness to fight) is seen as a threat. These behaviours are not driven by the biological imperatives of storm and stress in adolescents categorised by Hall (1904), but rather by the boys perceiving a need to show that they can defend themselves and acquire prestige through aggressive performances of masculinity (Connell, 2000; Frosh et al., 2002).

A number of the boys spoke about defending themselves through fighting. The defensive narrative is typified in a discussion among the boys in the Core Group. By way of background, this instance occurred when the boys responded to a series of statements in a game during the group work. This included the statement 'boys have to be tough because...' In response to this talk among the boys became highly animated. Jared gave the first example of needing to be tough to "defend your wife" (ie. girlfriend). The boys spoke quickly and with enthusiasm about this subject. One of them described an incident involving a YouTube performer called Tyrone (who was well known to the boys) playing pranks by slapping the bottoms of other men's girlfriends in front of them. Jared described the scene:

And there's one yeah where he does it to some man yeah and the man bottles him...The man protects his girl. (Group Work, 3 October 2016)

All of the boys agreed that this was the right thing to do, they focused heavily on the incident as an insult and disrespect for boys and the need to protect and defend girls. Laurent, who was usually quiet during group discussions joined in animatedly:

Laurent: Bottle him bruv.

The boys continued the discussion, building their argument about why they needed to be tough by linking it to the YouTube incident involving Tyrone the rapper. No distinction was made between the staged YouTube display and their own social lives, these incidents appeared to be interchangeable. Kehily and Nayak (2008) highlight the importance in cultural analysis of youth to take into account music and media technologies as offering ways to understand performances of gender. In light of this the close identification of the boys with the YouTube incident is unsurprising, the boys' dialogue continued:

Aaron: To defend your fucking wife bruv, how about that?

Cal: To defend your family.

Hector: It's not just your wife, it's yourself, your family, everything.

(Group Work, 3 October 2016)

Hector's statement about "everything" indicates how high the stakes may be for the boys in the Core Group suggesting that they must defend themselves at all costs. Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010) theorise 'gangsta culture' among ethnic minority youth in Australia as a practice of social imagination. Their study shows young men constructing their masculinities dialogically in relation to peers, family members and others, importantly this includes drawing on mediascapes as part of their local space to inform how they perform masculinity. The exchange between boys in my own data suggests a similar pattern of performance through interplay with the performance of the rapper Tyrone.

The data examples presented suggest the importance for boys of performing what may be called a defensive masculinity. Aggression and fighting abilities serve a purpose, earning them respect. The notion that this includes self-respect is implicit in Hector's 'everything' comment. The importance of media images and messages is also

underscored in the data example. Significantly, the boys did not appear to appreciate any negatives about displaying defensive masculinity. Although in quieter moments, boys were sometimes able to reflect on the consequences to themselves. Jared in his interview with me called himself an idiot for fighting and getting into trouble. Ultimately, Cal was finally excluded from the PRU and lost his chance for mainstream reintegration because of aggressive behaviour and fighting. In fact Cal had used his physical power against a girl who had called him stupid. Cal's unacceptable behaviour occurred as an attempt to defend himself against the shame of being called stupid. Understanding these performances of masculinity as defensive gives us an opportunity to find ways to engage boys in dialogue about their practices. Martino (2000) finds potential entry points to help boys reflect on the dynamics and consequences of problematic performances of 'cool' masculinity at school. These examples share a common characteristic of problematic masculine practices being enacted as defence mechanisms against a variety of perceived slights and risks to reputation that are not solely within the confines of a school setting but which may also leak out into the streets, community and home spaces. The marginalised status of these boys in local hegemonic discourses (Archer, 2003) is part of a complex interplay in the context of the PRU. At stake is what is seen by the boys as a way to protect themselves and their reputations. This is mediated by social relations with others including peers, professionals and family. Fighting and talking about fighting is a striking example of problematic behaviours and psychic costs for boys and as such is part of a constellation of gendered practices in this study. It is to other ways in which masculine identities are constructed in this study that I now turn.

Being a Man

During his interview Cal went on to explain himself in terms of the importance of acting like a man:

Roma: Okay, [you've said] don't act like a baby, I understand that. What's wrong with acting like a 15 year old? Why have you got to act like an adult?

Cal: Act like an adult, be respectful, like don't be silly. Be a man, take responsibility.

(Cal, Interview, 21 November 2016)

When I interviewed Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher at the end of the field work I remember him expressing surprise at hearing that Cal had spoken about taking responsibility:

That's interesting, particularly some of those things which obviously we are instilling in the students over and over again, about taking responsibility and being respectful, they're key messages which we have throughout every single thing we do. But clearly, there's also for him, this awareness of what he would need to do to survive, as he would put it, on the streets, so this idea of letting trouble come to you as well and act like a man. (Joe, Assistant Head Teacher, Second Interview, 2 December 2016)

Joe's response also shows insight into the difficulties faced by the boys in fulfilling the model behaviour promoted by the school, expressed by 'taking responsibility' while also surviving as marginalised and vulnerable subjects. This is one of the few times when the realities of what happens outside of the PRU and mainstream school are explicitly acknowledged by a professional in this research. Perhaps it may have been too difficult for professionals and for Joe in particular to discuss what lay outside of their control within the PRU. For the boys involved in this study ideas about 'taking responsibility' appeared to be inextricably linked to their lives outside of school. This is a broader understanding than behaviour management techniques embedded within school messages about students taking responsibility (Lewis et al., 2012). From this perspective it is easy to see how 'taking responsibility' is instead linked by the boys to their own adult status and being a man. These identity and subject positions appear to convey more power, the power of being an adult as opposed to a child, and this power is gendered. Taking responsibility as a man is also articulated as an essential attribute by the Data Sharing Group. According to 15 year old David it is 'responsibility' that makes a man. Although interrogation of what precisely is meant by this is challenging. When I asked him what he meant David was not keen to define taking responsibility. He simply replied "whatever". During the discussion it was David's friend Santi who summed up the consensus of the group, the other boys nodded in agreement when he spoke:

A man looks after his family, a man's for all his family.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

The group also challenged me when I questioned the reasons for positioning themselves as adult men:

Santi: You don't know what he's gone through.

David: You can't say he's not a man.

Santi: I got friends, I got friends that have gone through a lot of stuff.

(Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017)

There was a strong sense among the group that the boys needed to resolve their own problems rather than looking to other (adults) for support. Fifteen year old Ainsley for instance criticised teachers and demonstrated scepticism about their ability to help:

Like some teachers yeah think, oh yeah there's nothing really bad happening. Sometimes that kid might have the most horrible life in the world but that teacher's never seen that. (Ainsley, Data Sharing Group, 3 October 2017).

This is a complex picture, although the boys spoke about self-reliance and sorting things out for themselves by 'taking responsibility' it is also the case that they approached trusted professionals such as Beth and Joe for help. This is typified in the example of Santi asking Beth, a trusted senior teacher, to help his friend Ali who has been sent to Mogadishu by his family in an effort to keep him 'out of trouble':

Santi, speaking to Beth: What support can I get to bring him back into the country? There must be something he's in a third world country – he's a foreigner.

Beth: Unfortunately his family sent him there for his safety

Santi: Why safety? The school has said that – you could take that to Court, find evidence.

Beth: Well we are trying – discussion continues.

As well as the need for support we can see here the limits for the help that Beth, and the PRU are able to provide for Santi and his friend Ali. These limits also throw into sharp relief the obstacles for boys despite their efforts to take responsibility.

Difficulties experienced by many of them outside of the PRU, hinted at in Cal's remark "let trouble come to you" and in Ainsley's comment about "a horrible life in the world", also appear to be beyond the boundaries where help and support from professionals is available. In interpreting boys' use of the notion of taking

responsibility parallels can be drawn with the Gillies (2016) study finding that young people's experience of personal traumas and difficulties were often normalised. Young people in the Behaviour Support Unit preferred to present themselves as 'in control'. Gillies finds that this stoicism is in marked contrast to angry displays of emotions within the classroom and that such behaviours tended to obscure "a level of resilience that would underscore any definition of character" (Gillies, 2016, p.64). Discourses of 'taking responsibility' provide a way for boys to display a type of masculinity which implies control of their circumstances and their ability to defend both themselves and others who are close to them. While this responsibility/in control subjecthood may be discursively claimed, the difficulties that many of the boys encounter in their lives also indicate the marginalised status of these masculinities. Responsibility is equated by the boys with being a man, seen through this lens, it can be understood as a way of being which can equip the boys for their lives both in and outside of the PRU. It is a rich irony that the language of 'responsibility', often applied in public discourse in a pejorative way against excluded boys, is the same language that they adopt to justify their actions.

Big Men

Fifteen year old twin brothers Hector and Aaron were often referred to as the "Big Men" by staff at the PRU. Joe had explained to me that when the twins had first arrived in the summer term their reputation had preceded them, in other words they were already 'known' as 'Big Men'. The term 'Big Men' acknowledges the twins' status as leaders and it suggests an external source from which their power may be derived. That is, power that is legitimised by the streets, outside of the sanction of the PRU or approval from a mainstream school environment. In this way the twins appear to draw on power and authority outside school to assert their identities. Importantly, being 'Big Men' is how the twins are produced by others and how they produce themselves. Big Men implies other types of leadership such as gangs and there are also racial undertones to the term. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the brothers are black, I wonder if two white 15 year old boys in a similar ethnically diverse setting would also be called 'Big Men'. The boys' status in the PRU is alluded to in the following data extract:

Jason (TA): Take it off then [asking Aaron to remove his earphones] I feel like you and your brother have got a lot of influence in this school and I'm not saying it's a bad thing. I'm just saying that you can use it for good, you can use it 'cos people look up to you. You can use it and show people what, you know what's the right way to, you guys you know what I mean you can do the right thing

Henrikh (TA) : Well you are a leader though. If you were to run out there right now, (repeats) if you were to run out there right now everyone would follow you.

Aaron: You know what I mean (acknowledging).

Henrikh: That proves my point, that's what I'm trying to say

Roma: So Aaron, how do you feel about being a leader?

Cal starts singing 'Follow the leader, leader (the carnival song).

Aaron: It's not special.

(Group Work, 17 October 2016)

Interrogating the identities of the twins also presents a more complex picture. While they are produced as leaders, the twins were also made to look small and shamed by their mother's reprimands in front of others at the PRU. During half term they were removed from the UK against their wishes and sent to the Caribbean. They may be recognised as 'Big Men' and leaders but they are also hailed as children who can be sent to another country and 'made small' by their mother.

Multiple Masculinities

In making these arguments from my data I also want to avoid oversimplification by conceptualising the boys talk solely in terms of fighting and demonstrations of toughness and aggression. I also observed strong relationships of friendship and support among the young people and with professionals. In addition to the example of Santi (discussed above) help seeking was widely evidenced across the study through relationships with trusted professionals such as Joe, the Assistant Head teacher who was a key figure for the boys at Riverdale and through professional relationships with TAs. The importance of having trusted professionals in their lives was memorably summed up by the Data Sharing Group when they explained to me (in an example of their own making) who they would go to for help in a situation where a friend was being threatened with violence or where they had been questioned by the police. Alex

joked “I’d go to the police and I would tell them everything” a response greeted with laughter by everyone, including myself. At the same time amid the humour (perhaps enabled by the humour) the boys also took the discussion seriously. Santi volunteered that he would go to his YOT worker, while Ainsley reflected on the importance of trust:

I would never really go to my teacher ‘cos I wouldn’t want them knowing about what’s happened outside in my life unless I can proper trust that teacher. If that teacher is like from real high that talks only real shit then I wouldn’t go to them. (Ainsley, Analysis Group, 3 October 2017)

These examples of help seeking, trust and relationships help to convey a broader picture from my ethnographic observations at the PRU. I present them here to illustrate the complexity and fluidities of identities that are ‘always in the making’ and make sense in the situations in which they are performed, situations that are highly complex and relational. Aggressive masculinity needs to be understood as a defensive identity, as such it can be interpreted as a response to vulnerability and marginalisation, a strategy that is also authorised by a range of cultural forms including rap music and the mediascapes (Savage and Hickey-Moody, 2010) which help shape the boys’ lived experience.

Masks and Masking Practices



Figure 8 *Papier-mâché Mask in Riverdale Activity Room*

Masks first appeared as physical objects in the study because a set of papier-mâché animal heads from an art project were stored on shelves in the room we used for the group work activity (see Figure 8 for an image of one of the masks). The boys regularly put the masks on their heads throughout the group work sessions (see Figure 9). One particular example stands out for me. In the first group work session twin brothers,

Hector and Aaron placed masks on their heads within minutes of entering the room. All of the group had been uncomfortable with the classroom chairs and tables being pushed to the side to create what James and I had intended as a more open space. Hector and Aaron chose a highly visible way of opting out of the group activities. The two boys climbed on top of tables we had stacked around the sides of the room and placed masks on their heads, then proceeded to sleep through almost the entire first session. Their motionless bodies meant that the fact that they were asleep was obvious, despite the masks. When I attended the staff briefing at the end of the day the fact that the boys had been sleeping was put into context for me. John the art teacher described how the twins had slept in their classes throughout the preceding week. According to John, the brothers were exhausted as a result of being 'out on the road' at night until early hours of the morning; their mother, Mrs D, had told the PRU that she felt that her sons were out of control. Wearing the masks in the group work provided spectacle and played into their reputations as 'Big Men' at the PRU. The masks also served to conceal their vulnerabilities in sleep. As the group work developed the masks continued to be used by the boys creatively and with a sense of fun, Cal for instance wore a mask during a session stating that he was 'protecting his identity'. Through these events the role of the mask as a metaphor began to emerge in knowledge that was being co-produced in the groups – in particular a sensitivity to what was being concealed as well as what was presented by a mask or an identity. In this way the masking practices of the boys provides fertile territory for the research.



Figure 9 Jared and James (Drama Facilitator) Wearing Masks

A contrast between concealment and presentation is typified by the learner identities of boys involved in the group work. By way of background, it was clear from early on in the group work that the Core Group members, with the possible exception of Laurent, struggled academically, particularly in key curriculum subjects of Maths and English. Cal and twin brothers Hector and Aaron expressed a dislike of English and Maths and a strong preference for Cookery and PE. There was strong emphasis on the latter subjects at Riverdale as part of efforts to provide a flexible curriculum. In the group work Aaron often appeared to experience problems in comprehension and frequently asked for clarification. Cal struggled even more and appeared to have problems focusing although he was always enthusiastic about drama activities during the group work. He often volunteered to act things out as a way to communicate his thoughts. Rose, the SEN teacher had confirmed to me that Cal had a low reading age. While Jared had considerable verbal skills, activities which involved writing revealed that he too struggled academically. On one occasion during a group session I spoke to Jared quietly (to avoid embarrassing him) to point out that he had misspelled some words. He immediately shrugged off the mistakes and explained to me that he did not need to correct the text because it did not matter “I know I can do better”. This presentation can be understood in a number of ways. One possible interpretation

relates to the context of the PRU as an interim space, perhaps Jared felt that the temporary nature of the PRU did not warrant the effort of correcting his work. It might also have reflected Jared's awareness that the group work was outside of formal curriculum activities. Whether or not these interpretations hold merit, the deeper point is that Jared appears unable to fully acknowledge mistakes in his writing. Instead he sought to explain and downplay these errors. By doing so he was able to preserve a different learner identity for himself as a successful, that is clever, student. This latter interpretation is strongly supported by part of Jared's account of his time at mainstream school. During his interview with me Jared shared with me his own proud memory of past academic success:

Roma: Tell me about that, why is that [geography] your favourite subject?

Jared: I don't know, I'm just good at it. Like I don't know, I was doing the tests, I come out with A stars on the geography tests. You sit exams in Year 8, I come out with A stars on my exams. And then the teacher sat me down and goes, "Listen Jared, you're probably one of the best students I've seen in geography for about three years of me working in this class. You're proper good at geography" she goes to me.

Roma: Wow.

Jared: And then I remember one day she made me stay back behind and she made me go to a detention but I wasn't doing a detention, I was teaching the detention. So it was all students who didn't do homework and that. So I sat there and I did the homework all with them.

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Once again we can see here a presentation of academic success, even the punishment of detention is presented by Jared as a success story "I was teaching the detention". It seems that it is not possible for Jared to admit his own vulnerabilities as a learner, being clever can be used as a mask to protect against these vulnerabilities. Academic success in geography, whether or not his story is completely accurate, provides a way for Jared to lay claim to being clever. In Jared's eyes it may have been that such a claim would not have been possible in the PRU, perhaps this is why his success story was rooted in his past at the mainstream school from which he was excluded. A short exchange between Hector and Cal during the group work captures a quality of anxiety about academic ability which I observed during my time at the PRU. Within the Core Group Hector, Aaron and Cal were close friends. Cal was also close to Jared, the two

boys often paired up during the group work activities. In answer to my question about how he would describe himself Cal replied “smart and sometimes dumb” although he quickly tried to pull back from the word dumb by substituting the word “annoying”. Hector greeted Cal’s first “sometimes dumb” response with incredulity. I saw him physically recoil from Cal as though there might be some contagion in Cal’s use of the word dumb. Hector’s reaction was most probably another reason Cal was so anxious to ‘retrieve’ his earlier self-description. Cal’s quick use of the word “annoying” partially retrieved the situation. This projected an agentic and disruptive alternative that was not loaded with the shame of the label ‘dumb’. It appears that it was better in Cal’s estimation to be seen as annoying as opposed to being perceived as stupid. Yet the familiarity of such a move should not prevent us from noticing what is at stake here, Hector’s act of recoiling from his friend Cal is a reminder of this. There are parallels with an example from the field notes of Laws (2011) in research with children at a special school where she notes that the children “being seen as mad [by members of the public in a lift] is far more tolerable than being seen as bad” (Laws and Davies, 2011, p.51).

Theories of hegemonic masculinity encourage us to look beneath the surface at masculinities that appear to be domineering but which need to be thought of as defensive and oppositional, rooted in vulnerability rather than power. The idea of masking can help us to understand some of the emotional work involved, including the desire to reveal as well as hide. Projecting a clever student identity and the likely shame that is involved in admitting vulnerability as a learner is an example of how masking practices can be used. Knowledge in the field can be enriched by attending to the role that un/masking might play as an interactive practice in the context of exclusion.

Cover Story

Roma: How would you want to be welcomed into your new [mainstream] school, into your classroom?

Jared: Not really welcomed, I’d just like to go in and no one recognise me...And I don’t want people knowing I went to Riverdale. I’d say, “oh yeah I’m not from the area if I don’t know them. I’ll say, I’m new from like New Town” or something jack shit. Yeah I’ve got my cover story. I’ve got my cover story saying

I used to live with my dad and I moved here with my mum ... That's my cover story.

Roma: Have you thought that through a bit?

Jared: Yeah. Where did your dad live? [Mimicking being asked questions by his peers] New Town. Where's that? Hertfordshire.

Roma: Right okay. Is that true?

Jared: No. Made it up. But I used to live in New Town anyway. It's where my Nan used to live and I used to live with my Nan because my Nan has a massive mansion.

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Well you know, I've done loads of this, got first-hand experience where these stories have been made up and so many people have gone to great lengths to have these really elaborate stories. And the first thing that happens when they walk into the doors of the school, someone says "Where are you from?" And they say "PRU." Then they will be full of why they're there and that gains them friends.

(Beth, Senior Teacher, Multidisciplinary focus group, 20 January 2017)

Jared and Beth's different perspectives reflect the struggles and precarity involved in masking practices deployed to conceal and reveal PRU student identities. During his interview Jared gave me this detailed account of the strategy he planned to employ for his imminent re-entry to mainstream school. He invented a new past for himself by weaving together truths and partial truths which allowed him to conceal the fact that he had been at the PRU.

I wonder too about whether the 'massive mansion' of his grandmother was also a fantasy. For Jared, the cover story offered a way to reinvent himself. Later during the interview he talked about not wanting a 'bad reputation' and the importance of being seen as a 'normal boy':

That's why I don't really tell people I go to Riverdale because it gives you a bad reputation. So I want them to just think that I'm just a normal boy.

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Being a 'normal boy' also appears to be a complex process involving the projection of different identities simultaneously. On returning to mainstream school Jared told me that he planned to be "someone who does their work and who doesn't do their work

at the same time". He also planned to be good for the six-week trial period at his new mainstream school before relaxing into being his 'true' self. Being good would, according to Jared involve keeping "his head down":

I just need to lick arse for the first six weeks while I'm on the joint timetable.

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

Cal, also spoke to me in his interview about his strategy to conceal and project different identities on re-entering mainstream school.¹⁴ Although Cal did not have the elaborate cover story that Jared recounted there were strong similarities in that both boys intended to present themselves as quiet, 'staying out of trouble', and 'normal' that is not PRU students. According to Cal he was going to 'stay focused' on his lessons and this would be achieved by 'not talking to anyone' at least not during the six week trial period. Both boys were acutely aware of the trial period. They appeared to perceive it as a hurdle to be overcome and correspondingly their 'new (good) selves' would not have to be a permanent identity. For instance, after the sixweek trial Jared envisaged:

Jared: Yeah it's going to be more myself Jared, it's not going to be goody two shoes Jared. It's going to be Jared who will chat to a partner, Jared. But it's not going to be like fighting Jared or anything like that. He's gone now.

Roma: Fighting Jared's gone?

Jared: Yeah. He's not gone when I'm out on the streets because when I'm out on the streets, I'm walking to my mate's house, I'm always aware, all the time. If someone my age looks at me I would ask them, "what you looking at?"

(Jared, Interview, 7 November 2016)

While Jared says that his fighting self is 'gone' his words also demonstrate that this identity is kept in reserve for when it is needed on the streets. Jared's presentation underscores post structural thought about binaries as a key site of enquiry and identity as fragmented and always in process. Beth the senior teacher's reflection (quoted earlier in the chapter) on how cover stories are often swiftly abandoned in favour of gaining friends underscores the complex processes these boys are engaged in when

¹⁴ Cal did not achieve reintegration into mainstream school even on a temporary basis, unlike Jared who enrolled at a new school during the period of the research but was subsequently permanently excluded again.

navigating the spaces of mainstream school and the PRU. The emotional weight of these conflicting performances of identity is also highly apparent.

Conclusion

This chapter addresses questions of identity and subject making for the boys in this research. It contributes to theory building by offering a model of trouble which encompasses binaries of 'good' and 'bad' trouble marking a distinction between being seen as troubled and perceived as troublesome. Agentic capacity, with trouble as a mode of self-expression is highlighted. I also note the routine mundanity of serious trouble, on the edge of criminality through physical involvement with police. The routine and 'accepted' nature of this trouble is such that these pathologising processes are shown to be hiding in plain sight. Nevertheless these are highly consequential for boys which underlines the necessity to examine these processes. The exploration of material and embodied practices in these findings provides a lens through which to understand the possibilities that are open and foreclosed for young people in the context of exclusion. In the later part of the chapter, I have explored masculinities, adding to the literature on gendered identities and subjectivities. I suggest that this understanding provides pathways for fruitful dialogue and interventions in professional practice with young people. Similarly, attention to masking practices provides a tool with which to achieve greater understanding of the emotional toil for young people in the context of exclusion.

In the following chapter I take forward key themes from my study to outline the thesis contribution to knowledge.

Chapter 7: Being and Doing Exclusion



Figure 10 Ceramic Puzzle on Display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

This thesis presents school exclusion and marginality as a lived experience for young people, hence it is the being and doing boy in the context of exclusion with which I am concerned. In this penultimate chapter of the thesis I bring my findings and the preceding chapters into conversation with the conceptual framework and literature detailed in the thesis. It does so in answer to my research questions. Figure 10 above shows an 18th century ceramic puzzle which is exhibited at the Victoria and Albert museum in London. The puzzle provides a metaphor for what I have found to be a cycle of impossibilities in the lived experience of school exclusion. The object on display is an interactive exhibit made up of several decorated ceramic tiles. When the puzzle is completed successfully the tiles fit together to present an intricately patterned whole. Museum visitors are invited to undertake the deceptively simple task of completing the pattern by moving around individual tiles. I have attempted the puzzle on numerous occasions without success. While I may have come close at times, I remain defeated. Although I have managed to place the majority of tiles in the correct position at least one tile (usually more than one tile) remains out of place. While it is theoretically possible to complete the pattern, in practice this appears to be nearly impossible to achieve. Instead I have experienced the task of trying to complete the puzzle as a constant cycle of placement and displacement. In a similar way the boys in this study are figures who have been displaced, from mainstream school. For

many of the boys this also feels like they have lost their place in education altogether. Engaging with the metaphor of the puzzle and exclusion of boys as multiple processes the chapter seeks to present the effects and affects of school exclusion. This is set in the context of boys who, like the puzzle pieces in this metaphor, are displaced and deemed not to fit in the normative setting of mainstream school.

This chapter presents the thesis contribution to knowledge to inform policy and practice. It seeks to build theory and offer a conceptual language that can inform approaches to practice with young people who are excluded from school. The chapter aims are two-fold: Firstly, to present the thesis contribution to theory building and conceptualisation of school exclusion, identity and subjectivity processes which are shown to be complex, multiple, fragmentary and contradictory. Secondly, to locate my work within an inter-disciplinary post structural field of youth studies (Nayak and Kehily, 2008). In doing so the thesis adds to studies which are psychosocially informed and which pay attention to the play of gender and identity (Frosh et al., 2002). The research contributes to studies which are affectively attuned, illuminating material practices (Youdell, 2010; Kraftl, 2016; Hein and Søndergaard, 2020). Ethnographic methodologies are integral to the study's contribution to knowledge. Youdell (2006c) makes the point that in conducting ethnography she does not ask her research participants to explain their understandings of context and social relations. Instead she seeks moments in which "subjects are constituted and in which constituted subjects act" (Youdell, 2006c, p.513). In similar vein, through this research I have sought to learn from moments where identity and subject positions are conferred and taken up and interrogate the conditions which frame these positions.

The chapter is organised as follows: I begin by re-presenting the research questions for the study this includes a brief reflection on the questions themselves. Following this I present three main contributions to knowledge: Firstly, the conceptualisation of the PRU and mainstream school as impossible spaces and the implications of this for the boys in this study; secondly, the significance of what we can learn through close attention to material practices in this research, and thirdly, a nuanced interpretation of hegemonic masculinities, focusing on boys' identity performances and marginalised young masculinities in the space. One knowledge gap also highlighted by my research

concerns, which is addressed in the final section of the chapter, draws briefly on insights derived from the presence of parents in the study. This relates to the phenomenon of 'sending back' by parents as an answer to their sons being involved in trouble at school. Before concluding the chapter I discuss briefly limitations of the study focusing chiefly on aspects of the research design and its implications. I conclude the chapter by summarising the key claims of the thesis.

Research Questions

The thesis research questions, set out below, are also referred to as I examine themes in this discussion. Themes examined and answers to the research questions overlap in places within this exploration:

- What accounts do teenage boys (aged 14 - 16) excluded from mainstream school give of themselves?
- How are excluded boys' identities and subjectivities expressed?
- How do excluded boys' identities and subjectivities intersect with the practice of professionals?
- What kind of subject is it possible for excluded boys to be?

Reflecting on the research questions, and before I proceed to discuss the answers in this thesis, it is worthwhile to examine strengths and limitations in the framing of the questions and what this has allowed me to see in the research.

The first two questions, which focused on boys' own accounts of themselves and expression of their subjectivities and identities, provided a key strength that has sustained me throughout the years of this research. The strength of these questions lay in the centrality of the boys and the privileging of their perspectives. While the boys' subjectivities and identities were foremost during the group work phase, by virtue of our close proximity. After completion of the field work it is these research questions which repeatedly returned me to the data from the boys, seeking to analyse what was said and what was done. Thus the research questions provided a caution against over-determining my subjects. This also speaks to routine practices during the fieldwork in service of the research questions. For example, the keeping of field notes and writing up reflections on the day. Beyond practical considerations these research

questions supported the ethos and wider aims of the research to listen to the voices of my research subjects (Davies, 2011) and pay detailed attention to their deeds (Youdell, 2010). I had also to be mindful of the need not to simply take my participants at their word (Frosh et al., 2002) as if research were solely a matter of transcription. This underscored the need for theoretically informed interpretive processes. My final research question, about the kind of subject it is possible for boys to be, contributed greatly to the interpretive process. Before expanding on the final of my study questions, I also want to reflect on the fact that the research question which I found the most challenging was that of the intersection of identities and subjectivities with the practice of professionals. Partly this reflects the methodologies employed in the research. The use of group work in my research approaches fostered relational connections with members of the Core Group that could not be replicated in staff interviews. This research question has nevertheless been fruitful in that it allowed me to maintain a central focus on boys at the same time as considering the role of professionals. For instance, it is this question which brought the role of TAs to the fore in my research, a significant element in my findings (see chapter 5). At times during the research I also found this question about professionals posed a challenge as it limited my understanding of their motivations. For instance, it would have been interesting to know more about why professionals in this study chose to work in a PRU setting. However, this line of questioning would have led to a different study which would most likely have followed a different path both methodologically and theoretically. See for example Malcolm (2020) for an exploration of the motivations of professionals in alternative education. Crucially, as previously alluded to, more questions focused on professionals would have diluted the centrality of young people's lived experience in informing the research.

My final question, what kind of subject is it possible for boys to be?, is the question that I found to be the most generative in this research. It provided an over-arching question because it allowed me to think about the contribution of each of my research participants to subject making. Davies (2006) provides a neat illustration of the analytical power of a focus on subject making. From her field notes Davies presents an interaction between a teacher and two primary school boys in a corridor. The two

boys, who had previously been disciplined for fighting, behave with defiance singing to each other “we are the naughty boys” but this is done in a way that is “not provocative but loud enough for the teacher to hear” (Davies, 2006, p.428). In this way, drawing on Judith Butler’s theorisation of subjectification Davies sheds light on what she calls the “double directionality’ of subjectification” (Davies, 2006, p.428). The two boys:

...both do and do not escape the dominating force of the category [of naughty boy] and their positioning within it. (Davies, 2006, p.428)

In my own study, exploring the possible subject positions for boys at Riverdale has opened space to consider the practices of boys and contradictory positioning as well as the practice of professionals. This framing through my research question has given substance to my interpretive processes enabling me to draw on post structural theoretical resources and theories of affect in the enquiry.

Reflection on the research questions for the study is a helpful step both in terms of self-critique and for further research agendas (discussed in the concluding chapter). I now turn to the substantive discussion of my findings in concert with the research questions and answers.

Realms of Impossibility

The PRU – Defended Against Impossibility

In this thesis I have shown the PRU to be a transitory space that is contradictory, both a safe and generative space but one without its own mission. As such I have characterised it as being an impossible space. Impossibility is powerful in this context because it makes the PRU an institutional space that cannot be ‘properly’ inhabited by young people as its subjects. In Butlerian terms (Butler, 2006, 2015; Davies, 2006) lives are not ‘liveable’ in these spaces. The chief source of contradiction lies in the nature of the connection between the PRU and mainstream school. The PRU cannot be other than deficit because its core purpose is mainstream reintegration. The overwhelming nature of this focus, by implication, leads the PRU to deny its own legitimacy. Riverdale is not alone among PRUs in its focus on reintegration as a core purpose:

The ultimate aim of many PRUs is to provide alternative provision for a short period, preparing children and helping them to get back on track for a successful reintegration to mainstream school. (Hart, 2013, p.197)

In the thesis I examined the context of the PRU and the way in which its stigma and deficit positioning ‘leaks’ and attaches to individual PRU students, so that they too are rendered ‘impossible’. This understanding contributes to ways of theorising identity making in relation to excluded young people. It is not claimed here that conceptualisation of education spaces as ‘impossible’ is entirely new. This research adds to studies such as Youdell (2006b) and Gillies (2016). The thesis also adds to studies which highlight stigma and marginalisation arising from exclusionary processes in schooling (McDonald and Thomas, 2003; Gazeley, 2010; Carlile, 2012; Kulz, 2015; Levinson and Thompson, 2016). By building on the understanding of the stigmatised positioning of the PRU as a space, the contribution of my research lies in how it highlights that staff, and to a large extent students, at the PRU, are defended against acknowledging the PRU as an impossible space. This is significant because this defended state (illustrated by the research) limits capacity to acknowledge and respond to the depth of needs in young people at the PRU. While energy and resources are focused on ‘training’ young people to re-enter mainstream school, other more holistic approaches cannot be fully invested in and engaged with by the PRU or by the boys. The predominance of narratives about ‘second-chances’ and ‘getting back on track’, together with the shadowing of mainstream practices by the PRU, leaves little space for a therapeutic core purpose within a PRU. There are limited possibilities for therapeutic goals although tailored, relational approaches are also used at the PRU. The work of the TAs at Riverdale is a key example of more fruitful approaches being utilised. So too are the relations of trust and support with certain professionals such as Assistant Head Teacher, Joe and Beth, the Senior teacher. As the study findings highlight, this relational work cannot be fully invested in as a core purpose for the PRU since there is limited time for such work to take place in the context of the overriding imperative to reintegrate young people into mainstream schooling.

The potentially damaging effects of the PRU (arising from defences against impossibility) can be seen through the lack of support for young people to imagine (and realise) a hopeful future that is outside of a return to mainstream school. The trajectories of the boys in this study strongly suggest that a return to mainstream school is a precarious notion that is often unrealised. For instance a number of the

boys in the Core Group in the research either did not return to mainstream school or did not sustain a return to mainstream school after initial reintegration. Jared's unrealistic ideas of keeping his 'true self' hidden until he had passed the trial period threshold, is a case in point (see chapter 6). The study findings support the conceptualisation of the PRU as a 'revolving door' in the exclusion process (Pillay et al., 2013). The transitory nature of a PRU exposes young people to the risk of spending time in various 'temporary' spaces of exclusion throughout their school careers. This revolving door is likely to create more instability and impossibility. The findings presented in this thesis can be set in the context of a growing body of literature which highlights the potential and strengths of alternative provision in PRU settings (Hart, 2013; Levinson and Thompson, 2016; Malcolm, 2020). Levinson and Thompson (2016) suggest that in many cases PRUs may be able to provide a more supportive and appropriate environment for students. The findings of this research highlight the importance of reconfiguring PRUs to allow these spaces to offer more than interim solutions – to be 'possible spaces'. Relatedly, in studies on marginality and hope in young people, Robb et al. (2010) show that there are multiple ways in which hopeful futures may be constituted. This is exemplified by a teacher in their study who observes:

What I'd like to see in the future for these kids varies. For some its survival. Maybe eventually some sense of normalcy, whatever that is. It might just be some part-time work, some income, and a nice safe place to live ... To create a sense of hope in the future for them is probably the hardest thing of all. (Robb et al., 2010, p.56)

The findings presented here underscore the idea that just as identity is multiple and always in process, hopeful futures also need to be multiple and in process. Theorising the PRU as impossible and shedding light on its defended status allows us to see that young people may be rendered 'failed' subjects if they do not return to mainstream school. The emotional costs of this for young people and their families are laid bare when we consider that this 'failure' to return, is also seen by them as a loss of an education and of a future.

The boys in this research demonstrated contradictory and oppositional behaviours. My study findings support the view elsewhere in the literature that marginalised young

people retain high levels of interest in their education and have many hopes and ambitions for their future (Frosh et al., 2002; Briggs, 2010; Gillies, 2016). The capacity for PRUs to maintain a sustained focus on therapeutic practice and thereby gain legitimacy of purpose can provide a way for PRUs to nurture hope. The vulnerabilities of boys revealed and recognised in this study, underscores the urgent necessity for this work. Continued failure to address these matters risks rendering young people like the boys in this research ‘hopeless subjects’.

Policy direction regarding school exclusion remains wedded to the idea that there is always a need to exclude certain young people. There is a focus on fixing young people’s behaviour (Bennett, 2010) and ‘fixing’ PRUs through training and raising the standards of professionals who work in PRUs (Department for Education, 2019). The Government Response to the Timpson Review (2019) suggests that Free Schools and the academisation of PRUs is part of the solution, with PRUs being given a ‘specialist’ role to support early intervention in mainstream schools. To understand PRUs as impossible spaces, as conceptualised in this thesis, counters this policy narrative by emphasising the need to consider how the purpose of PRUs can be changed more fundamentally and holistically. This requires changes which are both structural and cultural in the ways in which PRUs and their students are understood. To understand staff and students as defended against impossibility highlights the need for change that is more far reaching than current policy prescriptives. Greater depth of thinking and imagination is needed to broaden the scope of what can be possible in a PRU, including the possibility of young people in a PRU becoming hopeful subjects.

Mainstream Impossibility

In the thesis I argue that there is a symbiotic relationship between the PRU and mainstream school which renders both the PRU and mainstream school, as impossible spaces. Each space depends on the other but the relationship between the two spaces and the implications for young people are complex. While it may be tempting to see the relationship as linear, that of sending (mainstream school) and receiving (PRU), and often sending back (PRU), the thesis shows the emotional and material importance of mainstream school functioning as an idea and an idealised destination. Idealised notions are illustrated in the ‘fantasy school’ depicted through a promotional video for

the mainstream school where Jared is to be interviewed (see chapter 6). The effects of marketisation and a competitive economy of education are readily apparent in the presentation of the mainstream school in the video (see Parsons, 1996; Carlile, 2011; Ball, 2018, for discussion of marketisation and competition within the school system). The thesis illuminates the way the material practices of boys in this study place them as subjects who are unlikely to present as the compliant, ready to learn and ideal subjects required in mainstream school (Graham, 2007; Stahl, 2019). While zero tolerance approaches in schools are a barrier which can contribute greatly to marginalisation (Duncan, 2013; Graham, 2013) the significance of these findings do not rest solely on whether or not a mainstream school has adopted a zero tolerance ethos. It relates more widely to a policy landscape which is dominated by concerns for league tables and predicated by a need to remove those who are seen to be a threat to the 'calm environment' of school spaces (Graham, 2007; Gillies and Robinson, 2012b; Gillies, 2016). This makes mainstream school an impossible space for certain students and in so doing positions students such as those involved in this research as marginalised subjects.

'Second chance' Impossibility

Beyond the idea of mainstream school as impossible, the thesis findings highlight the problematic role of reintegration, the so-called 'second chance' (Thomas, 2015; Atkinson and Rowley, 2019). Studies which lay emphasis on the wider support needed for successful reintegration outcomes (Lawrence, 2011; Atkinson and Rowley, 2019) challenge an emphasis on the personal responsibility of the student for achieving reintegration. Insights from this research which show the precarity of the second chance show that theoretically, reintegration is better understood as *part* of the exclusionary processes rather than as a *way out* of exclusion. Such an understanding sheds light on the lived experience of young people who are unsuccessful in achieving reintegration. A constellation of factors, many of which may operate against young people's interests and wishes, tend to be hidden by the promise of a second chance. Maggie MacLure memorably referred to the chimera of the "proper child" (MacLure, 2008, p.8). Taking my cue from this conceptualisation I want to suggest that the second chance of reintegration is also a chimera of the 'proper school'. This appears to

offer young people a hope of redemption but frequently operates in ways that do the opposite, so that excluded boys risk becoming fixed as irredeemable subjects who cannot be 'included', that is reintegrated into a 'proper' mainstream school.

The thesis findings show that the boys in the study may be regarded as troubled and troublesome subjects and that they express some of the contradictions of the PRU. It is to the material practices of boys in the study that I now turn.

Material Practices and Social Relations

Citational Chains

Nayak and Kehily (2013) note the salience of locality and setting for the way young people's lives are lived very differently across the world. Their argument is rooted in Butler's concept of performativity (Butler, 1993; Jackson, 2012) which understands behaviour through citational practices in repeated acts of performance. Drawing on this performative approach I propose the value of understanding excluded boys through attention to their material practices. The study aligns with perspectives which allow us to see young people's practices as shared habits that are channelled in education space (Kraftl, 2016). A key strength of ethnographic methods and affective attunement in this study has been the opportunity to pay close attention to material practices. This has allowed me to see how young peoples' agency and identity can be performed through habituated practices (Kraftl, 2016). In making these arguments I directly engage with my research questions about the kind of subject a boy can be.

Earlier in the chapter I explored the notion of staff and students being defended against the idea of impossibility for the PRU. Documenting and analysing boys' practices has been productive for understanding matters that are not directly engaged with or articulated at the PRU, chiefly as a result of this defended status. One of the practices that is not fully acknowledged by PRU staff is that of leaving and returning to the class room. This practice is among the most emblematic of the citational chains in my data. Other examples of citational chains include the constant movement among the boys in the Data Sharing workshop. Here we see the young people in the group moving back and forth between moments of attention and moments of distraction. There is much in common in this presentation with a study of boys' responses to a teacher's pedagogic practices in a Special School by Youdell (2010). I have proposed

‘doing PRU student’ as a way of describing an array of practices through which identity and subject positions in the PRU may be taken up. Just as in the ethnographic research undertaken by Kraftl, Home School parents readily recognise their children through practices, such as young people not knowing how to sit on chairs (Kraftl, 2016), doing PRU student is a way of describing distinct ways of being that I observed at the PRU.

As previously mentioned, leaving and returning to the classroom is an example of a pervasive practice that is not fully recognised at the PRU. In fact it is downplayed by Joe, the Assistant Head Teacher when he explains it as only occurring during weekly project sessions (see chapter 4). Observing these material practices shows us the gap between what may be deemed acceptable in mainstream schools compared to practices at the PRU. Through constantly leaving and returning, boys may be signalling their personal freedom and choice and resistance to conventional authority, particularly the modes of behaviour required in mainstream school. I am not suggesting that there is a single answer that captures all of the reasons for these citational chains. It is also important to note that the boys in this study almost always returned to the classroom, underlining in some ways the ‘always in process’ nature of their positions. These behaviours can be seen as permitted (albeit informally) within the PRU space. We can see from this more than a hint that there exists greater flexibility than can be readily acknowledged within the PRU’s core objective of mainstream reintegration. In this way the PRU can be described as providing a stage for these performances. Perhaps my research also provided a stage.

The usefulness of attending to these material practices lies in highlighting the extent to which these ways of being are different from mainstream mores. Explicitly acknowledging these practices provides a point for dialogue and intervention in practice with boys. Their practices are a direct challenge to the corporeal curriculum (Stahl, 2019) encompassed within zero tolerance approaches. Significantly for policy and practice, leaving and returning is a type of behaviour which may be categorised as persistent disruption in mainstream school. This is important because persistent disruption remains the chief reason for permanent and fixed-term school exclusions (Timpson, 2019; DfE, 2021). Furthermore, as Briggs (2010) points out, it is persistent

misdemeanours over time rather than a single drastic event that are the main reasons for unofficial exclusions. It may be that such practices are 'allowable' at the PRU because of the recognised (but still often unacknowledged) need for greater flexibility and tailored approaches within the space. In the social context of exclusion understanding the performance of PRU student identities provides a way to see how easily things can go wrong or go 'too far' for young people and lead to permanent removal from mainstream school. This connects with Briggs (2010) point that exclusion is seldom associated with one event but frequently occurs after a persistent pattern of trouble. The work showcased in this thesis contributes to knowledge by showing the value of examining material practices in the micro-context of a PRU. By contrast a behaviourist approach to routine practices found in the PRU, such as leaving and returning to the classroom, renders boys in this study 'unincludable' as students in mainstream schooling (Youdell, 2006b).

Self Creation and Solidarity: The Role of Rap Music

The significance of rap and grime music as a technique of self is recognised in this research. I include the use of music as a material practice in this discussion. In common with other studies in the field of youth, boys' use of music in the research also drew on celebrity and media culture (Kehily and Nayak, 2008; Savage and Hickey-Moody, 2010). Henriques (2008, 2010) vibration model of affect provided a theoretical tool to enlarge my thinking about the role of music connecting young people at the PRU:

...sound moves people to feel that they have a connection with other people and other places. (Henriques, 2008, p.216)

The research recognises that music provides a space for solidarity as well as self-expression for the students at Riverdale. Earlier in the thesis I referred to music as similar to a character that never leaves the stage (see chapter 6). Although I found that rap and grime music had featured as an enrichment activity in the Riverdale curriculum, Aaron (from the Core Group) for instance enjoyed writing rap lyrics in an English class, the significance of rap music was not explicitly recognised at the PRU. Rap and grime music in schooling, care and education is also underserved in academic literature. While it is not new to highlight its importance in terms that are relevant to schooling contexts (Forman, 2000; Krims, 2000, Kubrin, 2014), this is an area which merits greater attention. The work of White (2017, 2019) which encompasses youth

culture, identity and urban music, offers helpful perspectives for the thesis. White draws on Gilroy's (1993) description when she positions music as 'a cultural and creative practice' which can host "an alternative structure of feeling" (Gilroy, 1993, cited by White, 2020 p.49). Similarly, hooks (1994) has described music as providing creative and liberatory space. The thesis contributes to studies which highlight rap and grime music area as a gap in creative and participative practice with marginalised young people. Findings from a recent study by Birmingham City University (2019) support the case for the benefits of taking rap music seriously in school, the authors' call for:

A new ethical model of music in schools - one that centres on the social and emotional well-being of young people and co-production of a curriculum which is more relevant to young people's existing lives in music. (Birmingham City University 2019, p.5)

One caveat for my claims is that the thesis design does not focus specifically on curriculum design. My claims are based on listening to the voices (and interests) of young people and paying serious attention to their means of self-expression. It is relevant to these ideas that the Birmingham study (2019) grounds its claim in an ethical and social model which centres the lived experience of young people. The findings of my study connect with the social justice model that is proposed in the study by Birmingham City University (2019). White's (2020) explication of rap and grime as a musical practice from black young people in the inner city also resonates with my study. White draws from her ethnographic research to suggest:

These expressive, everyday practices offer modes of self-actualisation, or ways for young people to be all that they can be, as well as a means to critically reflect on feelings and emotions. (White, 2020, p.44)

The thesis contribution lies in highlighting music as an under-explored area which is likely to be fruitful for practice.

Findings presented in this thesis add to knowledge about material practices in alternative education settings by shedding light on the significance of citational practices and habit among young people in the social space of a PRU. This brings to the fore the specific context of schooling in a PRU and issues that may not be being directly

acknowledged. It is argued that we need to bring such issues to the fore in order to create different, more hopeful possibilities for young people.

Bridging Work - Social Relations with TAs

The TAs in this study carry out bridging work which plays a crucial role in the subjecthood of boys in the study. The role of TAs brings to the fore the question of how the identities and subjectivities of boys intersect with the practice of professionals. Social relations between the boys and the TAs are demonstrated through relations of trust and support. These connections extend to shared biographies and experience between TAs and boys in the study. We see warmth and affection and ways in which the TAs assist the boys in emotional regulation. The type of bridging work carried out by TAs in the thesis is attested to in a study by Mansaray (2006). Elsewhere Slater and Gazeley (2018) demonstrate the importance of models of practice for TAs, highlighting very different positioning and implications for their deployment in schools. The thesis shows that the support of the TAs enables boys to be subjects who can participate at the PRU. The social relations with TAs also hints at possibilities for more hopeful transitions for the boys. For instance through the youth work positioning of TAs it is possible to envisage that more could be done outside of the confines of the PRU as well as within the local neighbourhood.

It is interesting to note that an example of good practice cited in the Timpson Review includes the deployment of mentors from a PRU into a mainstream school (Timpson, 2019, p.75). Mentoring and support by professionals whose work appears to closely resemble that of the TAs at Riverdale is still presented as specialist rather than as an everyday part of practice in any school. This once again places young people who are seen as 'needing' such interventions within a deficit category. The care and support that is provided through the role of the TAs at Riverdale offers more explicit recognition of marginalisation arising from vectors of race, social class and poverty. The lived realities of this context can be engaged with in the practice of professionals. The relationship with TAs is suggested here as a productive example and model of practice. The fruitfulness of the liminal role and boundary work carried out by the TAs also suggests possibilities for ways in which professional support can cross spatial boundaries into the community. It is argued that the depth of needs shown in this

thesis supports such an extension and that a reconceptualised and well recognised (in the sense of professional status) role for TAs can play a valuable role in following (and supporting) young people in community spaces.

Local Hegemonic Masculinities

My work also communicates a nuanced understanding of Connell's (2005; Messerschmidt, 2019) hegemonic masculinities. It provides a perspective on local masculinities (Archer, 2003) in the situated context of exclusion and schooling in a PRU. This adds to studies of gendered identity performances and the social relations which surround such performances (Nayak and Kehily, 2008), and adds to research which demonstrates the multiplicity of masculinities (Frosh et al., 2002).

There are numerous instances of hyper masculine behaviours and discourses across my data and making sense of gendered identity performances has required fine grained analysis of processes through which gender is achieved. Connell's (2005, 2019) theorisation of hegemonic masculinities combined with psycho-social (Nielsen and Rudberg, 2002, 2012; Frosh et al., 2002) and post structural (Nayak and Kehily, 2008) approaches provided theoretical tools through which I have addressed my research question of how boys' identities and subjectivities are expressed.

Toughness is among the qualities of popular masculinity for young people in the Frosh et al. (2002) study. The thesis findings also confirm toughness through defensive masculinity performances and discourses as a popular identity position adopted at the PRU. The boys' perspectives on fighting (explored in chapter 6) illustrates their investment in what can be understood as a defensive masculinity. These types of masculinity may provide status and power among peers. In the example of Core Group member, 14 year old Jared (who described his surprise when he first learned that he could fight) we can see that fighting provides a means of obtaining parity through developing a reputation that he cannot be beaten, despite his smaller stature. By implication, the power that boys may desire to protect themselves - referred to earlier in the thesis as 'show(ing) levels' by Aaron, another of the Core Group members - also refers to spaces outside of school as well as within the PRU (Briggs, 2010; Bakkali, 2019). This is a complex picture since the thesis shows that the 'power' of boys in the study is severely constrained, and may ultimately be diminished by the marginalised

positions which they hold or rather in which they are held. This puts me in mind of a vignette from a study by Nayak and Kehily (2013) who draw from ethnographic research to recount a story from a group discussion with school students. Amid great laughter, a group of young people in a school urge one of their number (Paddy) to tell a story that is richly entertaining and transgressive but which is also personally challenging for Paddy as it is a tale about an incident that resulted in him being expelled from his school:

This type of humour may also conceal the darker reality of Paddy's biography as a failing pupil who had to be excluded. (Nayak and Kehily, 2013, p.131)

The emotional weight of the consequences of exclusion are its marginalising effects, as Nayak and Kehily's example vividly illustrates. The trajectories of boys involved in my own study throw into sharp relief the loss of education, despite whatever they may have gained in status among peers and elsewhere through being able to fight and defend themselves and by 'being men' according to their discourses in this study.

The thesis contributes to more holistic understandings of identity performances as illustrated through masking practices (explored in chapter 6). Examination of masking has proved fruitful for revealing emotional processes for boys in the study. Masking provides ways to manage stigma and to present and conceal different identities. Masculinity is deeply implicated in these practices, although it is often part of a constellation of identities and subject positions which are "always in process" (Hall, 2007, p.282). The struggle by boys to project one type of 'good' identity in order to re-enter mainstream school, while maintaining performance of another tough masculinity (for their lives outside of school), underscores the emotional toil involved in these performances. The heavily implied splitting of personality and identity, which is memorably self-described by one of the Core Group as "fighting Jared" is a salient example for the thesis. It is unsurprising that in many cases boys were not able to maintain these split performances as 'good' and 'bad' young people. Knowledge about these emotional costs has implications for practice and opens possibilities for professionals to intervene through care and support. In this way the research contributes to knowledge that can enrich practice.

The model of trouble offered in the thesis findings suggests that there is little way back for boys from the excluded positioning to which they are subject. Importantly, notions of 'good' trouble, which can be defined as needing and deserving pastoral support (Gillies, 2016) cannot easily overcome the 'bad' trouble which affects boys in the study. It is this 'bad trouble' which positions the boys as troublesome. Poststructural attention to binary categorisations (Rattansi and Phoenix, 2005) such as good and bad, shows that there is little space for boys to escape the consequences of being placed within the bad category. Just as in the puzzle metaphor with which I opened this chapter, boys are displaced and judged not to fit within normative mainstream schooling. This perspective adds nuance and context specific material to the theorising of masculinities and the social relations arising from gendered identity performances. The episodes in the thesis which highlight involvement with the police underscore pathologised positioning of excluded boys. This provides an example of the lived reality of the "normalised absence, pathologised presence", conceptualisation by Phoenix and Hussain (2007, pp.7-8). Accounts of trouble as captured in my research, show boys in their mid-teenage years being treated as adult men by police officers. The fact that these encounters with authority in local community spaces are regular occurrences for the boys at the PRU illustrates the physical and social limits of safety within the PRU space and the need to extend care and support outside to community spaces. Against this backdrop hypervigilance and lack of trust among the boys can be readily understood. These dynamics suggest a complex interplay which means that there cannot be a hard boundary between what happens within a school setting and outside in the community.

In summary, this research reveals the motives behind performances of defensive masculinity and sheds light on the costs involved in configurations of gender practice. The research offers theoretical perspectives which enable us to see that whatever reasons (conscious or unconscious) boys may have for problematic ways of 'doing boy' this is highly likely to lead to boys themselves paying a high emotional and material cost, symbolised through exclusion and marginalisation. These gendered identity performances and practices of masking often times contribute to them being perceived as dangerous subjects who cannot remain (be tolerated?) in mainstream

school (Queensland, 2000; Graham, 2013). In Youdell's terms, their subjectivities are not legible as students (Youdell, 2006b). Through a political lens in Gillies' (2016) study:

A vocabulary of disaffection and risk is routinely drawn on to position marginalised children and young people. (Gillies, 2016, p.191)

In common with this literature the work presented in this thesis shows that exclusionary processes amplify as well as shape marginalisation. This has the effect that boys, whose vulnerability means more help is needed, may be placed in positions where less support is provided. This arises because these boys may be described as 'bad' and such positioning is gendered.

In the penultimate section of this chapter I highlight a gap in the literature which draws on vulnerabilities of boys through the lens of parents in the research.

Relational Identities – Parents in the Picture

In the course of this study my understanding of the role of parents changed significantly. While parents were positioned as gatekeepers and were not research participants, I found during the study that parents provided a lens through which to view the vulnerabilities of boys. Theoretically, this understanding of the role of parents is underpinned by a conceptual framing of relational identities and Wetherell's (2012) concept of affective practice discussed in the literature and theory discussed in chapter 2. My findings indicate the benefits of understanding parents' lived experience of school exclusion. This is in common with a number of studies which show that parents frequently felt shamed, blamed and marginalised following the exclusion of their children from school (McDonald and Thomas, 2003; Kulz, 2015; Hodge and Wolstenholme, 2016; Parker et al., 2016). However, parents' lived experience is not the focus of my contribution in this research. Instead, I wish to highlight gaps in knowledge regarding transnational identities and mobilities through the phenomenon of sending young people 'back' to parents/families' countries of origin (Bledsoe and Sow, 2011; Kea and Maier, 2017). Knowledge of the interplay between transnational identities, mobilities and the trajectories of young people who are 'sent back' remains limited. The two empirical examples I present in this research concern boys being removed to other countries by their parents. These are glimpses of a phenomenon and they serve to illuminate a specific gap relating to the context of

exclusionary processes and ways in which sending back may act as an informal, family-led alternative provision for schooling. Parents in my research exercised power over their sons in ways that showed that they (the parents) did not feel the PRU (or UK schooling) could provide satisfactory answers to problems of discipline, safety and trouble for their sons. These actions took their sons outside of the control of the UK State. In this way the boys moved beyond borders but they did not move beyond the care and concern of others including their peers. We see this for example in the concern of 15 year old Santi (one of the Data Sharing Group) for his friend Ali who had been removed to Mogadishu. Significantly, Santi remained in contact with Ali through FaceTime. These events hint at the need to examine the trajectories of young people and their families who are involved in these mobilities and the impact on peers. In a reflection on the future of the concept of identity and scholarship, Mohanty states:

While borders continue to be held in place to construct insiders and outsiders, and power is exercised at all scales transforming difference into hierarchy, identities will continue to matter in social justice work. (Wetherell and Mohanty, 2010, p.538)

The incidents of removal in this research did not take centre stage but nevertheless they have resonated with me. Mohanty's point about identities and social justice work is well made and can be applied to this context. Hall's (1996b) theorisation of 'new ethnicities' is salient as it highlights multiplicity in de-centred identities which are situated historically and geographically. The thesis findings show that examination of the complexities arising from transnational identities and boys' subjecthood are a fruitful avenue to pursue.

Study Limitations

This research is a small-scale qualitative study, it is not claimed that the findings are generalisable to all young people or all teenage boys and schools. Study limitations lie outside of the emphasis on numbers of research participants for research within positivist frameworks. This is in keeping with the qualitative, interpretivist nature of this research (Yates, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2013) and its post structural framework (Gannon and Davies, 2014). Emphasis on situated context and lived experience (Nayak and Kehily, 2008) arising from this theoretical and methodological framing therefore provides the backdrop against which the study limitations are presented.

The study is set within the bounds of the PRU and I did not follow boys into their homes or into the streets of their local communities. All of these spaces are significant in the boys' lives and to collect data from these spaces would have enriched the study. For instance, interviews with parents could have been beneficial. The significance of parents is discussed in the thesis findings and insights gained from parents' experiences contribute to the knowledge claims in the thesis. It should be noted that these insights relate to what we can learn about the boys in this study, rather than making claims about the lived experience of parents. School exclusion literature highlights the frequent marginalisation of parents and the value of hearing their voices (McDonald and Thomas, 2003; Kulz, 2015). In this research they provide a way of recognising and understanding boys' vulnerabilities.

Extending the research into the local community may have enabled me to explore further a number of areas which are highlighted in the thesis findings such as boys' routine involvement with the police (see chapter 6). Extending the study further afield, outside of the PRU, was beyond my resources as a single researcher. I elected instead to locate my research within a single site which I knew to be a significant space in the lives of my research subjects. Setting the research within a single setting has provided me with the time and space to familiarise myself with everyday life in the PRU. Importantly, it also gave my research participants the opportunity to become familiar with me and for us to establish relational connections. Getting to know the field site in depth was essential to the ethnographic character of the study, in keeping with studies which provide important models for the thesis (Gillies, 2016; Youdell, 2006c).

Although five boys took part in the group work I was only able to interview two of the five boys. One boy (Laurent) declined to be interviewed. The reason for two of the boys (Hector and Aaron) not being interviewed was their sudden removal from the country during the half-term holiday. This occurrence highlighted the volatility and precarity for young people at the PRU and has illuminated other aspects of this study, such as the significance of transnational family ties. Further detail about the sample for the study is discussed in the Methodology chapter (3). The two interviews I did conduct (with 15 year old Cal and 14 year old Jared) yielded rich insights which are drawn on extensively throughout the thesis.

Conclusion

Multiple ways of being are demonstrated by the boys involved in this research. These ways of being are registered as discursive formations, embodied and material practices with multiple identity enactments and subject positionings which shape and are shaped by social relations within the PRU. The fragmentary nature of identity is made sense of within a post structuralist lens which allows me to conceptualise boys as speaking and doing subjects. This chapter has presented the contribution to knowledge made within this thesis through four main themes. Firstly, through theorising the realms of impossibility in the PRU and in mainstream schooling. I show the consequences of defended positions within the PRU which contribute to the foreshortening of possibilities for PRUs to offer a therapeutic space for practice with young people. I also highlight the influence of behaviourist and zero tolerance approaches as rendering mainstream school an impossible space. A key insight offered by this research is the benefit of theorising reintegration as part of exclusionary processes instead of providing redemption from exclusion. The findings presented within this thesis illuminate how exclusionary processes can remove hope and presage a loss of the chance of an education for boys.

Secondly, the research findings endorse the value of close attention to material practices and through this developing our understanding of practices that may not be explicitly articulated within the PRU but which are of signal importance. Leaving and returning to the classroom at will is such a practice which symbolises the boys construction of identity positions which present alternative (and challenging) ways of being in school. The social relations of TAs are also presented as claims in the thesis as this illuminates the value and potential of greater flexibility and relational approaches in practice.

The third strand of my claim to making a contribution through this research concerns a nuanced reading of hegemonic masculinities and gendered identity performance. In the thesis I present a picture of young masculinities in a PRU which provides a perspective of local, situated ways of achieving performing masculinities. Finally, I draw on insights which arose from the position of parents in the study and highlight important gaps in knowledge concerning the welfare of boys who are 'sent back' by

parents as an alternative way for families to deal with the trouble for their sons which arises from exclusion.

In the final chapter of this thesis I reflect on the nature and role of time in this research and set out potential areas for further research and for developing practice.

Chapter 8: Conclusion – Research, Policy and Practice Agendas

Those who failed in the schools justified their destruction in the streets. Society could say “he should have stayed in school” and then washed its hands of him. (Coates, 2015, p.33)

I completed this thesis during successive lockdowns (spanning 2020/21) which occurred as a result of the Covid 19 pandemic. This ‘Covid time’ has sharpened society’s focus on school and well-being. It has also prompted some reflection in society at large on the need for children and young people to be at school (Children's Commissioner, 2020). It may be that the impact of this experience will open up space to consider the role of education and schools in a broader sense. That is in ways which encompass care and support as integral to goals of academic development. This space is much needed in the competitive market economy of an incoherent education system (Ball, 2018), where there are multiple ways to exclude young people from and internally within mainstream schools (Vulliamy and Webb, 2001; DfE, 2012; Gillies, 2016).

During the first lockdown of March 2020 I read Ta-Nehisi Coate’s book, *Between the World and Me* (2015). It is written in the form of a love letter to the author’s 12 year old son. I chose the quote which prefaces this concluding chapter because these words capture much of the quality of injustice and marginalisation to be found in the positioning of excluded boys in society. Through undertaking this research I have come to see how exclusionary processes can constitute a collective ‘washing of hands’ despite the best efforts of many. In concluding this thesis I have the feeling of swimming against a prevailing tide of policy which proffers solutions of school segregation, where good and bad students must be identified and separated from each other. Furthermore the ‘bad’ must be pushed out for the good of others as well as (in the language of inclusion) for the ‘good’ of themselves (Gillies, 2016). Writing ethnographically has given me purpose and specificity in exploring exclusionary processes and use of a post structural lens underpins my belief in possibilities for hopeful change. Taking possibilities for change and specificities as my point of departure in this final chapter I propose agendas for future research and for the development of policy and practice. It is to these agendas that I now turn.

Supporting Hopeful Futures

Almost universally, we are taught that good research questions are a key starting point for good research. Applying this principle more widely to future research, policy and practice agendas arising from the implications of this thesis I identify the following question: How might research, policy and professional practice engender and support hope in and, with marginalised boys in the context of school exclusion? This question engages with the need to recover hope that may have been lost (or much denuded) through being excluded from school. I use the term 'support' in recognition that hope is not something that can be imposed on young people; surely subjects cannot be *made* to hope. My findings lead me to look to professional practice to engender hope. I see this as part of a collaborative process with young people. Insights from my research show that such a process requires patience as well as skilled, relational approaches. Promising directions for practice were highlighted through the bridging and companionable work of TAs in this study. In developing practice there is ample scope for different types of bridging work to accompany young people beyond education spaces into local communities. Hope can cross boundaries with young people in other significant spaces for their lives. Professional practice has a crucial role to play in this. Conscious of the bounded nature of my own research within the PRU (which has strength in ethnographic terms) I also suggest that the principle of finding ways to be with young people in different spaces can be applied generatively to research in other spaces outside of school with young people. For instance connecting school, home and community.

In policy terms there is an urgent need for an agenda for practice and processes which are focused on the task of fostering hope among young people and their families. This is in the face of what may be seen as the life changing consequences of school exclusion. A first, and essential step for this agenda must be to recognise the lived experience of school exclusion. This process also requires a re-configuring of both mainstream schools and PRUs as 'sites of hope' (Bishop, 2010). In the concluding chapter of a study of hope with marginalised young people (Robb et al., 2010), Bishop observes:

...handling hope, especially the difficult, everyday hope presented by these young people, with its ambivalence and contradictions, its often mundaneness

and its fleeting fragility in a context of frustration and marginalisation, is a work that requires patience. The work should move indirectly, gathering images. It should be circular rather than linear. (Bishop, 2010, p.115)

The fragility of hope should teach us that skill and sensitivity is required to support hopeful futures. As Bishop states, hope is not a linear process. I have found that the idea of 'circular work' in professional practice can be supported by creating imaginative spaces for reflection. Indeed, the reflections of professionals, stimulated by the words and deeds of boys in this research, suggest a way to use research in framing discussions with professionals about their practice. Similar approaches to those I used in focus group discussions, drawing on data from the boys in this research, offer useful models for creative dialogues with professionals.

It is acknowledged that ideas of hope extend beyond young people and professionals to encompass the broader policy context of PRU provision. The thesis also addresses the positioning of PRUs as symbolic of wider social, political and educational concerns around hope for excluded young people. Hope is therefore directly relevant to broader, systemic concerns about what PRU provision can and should be, amidst surrounding issues of stigma, shame and loss discussed in the thesis.

School Exclusion Transmobilities: Parents and 'Sending Back'

I have highlighted the lived experience of the parents of excluded young people as an area of importance in studies of exclusion and marginality. In the previous chapter I explored insights derived from the role of parents as a lens for the vulnerabilities of young people. I also indicated an important gap in the literature regarding the phenomenon of parents 'sending back' young people to 'home' countries. In light of this I propose the need for further research which explores this phenomenon. In particular research which brings to the fore the voices of young people and parents. This research needs to be set within the context of local communities. This has the potential to play a valuable role in generating understanding and improving care and support for families. I also suggest that longitudinal research would be fruitful in producing knowledge about the trajectories of young people who are subject to 'sending back'. Such knowledge could contribute to improving practice by shedding light on spatial and emotional interconnections between transnational identities, schooling and exclusionary processes.

Participatory Data Analysis

Important advances have been made in participatory research methods with children and young people, with numerous examples of creative approaches (Punch, 2002; Gillies and Robinson, 2010; Bovarnick, 2018). Despite these advances, theoretical and methodological challenges remain (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008; Gillies and Robinson, 2012a). Among these challenges, participatory data analysis is an under-explored area in research methods and participation literature (Byrne et al., 2009; Nind, 2011). Specifically, in relation to this thesis, the role and contribution of co-production in data analysis remains under-theorised. Insights gained from the contribution of the Data Sharing Group in this research lead me to propose the value of developing research approaches which incorporate young people's participation in data analysis. I do not claim that data analysis was co-produced with research participants in this study but rather, the Data Sharing Group played a role which informed the analysis of my data. As discussed in the methodology chapter (3), the Data Sharing Group contribute to the research in two main ways. Firstly, as a source of data and secondly acting as an audience for data previously collected in the group work phase of the research. It is this second level where participatory elements in the analysis of data can be seen. As previously stated (see chapter 3) the Data Sharing group played a role akin to a Greek chorus commenting on the action in a play. In so doing this group amplified and animated empirical material and I found this to be highly generative for the research (see for instance, discussion of leaving and returning to the class room chapter 6). Given the parameters for the role of the Data Sharing Group this instance is offered as a qualified example which points to the possibilities of co-production in analysis. Based on my experience in this research I suggest two avenues for the development of participatory research practice and theory: Firstly, a focus on tools and techniques for the involvement of marginalised groups as research participants in analysis. Studies by Gillies and Robinson (2012a) and Nind and Vinha (2013) provide helpful models for research with young people at risk of exclusion and people with learning disabilities respectively. A focus on analysis would be a welcome addition in this arena. Secondly, a vital theoretical step for the development of research agendas is to explore *why* co-production of data analysis should take place as part of participatory approaches. Examination of this question could illuminate

theoretical and ethical grounds for participatory analysis. This approach underscores the need for transparency and accountability among social researchers about the role and contribution of research participants in their studies. It may be accepted that the involvement of research participants can enhance the quality of research, for instance by providing a means of sense checking and/or triangulation, elements of which can be seen in my own research. In order to realise the benefits of co-production, researchers also need to be sensitive to the possibilities and challenges of incorporating analytical insights derived from their participants. We also need to be agile to capture these potentialities. Allied to the two points highlighted regarding participatory analysis, I have found that an ethnographic approach and time spent at the research site has been an enabling factor which has allowed me to draw on young peoples' perspectives to inform my analysis. My experience of the involvement of the Data Sharing group highlights an ethical imperative, namely to be explicit about the nature and characteristics of co-production in analysis. In other words what can be called participatory and why? It is essential to be explicit about the differences participatory data analysis may or may *not* make to research. This has implications for the claims that can be made for such research. Detailed attention to these issues would be fruitful for participatory research agendas.

I conclude this thesis by commenting on the role and significance of time in this work.

Time and its Meanings

Reflecting on how to conclude this thesis it occurred to me that time was a unifying theme across the study. Speaking about her exploration of time in sport Woodward (2013) comments on her immersion in the field:

The perception of time and the passage of clock time are not synchronized...The present includes past fears and future hopes in this mix. (Woodward, 2015, p.52)

The boys involved in my research, who by now are over 18, were given very limited time. I have shown that these boys were largely out of time to achieve a 'second chance' at mainstream education. The short amount of time for students to 'recover' their school careers may result in constrained possibilities for their futures. It is though not my purpose to speculate on the futures of the boys I met at Riverdale. In

this work I do not wish to contribute to determinist narratives. Instead I want to point to both the value of time and its inherent slipperiness. In research, ethnography calls for time rich methods, entering and staying in the field. Back and Puwar (2012b) have called for a rethink of the relationship between time and scholarship. My time has always been challenged, undertaking doctoral studies on a part-time basis has stretched time for me. While the competing priorities of work (in the sense of my employment) and research (my doctoral studies) has been a huge challenge, this stretching of time has also created space for reflection in the research process. Layers of meaning have come into being through processes such as Free Writing and 'Many Minds' Group Analysis. Writing and re-writing has been an integral part of meaning making and my doctoral studies have taught me to value as well as own this as part of my practice. Time provides a vital way to honour the research participants and my own contribution to knowledge creation.

Just as we need time-rich methods in research, the lens of time brings into perspective the depth and persistence of the injustices of exclusion. In the opening chapter I reflected on my own experience of education as a black child in the 1970s. Bernard Coard's (1971) seminal work reflected the lived experience of racism in schooling for many black children and families. The theme of time in this thesis also speaks to historic concerns about race and exclusion raised in the introductory chapter. It is sobering (and deeply disturbing) to consider that well over a decade before the Timpson review (2019), a Priority Review of the disproportionate exclusion rate of black pupils (DfES, 2006) explicitly recognised racial disparities as an historic problem which had *already* spanned previous decades. The DfES (2006) report highlighted the longevity of racial disparities and inequity in the exclusion of black students, particularly black boys. In concluding this thesis, I have noted ways in which time is both fast and slow across this research. An historic perspective on policy and practice in this arena serves to further amplify the fact that time continues to mark the burning injustices of exclusionary processes.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2004) Affective Economies, *Social Text*, 22, 2, pp.117-139.
- Alexander, C. E. (1996) *The Art of Being Black: The Creation of Black British Youth Identities*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Alexander, C. E. (2000) *The Asian gang: ethnicity, identity, masculinity*, (Oxford, Berg).
- Anderson, E. & McCormack, M. (2018) Inclusive Masculinity Theory: overview, reflection and refinement. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 27, 5, pp.547-561.
- Archer, L. (2003) *Race, Masculinity and Schooling: Muslim Boys and Education*, (Maidenhead, Open University Press).
- Atkinson, G. & Rowley, J. (2019) Pupils' views on mainstream reintegration from alternative provision: a Q methodological study, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 24, 4, pp.339-356.
- Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. & Lofland, S. (eds.) (2002) *Handbook of Ethnography*, (London, Sage).
- Back, L. (2012) Live Sociology: social research and its futures, in: Back, L. & Puwar, N. (eds.) *Live Methods*, (UK, Wiley-Blackwell).
- Back, L. & Puwar, N. (eds.) (2012a) *Live methods*, (UK, Wiley-Blackwell).
- Back, L. & Puwar, N. (2012b) A Manifesto For Live Methods, in: Back, L. & Puwar, N. (Eds.) *Live Methods*, (UK, Wiley-Blackwell).
- Bakkali, Y. (2019) Dying To Live: Youth Violence And The Mupain, *The Sociological Review*, 67, 6, pp.1317-1332.
- Ball, S. (2018) The Tragedy Of State Education In England: Reluctance, Compromise And Muddle — A System In Disarray, *Journal of the British Academy*, 6, pp.207-238.
- Bánovčanová, Z. & Masaryková, D. (2014) The Docile Body – Reflecting The School *Journal of Pedagogy*, 5, 2, pp.251-264.
- Baumgartner, E. (2020) "Why Do We Ask Them About Their Gender, If We Then Go On To Do Nothing With It?" Constructions of Masculinity in Youth Justice in England and Wales. *Boyhood Studies*, 13, 2, pp.1-22.
- Beckett, H., Brodie, I., Factor, F., Melrose, M., Pearce, J., Pitts, J., Shuker, J. & Warrington, C. (2013) It's wrong...but you get used to it: a qualitative study of gang-associated sexual violence towards, and exploitation of young people in England, (Luton, University of Bedfordshire).
- Bennett, T. (2010) *The Behaviour Guru: Behaviour Management Solutions For Teachers*, (London, Bloomsbury Publishing).
- Bernstein, K. A. (2016) Post-Structuralist Potentialities for Studies of Subjectivity and Second Language Learning in Early Childhood, *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 17, 1, pp.174-191.
- Bettis, P. & Adams, N. (2011) *Troubling Boys And Alpha Girls: Worries Over Gender and Schooling* in: Groves Price, P. (Ed.) *Handbook Of Research in the Social Foundations of Education* (Abingdon, Routledge).
- Bhana, D. & Chen, H. (2019) 'If You A Bitch, We Treat You Like A Bitch': South African Teenage Boys' Constructions of Heterosexual Masculinity, *Journal Of Youth Studies*, 23,10, pp.1-20.
- Bird, C. M. (2005) How I Stopped Dreading And Learned To Love Transcription, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11, 2, pp.226-248.

- Birmingham City University (2019) Exchanging Notes: Research Summary Report (Birmingham, Birmingham City University)
<https://network.youthmusic.org.uk/exchanging-notes>, accessed 22 August 2020.
- Bishop, P. (2010) Caring for Hope, in: Robb, S., O’Leary, P., Mackinnon, A., Bishop, P. *Hope: the Everyday and Imaginary Life of Young People on the Margins*, (South Australia, Wakefield Press).
- Blackman, L. (2012) *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation*, (London, Sage Publications).
- Blackman, L. (2015) Researching Affect And Embodied Hauntologies: Exploring an Analytics of Experimentation, in: Knudsen, B. T. & Stage, C. (eds.) *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect* (London, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Blatchford, P., Webster, R. & Russell, A. (2009) Challenging The Role and Deployment Of Teaching Assistants in Mainstream Schools: The Impact on Schools, (Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, Institute Of Education, University Of London)
<https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10096860/>, accessed 20 March 2020.
- Blazek, M. & Kraftl, P. (2015) *Children's Emotions in Policy and Practice: Mapping and Making Spaces of Childhood* (Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Bleach, K. (1998) *Raising Boys' Achievement in Schools*, (Herndon, Trentham Books).
- Bledsoe, C. H. & Sow, P. (2011) Back To Africa: Second Chances For The Children Of West African Immigrants, *Journal Of Marriage And Family*, 73, 4, pp.747-762.
- Blos, P. (1967) The Second Individuation Process Of Adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of The Child*, 22, 1, pp.162-86.
- Blyth, E. & Milner, J. (1993) Exclusion from School: A First Step in Exclusion from Society? *Children And Society* 7, 3, pp. 255-268.
- Bottrell, D. (2007) Resistance, Resilience and Social Identities: Reframing ‘Problem Youth’ and the Problem of Schooling, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10, 5, pp.597-616.
- Bovarnick, S., Peace, D., Warrington, C., Pearce, J. J. (2018) Being heard: promoting children and young people’s involvement in participatory research on sexual violence: findings from an international scoping review. (Luton, University of Bedfordshire).
- Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies Of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, (London, Routledge).
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 2, pp.77-101.
- Briggs, D. (2010) ‘The World Is Out To Get Me, Bruv’: life after school ‘exclusion’. *Safer Communities*, 9, 2, pp.9-19.
- Brodie, I. (2001) *Children's Homes and School Exclusion*, (London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers).
- Brown, L. M. & Gilligan, C. (1998) *Meeting At The Crossroads: Women's Psychology And Girls' Development*, (US, Diane Publishing Company).
- Buckingham, D. (2009) ‘Creative’ Visual Methods in Media Research: Possibilities, Problems and Proposals. *Media, Culture & Society*, 31, 4, pp.633-652.

- Burgess, R. (1991) Sponsors, Gatekeepers, Members And Friends: Access In Educational Settings, in: Shaffir, W. (ed.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research*, (California, Sage, Thousand Oaks).
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (New York, Routledge).
- Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies That Matter*, (New York, Routledge).
- Butler, J. (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press).
- Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender*, (New York, Routledge).
- Butler, J. (2006) *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, (London, Verso).
- Butler, J. (2015) *Senses of the Subject*, (New York, Fordham University Press).
- BYRNE, A., CANAVAN, J. & MILLAR, M. (2009) Participatory Research and the Voice-centred Relational Method of Data Analysis: Is it Worth it? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12, 1, pp.67-77.
- Cabinet Office (2017) Race Disparity Audit (England, HMSO)
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/686071/Revised_RDA_report_March_2018.pdf, accessed 14 September 2020.
- Campbell, J., Rondon, J., Galway, K. & Leavey, G. (2013) Meeting The Needs Of Vulnerable Young Men: A Study Of Service Provider Views, *Children & Society*, 27, 1, pp 60-71.
- Cannella, G.S., Lincoln, Y. (2013) Ethics, Research Regulations And Critical Social Science, in: Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. (eds.) *The Landscape Of Qualitative Research*, (London, Sage).
- Carlile, A. (2011) Docile Bodies Or Contested Space? Working Under The Shadow Of Permanent Exclusion, *International Journal Of Inclusive Education*, 15, 3, pp.303-316.
- Carlile, A. (2012) An Ethnography of Permanent Exclusion from School: Revealing and Untangling the Threads of Institutionalised Racism, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 15, 2, pp.175-194.
- Clarke, E. (2021) Paint Pot Washers Or Pedagogues? Is Gender an Issue for Teaching Assistants? *Educational Review*, 73 ,3, pp.263-278.
- Coard, B. (1971) *How The West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Subnormal In The British School System: The Scandal Of The Black Child In Schools In Britain*, (London, New Beacon Books).
- Coates, T-N. (2015) *Between The World And Me*, (London, Text Publishing Company).
- Cockbain, E., Brayley, H. & Ashby, M. (2014) Not Just A Girl Thing: A Large-Scale Comparison of Male and Female Users of Child Sexual Exploitation Services in The UK (London, UCL, Natcen, Barnardos).
- Coleman, J.C. (1990) *The Nature Of Adolescence*, (Second edition) (UK, Routledge).
- Coleman, J.C. (2010) *The Nature Of Adolescence*, (Fourth edition) (UK, Routledge).
- Coleman, J. & Hagell, A. (2007) *Adolescence, Risk And Resilience: Against The Odds*, (UK, Wiley).
- Coleman, R. & Ringrose, J. (Eds.) (2013) *Deleuze And Research Methodologies*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press).

- Children's Commissioner (2020) Childhood in the Time of Covid, (Children's Commissioner For England) <https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/report/childhood-in-the-time-of-covid/> accessed 22 February 2021.
- Connell, R., Ashenden, D., Kessler, S. & Dowsett, G. (1982) *Making The Difference: Schools, Families And Social Division*, (Australia, Allen & Unwin).
- Connell, R. W. (1996) Teaching The Boys: New Research On Masculinity, And Gender Strategies For Schools, *Teachers College Record*, 98, 2, pp.206-235.
- Connell, R. W. (2000) *The Men And The Boys*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin).
- Connell, R. W. (2005) *Masculinities*, (Second edition) (Cambridge, Polity Press).
- Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005) Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking The Concept. *Gender And Society*, 19, 6, pp.829-859.
- Connolly, P. (2002) *Racism, Gender Identities And Young Children: Social Relations In A Multi-Ethnic, Inner City Primary School*, (Second Edition) (London, Taylor & Francis).
- Conrad, D. (2004) Exploring Risky Youth Experiences: Popular Theatre As A Participatory, Performative Research Method, *International Journal Of Qualitative Methods*, 3, pp.12-25.
- Cooper, A. (2014) A Short Psychosocial History Of British Child Abuse And Protection: Case Studies In Problems Of Mourning In The Public Sphere, *Journal Of Social Work Practice*, 28, 3, pp.271-285.
- Cooper, T. (2018) Defining Youth Work in: Alldred, P., Cullen, F., Edwards, K. & Fusco, D. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook Of Youth Work Practice*. (London, Sage Reference).
- Coppock, V. (2005) 'Mad', 'Bad' Or Misunderstood? in: Hendrick, H. (ed.) *Child Welfare And Social Policy*, (First Edition) (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Dalley-Trim, L. (2007) 'The Boys' Present... Hegemonic Masculinity: A Performance Of Multiple Acts, *Gender And Education*, 19, 2, pp.199-217.
- Daniels, H. & Cole, T. (2010) Exclusion From School: Short-Term Setback Or A Long Term Of Difficulties? *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 25, 2, pp. 115-130.
- Daniels, H., Cole, T., Sellman, E., Sutton, J., Visser, J. & Bedward, J. (2003) Study Of Young People Permanently Excluded From School, Research Report RR405 (UK, Department for education and skills/University of Birmingham) <http://www.school-appeals.co.uk/docs/RR405.pdf>, accessed 30 September 2019.
- Dannesboe, K. I. (2020) The Materialisation Of School In Families' Everyday Lives, *Children and Society*, 34, 2, pp.111-120.
- Davies, B. (2000) *A Body Of Writing, 1990-1999*, (Lanham, Altamira Press).
- Davies, B. (2006) Subjectification: The Relevance Of Butler's Analysis For Education. *British Journal of Sociology Of Education*, 27, 4, pp.425-438.
- Davies, B. (ed.) (2008) *Judith Butler In Conversation: Analyzing The Texts And Talk Of Everyday Life*, (London, Routledge).
- Davies, B. (2010) The Implications for Qualitative Research Methodology of the Struggle Between the Individualised Subject of Phenomenology and the Emergent Multiplicities of The Poststructuralist Subject: The Problem Of Agency. *Reconceptualizing Educational Research Methodology*, 1, 1, pp.54-68.

- Davies, B. (2011) *Listening: A Radical Pedagogy*, in: Falgren, S. (ed.) *Challenging Gender: Normalization and Beyond*, (Sweden, Mid-Sweden University).
- Davies, B. (2014) *Listening To Children: Being and Becoming*, (Abingdon, Routledge).
- Delamont, S. & Atkinson, P. (2018) The Ethics of Ethnography, in: Iphofen, R. & Tolich, M. (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Ethics*, (London, SAGE Publications).
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1988) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism And Schizophrenia*, (US, University Of Minnesota Press).
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) (2013) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research* (London, Sage Publications).
- Department for Education and Skills(2006) Priority Review: Exclusion of Black Pupils "Getting it, Getting it right". <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/8656/>, accessed 10 October 2021.
- Department for Education (2010) Permanent And Fixed Period Exclusions From Schools and Exclusion Appeals In England, 2008/09
Gov.uk<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/permanent-and-fixed-period-exclusions-in-england-academic-year-2008-to-2009>, accessed 13 April 2021.
- Department for Education (2012) A Profile of Pupil Exclusions in England. Education Standards Analysis and Research Division.https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/183498/DFE-RR190.pdf, accessed 16 April 2021.
- Department for Education (2019) The Timpson Review of School Exclusion: Government response. (UK, HMSO)
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/800676/Timpson_review_of_school_exclusion_government_response.pdf, accessed 20 January 2020.
- Department for Education (2021) Permanent and Fixed-Period Exclusions from Schools in England
<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/permanent-and-fixed-period-exclusions-in-england-2018-to-2019>, accessed 11 April 2021.
- Doucet, A. & Mauthner, N., S (2012) Knowing Responsibly: Ethics, Feminist Epistemologies And Methodologies, in: Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. & Jessop, J. (eds.) *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, (Second Edition) (London, Sage Publications).
- Duncan, N. (2013) 'If You Tolerate This, Then Your Children Will Be Next.' Compulsion, Compression, Control, and Competition in Secondary Schooling, *International Journal on School Disaffection*, 10, 1, pp.29-45.
- Duoblys, G. (2017) One, Two, Three, Eyes on Me! *London Review Of Books* (London Review of Books Limited).
- Education Queensland (2000) Queensland State Education—2010 (QSE-2010). (Brisbane, Education Queensland, Queensland Government).
- Elbow, P. (1989) Toward a Phenomenology of Freewriting, *Journal Of Basic Writing*, 8, 2, pp.42-71.
- Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey, V. & Maw, J. (eds.) (1998) *Failing Boys*, (UK, Open University Press)

- Erdal, M. B., Amjad, A., Bodla, Q. Z. & Rubab, A. (2016) Going Back to Pakistan for Education? The Interplay of Return Mobilities, Education, and Transnational Living, *Journal of Population, Space and Place*, 22, 8, pp.836-848.
- Feldman, M. S., Bell, J. & Berger, M. T. (2003) *Gaining Access: A Practical And Theoretical Guide For Qualitative Researchers*, (California, Altamira Press).
- Fendler, L. (2006) Why Generalizability Is Not Generalizable, in: Smeyers, P (ed.) *Educational Research: Why 'What Works' Doesn't Work*, (Dordrecht, Springer).
- Forman, M. (2000). 'Represent': Race, Space and Place in Rap Music, *Popular Music*, 19, 1, pp.65-90.
- Francis, B. 2006. Heroes or Zeroes? The Discursive Positioning of 'Underachieving Boys' In English Neo-Liberal Education Policy, *Journal of Education Policy*, 21, 2, pp.187-200.
- Francis, B. & Skelton, C. 2005. *Reassessing Gender and Achievement: Questioning Contemporary Key Debates*, (First edition) (London, Routledge).
- Frosh, S. & Baraitser, L. (2008) Psychoanalysis and Psychosocial Studies, *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 13, 4, pp.346-365.
- Frosh, S., Phoenix, A. & Pattman, R. (2002) *Young Masculinities: Understanding Boys in Contemporary Society*, (Hampshire, Palgrave).
- Gallacher, L.A. & Gallagher, M. (2008) Methodological Immaturity in Childhood Research?: Thinking Through 'Participatory Methods', *Childhood*, 15, 4, pp.499-516.
- Gallacher, L.A. & Gallagher, M. (2005) Participatory Methods in Research with Children: A Critique, *Proceedings of Emerging Issues in the Geographies of Children And Youth*.
- Gallagher, K. & Rivière, D. (2007) When Drama Praxis Rocks the Boat: Struggles Of Subjectivity, Audience, and Performance, *Research in Drama Education: Journal of Applied Theatre And Performance*, 12, 3, pp.319-330.
- Gannon, S. & Davies, B. (2014) Postmodern, Post-Structural, And Critical Theories, in: Hesse-Biber, S. N. (ed.) *The Handbook Of Feminist Research: Theory And Praxis*, (Second Edition) (California, Sage Publications).
- Gazeley, L. (2010) The Role of School Exclusion Processes in the Re-Production of Social and Educational Disadvantage, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 58, 3, pp.293-309.
- Gazeley, L. (2012) The Impact of Social Class on Parent–Professional Interaction in School Exclusion Processes: Deficit or Disadvantage? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16, 3, pp.297-311.
- Gazeley, L., Marrable, T., Brown, C. & Boddy, J. (2015) Contextualising Inequalities in Rates of School Exclusion in English Schools: Beneath The 'Tip Of The Ice-Berg', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 63,4, pp.487-504.
- Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York, Basic Books).
- Gervais, M. (2007) Exploring Moral Values with Young Adolescents through Process Drama, *International Journal of Education and the Arts*, 7, 2, pp.1-34.
- Gillborn, D. (2006) Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and Anti-Racism in Educational Theory and Praxis, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27, 1, pp.11-32.

- Gillborn, D. (2014) Racism As Policy: A Critical Race Analysis of Education Reforms In the United States and England, *The Educational Forum*, 78, 1, pp.26-41.
- Gillborn, D. & Youdell, D. (1999) *Rationing Education: Policy, Practice, Reform, and Equity*, (UK, McGraw-Hill Education).
- Gillborn, D. & Youdell, D. (2009). Critical Perspectives on Race and Schooling, in: Banks, J. A. (ed.) *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York, Routledge).
- Gillies, V. (2016) *Pushed To The Edge: Inclusion and Behaviour Support in Schools* (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Gillies, V. & Robinson, Y. (2010) Shifting The Goalposts: Researching Pupils at Risk of School Exclusion, in: Robb, M. & Thomson, R. (eds.) *Critical Practice With Children And Young People*, (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Gillies, V. & Robinson, Y. (2012a) Developing Creative Research Methods with Challenging Pupils, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15, 2, pp.161-173.
- Gillies, V. & Robinson, Y. (2012b) 'Including' While Excluding: Race, Class and Behaviour Support Units. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 15, 2, pp.157-174.
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (London, Verso).
- Golann, J. W. (2015) The Paradox of Success at a No-Excuses School. *Sociology of Education*, 88, 2, pp.103-119.
- Graham, B., White, C., Edwards, A., Potter, S. & Street, C. (2019) School Exclusion: A Literature Review on the Continued Disproportionate Exclusion of Certain Children, (UK, Department for Education)
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/800028/Timpson_review_of_school_exclusion_literature_review.pdf, accessed May 2019.
- Graham, L. J. (2007) (Re)Visioning The Centre: Education Reform And The 'Ideal' Citizen Of The Future. *Educational Philosophy And Theory*, 39, 2, pp.197-215.
- Graham, L. J. (2013) Scuttle the Deadbeats? A Higher Percentage of Boats Will Rise if There are Fewer Leaky Boats, *International Journal on School Disaffection*, 10, 1, pp.3-9.
- Graham, L. J. (2018) Student Compliance Will Not Mean 'All Teachers Can Teach': A Critical Analysis of the Rationale for 'No Excuses' Discipline, *International Journal Of Inclusive Education*, 22, 11, pp.1242-1256.
- Griffiths, S. & Das, S. (2019) The Scandal of Schools for Knife Crime, *Sunday Times*, 03 March 2019.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation*, (First edition) (US, Sage).
- Hagell, A. (ed.) (2012) *Changing Adolescence: Social Trends And Mental Health*, (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Haggis, J. (2013) The Feminist Research Process – Defining A Topic, in: Stanley, L. (ed.) *Feminist Praxis*, (Second edition) (London, Routledge).
- Hall, G. S. (1904) *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall).

- Hall, S. (1990) Cultural Identity and the Diaspora, in: Rutherford, J. (ed.) *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, (London, Lawrence And Wishart).
- Hall, S. (1992) The Question Of Cultural Identity, in: Hall, S., Held, D. & McGrew, T. (eds.) *Modernity And Its Futures*, (UK, Polity Press In Association with the Open University).
- Hall, S. (1996a) Introduction, Who Needs "Identity?", in: Du Gay, P. & Hall, S. (eds.) *Questions Of Cultural Identity*, (London, Sage).
- Hall, S. (1996b) New Ethnicities, in: Morley, D., Chen, K.-H., (eds.) *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, (London, Routledge).
- Hall, S. (2007) Epilogue: Through The Prism Of An Intellectual Life, in: Meeks, B. (ed.) *Culture , Politics, Race And Disapora*, (London, Lawrence and Wishart).
- Harden, J., Backett-Milburn, K., Hill, M. & Maclean, A. 2010. Oh, What a Tangled Web we Weave: Experiences of Doing 'Multiple Perspectives' Research in Families, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 13, pp.441-452.
- Harland, K. (2009) *Acting Tough: Young Men, Masculinity and the Development of Practice in Northern Ireland*, (Derry, Nowhere Man Press).
- Harland, K. & McCready, S. (2015) *Boys, Young Men and Violence: Masculinities, Education and Practice*, (UK, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Hart, N. (2013) What Helps Children in A Pupil Referral Unit (PRU)? An Exploration into the Potential Protective Factors of a PRU as identified by Children and Staff, *Emotional And Behavioural Difficulties*, 18, 2, pp.196-212.
- Hayden, C. (2003) Responding to Exclusion from School in England, *Journal of Educational Administration*, 41,6, pp.626-639.
- Haywood, C. & Mac An Ghaill, M. (2012) 'What's Next For Masculinity?' Reflexive Directions for Theory and Research on Masculinity and Education, *Gender And Education*, 24, 6, pp.577-592.
- Heap, B. & Simpson, A. (2004) "When You Have Aids, People Laugh At You": A Process Drama Approach to Stigma with Pupils in Zambia, *Caribbean Quarterly*, 50, 1, pp.83-98.
- Hearn, J. (1996) Is Masculinity Dead? A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities in: Mac An Ghaill, M. (Ed.) *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arena*, (UK, Open University).
- Hein, N. & S ndergaard, D. (2020) Poststructuralist and New-Materialist Approaches to Analyses of Bullying Among Children, in: Leahy, D., Fitzpatrick, K., Wright, J. (eds.) *Social Theory and Health Education: Forging New Insights in Research* (Abingdon, Routledge).
- Henriques, J. (2008) Sonic Diaspora, Vibrations and Rhythm, Thinking through the Sounding of the Jamaican Dancehall Session, *African And Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 1, 2, pp. 215-236.
- Henriques, J. (2010) The Vibrations of Affect and their Propagation on a Night Out on Kingston's Dancehall Scene, *Body & Society*, 16, 1, pp.57-89.
- Hodge, N. & Wolstenholme, C. (2016) 'I Didn't Stand A Chance': How Parents Experience the Exclusions Appeal Tribunal, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 20, 12, pp.1297-1309.
- Hodgson, N. & Standish, P. (2009) Uses And Misuses of Poststructuralism in Educational Research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 32, 3, pp.309-326.

- Hoechner, H. (2020a) Mobility, Social Reproduction And Triple Minority Status: Young Senegalese-Americans' Experiences Of Growing Up Transnationally, *Journal Of Children's Geographies*, 18, 6, pp.629-641.
- Hoechner, H. (2020b) Senegalese Migrants' Children, Homeland Returns, And Islamic Education In A Transnational Setting, *Journal Of Globalisation, Societies And Education*, 18, 3, pp.264-276.
- Hoff Sommers, C. (2001) *The War Against Boys: How misguided feminism is harming our young men*, (US, Simon & Schuster).
- Hollway, W. & Froggett, L. (2012) Researching in-between Subjective Experience and Reality, *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 13, 3, doi: 10.17169/fqs-13.3.1899.
- Hollway, W. & Jefferson, T. (2013) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: A Psychosocial Approach*, (London, Sage).
- hooks, b. (1994) *Teaching To Transgress*, (New York, Routledge).
- hooks, b. (1996) Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness, in: Garry, A. & Pearsall, M. (eds.) *Women, Knowledge and Reality*, (Second Edition) (New York, Routledge).
- Horton, J. & Kraftl, P. (2018) Rats, Assorted Shit and 'Racist Groundwater': Towards Extra-Sectional Understandings of Childhoods and Social-Material Processes, *Environment And Planning D: Society And Space*, 36, 5, pp.926-948.
- Howarth, D. (2013) *Poststructuralism and After: Structure, Subjectivity and Power*, (UK, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Inchley, M., Dar, S., Pujara, S. & Baker, S. (2019) The Verbatim Formula: Caring For Care Leavers in the Neoliberal University, *Research In Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 24, 3, pp.413-419.
- Jackson, A. Y. (2004) Performativity Identified, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10, 5, pp.673-690.
- Jackson, A. Y. (2012) Butler: Thinking With Performativity, in: Jackson, A. Y. & Mazzei, L. (eds.) *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research*, (London, Routledge).
- Jackson, A. Y. & Mazzei, L. A. (2012) *Thinking With Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives*, (London, Routledge).
- Jalali, R. & Morgan, G. (2018) 'They Won't Let Me Back.' Comparing Student Perceptions Across Primary and Secondary Pupil Referral Units (PRUs), *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 23, 1, pp.55-68.
- James, A. (2010) Competition or Integration? The next step in childhood studies? *Childhood*, 17, 4, pp.485-499.
- James, A. & Prout, A. (eds.) (1997) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Children* (London, Falmer).
- James, S. & Freeze, R. (2006) One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Immanent Critique Of The Practice of Zero Tolerance in Inclusive Schools, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 10, 6, pp.581-594.
- Jefferson, T. (1994) Theorizing Masculine Subjectivity, in: Newburn, T., Stanko, E (eds.) *Just Boys Doing Business? Men Masculinities And Crime*, (London, Routledge).
- Jenks, C. (ed.) (2005) *Childhood: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, (UK, Routledge).
- Jones, A. (1993) Becoming a 'Girl': Post-Structuralist Suggestions for Educational Research, *Gender And Education*, 5, 2, pp.157-166.
- Jupp, E., Bowlby, S., Franklin, J. & Hall, S. M. (2019) *The New Politics of Home: Housing, Gender and Care in Times of Crisis*, (Bristol, Policy Press).

- Kara, H. (2015) *Creative Research Methods in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*, (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Kea, P. & Maier, K. (2017) Challenging Global Geographies of Power: Sending Children Back to Nigeria from the United Kingdom for Education, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59, 4, pp.818-845.
- Kehily, M. J. (2012) A Cultural Perspective, in: Kehily, M. J. (ed.) *Understanding Youth: Perspectives, Identities and Practice*, (London, Sage).
- Kehily, M. J. (ed.) (2013) *Understanding Childhood: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach*, (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (1997). 'Lads and Laughter': Humour and the Production of Heterosexual Hierarchies, *Gender And Education*, 9, 1, pp.69-88.
- Kehily, M. J. & Nayak, A. (2008) Global Femininities: Consumption, Culture and the Significance of Place, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 29, 3, pp.325-342.
- Kenway, J., Willis, S., Blackmore, J. & Rennie, L. (1994) Making 'Hope Practical' Rather Than 'Despair Convincing': Feminist Post-Structuralism, Gender Reform and Educational Change, *British Journal Of Sociology of Education*, 15, 2, pp.187-210.
- Knudsen, B. T. & Stage, C. (eds.) (2015) *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect*, (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Kraftl, P. (2013) Beyond 'Voice', Beyond 'Agency', Beyond 'Politics'? Hybrid Childhoods and some Critical Reflections on Children's Emotional Geographies, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 9, 1, pp.13-23.
- Kraftl, P. (2016) The Force of Habit: Channelling Young Bodies at Alternative Education Spaces, *Critical Studies in Education*, 57, 1, pp.116-130.
- Kraftl, P. & Blazek, M. (2015) Mapping and Making Spaces of Childhood, in: Blazek, M. & Kraftl, P. (eds.) *Children's Emotions in Policy and Practice: Mapping and Making Spaces of Childhood*, (UK, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Krims, A. (2000) *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- Kubrin, C. E. (2014) Gangstas, Thugs, And Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in Rap Music, *Social Problems*, 52, 3, pp.360-378.
- Kulz, C. (2015) *Mapping The Exclusion Process: Inequality, Justice And The Business Of Education*, (UK, Communities Empowerment Network).
- Kupchik, A. (2009) Things are Tough All Over: Race, Ethnicity, Class and School Discipline, *Punishment and Society*, 11, 3, pp.291-317.
- Lather, P. (1991) *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/In The Postmodern*, (New York, Routledge).
- Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*, (Translated by Porter, C) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press).
- Lawrence, N. (2011) What makes for a successful re-integration from a pupil referral unit to mainstream education? An Applied Research Project, *Educational Psychology In Practice*, 27, 3, pp.213-226.
- Laws, C. (2004) Poststructuralist Writing at Work, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17, 1, pp.121-134.

- Laws, C. & Davies, B. (2011) *Poststructuralism at Work with Marginalised Children*, (Bentham Science Publishers).
- Lee, N. (2001) *Childhood and Society: Growing Up in an Age of Uncertainty*, (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Levinson, M. & Thompson, M. (2016) 'I Don't Need Pink Hair Here': Should We Be Seeking To 'Reintegrate' Youngsters Without Challenging Mainstream School Cultures? *International Journal On School Disaffection*, 12, 1, pp.23-43.
- Lewis, R., Romi, S. & Roache, J. (2012) Excluding students from classroom: Teacher techniques that promote student responsibility, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 28, 6, pp.870-878.
- Lury, C. & Wakeford, N. (eds.) (2012) *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social*, (London, Routledge).
- Macleod, G., Pirrie, A., Mccluskey, G. & Cullen, M. (2013) Parents of excluded pupils: Customers, Partners, Problems? *Educational Review*, 65, 4, pp.387-401.
- Maclure, M. (2008) Becoming A Problem: How and why children acquire a reputation as 'naughty' in the earliest years at school (Swindon: ESRC).
- Maclure, M. (2013) The Wonder of Data, *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 13, 4, pp.228-232.
- Maguire, M., Ball, S. & Braun, A. (2010) Behaviour, Classroom Management and Student 'Control': Enacting policy in the english secondary school, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 20, 2, pp.153-170.
- Malcolm, A. (2020) Heads of Alternative Provision: Committed to realising young peoples' potential in an unregulated market, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 24, 5, pp.513-526.
- Mannay, D. (2015) *Visual, Narrative And Creative Research Methods: Application, Reflection and Ethics*, (Abingdon, Routledge).
- Mansaray, A. A. (2006) Liminality and in/exclusion: Exploring the Work of Teaching Assistants, *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 14, 2, pp.171-187.
- Martino, W. (2000) Mucking Around in Class, Giving Crap, and Acting Cool: Adolescent Boys Enacting Masculinities at School, *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne de L'éducation*, 25, 2, pp.102-112.
- Massumi, B. (2002) *Parables For The Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, (US, Duke University Press).
- Mayall, B. (2002) *Towards a Sociology for Childhood: Thinking from Children's Lives*, (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Mayall, B. (2013) *A History of the Sociology of Childhood*, (London, Institute Of Education Press).
- Mayeza, E. & Bhana, D. (2020) How "Real Boys" Construct Heterosexuality on the Primary School Playground, *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 34, 2, pp.267-276.
- Mcdonald, T. & Thomas, G. (2003) Parents' Reflections on their Children being Excluded, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 8, 2, pp.108-119.
- McGeeney, E., Robinson, L., Thomson, R. & Thurschwell, P. (2018) The Cover Version: Researching Sexuality through Ventriloquism, in: Morris, C., Boyce, P., Cornwall, A., Frith, H., Harvey, L. & Huang, Y. (eds.) *Researching Sex And Sexualities*, (London, Zed Books).
- McLeod, J. & Thomson, R. (2009) *Researching Social Change*, (London, Sage).

- McLeod, J. & Yates, L. (1997) Can We Find out about Girls and Boys Today—or Must We Settle for Just Talking About Ourselves? Dilemmas of a Feminist, Qualitative, Longitudinal Research Project, *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 24, 3, pp.23-42.
- Merriam & Webster, *Merriam Webster Online Dictionary* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/beneficence>, accessed January 2020.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2019) The Salience of “Hegemonic Masculinity”, *Men and Masculinities*, 22, 1, pp.85-91.
- Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. & Jessop, J. (eds.) (2012) *Ethics In Qualitative Research*, (Second Edition) (London, Sage).
- Miller, T. B., L. (2012) Consenting to what? Issues of Access, Gate-keeping and 'Informed' consent, in: Miller, T. Birch, M., Mauthner, M., & Jessop, J. (eds.) *Ethics In Qualitative Research*, (Second Edition) (London, Sage).
- Moran-Ellis, J. (2010) Reflections on the Sociology of Childhood in the UK, *Current Sociology*, 58, 2, pp.186-205.
- Mukherjee, U. (2020) Leisuring Masculinities in British Indian Childhoods: Explorations at the Intersection of Gender Order and Generational Order, *Boyhood Studies*, 13, 2, pp.36-52.
- Munn, P. & Lloyd, G. (2005) Exclusion and Excluded Pupils, *British Educational Research Journal*, 31, 2, pp.205-221.
- Nayak, A. & Kehily, M. J. (2008) *Gender, Youth and Culture: Young Masculinities and Femininities*, (First Edition) (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Nayak, A. & Kehily, M. J. (2013) *Gender, Youth And Culture: Global Young Masculinities and Femininities*, (Second Edition) (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Nayak, A. & Kehily, M. J. (2014) ‘Chavs, chavettes and pramface girls’: teenage mothers, marginalised young men and the management of stigma, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17, 10, pp.1330-1345.
- Neale, B. & Hanna, E. (2012) The Ethics of Researching Lives Qualitatively Through Time, *Timescapes Methods Guide Series No. 11*, <https://timescapes-archive.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/47/2020/07/timescapes-series-2.pdf>, (accessed 5 December 2021)
- Nielsen, H. & Rudberg, M. (1994) *Psychological Gender and Modernity*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
- Nielsen, H. & Rudberg, M. (2002) VI. Chasing the Place where the Psychological meets the Cultural, *Feminism & Psychology*, 12, 1, pp.44-48.
- Nind, M. (2011) Participatory Data Analysis: A Step Too Far? *Qualitative Research*, 11, 4, pp.349-363.
- Nind, M. & Vinha, H. (2013) Practical Considerations in Doing Research Inclusively and Doing it Well: Lessons For Inclusive Researchers. NCRM Working Paper (Unpublished). <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/3187/> , accessed February 2021.
- Norris, J. (2000) Drama as Research: Realizing the Potential of Drama in Education as a Research Methodology, *Youth Theatre Journal*, 14, 1, pp.40-51.

- NSPCC (2009) What boys talk about to Childline, *Childline Casenotes*, (NSPCC) <http://assets.mesmac.co.uk/images/what-boys-talk-about-to-childline.pdf?mtime=20151109131208>, accessed April 2015.
- O'Donnell, M. & Sharpe, S. (2002) *Uncertain Masculinities: Youth, Ethnicity and Class in Contemporary Britain*, (Second Edition) (London, Routledge).
- Office of the Children's Commissioner (2013) "Always Someone Else's Problem", Office of the Children's Commissioner's Report on Illegal exclusions, (UK, Children's Commissioner for England).
- Opfermann, L. S. (2020) Language, trust and transformation: exploring theatre as a research method with migrant youth, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 23, 2, pp.139-153.
- Osler, A., Street, C., Lall, M. & Vincent, K. (2002) Not a Problem? Girls and School Exclusion, (National Children's Bureau and Joseph Rowntree Foundation).
- Paget, D. (1987) 'Verbatim Theatre': Oral History and Documentary Techniques. *New Theatre Quarterly*, 3, 12, pp.317-336.
- Parffrey, V. (1994) Exclusion: Failed children or systems failure? *School Organisation*, 14, 2, pp.107-120.
- Parker, C., Paget, A., Ford, T. & Gwernan-Jones, R. (2016) 'He was Excluded for the Kind of Behaviour that We Thought He Needed Support with...' A Qualitative Analysis of the Experiences and Perspectives of Parents whose Children Have Been Excluded from School, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 21, 1, pp.133-151.
- Parsons, C. (1996) Permanent Exclusions from Schools in England in the 1990s: Trends, Causes and Responses, *Children and Society*, 10, 3, pp.177-186.
- Parsons, C. (2009) Explaining sustained Inequalities in Ethnic Minority School Exclusions in England—passive racism in a neoliberal grip, *Oxford Review of Education*, 35, 2, pp.249-265.
- Payne, R. (2015) Using Rewards and Sanctions in the Classroom: Pupils' perceptions of their own responses to current behaviour management strategies, *Educational Review*, 67, 4, pp.483-504.
- Perera, J. (2020) *How Black Working Class Youth are Criminalised and Excluded in the English School System: A London Case Study*, (Institute of Race Relations).
- Petersen, A., C., Silbereisen, R., K. & Sörenson, S. (1996) Adolescent Development: A Global Perspective, in: Hurrelmann, K. & Hamilton, S. F. (eds.) *Social Problems And Social Contexts In Adolescence*. (First Edition) (New York, Aldine De Gruyter).
- Phoenix, A. (1987) Theories of Gender and Black Families, in: G, Weiner & Arnot, M. (eds.) *Gender under scrutiny*, (London, Hutchinson).
- Phoenix, A. (2000) Constructing Gendered and Racialized Identities: Young Men, Masculinities and Educational Policy, in: Lewis, G., Gewirtz, S. & Clarke, J. (eds.) *Rethinking Social Policy*, (London, Sage Publications).
- Phoenix, A. & Hussain, F. (2007) *Parenting and Ethnicity*, (York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation).
- Phoenix, A. (2015) Turning to the Psychosocial: Drawing on Sociology to Address Societal Issues, *Sociologists' Tales: Contemporary Narratives on Sociological Thought and Practice*, (Bristol, Policy Press).

- Phoenix, A., Brannen, J., Elliot, H., Smithson, J., Morris, P., Smart, C., Barlow, A. & Bauer, E. (2016) Group Analysis in Practice: Narrative Approaches, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 17, 2, doi: 10.17169/fqs-17.2.2391.
- Pillay, J., Dunbar-Krige, H. & Mostert, J. (2013) Learners with Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties' Experiences of Reintegration into Mainstream Education, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 18, 3, pp.310-326.
- Prout, A. (2011) Taking a Step Away from Modernity: Reconsidering the New Sociology of Childhood, *Global Studies of Childhood*, 1, 1, pp.4-14.
- Punch, S. (2002) Interviewing strategies with young people: the 'secret box', stimulus material and task-based activities, *Children & Society*, 16, 1, pp.45-56.
- Punch, S. (2012) Hidden Struggles of Fieldwork: Exploring the Role and Use of Field Diaries, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 5, 2, pp. 86-93.
- Qureshi, K. (2014) Sending Children to School 'Back Home': Multiple Moralities of Punjabi Sikh Parents in Britain, *Journal of Moral Education*, 43, 2, pp.213-226.
- Qvortrup, J. (1994) *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice And Politics*, (Aldershot, Avebury).
- Rabinow, P. (ed.) (1984) *The Foucault Reader*, (US, Penguin Books).
- Rattansi, A. (1992) Changing the Subject? Racism, Culture and Education, in: Donald, J. & Rattansi, A. (eds.) *Race, Culture and Difference*, (California, Sage Publications).
- Rattansi, A. & Phoenix, A. (2005) Rethinking Youth Identities: Modernist and Postmodernist Framework, *Identity*, 5, 2, pp.97-123.
- Reay, D. (1998) Engendering Social Reproduction: Mothers in the Educational Marketplace, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19, 2, pp.195-209.
- Reay, D. (2002) Shaun's Story: Troubling Discourses of White Working-class masculinities, *Gender and Education*, 14, 3, pp.221-234.
- Reay, D. (2004) 'Mostly Roughs and Toughs': Social Class, Race and Representation in Inner City Schooling, *Sociology*, 38, 5, pp.1005-1023.
- Reay, D. (2010) Identity Making in Schools and Classrooms, in: Wetherell, M. & Mohanty, C. T (eds.) *Sage Handbook of Identities*, (London, Sage Publications).
- Reay, D. (2017) *Miseducation: Inequality, Education and the Working Classes*, (Bristol, Policy Press).
- Robb, S., O'Leary, P., Mackinnon, A. & Bishop, P. (2010) *Hope: The Everyday and Imaginary Life of Young People on the Margins*, (South West Australia, Wakefield Press).
- Romano, S. (2017) *Moralising Poverty: The 'Undeserving' Poor in the Public Gaze*, (London, Routledge).
- Rowe, D. (2006) Taking Responsibility: School Behaviour Policies in England, Moral Development and Implications for Citizenship Education, *Journal of Moral Education*, 35, 4, pp.519-531.
- Ruch, G. (2005) Relationship-Based Practice and Reflective Practice: Holistic Approaches to Contemporary Child Care Social Work, *Child & Family Social Work*, 10, 2, pp.111-123.
- Ruch, G. (2014) Beneficence in Psycho-social Research and the Role of Containment, *Qualitative Social Work*, 13, 4, pp.522-538.
- Rudberg, M. & Nielsen, H. (2005) Potential Spaces - Subjectivities and Gender in a Generational Perspective, *Feminism & Psychology*, 15, 2, pp.127-148.

- Rudberg, M. & Nielsen, H. (2012) The Making of a 'New Man': Psychosocial Change in a Generational context, *Journal of Psycho-Social Studies* 6, 1, pp.55-74.
- Rutter, M. & Rutter, M. (1992) *Developing Minds: Challenge and Continuity Across the Life Span*, (UK, Penguin Books).
- Satchwell, C., Larkins, C., Davidge, G. & Carter, B. (2020) Stories as Findings in Collaborative Research: Making Meaning Through Fictional Writing with Disadvantaged Young People, *Qualitative Research*, 20, 6, pp.874-891.
- Savage, G. C. & Hickey-Moody, A. (2010) Global Flows as Gendered Cultural Pedagogies: Learning Gangsta in the 'Dirt South', *Critical Studies in Education*, 51, 3, pp.277-293.
- Sclater, S. D., Yates, C., Price, H. & Jones, D. W. (2009) Introducing Psychosocial Studies of Emotion, in: Sclater, S. D., Jones, D. W., Price, H. & Yates, C. (eds.) *Emotion: New Psychosocial Perspectives*. (London, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Seidler, V. J. (1994) *Unreasonable Men: Masculinity and Social Theory*, (London, Routledge).
- Sewell, T. (1997) *Black Masculinities and Schooling: How Black Boys Survive Modern Schooling*, (London, Trentham Books).
- Shreeve, A., Boddington, D., Bernard, B., Brown, K., Clarke, K., Dean, L., Elkins, T., Kemp, S., Lees, J., Miller, D., Oakley, J. & Shiret, D. (2002) Student Perceptions of Rewards and Sanctions, *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 10, 2, pp.239-256.
- Skeggs, B. (2008) The Problem with Identity in: Lin, A. M. Y. (ed.) *Problematizing Identity: Everyday Struggles in Language, Culture, and Education* (New York; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates).
- Skelton, A. (1993) On Becoming a Male Physical Education Teacher: The informal culture of students and the construction of hegemonic masculinity, *Gender and Education*, 5, 3, pp.289-303.
- Skelton, C. (2001) *Schooling the Boys: Masculinities and Primary Education*, (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Skiba, R. J. (2000) *Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice*, Policy Research Report, (US, Indiana University).
- Slater, E. & Gazeley, L. (2018) Deploying Teaching Assistants to Support Learning: from Models to Typologies, *Educational Review*, 71, 5, pp.1-17.
- Smeyers, P. (2006) The Relevance of Irrelevant Research; The Irrelevance of Relevant Research, in: Smeyers, P. & Depaepe, M. (eds.) *Educational Research: Why 'What Works' Doesn't Work*, (Dordrecht, Springer).
- Smithson, J. (2008) Using Focus Groups in Social Research, in: Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L. & Brannen, J. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods* (London, Sage Publications).
- Søndergaard, D. M. (2002) Poststructuralist Approaches To Empirical Analysis, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15, 2, pp.187-204.
- Squires, P. (2009) The Knife Crime 'Epidemic' and British Politics, *British Politics*, 4, 1, pp. 127-157.
- St. Pierre, E. A. & Jackson, A. Y. (2014) Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20, 6, pp.715-719.
- Stahl, G. (2019) Critiquing the Corporeal Curriculum: Body Pedagogies in 'no excuses' Charter Schools, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 23, 10, pp.1-17.
- Stake, R. (1995) *The Art Of Case Study Research*, (California, Sage Publications).

- Stanley, L. (ed.) (2013) *Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology*, in: *Feminist Sociology*, (London, Routledge).
- Swale, J. (2009) *Drama Games for Classrooms and Workshops*, (UK, Nick Hern Books).
- Taylor, C. A. (2013) Objects, Bodies and Space: Gender and Embodied Practices of Mattering in the Classroom, *Gender And Education*, 25, 6, pp.688-703.
- Tennant, G. (2004) Nobody Wants it so Why is it There? Towards an Understanding of Low-level Disruption, *Journal of Education* 32, 3, pp.51-58.
- Thomas, D. V. (2015) Factors Affecting Successful Reintegration, *Educational Studies*, 41, 1-2, pp.188-208.
- Thomson, R. (2010) Doing Research Differently - An Incite-ful Intervention, *Oxford Research Methods Festival*, 5 July.
- Thomson, R., Moe, A., Thorne, B. & Nielsen, H. (2012) Situated Affect in Travelling Data: Tracing Processes of Meaning Making in Qualitative Research, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18, 2, pp.310-322.
- Thomson, R., Berriman, L. & Bragg, S. (2018) *Researching Everyday Childhoods: Time, Technology And Documentation in a Digital Age*, (London, Bloomsbury Academic).
- Thomson, R. & McGeeney, E. (2018) Protection, Participation and Ethical Labour, in: Thomson, R., Berriman, L. & Bragg, S. (2018) *Researching Everyday Childhoods: Time, Technology And Documentation in a Digital Age*, (London, Bloomsbury Academic).
- Thorne, B. (2007) Editorial: Crafting the Interdisciplinary Field of Childhood Studies, *Childhood*, 14, 2, pp.147-152.
- Thrift, N. (2008) I Just Don't Know What Got into Me: Where is the Subject? *Subjectivity*, 22, 1, pp.82-89.
- Timpson, E. (2019) Timpson Review of School Exclusion, (UK, Department for Education).
- Tisdall, E. K. M. & Punch, S. (2012) Not so 'new'? Looking Critically at Childhood Studies, *Children's Geographies*, 10, 3, pp.249-264.
- Todd, S. & Burns, A. (2007) Post-Structural Possibilities: Beyond Structural Practice in Child Protection. *Canadian Social Work Review / Revue Canadienne De Service Social*, 24, 1, pp.23-37.
- Torres Toledo, C. & Pinto De Carvalho, M. (2020) The Peer Group's Agency in a Brazilian School, *Boyhood Studies*, 13, 2, pp.71-86.
- van Blerk, L. & van Blerk, D. (2015) Biographical Interviews as Emotional Encounters in Street Youth Youth's Lives: The Role of Research in Facilitating Therapeutic Intervention, in: Blazek, M. & Kraftl, P. (eds.) *Children's Emotions in Policy and Practice: Mapping and Making Spaces Of Childhood*, (Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Vulliamy, G. & Webb, R. (2001) The Social Construction of School Exclusion Rates: Implications for Evaluation Methodology, *Educational Studies*, 27, 3, pp.357-370.
- Walkerdine, V. (1986) Post Structuralist Theory and Everyday Social Practices: The Family and the School, in: Wilkinson, S (ed.) *Feminist Social Psychology: Developing Theory and Practice*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).
- Walkerdine, V., Lucey, H. & Melody, J. (2001) *Growing Up Girl: Psycho-Social Explorations of Class and Gender*, (London, Palgrave Macmillan).

- Wanat, C. L. (2008) Getting Past the Gatekeepers: Differences Between Access and Cooperation in Public School Research, *Field Methods*, 20, 2, pp.191-208.
- Warner, C. (1997) The Edging in of Engagement: Exploring the Nature of Engagement in Drama, *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 2, 1, pp.21-42.
- Watkins, M. (2011) Teachers' Tears and the Affective Geography of the Classroom, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4, 3, pp.137-143.
- Weedon, C. (2004) *Identity and Culture: Narratives of Difference and Belonging*, (Maidenhead, Open University Press).
- Weekes-Bernard, D. (ed.) (2010) Did They Get It Right: A Re-examination of School Exclusions and Race Equality (Runnymede).
- Wetherell, M. (2012) *Affect And Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, (London, Sage Publications).
- Wetherell, M. & Edley, N. (1999) Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices, *Feminism and Psychology*, 9, 3, pp.335-356.
- Wetherell, M. & Mohanty, C. T. (eds.) (2010) *The Sage Handbook of Identities*, (London, Sage Publications).
- White, J. (2017) Controlling the Flow: How Urban Music Videos Allow Creative Scope and Permit Social Restriction, *Young*, 25, 4, pp.407-425.
- White, J. (2019) Growing Up in the 'The Ends': Identity, Place and Belonging in an Urban East London Neighbourhood, in: Habib, S. & Ward, M. (eds.) *Identities, Youth and Belonging: International Perspectives* (Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan).
- White, J. (2020) *Terraformed: Young Black Lives in the Inner City*, (London, Repeater Books).
- Whitehead, S. M. (2002) *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions*, (UK, Wiley).
- Wiles, R., Crow, G., Heath, S. & Charles, V. (2008) The Management of Confidentiality and Anonymity in Social Research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11, pp.417-428.
- Wilkinson, S. (1998) Focus Groups in Feminist Research: Power, Interaction, and the Co-construction of Meaning, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 1, pp.111-125.
- Willis, P. E. (1977) *Learning To Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, (Farnborough, Saxon House).
- Winter, K. (2015) Decision-Making Processes in Review Meetings for Children in Care: A Bourdieusan Analysis, in: Alanen, L., Brooker, L. & Mayall, B. (eds.) *Childhood with Bourdieu*, (Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Wojnicka, K. (2020) Boyz2men: Male Migrants' Attitudes to Homosexuality and What Age Has To Do with It, *Boyhood Studies*, 13, 2, pp.53-70.
- Woodward, K. (2013) *Sporting Times*, (Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan).
- Woodward, K. (2015) *Psychosocial Studies: An Introduction*, (London, Routledge).

- Yates, L. (2003) Interpretive Claims and Methodological Warrant in small-number qualitative, longitudinal research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6, 3, pp.223-232.
- Yates, L. & McLeod, J. (1996) 'And How Would You Describe Yourself?' Researchers and Researched in the First Stages of a Qualitative, Longitudinal Research Project. *Australian Journal of Education*, 40, 1, pp.88-103.
- Yin, R. K. (2017) *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, (Sixth Edition) (US, Sage Publications).
- Youdell, D. (2006a) Diversity, Inequality, and a Post-Structural Politics for Education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics Of Education*, 27, 1, pp.33-42.
- Youdell, D. (2006b) *Impossible Bodies, Impossible Selves: Exclusions and Student Subjectivities*, (Dordrecht, Springer).
- Youdell, D. (2006c) Subjectivation And Performative Politics—Butler thinking Althusser and Foucault: Intelligibility, Agency and the Raced—Nationed—Religioned Subjects of Education, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27, 4, pp.511-528.
- Youdell, D. (2010) Pedagogies of Becoming in an End-of-the-line 'Special' school, *Critical Studies in Education*, 51, 3, pp.313-324.
- Youdell, D. & Armstrong, F. (2011) A Politics beyond Subjects: the Affective Choreographies and Smooth Spaces of Schooling, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4, 3, pp.144-150.
- Zeitlyn, B. (2012) Maintaining Transnational Social Fields: The Role of Visits to Bangladesh for British Bangladeshi Children, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38, 6, pp.953-968.
- Zembylas, M. (2009) Global Economies of Fear: Affect, Politics and Pedagogical Implications, *Critical Studies in Education*, 50, 2, pp.187-199.
- Zembylas, M. (2011) Investigating the Emotional Geographies of Exclusion at a Multicultural School, *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4, 3, pp.151-159.

Being and Doing Boy

Marginalised Young Masculinities and Professional Practice

Appendices

Roma Thomas

Thesis submitted for PhD Examination at the University of Sussex

July 2021

Appendices - Contents List

Appendix 1 – Key Terms and Definitions	3
Appendix 2 – Research Participants.....	4
Appendix 2A – Core Group Members	5
Appendix 3 – Certificate of Ethical Approval	12
Appendix 3A – Consent Form Young People.....	13
Appendix 3B Consent Form – Parents/Carers.....	16
Appendix 3C – Consent Form Professionals.....	19
Appendix 4A - Information Sheet, Parents/Carers.....	21
Appendix 4B – Information Sheet – Professionals (PRU Staff)	25
Appendix 4C – Information Sheet - Professionals	28
Appendix 4D – Information Sheet Young People	31
Appendix 5A – Interview Guide, Boys (Jared)	35
Appendix 5B – Interview Guide Boys (Cal).....	37
Appendix 6 – PRU Staff Interview Guide.....	39
Appendix 7 – Professionals: Focus Group Guide.....	41
Appendix 8 - Group Work Session Plan Example	43
Appendix 9 – Group work: Summary from Transcript	46
Appendix 10 – Data Sharing Group: Workshop Plan.....	47
Appendix 11 – Excerpt from Co-terminus Transcript: Data Sharing Group Workshop.....	52
Appendix 12 – Side conversation between Jared and Henrikh (TA).....	56
Appendix 13 – Free Writing Extracts	57
Appendix 14 – Flyer promoting Focus Group for Professionals	60
Appendix 15 – Data Overview	62

Appendix 1 – Key Terms and Definitions

Alternative Provision – schooling attended by children and young people excluded from mainstream school. This includes Pupil Referral Units (PRUs)

Fixed Term exclusion – Temporary removal of a pupil from school for a fixed period of time, this includes lunchtime exclusion, before a return to school is permitted

Mainstream school – Provision other than Special Schools and alternative provision that is either maintained by a local authority or an Academy.

Permanent exclusion - Permanent removal of a child/young person from a school's roll.

Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) – A type of school that is established and maintained by local authorities to provide an education to pupils who cannot attend mainstream or special schools. This is usually because they have been excluded from school. PRUs were established under section 19 of the Education Act 1996

Riverdale PRU – The main research site in the thesis, Riverdale caters for students aged 11-15 excluded from school on grounds of their behaviour, most have been permanently excluded from mainstream school. This part of the PRU is led by Assistant Head Teacher Joe, a key informant in the study.

Riverdale 2 – Provision within Riverdale PRU which serves the needs of students affected by anxiety and depression. Although this is located within the same site as Riverdale PRU, classes and activities for these young people are largely run separately and alongside the main PRU provision within Riverdale. Assistant Head Teacher Danielle leads this part of the PRU, although staff at Riverdale and Riverdale 2 work with both sets of students.

Riverdale Higher – Part of Riverdale PRU, this part of the PRU caters for students aged 15-18. Riverdale Higher is located at a separate, nearby site. Angela the PRU Head Teacher is based at Riverdale Higher.

Special school – A school which is “specially organised to make special educational provision for pupils with SEN” under section 337 of the Education Act 1996

Appendix 2 – Research Participants

Pseudonyms are used for all young people, staff and parents involved in the study.

Core Group – the group of five boys (age 14-15) with whom the group work element of the thesis research was carried out. The boys are: Laurent, Cal, Hector, Aaron and Jared. Interviews were also conducted with members of this group. The Core Group attended Riverdale PRU, the main research site.

Data Sharing Group/Data Sharing Workshop – A group of eight boys (age 15-16) who participated in a single workshop focused on analysis of data from the research. This workshop also generated sources of data. Its role in the research is discussed in the methodology chapter. The boys in this group attended Riverdale Higher. The boys in this group are: David, Ainsley, Santi, Ezekiel, Alex, Damian, Carl and Paul.

Drama Facilitator – I engaged a specialist drama facilitator, James, to work alongside me in the group work conducted with the Core Group in the study. This role is explained in the methodology chapter of the thesis.

‘Many Minds’ Group/Analysis Group – This group comprised myself, my two supervisors, Gillian Ruch and Rachel Thomson and two colleagues of mine, outside of the research. The group took part in a single session focused on analysis of extracts I had selected from my data. The role and analytical work of this group is discussed in the methodology chapter of the thesis.

Appendix 2A – Core Group Members

The Core Group members involved in the research comprised five boys aged 14-15.

Below are brief portraits of each boy drawn from the research material including group work transcripts, field notes, interviews and my own reflections recorded in my research diary.

Laurent

Henrikh (TA): Remember 100 % participation

Laurent: Or what?

(Groupwork, first session, 26 September 2016)

Laurent is a slim, mixed race 15 year old boy of medium height. A talented athlete, he has attended Riverdale for the longest period of all of the Core Group and is due to move on to a mainstream school shortly. Joe the Assistant Head Teacher has told me that this move is long overdue but it could not take place earlier due to Laurent's personal circumstances. Laurent is clearly held in great affection by a number of staff members. During one lunch break a member of staff tells me that he (Laurent) made a mistake that has had very serious consequences and that is why he has been there for so long. Her expression is sorrowful when she tells me this.

Laurent was the first boy I met when I visited the school in the summer term before the research began, " [Laurent] appeared to be hanging around a bit, he didn't appear to take that much notice of me though"(Research Diary, 17 June 2016). During the group work it rapidly emerges that Laurent will 'participate' in activities in his own individual way. This is demonstrated physically as much as it is expressed verbally. During one of the sessions Laurent lies across two chairs in the room:

Henrikh (TA): Careful before you get stuck in there [speaking to Laurent who is now lying in a contorted position across two chairs with his head poking through beneath the backrest of one of the chairs] I can see something really problematic about that.

Later during the same session, Laurent is playing Sonic the Hedgehog on the computer. In an effort to try and engage Laurent in the group work activity James (drama facilitator) asks him to find some chat show music on the computer:

James: Laurent, can you find me some chat show music please? In response to this request Laurent turns off the computer (Group Work, 6 October 2016)

During one session we got some really interesting insights from Laurent about social workers, he talked about not liking them – because “they speak to the Feds”. Laurent says he’s had three social workers, he described the way social workers ask ...”question after question after question as though they’re doing an interview”. He says he likes his YOT worker, he explains that although they asked questions it was not in the same way as social workers. Laurent talked about having been arrested in his bedroom – he told us the police came into his bedroom at 10am in the morning:

He’s 15, I feel the weight of the seriousness of issues in that moment when he describes police coming into his bedroom (Research Diary, 6 October 2016).

Cal

Roma: Cal? So I’m gonna ask you the same question again as Henrikh’s just come in. Cal what is the most important thing people should know about you?

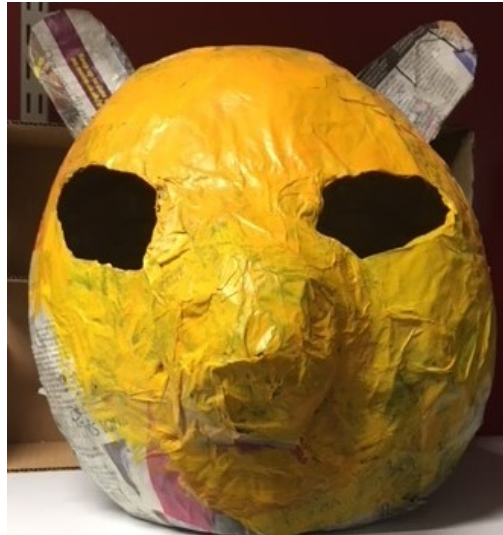
Cal: That I’m not as bad as you think.

Cal, aged 15, is white, fairly tall and solidly built without being fat. He has wavy, light brown hair and wears his school uniform white shirt buttoned up to the top of his collar in a way that looks uncomfortably tight to me but which does not appear to be a problem to him. During the first group session Cal suggested that he and Jared should act out a scene to illustrate a point. Jared, slightly reluctant at first eventually agreed to act the scene with him. Cal set up the whole scene and painted a picture for the rest of us:

Cal is clearly thinking about [what should happen in] the scenario, he says “wait, wait, let me see how this is going to go down”. They [he and Jared] go to the door and speak conspiratorially as they start to work out the scene. Henrikh (TA) asks “how long is this going to take?” Cal looks up and answers “three minutes”. He explains to James what is going to happen in the scene, he tells him that he and Jared are going into the class late and describes their characters “me and him are bad” says Cal. (Group Work, 26 September 2016).

Cal’s sense of humour comes across strongly throughout the group work. He frequently refers to joking and even asks whether “joking around” counts as a way of expressing things when we discuss communication during the group work. Cal often

makes James and me laugh as well as the rest of the group. During a 'practice' interview in the group work he puts one of the papier-mâché animal masks on his head and wears it throughout the interview. When I ask him why he is doing this, he replies in a mock solemn voice "to protect my identity".



Papier- mâché mask - one of several taken up and used by the boys during the group work

Ironically, given his status as an excluded pupil, Cal is very keen on conforming or at least not being seen to break rules. This keenness is particularly apparent with regard to swearing. He often adds "delete that" if any swearing has occurred, whether by him or others in the group. Of the five boys in the Core Group, Cal appeared to struggle the most with his learning. Reading tasks seem to be harder for Cal and he often asked for clarification or repetition of an explanation that has just been given. Rose, the SEN teacher in the PRU confirmed to me in an interview that Cal's literacy scores were below the standard for his age. However, Cal was well able to articulate his own learning needs. In the group work and during his interview he talked about teachers needing to be "kind" and "patient" and about his own need for schoolwork to be given to him in small, manageable proportions. I learn that a transfer to Riverdale Higher is something that he desperately wants to avoid. During my interview with him Cal enquired wistfully whether other boys from the rest of Riverdale have "gone back to school". In one case I untruthfully say that I do not know what has happened to Lucas, one of his class mates, although I know that this boy has 'returned' to a mainstream

school. Cal's vision of mainstream school comes across sharply in my interview with him:

Roma: And what schools do you like?

Cal: Don't know. I'd have to see.

Roma: What will make it somewhere that you like?

Cal: A fresh start.

(Interview: Cal, 21 November 2016)

Hector and Aaron

The twins are just, I don't know, a product of their environment again. They come from a rough estate, think it's cool to be on the road and getting influenced by all the wrong things and they were the big men here, so they were running the show. (Jason, TA, Interview, 24 November 2016)

Hector and Aaron are identical twin brothers, 15 year old black boys, both tall, rangy and good looking. Hector with his hair closely cropped, Aaron with a small high top. They wear different trainers and different clothes, this is deliberate they tell me because it is "annoying" when people mistake them for each other. The two boys appear very much at ease in each other's company. I can tell them apart physically but when listening back to their voices on the audio recordings the two boys sound very similar. At times I cannot be sure which of them is speaking. On a few occasions when one of them was not in school, I saw each brother separately. I now feel especially glad of these encounters as they helped me to distinguish one from the other. Below, I have written about the two boys together as well separately. I quote brief extracts from field notes about each of the boys. Writing about them together reflects the way I came to 'know' the two brothers during the research.

Hector and Aaron were new to the school in the summer term of 2016. I saw them a couple of times during my observation visits. They did not say very much but moved slowly, they appeared 'assured' in the way they walked around the PRU. I know from Joe that the brothers have a 'reputation' which precedes them. Joe says that they are "known" by some of the young people in Riverdale and that Hector and Aaron are seen

as leaders. The two boys' attendance at the PRU is patchy and this is also reflected in their attendance during the group work. When they attend school they are mostly together, not inseparable, but close.

During one of the group work sessions, Henrikh one of the TAs challenges Hector:

Henrikh (TA): What about the people that follow you – what do you think of them?

Hector: Normal guys innit, they're just children, they're children fam, my guys innit

Henrikh: Your guys or your fans?

Hector: My guys

Hector: I'm not a follower and I'm not a leader. Actually, I am a leader.

(Group Work, 17 October 2016)

Hector

In a field note, I recorded the actions of Hector at the PRU.

It reminded me of Hector on Monday in assembly just before the start of it, throwing a bottle of Lucozade Sport across the table. The bottle narrowly missed going into the bin and fell on the floor. Jemma, one of the TAs asked him to pick it up. He made excuses and was reluctant to do so – Jemma flagged to Joe that something needed to be dealt with, she said "we're going to make a big thing about this" the incident held up proceedings in the assembly for a short while. A young girl who was clearly frustrated with the hold-up went across and picked up the bottle and threw it in the bin.

(Research Diary, 29 September 2016)

Aaron

Aaron: Can we play Word Association?

James: (Sounds surprised) Word Association?

Aaron: Yeah

James: Yeah we can play that later

One of the boys says what's that? [He is asking about word association]

Aaron: Where like someone says a word and you say another word like another word back like.

(Group Work, 10 October 2016)

Jared

Jared tells a story (while he is sitting on his favourite spinning chair) about hiding speakers in a cupboard which were hooked up to a phone then playing what he called “inappropriate” sound effects during a new teacher’s lesson. The story is funny we are all laughing, Jared enjoys the telling of it, we can imagine the poor teacher being driven mad by this and trying to confiscate the speakers. (Research Diary, October 2016)

Jared is short and stocky, a white boy with dark hair. At 14 he is the youngest of the group. In an interview he talks to me about his height and the moment he realised that despite his height he could fight. He describes it as a revelation:

I started fighting the boy and I actually knocked the boy to the floor and I was on top of him and then the teacher grabbed me off of him and then that’s when I realised, I didn’t know I had that much power. And then that’s when I realised I could finally stick up for myself because I used to be, because I’m quite short innit? If I used to get picked on I used to just take it and ever since I had that fight with that boy, that’s when I realised, listen, I can actually fight. I didn’t know I had that much strength. And that’s when I used to start fighting. (Interview, Jared, 7 November)

Jared is articulate and funny, he is also prone to more mood swings than the other boys. At times he is happy to contribute, talking over others (particularly Cal, with whom he has the closest friendship among all of the boys). At other times, during the same session he is subdued and reluctant to participate.

By chance one of the chairs in the activity room used for the group work was an office swivel chair. Occasionally during the weeks of the sessions another swivel chair would appear. Jared always chose to sit on the swivel chair. Here is an extract from his interview where we talked about the chair:

Roma: So what do you do when you’re in a classroom where there isn’t a spinning chair?

Jared: Swing.

Roma: Oh okay.

Jared: You know when you lean back and the chair swings and then you get told off and I just start fiddling with a pen or something.

Roma: I’ve noticed that a lot of times young people get told off about not sitting on a chair properly or leaning back and stuff. What do you think of that?

Jared: Do you know, I think there's no problem with actually leaning back on their chair. But when the teacher says to stop, the person I used to be would say, "No, I can do what I want" or something like that. But now I know that when a teacher means stop

Roma: Then you just stop?

Jared: Then I'll do it like 10 minutes later and then they'll tell me to stop and then I'll do it again. In the end they just won't tell me to stop, so you finally get your way.

(Jared, Interview 7 November 2016)

Appendix 3 – Certificate of Ethical Approval

22/9/2016

Page 1 of 1

Certificate of Approval	
Reference Number	ER/RT244/2
Title Of Project	Doing Boy Work? Young Masculine Subjectivities and Professional Practice (COPY) Roma-Joy Margot Thomas (as amended September 2016)
Principal Investigator (PI):	
Student	Roma-Joy Margot Thomas
Collaborators	
Duration Of Approval	n/a
Expected Start Date	10-Jun-2016
Date Of Approval	22-May-2016
Approval Expiry Date	30-Dec-2016
Approved By	Jayne Paulin
Name of Authorised Signatory	Janet Boddy
Date	22-Sep-2016
<p>*NB. If the actual project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the expected start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures.</p> <p>Please note and follow the requirements for approved submissions: Amendments to protocol</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Any changes or amendments to approved protocols must be submitted to the C-REC for authorisation prior to implementation. <p>Feedback regarding the status and conduct of approved projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Any incidents with ethical implications that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported immediately to the Chair of the C-REC. <p>Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence. 	

Appendix 3A – Consent Form Young People

**Consent Form – Young People****Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys**

This research is about the views of boys about themselves and the way professionals (such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others) relate to boys. The study is also asking professionals for their views about this topic.

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to (please tick as appropriate):

1. Take part in a group work session with the researcher and other boys from my school ☐

2. Be interviewed by the researcher once ☐

3. Have the work that I produce (artwork, visual images, written accounts and audio or visual recordings) used in reports about the research that can be published ☐

4. I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information will be disclosed by the researcher unless she is concerned that you or someone else might be harmed ☐

5. I understand that names and any other identifying details will be changed to prevent my identity from being made public

☐

6. I understand that everyone who takes part in the group session will be asked to keep what is said confidential but confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in group

☐

7. I understand that Roma will follow the Data Protection Act 1998 and will keep my information somewhere safe

☐

8. I understand that I don't have to take part in this study and that I can choose to take part in all of the activities or part of them. I can change my mind and I don't have to answer all the questions in an interview. If I do change my mind this will not disadvantage me in any way

☐

9. I will be asked at the end of any interview that I do if I still agree that Roma can use the things I said. I know that I can change my mind about this at any time until two months after the interview

☐

10. I know how I can contact Roma to tell her that I have changed my mind

☐

11. I agree that the information and work that I produce can be used by Roma for further research purposes such as writing up new reports which may be published. All information will remain confidential, names and other identifying material will be changed

☐

I would like to receive information about the results of the research when it completed

Yes/No

If Yes please let us know how you would like to be contacted to tell you about the research.

.....

Name:

Signature

Date:

Appendix 3B Consent Form – Parents/Carers

**Consent Form – Parents/Carers****Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys**

This research is about the views of boys about themselves and the way professionals (such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others) relate to boys. The study is also asking professionals for their views about this topic.

I agree that my son can take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have read and understood the Information Sheet which I may keep for my records. I have had the opportunity to have my questions about the research answered. I understand that agreeing for my son to take part means that I am willing for him to (please tick as appropriate):

1. Take part in group work sessions with the researcher and other boys from his current

school

☐

2. Be interviewed by the researcher up to two times

☐

3. Have the work that he produces (artwork, visual images, written accounts and audio or visual recordings) used in reports about the research that can be published

☐

And, after the group sessions

4. I understand that he will be given the choice of whether he wishes to take part in running a discussion group with Roma for professionals (such as social workers, teachers, youth workers and others) about the way they work with boys of his age ☐

I understand that any information provided is confidential, and that no information will be disclosed by the researcher unless she is concerned that your son or someone else might be harmed ☐

I understand that names and any other identifying details will be changed to prevent your son's identity from being made public ☐

I understand that everyone who takes part in group sessions will be asked to keep what is said confidential but confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which might be disclosed in group ☐

I understand that Roma will follow the Data Protection Act 1998 and will keep information somewhere safe ☐

I understand that I can give my son can give permission for items of work that he has produced during the research to be credited to him as long as this does not mean that I or anyone else is exposed to risk ☐

I understand that he does not have to take part in this study and that he can choose to take part in all of the activities or part of them. ☐

I understand that I can change my mind about my son taking part in the research and this will not disadvantage my son in any way ☐

I understand that if I wish to change my mind I should let my son know and let Roma know about this as soon as possible either before the research begins or by the end of the first group session at the latest ☐

I know how I can contact Roma to tell her that I have changed my mind ☐

I agree that the information and work that is produced in this research can be used by Roma for further research purposes such as writing up new reports which may be published. All information will remain confidential, names and other identifying material will be changed ☐

I would like to receive information about the results of the research when it completed

Yes/No

If Yes please let us know how you can be contacted to tell you about the research.

.....

Name:

Signature

Date:

Appendix 3C – Consent Form Professionals

**Consent Form – Professionals****Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys**

This research is about the views of boys about themselves and the way professionals (such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others) relate to boys. The study is also asking professionals for their views about this topic.

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to (please tick any of the following that are appropriate):

1. Take part in a focus group discussion which the boys participating in the research may help Roma to facilitate ☐

2. Be interviewed as part of the research ☐

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information will be disclosed by the researcher unless she is concerned that a young person or someone else might be harmed ☐

I understand that names and any other identifying details will be changed to prevent my identity from being made public ☐

I understand that everyone who takes part in group sessions will be asked to keep what is said confidential but confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in group ☐

I understand that Roma will follow the Data Protection Act 1998 and will keep all information safe in accordance with the requirements of the Act ☐

I understand that I don't have to take part in this study and that I can choose to take part in all of the activities or some of them ☐

If I change my mind about taking part in the focus group discussion I will try to tell Roma this well in advance and, at least one week before the focus group ☐

I understand that I can change my mind about taking part in an interview at any time and that I don't have to answer all the questions in an interview. If I do change my mind this will not disadvantage me in any way ☐

I know how I can contact Roma to tell her that I have changed my mind ☐

I agree that the information from the research can be used by Roma for further research purposes such as writing up new reports which may be published. All information will remain confidential, names and other identifying material will be changed ☐

I would like to receive information about the results of the research when it completed

Yes/No

If Yes please let Roma know how you would like to be contacted to tell you about the research.

.....

Name:

Signature

Date:



Information for Parents and Carers

Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys

Your son is invited to take part in research about the views of boys about themselves and the ways professionals (such as teachers and social workers) work with boys. The research also asks professionals about their views about working with boys in different settings.

Why have I been given this leaflet?

To tell you about this research and help you decide whether you can give permission for your son to take part. Your son will also be asked for his consent to take part in the research. Before you decide, it's important that you understand what's involved. This leaflet can help you with finding out about the research, please read it carefully.

What is this research project about?

It is trying to find out what teenage boys think about themselves and what they think about the way different workers, such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others, relate to boys when they are working with them. It is also trying to find out what these workers think about the way they relate to boys.

What is the study for?

It is trying to find out about things that will help to improve the way people like teachers, social workers and youth workers work with boys.

Who is doing the research?

The study is being done by a researcher called Roma Thomas. She is studying for a Doctorate at the University of Sussex. The University have approved her study and the school has given her permission to ask parents/carers and boys to take part in this research.

Why is your son being asked to take part?

Roma asked your son's school to take part in the research and they suggested your son might benefit from taking part.

Does your son have to take part?

No. It is totally up to you whether you want give permission for him to take part and it is up to him to decide whether he wants to take part. If you agree that he can take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. He is still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will taking part in the research involve?

There are a two main ways to take part, your can do all of these or choose to do some of the activities:

1. Firstly, he will be asked to take part in activities with a small group of boys twice a week for four weeks. Each session will be about an hour long and will involve a range of activities such as discussions, artwork and writing and drama. The sessions will also be used to train the boys in the skills of doing research, they will learn about running research discussion groups, called Focus Groups and will have the opportunity to run some groups with professional workers (including social workers and teachers) along with Roma
2. Secondly, boys can take part in one or two interviews with Roma to tell her more about their views.

At the end of the research boys will be given a certificate in recognition of their participation in the research.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

Boys might not like some of the activities, if this happens Roma will try to offer boys an alternative but they don't have to take part.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This is a chance for boys to have their say about what is important to them about how teenage boys are viewed and how they think about themselves. Roma hopes that the boys will find the activities engaging and that they will develop useful skills.

What will you do with the information gathered in the research?

The information will be used to write a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with the school. Roma will share this with you too if you would like her to do this.

Will information be kept confidential?

Information that is shared with Roma is confidential, that means she won't tell anyone *who* said *what* unless boys say something that makes her worried that they or someone else might be harmed. If that happens she will talk to one of the teachers – but she will always try to let boys know that she will do this. All boys who take part in the group sessions will be asked to respect confidentiality. Any details which could be used to identify boys will be changed or left out when the research is communicated.

What should I do if I want to give consent to my son taking part?

You can give consent by signing the Consent Form that accompanies this Information Sheet. You can also speak to Roma to find out more information, you can call or text her on the number listed in the contact details at the end. Your written consent will be needed before your son can take part.

What happens if I change my mind about my son taking part?

You can change your mind at any stage before the research begins or after the first week of the group sessions. All Parents and Carers are asked to talk to their sons about this before withdrawing consent. If you change your mind after this stage it is still possible to withdraw, we just ask you to discuss this with the researcher or the school first. If you decide not to participate this will not cause any problems for your son or for you.

What happens if boys change their mind about taking part?

Boys can change his mind at any point, even during a group session or an interview and they can refuse to answer questions. If they decide not to participate in all or part of the study this will not cause any problems for them.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The information from the research will be used to write up a report about the research this kind of report is called a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with your school. Roma will share this with you and your parent(s) or carers too if you would like her to do this. She will need to know how you can be contacted in order to do this when she has the results.

Contact for further information

You can contact Roma Thomas for further information about this study, her mobile number is: 07711 425588, or you can email her at roma.thomas@beds.ac.uk

If you are unhappy with anything Roma says or does during the research you can contact someone else at the University of Sussex who will listen to you and your concerns. That person is Gillian Ruch who is Roma's supervisor. You can contact her at: Phone 01273 872511 Email: g.ruch@sussex.ac.uk

The University of Sussex has approved this research. It has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Thank You for taking the time to read this information

Appendix 4B – Information Sheet – Professionals (PRU Staff)



Information for School Staff

Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys

You are invited to take part in research about the views of boys about themselves and the ways professionals (such as teachers and social workers) work with boys. The research also asks professionals about their views about working with boys in different settings.

Why have I been given this leaflet?

While the main focus of the research involves working directly with a small group of boys and running focus groups with other professionals, the researcher will be working in your school and she will ask permission to observe some activities in the school. This Information Sheet is designed to tell you about the research and to help you decide whether you want to give permission to be involved in any of the research activities involved in the study. Before you decide, it's important that you understand what's involved so please read this leaflet carefully.

What is the purpose of this study?

The study aims to explore what teenage boys think about themselves and what they think about the way different workers, such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others, relate to boys when they are working with them. It is also trying to find out what these groups of professionals think about the way they relate to boys. It is intended that knowledge arising from this study will be used to help inform and improve professional practice with boys.

Is this research project about this school?

No, it is designed to find out more widely about professional practice with boys. Information about the school will be part of the context and background for the study

Who is doing the research?

The study is being done by Roma Thomas for her doctorate at the University of Sussex, the University have approved her study and your school has given Roma permission to do this research. The University of Sussex has approved this research. It has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Why have you been asked to take part in this research?

You are being asked because of your professional role at this school

Do I have to take part?

No. Only a small group of staff will be asked to take part and participation is entirely voluntary. If you agree to be involved you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What will taking part in the research involve for school staff?

There are three types of involvement for school staff. If you are asked to participate you can choose to do just one of these as well as deciding not to take part. You can also change your mind and withdraw before taking part.

3. Roma will ask a small number of staff to participate in an interview so that she can learn more about the history and background of the school and how your school works with its' students.
4. During the development phase of the research Roma will spend some time in the school in order to familiarise herself with the school and introduce herself to the boys she will be working with, she may ask you for permission to observe a class that you are teaching.
3. At the end of the development phase Roma may ask you to take part in a focus group discussion which is facilitated by Roma with input from the boys she has been working with, this will provide a way of piloting this aspect of the research.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

You might find taking part in the research time consuming or you might find having someone observing your session uncomfortable. Roma will do her best to minimise disruption and her observations will not be about your individual practice.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This is an opportunity to be a part of research which aims to let teenage boys have their say about what is important to them about how boys are viewed and how they think about themselves. Roma hopes that the boys will find the activities engaging and that they will develop useful skills which they can apply more widely.

What will you do with the information gathered in the research?

The information will be used to write a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with the school. Roma will share this with you too if you would like her to do this.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Information that is shared with Roma is confidential, that means she won't tell anyone *who* said *what* unless you say something that makes her concerned that a young person or someone else might be harmed. If that happens she will talk to one of the senior teachers or Head teacher – but she will always try to let you know that she will do this. Any details which could be used to identify you will be changed or left out when the research is communicated.

What should I do if I want to agree to take part?

You can give consent by signing the Consent Form that accompanies this Information Sheet. You can also speak to Roma to find out more information, you can call or text her on the number listed in the contact details at the end.

What happens if I change my mind about taking part?

If you change your mind about taking part in an interview or being observed you simply need to let Roma know as soon as possible in advance of the interview or observation. You can also decide to withdraw your data after an interview or observation. You need to let her know this within four weeks of the event.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The information from the research will be used to write up a report about the research this kind of report is called a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with school staff.

Contact for further information

You can contact Roma Thomas for further information about this study, her mobile number is: 07711 425588 or you can email her at roma.thomas@beds.ac.uk

If you are unhappy with anything Roma says or does during the research you can contact someone else at the University of Sussex who will listen to you and your concerns. That person is Gillian Ruch who is Roma's supervisor. You can contact her at

Phone 01273 872511 Email: g.ruch@sussex.ac.uk

Thank You for taking the time to read this information

Appendix 4C – Information Sheet - Professionals



Information for Professionals

Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys

You are invited to take part in research about the views of boys about themselves and the ways professionals (such as teachers and social workers) work with boys. The research also asks professionals about their views about working with boys in different settings.

Why have I been given this leaflet?

This Information Sheet is designed to tell you about the research and to help you decide whether you want to take part in the study. Before you decide, it is important that you understand what's involved so please read this leaflet carefully.

What is the purpose of this study?

The study aims to explore what teenage boys think about themselves and what they think about the way different workers, such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others, relate to boys when they are working with them. It is also trying to find out what professionals think about the way they relate to boys. It is intended that knowledge arising from this study will be used to help inform and improve professional practice with boys.

Who is doing the research?

The study is being done by Roma Thomas for her doctorate at the University of Sussex, the University have approved her study and it has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Why have I been asked to take part in this research?

You are being asked to take part because of your professional role in working with boys in this age group.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. If you agree to be involved you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What will taking part in the research involve for school staff?

There are two main types of involvement, you can choose to take part in one or both elements. You can also change your mind and withdraw from either of these elements before taking part.

5. You will be asked to take part in a group discussion alongside other professionals about working with boys. The discussion will be facilitated by Roma who may be joined by boys who have taken part in the research and will help to run the discussion group. Roma will ask permission for the group discussion to be audio recorded.
6. You will be asked to take part in an interview with Roma to explore your views about working with boys. Roma will ask your permission to audio record the interview.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

You might find taking part in the research time consuming.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This is an opportunity to be a part of research which aims to let teenage boys and professionals have their say about what is important to them about how boys are viewed and how boys think about themselves.

What will you do with the information gathered in the research?

The information will be used to write a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with you and others including boys and the school they attend during the research.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Information that is shared with Roma is confidential. That means she won't tell anyone *who* said *what* unless you say something that makes her concerned that a young person or someone else might be harmed. If that happens she will talk to a person in authority in your organisation but she will always try to let you know that she will do this. Any details which could be used to identify you will be changed or left out when the research is communicated.

What should I do if I want to agree to take part?

You can give consent by signing the Consent Form that accompanies this Information Sheet. You can also speak to Roma to find out more information, her contact details are listed at the end of this sheet.

What happens if I change my mind about taking part?

If you change your mind about taking part in the group discussion please let Roma know at least one week before so that she can try to find a replacement. Withdrawing from the research might be due to circumstances outside your control, however as boys may be helping to run the groups it is important to try to make sure professionals do take part and avoid disappointment. If you decide you don't want to be interviewed please just let Roma know as soon as possible before the interview is due to take place. You can also decide to withdraw your data after an interview. You need to let Roma know this within two weeks of the interview.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The information from the research will be used to write up a report about the research this kind of report is called a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also be written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with school staff.

Contacts for further information

You can contact Roma Thomas for further information about this study, her mobile number is: 07711 425588 or you can email her at roma.thomas@beds.ac.uk

If you are unhappy with anything Roma says or does during the research you can contact someone else at the University of Sussex who will listen to you and your concerns. That person is Gillian Ruch who is Roma's supervisor. You can contact her at Phone 01273 872511 Email: g.ruch@sussex.ac.uk

Thank You for taking the time to read this information

Appendix 4D – Information Sheet Young People



Information for young people

Doing Boy Work - Researching Work with Teenage Boys

You are invited to take part in research about the views of boys about themselves and the ways professionals (such as teachers and social workers) work with boys. The research also asks professionals about their views about working with boys in different settings.

Why have I been given this leaflet?

To tell you about this research and help you decide if you want to take part. Before you decide, it's important that you understand what's involved. This leaflet can help you with finding out about the research, please read it carefully.

What is this research project about?

It is trying to find out what teenage boys think about themselves and what they think about the way different workers, such as teachers, social workers, youth workers and others, relate to boys when they are working with them. It is also trying to find out what these workers think about the way they relate to boys.

What is the study for?

It is trying to find out about things that will help to improve the way people like teachers, social workers and youth workers work with boys.

Who is doing the research?

The study is being done by a researcher called Roma Thomas. She is studying for a qualification called a Doctorate at the University of Sussex, that's why their logo is at the top of this leaflet. This is her picture here



The University of Sussex have approved her study and your school have given her permission to ask you to take part in this research.

Why have I been asked to take part?

Roma asked some of your teachers to suggest some boys who might like to take part in the research with me and they suggested I ask you because you might like to tell me about your views and help me find out more about what boys think is important

Do I have to take part?

No. It is totally up to you whether you want to take part. If you do take part it is also up to you what you tell me and, which of the project activities you take part in. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. You are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

There are a two main ways to take part, you can do all of these or choose to do some of the activities:

7. Firstly, you will be asked to take part in group activities twice a week for four weeks. Each session will be about an hour long and will involve a range of activities such as discussions, artwork and writing and drama. Roma will give you choices about the kind of activities you do. She will also train you in some of the skills you need to do research with groups of people

At the end of the group sessions you can help Roma to run a discussion group with adults who work with boys. These will include social workers, teachers and youth workers.

8. Secondly, you can take part in one or two interviews with Roma to tell her more about your views.

At the end of the research you will be given a certificate in recognition of your participation in the research.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

You might not like some of the activities, if this happens Roma will try to offer you something else to do as part of the research, but you don't have to take part.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This is a chance to have your say about what is important to you about how teenage boys are viewed and how you think about yourself. Roma hopes that you will enjoy the activities and develop skills that you find useful.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Information that is shared with Roma is confidential, that means she won't tell anyone *who* said *what* unless you say something that makes her worried that you or someone else might be harmed. If that happens she will talk to one of your teachers – but she will always try to let you know that she will do this. If you take part in the group sessions Roma will ask you and other group members to respect confidentiality. Any details which could be used to identify you will be changed or left out when the research is communicated.

What will happen to any work I produce in the group sessions?

The work you produce may include audio recordings, visual images and written work, the researcher will look at these things and think about them when she is writing up her study. You will be asked to give your consent for permission for Roma to use some of the work when she writes reports about her research. If you think there is something you would not like her to use in this way you can tell her and she won't use it. You may produce work that you would like people to know that you have done in which case you can give permission for this to happen as long as it won't harm you or anyone else.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you would like to participate please tell Roma Thomas that you would like to take part you speak with her or you can let your teacher know or contact her on the mobile number listed in the contact details.

What if I change my mind about taking part?

You can change your mind at any point, even during a group session or an interview and you can refuse to answer questions. If you do decide not to participate in all or part of the study this will not cause any problems for you.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The information from the research will be used to write a up a report about the research this kind of report is called a doctoral thesis. Other reports and articles may also written and published in academic journals. The findings of the research will be shared with your school. Roma will share this with you and your parent(s) or carers too if you would like her to do this. She will need to know how you can be contacted in order to do this when she has the results.

Contact for further information

You can contact Roma Thomas for further information about this study, her mobile number is: 07711 425588, or you can email her at roma.thomas@beds.ac.uk

If you are unhappy with anything Roma says or does during the research you can contact someone else at the University of Sussex who will listen to you and your concerns. That person is Gillian Ruch Phone 01273 872511 Email: g.ruch@sussex.ac.uk

The University of Sussex has approved this research. It has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Thank You for taking the time to read this information

Appendix 5A – Interview Guide, Boys (Jared)

Opener/Intro questions: Which are the moments you remember most from the activities we've been doing over the last few weeks?

- What did you think of them?
 - What did you like most ?
 - What did you like least?
1. How has it been having TAs like [Names] being involved in the sessions we've done?
 2. What do you think is the main point of this project?
 3. Why do you think Joe suggested you to take part in the project?
 4. Do you remember the first session –when you all came into the room and found that we had moved aside all the tables and chairs - how did that feel to you?
 5. What about the next week when we put the chairs in a circle - what did you/do you think about that?
 6. I've noticed that you really like the spinning chair – why is that, how does it make you feel?
 - When you go back into classrooms – are there any spinning chairs there – do you have other things you do instead?

Looking back again to the first sessions-

7. How did it make you feel when the twins went to sleep and people were putting masks on their heads, and Laurent wasn't moving from his chair but we were still asking you to carry on with the session
8. What about the time when you were on your own because the other boys hadn't come in – what do you remember about what we did
How did it make you feel when you were on your own?
9. How did it feel when you interviewed Joe, did you find out anything that surprised you?
 - What about when you started asking Ciara questions – anything that surprised you?

Subject matter of the research – teenage boys

10. Why do you think more boys than girls get excluded from schools because of their behaviour?
11. Do you think boys of your age get treated differently from girls (by a) Teachers b) Others- give examples, social workers, police)
If yes – then why do you think that is

Apart from teachers and parents who do you think the most important adults are in the lives of boys your age

When I go on with this research I will be interviewing and running groups with social workers , teachers and other groups of people who work with young people – what questions would you like me to ask those people?

Engagement

Ask about his understanding of ‘engaging’ sometimes social workers might say a young person won’t engage – what do you think they mean by this – give example of social worker trying to talk to a teenage boy – how do you think they should start the conversation, what do you think they should do to try and get to know the young person?

When you go into school into your classes – how would you like teachers and your class mates to welcome you?

What do you think it’s going to be like when you go back to mainstream school

How do you feel about it?

What things will help you to cope with going back?

12. How has it been having just the two of you in the project?
13. Are there any clips that you would like me to play back for you soon?
14. Have you got any questions for me or for James

If time – more qs for you:
What’s it like being you at school (PRU) and mainstream
What’s it like being you at home?
How do you like to spend your time?
How would you describe yourself
How would you like other people to describe you?
What makes you happy
What makes you angry
If you really want to know me you should

15. Ask about age – how old are you now, when is your next birthday?
16. How would you describe your ethnic origin?

Explain next steps and ending of the research

Appendix 5B – Interview Guide Boys (Cal)

Opening/intro questions: Which are the moments you remember most from the activities we've been doing over the last few weeks?

- What did you think of those moments?
- What did you like most?
- What did you like least?

1. How has it been having TAs like (Names) being involved in the sessions we've done?

2. What do you think is the main point of this project?

3. Why do you think Joe suggested you to take part in the project?

4. Do you remember the first session – when you all came into the room and found that we had moved aside all the tables and chairs – how did that feel to you?

5. What made you want to act out the scene you made up where you and Jared came into class late – what was that based on?

6. What about the next week when we put the chairs in a circle – what did you/do you think about that?

7. I've noticed you like making jokes and teasing other people (like when you were hiding behind me and doing the interview with the mask on your head) – do you think people realise this about you – are you able to make jokes in the classroom?

8. I've noticed you sometimes said we should delete swearing from the tape – why is that?

Looking back again to the first sessions-

How did it make you feel when the twins went to sleep and people were putting masks on their heads, and Laurent wasn't moving from his chair but we were still asking you to carry on with the session?

What about the time when you were on your own because the other boys hadn't come in – what do you remember about what we did, eg. week before last?

How did it make you feel when you were on your own?

Subject matter of the research – teenage boys

Why do you think more boys than girls get excluded from schools because of their behaviour?

Do you think boys of your age get treated differently from girls (by a) Teachers b) Others- give examples, social workers, police)?

If yes – then why do you think that is?

Apart from teachers and parents who do you think the most important adults are in the lives of boys your age

Engagement

Ask about his understanding of 'engaging' sometimes social workers might say a young person won't engage – what do you think they mean by this – give example of social worker trying to talk to a teenage boy – how do you think they should start the conversation, what do you think they should do to try and get to know the young person?

When I go on with this research I will be interviewing and running groups with social workers, teachers and other groups of people who work with young people – what questions would you like me to ask those people

When you go into school into your classes – how would you like teachers and your class mates to welcome you?

What do you think about returning to mainstream school

How do you feel about it?

What things will help you to cope with going back?

How has it been having just the two of you later on at the end of the project?

Are there any clips that you would like me to play back for you soon?

Have you got any questions for me or for James

If time – more qs for you:
What's it like being you at school (PRU) and mainstream
What's it like being you at home?
How do you like to spend your time?
How would you describe yourself
How would you like other people to describe you?
What makes you happy
What makes you angry
If you really want to know me you should

Ask about age – how old are you now, when is your next birthday?

How would you describe your ethnic origin?

Explain next steps and ending of the research

Appendix 6 – PRU Staff Interview Guide

Interview Guide – Staff were asked a range of questions from this guide

No.	Question
1	Name Job/Position
2	Number of Years at School ? Number of years teaching?
3	What brought you/ motivated you to work at: a PRU This particular school?
4	Tell me about the school Ethos Structure History Type of Pupils
4A	Can you talk me through a school day?
4B	I've noticed that you provide a lot of enrichment activities for young people –can you tell me about these, what are some of the most effective activities : With students? With boys? Why do you think this is?
4C	What specialist staff do you have access to here How do they work with the school?
5	What is the gender balance in the school students? What is the gender balance among the staff? What impact do you think this (ie. the balance of both staff and pupils) has on the school, pupils, boys in particular?
6	How do you think gender plays out in working with boys and girls at this school?
6A	Do you perceive differences in treatment between boys and girls in: your own practice? The practice of your colleagues?
6B	What about the practice of other professionals eg. social workers, police, youth workers, youth offending teams?
6C	What do you think boys perceive about differences in treatment between them and girls?
6D	What other aspects of identity do you think are most important to boys here at this school and why?

	How do the boys demonstrate this?
7	Which boys do you think will be best suited to taking part in this study and why?
8	What would you like boys to get out of this research project? What would you like the school to get out of it? What would you like to get out of it?
9	Which are the main agencies dealt with by the school Do you have any suggested contacts who might take part in the focus groups for the main study?
10	I plan to interview the Head teacher – can you suggest other staff it would be good for me to interview (and why)?
11	Any questions for me?

Appendix 7 – Professionals: Focus Group Guide

Doing Boy work? Young Masculinities and Professional Practice

Focus Group Guide

Research questions:

1. What accounts do professionals give of their practice with these boys?
 - Who are the boys that are described as 'troublesome'?
 - How are the emotions of boys described in encounters with professionals?
2. How do boys' subjectivities intersect with practice?
 - How can insights from these intersections contribute to the development of practice?
 - How do boys' experiences shape the responses of professionals?
 - What kind of subject is it possible for these boys to be?

Facilitators: Roma Thomas, Plus (name)

Resources: Information Sheets & Consent forms. Flipchart paper, pens, audio recordings (material from fieldwork with boys) laptop, speakers, audio recorder(s), skipping rope

Time: Two hours

Venue:

Intro- complete consents, ground rules, research & researcher/facilitators/ participants 10.00 – 10.20
Introduce self and (name), purpose of research, check consents signed, confidentiality, ground rules, explain fieldwork from group work with boys is part of this focus group, thank people for attending
Icebreaker On the Fence game –10:20 – 10:35 Mark out for participants with skipping rope Agree – Disagree and on the Fence positions, explain that they'll be asked to say something about why they have chosen their positions
Explain that these statements were used in the group work sessions with boys, age range referred to throughout is teenage boys aged 12 – 15. Use 2 out of the 3 statements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's easier to be a teenage girl than to be a teenage boy • There's pressure on teenage boys to be a certain way

- The best people for teenage boys to turn to for help are friends who are around the same age as them.

If time at end - can play back clips from the sessions to give an insight into the boys answers at the end of this ice-breaker. Write up responses on a flipchart in case there isn't time to play back clips

10:35 – 10.55 Identifying issues, problems, dilemmas in practice with boys

Ask participants about their experience of specific issues/dilemmas about practice (their own and/or colleagues) with teenage boys who have behaviour issues?

What are those issues?

How are these issues different or similar to issues/dilemmas with girls of the same age?

Draw from reflections from the fieldwork in a PRU to aid focus group discussion –
Issues encountered: Trust issues, enjoying trouble, not keeping still, seeking approbation despite poor/aggressive/angry behaviours
Other issues flagged – mental health issues

Issues and Your responses

10.55 – 11.15

What are we asking teenage boys to be?

11:15 -

Appendix 8 - Group Work Session Plan Example

Session 2 - 3rd October 2016

Warm Up: (Anyone can tell stories!) Storytelling in pairs. Share some of the stories (30 mins)

Exercise 1: On The Fence (30 mins)

(look for opportunities to act out their responses)

The clothes boys wear says more about them than the music they listen to.

Social workers understand how to help boys.

Boys have to be tough.

I think of myself as a man.

Exercise 2: Celebrity Interview (30 mins)

Imagine you are a celebrity about to be interviewed on a chat show, like Graham Norton.

First decide on your character's name and what they do: rapper/singer/film star/reality tv personality/fashion designer etc. And what they are promoting on the show (e.g. new film, new album etc)

Set up 2 chairs - one for the interviewer, one for the interviewee

Provide interviewer with questions as a guide.

Encourage interviewee to use questions as starting point for stories.

NB. Questions to be printed on separate page

Celebrity Interview Questions

Hello ____ (insert name of celebrity) ____ You are one of the UK's most important artists.
Can you tell us what you are here to promote?

[They answer]

It sounds amazing. What inspired you to create this work?

[They answer]

We have a question from someone in our studio audience.

[Audience member asks question]

[They answer]

Obviously you're very successful now but what was it like for you growing up as a teenager in London?

[They answer]

If you could go back and give your teenage self some advice, what would you say?

[They answer]

Thank you for being on the show and we wish you lots of luck!

Appendix 9 – Group work: Summary from Transcript

Summary – Thursday 6th October – present James, Cal, Jared, Laurent, Henrikh (TA) - late twins Aaron and Hector enter at 13:30 mins (nearly 15 minutes) into the session

Starts off with Cal not in a very good mood. Lots of examples of Laurent's way of participating and not co-operating eg. playing Sonic the Hedgehog on the computer p2 L19 – Laurent tells James No he won't be the interviewer. Laurent does though participate in more conventional ways too, p, 3 L83 talks about his local area being dead. Jared talks about 'Wannabe Roadmen' p. 5L126 and defines a real roadman. The boys discuss gender, including being friends with girls and whether girls are 'harder to control than boys also whether girls are treated differently by teachers pp.5,6,7. Laurent says he's 'tight' with boys and girls p. 6, also p. 10 L281, Cal says you can't touch girls. More talk about contrast between girls and boys on p.14 Jared talks about teacher's saying that you will crack open your head if you spin on the chairp.8 L203. On p.8 L233Cal expresses concern about being recorded says we're gonna get busted for that. James explains the point of the research p. 9 L257, when he talks about getting social workers in to question , this does not go down well, Laurent says 'I won't be here then p. 10,L267. The boys discuss Jo the teacher that they don't like and relish using her name even when James asks them not to be personal p. 10. Laurent seems very clear about the rights of students vs teachers – ie . the right to claim self defence p. 12 L333.

Boys discuss crying and whether it's okay for a boy to cry, mainly they conclude that it isn't okay p. 15 & 16, Jared talks about it being gay. Cal says some women are more like men p.15. There are moving sections here where both Jared and Laurent talk about crying – neither quite admits to crying properly, though Jared comes closest to it , says he has cried but doesn't tell more – James makes it easy for him to stop short of revealing this p.17 L468. MQ from Jared 'Strict teachers are better but not funner' p. 17 L472. Cal says 'delete that' p.17 L486 and does an impression of Imran the teacher. The boys talk about strict teachers and less strict teachers and about substitute teachers getting bullied p. 18/19.

Appendix 10 – Data Sharing Group: Workshop Plan

Analysis Workshop Plan – Tuesday 3 October 1.40 pm – 3pm

Riverdale Higher

Research Questions - Focus for workshop

How do boys account for themselves?

- How are gendered, racialised, classed and emotional identities and other aspects of identity constructed within these accounts?

How do professionals account for their practice with boys?

How do boys' subjectivities intersect with practice?

- How do boys' experiences shape the responses of professionals?
- What kind of subject is it possible for these boys to be?

Session Overview

1.40pm – 3pm – Total time 1 hour & 20 minutes
1.40pm Intro (Self & Rachel L) & Consents – Explain about recording the session
1.50pm Intro to the Research, General Overview Roma to explain research = into the views of boys who have been excluded (or might be at risk of exclusion) because of behaviour issues AND the work of professionals (like teachers and social workers) who want to help boys. In the case of teachers, means helping boys with their education as well as their feelings about themselves and other people. In the case of social workers and youth workers – might be more generally about boys feeling good about themselves not getting into trouble.
What I've done so far – Graphic on flipchart paper in the form of a journey and what I am asking the boys to do here ie. help me to think about the research/contribute to what I think about– speak to this. (RT to prep in advance)
Any Questions from boys
2.05pm Analysis of the research Start with an Open Question – What do you think were the 3 most important things I found out – invite boys to call out what they think - Ask Rachel to write it on the flipchart. <i>Supplementary (if needed) I tried to find out what boys thought about whether they were being treated differently because they were boys by people like teachers and social workers - what do you think I found out?</i>
2.15pm Theme 1 - Treating boys treated differently to girls (does it happen?Who thinks so and why does it happen? Int: Do you think you treat boys differently from girls?

Firstly ask boys what they think the answer was and why ,then go on to give the answer

R: Yes, my approach is different, very.

Int: Tell me what is different?

R: It just is. My approach with the boys would be I think... I don't know, it just is, I can't really explain it but I know there is a difference, definitely. I can't really say what it is.

Ask boys **who said that** ?– Give boys cards labelled: Teachers, Social workers, Youth workers

Discuss what professionals have said – give other quotes from the data

Ask boys why they think it might be hard for some teachers and social workers to recognise that they act differently with boys and to say why they act differently with boys

Groupwork data – 'Boys get shouted at , girls don't'

2.25 pm Theme 2 – Moving about - Roma to model swinging on chair to explain the theme

Quotes from the data - ask boys who said that and why?

Teacher's focus group (remember not to say who said this!!)- 'Swinging in a chair is a health and safety risk'

'children will always find something else, boredom can be a reason'

'Some young people are attention seeking,'

Social workers (remember not to say who said this!!)- *'it's because a child is bored'*
'lots of adults fidget and swing in their chairs' *'children need to be allowed to fidget'*

Roma (R) and Rachel (Int) to read from script about swinging in the chair and ask boys what they think about it

Segment 1 -

R: You know what every teacher's excuse is for when you swing on chairs? In my school someone swung on a chair and cracked their head open and died. That is every teacher's excuse.

Int: But it has happened before.

R: Yeah but it hasn't happened at your school has it?

Int: Maybe not but , yeah

Segment 2

Int: So do you think there's a problem about this thing about moving? You want to move or fiddle around with things and you're always being told to keep still. Is there a problem, like a mismatch?

R: Yeah I don't understand why they say, 'Keep still.' I just don't understand why they say it. it isn't even that fun. At least make the lesson a bit fun if you get to at least fiddle with something. Like when you're fiddling with something it keeps you concentrated but when you're still you don't know what to do and you just look about and stuff like that.

Int: So it's about it being fun?

R: No, not really fun. That came out wrong. I mean like when you're sitting still you're not concentrated because you're in a slump like this most of the time when you're sitting still. But if you're fiddling with something, like you're fiddling while looking, I feel like you're more ... How can I put it? More engaged while you're doing something. Instead of sitting still, you're not really engaged because you're bored. When you're fiddling with something you're keeping yourself occupied while listening and stuff.

Int: So if I said, I'm not going to. If I said, 'Please sit in that chair'.

R: I'd find a way to fiddle on that chair somehow.

Int: But then probably the interview won't go so well maybe?

R: No because I'm not engaged. I'm too busy trying to find a way to keep myself occupied.

Ask boys what they think of this

Prompts (does this happen? Is it important to keep still for learning? Why do some (teachers) think it is important – are they right?)

2.40pm - 2.50pm Theme 3 Getting into trouble and fun**Segment 1****Rachel and Roma to read the script**

Int: So tell me about that. Why do you do that when you know that you're going to get in trouble?

R: I like getting in trouble.

Int: Why?

R: I don't know. I just ... I used to like getting in trouble.

Discuss why getting into trouble is fun

Prompts – what sorts of things are trouble

Segment 2

Int: Okay. All right are strict teachers better?

(Pause – ask boys what they think the boys said – make note on flipchart tick or cross/yes or no cards)

R: No. Oh yeah they're better but they're not funner

Discuss

If time 1 or 2 more themes

Theme 4 - Why does a boy need to be a man? Explain that some boys think a boy needs to be a man – Rachel and Roma to read script – ask boys if any of them would like to read it - have prepared scripts to hand out to them – give them the choice to act with me or to play both parts.

Int: If I was writing an instruction manual about how to be you, and first of all how to be a boy, what would I need to write down as to how to be a boy?

R: Act like a man.

Int: What else?

R: [Pause] Believe in yourself.

Int: Anything else?

R: [Pause] Don't be scared.

Int: Anything else?

R: [Pause]

Int: Act like a man, believe in yourself, don't be scared. They're the main points, yeah?

R: Wait, I might have more. [Pause] Be respectful. Don't cause trouble. Let trouble come to you. Let trouble come to you so you can deal with it.

6. Acting like a man

Int: What's acting like a man mean?

R: Don't be like ... act like a man, like your old man.

Int: But you're not a man because you're 15.

R: I mean like because you are going to be a man so act like it. Don't act like a baby.

5th theme – supplementary activity only if needed

Grid on flipchart – social worker, teacher, youth worker (ask boys if there are any other workers)

Who would be the first person you would go to if.... And Who is the last person

You were worried about a friend of yours – eg. if he was in some sort of trouble

You were upset because your parents were splitting up

You felt angry because you had been blamed for something that wasn't your fault that had happened at school

2.50 pm End Workshop – thank boys for taking part , recap what is going to happen ie. that this is part of your research and is going to take me some time to write up

Any last questions.

Appendix 11 – Excerpt from Co-terminus Transcript: Data Sharing Group Workshop

My AudioTranscript	Rachel L Notes
<p>Present: 8 Boys - David, Ezekiel, Carl, Santi, Damien, Ainsley, Alex, Paul, Teaching staff, Beth (last part) and xx (a male teacher) who enters during the session –Roma and Rachel L supporting me. All the boys are Year 11 – ages range from 15 to 16 (at least two boys had had their 16th birthday in the last 3 weeks).</p>	<p>1.40 -group due to start. The YP have left the room, apart from one boy who has come in and sat down. Roma goes to the door and there are several minutes of discussion with a teacher about who should be in the room. Names are called out. The first boy in is not on the list and he leaves.</p>
<p>Session starts, ran from 1.40pm – 3pm - this is the slot for what are termed Enrichment activities.</p>	<p>One boy comes in and sits down. Another comes in and walks up behind him – he pokes him in the ribs and the first boy jumps up – he turns and laughs and tells the other boy to F Off. He goes to sit down again but is wary – the other boy is still behind him & laughing. First boy moves suddenly towards the first, who runs across the room laughing. They are smiling but circling each other around the tables. They are laughing and saying– I’m gonna kill you man’ One leaves the room and the other follows. Three boys come in together and sit at the corner of the tables (tables in open box shape). They are talking and laughing. One takes out a pack of cards and the start to look at them. Roma welcomes them – hello – and gets out biscuits and puts them on the table in front of them.</p> <p>A 4th boy comes in and sits with the others. His hoodie is up around his face and he doesn’t speak. They include him in the cards. They talk quietly between themselves and there is laughter. All the boys in this group are black</p> <p>Two other boys, both white, come into the room and sit on the other side, one seat apart from each other. They join in the conversation – there are several boys talking at once.</p>

<p>Opening – before tape started recording – RT introduced the research –used diagram in the form of a journey on a flipchart to explain study, where I was based – that I was doing a PhD at the University of Sussex, explained the research in terms of questions being asked and that I had done work at Riverdale.</p> <p>First two minutes- lots of noise – boys are speaking at once as well as me trying to speak. There is discussion going on amongst the boys about types of workers. A distinction is made between YOT workers and social services. Confidentiality is one of the important distinctions between professions. I ask a question about whether they are describing a YOT worker.</p> <p>Ainsley (Boy 1) 00:19 – Yeah, you can tell them something but if it puts you in danger or other people in harm, like in danger.</p> <p>Boy 2 (Ezekiel- I think)– They say it's confidential meaning that you told them but they can only tell their whole Unit but then if it's dangerous they can only tell the police or other people if it's dangerous.</p> <p>Boy 3 (Santi) 00:41 Nothing's ever confidential.</p> <p>Roma tries to continue explaining/discussing things. Boys are talking over me.</p> <p>Santi calls them to attention – says (twice) Look at this woman. There is quiet – I start to ask a question, boys begin talking over me again.</p> <p>'Let me ask the question' said twice by me – I sound in good humour (don't sound strained)</p> <p>Boy 4 (David) still talking about confidentiality – If you say to me I'm gonna shoot someone.</p> <p>Discussion continues among the boys.</p> <p>01:55 I put the questions to them telling the boys that I asked teachers, social</p>	<p>Roma introduces the session and starts to talk about what they will be asked to do. The boys are sitting. Roma is standing in the centre of the tables. One is leaning forward with his hands at the edge of the table.</p> <p>A boy tips the small table forward and back.</p> <p>Another boy leans forward and splays his arms out.</p> <p>Boy gets up and swaps his chair for another one. Sits back down. He is coughing.</p> <p>The card game is still going on between two boys. There is laughter.</p> <p>Boy leans his head on his hands.</p> <p>The biscuits are being eaten. They are kept in the group on the right and not shared across.</p> <p>They have their coats on and buttoned up. The boy with the hoodie hasn't spoken and the hood is still up and tied across parts of his face.</p> <p>There is a disagreement about roles and which professionals do what -voices get louder There is pointing and hands are waved around.</p> <p>A boy puts his hand up to ask Roma a question. Roma moves forward and makes eye contact.</p> <p>The card game is still going on and has moved to another set of boys. Roma moves a step towards the boys when they don't answer her question and they look up. She repeats the question.</p> <p>A boy stands up and sits down.</p>
--	---

<p>workers and boys as well. I asked them what do you think is the most important thing about the way you communicate and the way you work with boys. I ask them (the group of boys) what do they think was said .</p> <p>Boy 1 replies (sounds like) they don't know shit</p> <p>Roma: No, well they didn't say that to me.</p> <p>Boy 2: That's real they don't know nothing</p> <p>Roma: Who doesn't know?</p> <p>Boy 3 (Santi): Social Services, YOT workers.</p> <p>Boy – They think they know (More talk among the boys)</p> <p>Boy 3; Wait what was the question?</p> <p>I repeat the question - what do you think I found out? What do you think were the most important things?</p> <p>Boy: Oh how they communicate with them? (He's checking the question)</p> <p>Roma: Yeah – what do you think were the most important things I found out.</p> <p>Boy 3: Is it recording from now?</p> <p>Roma: Yes</p> <p>Boy 2: What's recording?</p> <p>02:57: Roma: The session – we record it so that I don't have to remember everything you said</p> <p>Boy 2: Oh (said in understanding)</p> <p>Roma: It's only for me</p> <p>One boys says to another – You just snitched</p> <p>Boys start laughing - one boy says 'when they (referring to me) put it on their website' they start teasing each other .</p> <p>One boy who is not Paul shouts out 'It's Paul from XX (names a local area)</p> <p>The boys start laughing, I am laughing too.</p> <p>Roma: I remind them that I'm going to keep it confidential</p> <p>Boy 3: Yeah but you have to use your fake names innit</p> <p>Roma: Yes</p>	<p>Roma is moving away and towards the boys – away when she is giving them the data and back towards them when she is asking them their views.</p>
--	--

<p>Boys start to name each other and name themselves with different names, possibly the names of other boys in the school.</p> <p>I try to ask questions – this goes on for about 40 seconds</p> <p>Boy 2 (Santi) says: All right cool, cool, hushing the others so that I can ask my question – there is quiet as a result of him hushing the others so I ask my question.</p>	
--	--

Appendix 12 – Side conversation between Jared and Henrikh (TA)

Group work 29th September 2016

On one occasion Jared initiated a very engaging side conversation about football with Henrikh the TA. Here is Jared's start to the conversation, about five minutes into the group work session. Ironically, this was a session where we were talking about different methods of communication. Note the way Henrikh attempts to divert Jared but is himself diverted.

Jared interrupts [James, who is speaking about the task] speaking quietly but audibly to Henrikh: Did you watch the match last night?

Henrikh (speaking quietly) That's got nothing to do with the work

Jared: But did you?

Henrikh: Let's focus on that (the work) and we'll talk about that (the match) at break time.

James continuing: You asked on Monday if you could act it out right, so let's add acting to the list.

Replying to James

Jared: I don't know anymore (sounds very subdued, almost unhappy, speaks quietly)

Less than ten minutes later Jared begins the football conversation again, this time he is much more successful in drawing in Henrikh. They are both speaking quietly but their conversation is fully audible on the recording, it sounds like a background chorus to the main activity of James leading the session.

At the same time as James speaking – the following side- conversation continues:

Jared speaking to Henrikh: Mustafi centre midfield-playing Cozorla. Was it Xhaka was substitute? On the side, you had Walcott. Must have been Xhaka then, well someone came on for him. And then there was like three in the middle and then it was Ozil. Therefore, Ozil was playing and Sanchez, it was like a (word unclear) formation

Henrikh: Was it?

Jared: Umm

James: [Attempting to bring Jared back into the main activity – speaks brightly] Okay, Jared let's hear your top ten please

Jared: [Speaks quickly as if to prove he can listen and talk about other things at the same time] Laughing, speaking, listening, gesturing, playing, arguing, debating, moving, designing, shouting

Appendix 13 – Free Writing Extracts

Free Writing Exercise 1 – 11th January 2019

What is stopping me in interpreting my data?

So now I come to it – I am trying to address the question(s) of what I afraid of – why am I hesitant in interpreting my data? I think one thing is that I fear that what I have done is too thin, too partial and incomplete. I'm afraid that I haven't been thorough enough to do a good job. I keep losing threads. I am afraid, not feeling secure in what I have done and remember about my data, worried that I have gone off onto other pathways and not used my time well enough – straying into diversions, trying to find a digital pen to speed up transcribing. Transcribing by hand so that I could become soaked in my data which I achieved. But all the time I was worried about the cost - the cost of spending this time when I should be doing something else. What else? I'm not/wasn't doing it right. That's why I am afraid – that I will be found out - that I haven't done things I should have done. As always I am my own harshest judge and critic. No one else is doing this. I am holding the pen.

Free writing exercise – 5 minutes – 18th January 2019

Data excerpt - Jared: *That's because you can twizzle on it [a swivel chair] but I don't know if that distracts you?*

Roma: *Me?*

Free writing in response

I am thinking about this – a little reluctantly at first because I didn't think it was so significant. It's interesting to me that I had misremembered the word 'distract' and was looking for the word embarrassed instead. Distraction is big though in my data. The boys are constantly 'distracted' from what we want them to do – our task is constantly to attract them to what we are trying to do. I remember Jo the drama teacher's frustration - shall we just let them all run around and do what they want. Danny the TA replying only half jokily 'Isn't that what we usually do?' I remember times and lessons I observed where not much was going on- the 'engagement' hadn't worked, the boys weren't doing the drawing that would help them to explore their emotions, they weren't doing the activity. They were surly and unco-operative. I realise that I don't want to write about some aspects of this because I don't want to put them or the school in a 'bad' light.

My reflections on this:

Notable phrases and words - Distraction is big , frustration, not wanting to write about some aspects, half jokily

Half jokily is interesting because it also means half serious or half not joking which means serious. Jokes can be a cover a disguise – we are back to the masks again. Jokes

can cover lots of things, embarrassment, 'truths' that are too hard to bear too much to say – things that hit a raw nerve and so need to be mediated/covered for us otherwise we would be weighed down by them. The consequences were too much. What if the whole endeavour of trying to educate these young people was useless and could never work, not because of them (the boys – overwhelmingly they are boys) but because of us. Maybe we are never and can never be good enough to attract them to learning? I recognise these as my own feelings when I have a bad day in teaching at work. When a student doesn't get things and is plainly not interested in what I want her (overwhelmingly it is 'her') to get. I reflect that I am increasingly trying to hold on to the beautiful moments in teaching to buoy me up and make me strong in the face of the ugly moments and the moments of not very much.

Free Writing – Discussion Chapter - What to Write About?

5 minutes – 13th May 2019

There is sometimes too much freedom. I have choices and now stumble, wondering what to pick. It feels like re-starting. A while ago, before I had to write this I felt sure about what I was going to write – like when I was a child and thought I could almost see God hiding amongst the clouds, I thought he was almost visible, at the edge, or that I had only just missed him.

And now – end of prevarications – what do you/I want to discuss today?

Here's one thing, time. Time is big, the boys are out of time, the clock, their age is ticking. That's what makes the ages of 14 – 16 special – they're on the cusp, their issues change, become more serious as their age progresses. At 15 Cal shows they reach their limit of tolerance (being tolerated) even in a PRU. This is the monopoly game. They are being warned about [the risky game] but maybe they don't realise they're playing it. Some of them have surely not taken things seriously enough or seriously at all. Or maybe they just don't care, they connect with this world but they also have their own 'world' their own boy nation – perhaps.

5 minute writing (Part 1) – 16th May 2020 – Boys – New Chapter – What is my focus?

Starting a new chapter – always a place of fear for me. It often feels like I am empty – what to do now? What was done before seems blank, hardly anything there for me to build upon – always starting again like Cysphus rolling the stone uphill again but that was myth –right?

So when I think of the boys I can see them – even though they must be men now. I see them as 15 year olds, bolshie, smiling, swearing, not swearing, difficult. Always on the move. Plenty to say and nothing to say. Worried about their work and effecting not to care. Having to be someone – taking care of themselves and others – being men not girls. Feeling the school they are in is no good, that they are lost, ashamed. Resenting

others who look down on them. Knowing what others think of them. It rankles with them. They leave the room when they like, they have other things. Lots of things to do. They miss each other.

Appendix 14 – Flyer promoting Focus Group for Professionals

Working with teenage boys- A research workshop for professionals

Facilitated by Research Fellow - Roma Thomas

About the workshop

Teenage boys are a focus for many professionals who work with young people, this research workshop will provide a space for discussion and reflection among professionals about their work with boys aged 12 – 15. The workshop will draw on material collected by the researcher during a three month phase of group work in a Pupil Referral Unit. The group work was undertaken with a small group of boys who had been excluded from school due to behaviour issues.

The workshop aims to bring together insights from group work, observations and interviews with boys and professionals in order to inform practice.

About the research

This research is part of a PhD study focusing on teenage boys who have behaviour related issues and the practice of professionals, including social workers, teachers, youth workers and police. The researcher is undertaking her doctorate part-time and works as a research fellow specialising in applied social research with young people and professionals.

Who should attend ?

Social workers, teachers, youth workers, police and others who work in professional settings with boys aged 12 – 15.

What is involved?

Participation in a workshop (maximum 2 hours) which will include a focus group discussion about practice with teenage boys. I would also like to interview a small number of professionals following the workshops . Interviews will be scheduled at a convenient time to suit the individual participants following the Workshops.

About me

I am an experienced researcher and have undertaken numerous projects which involve interviewing children, young people and families as well as professionals on a range of sensitive topics from social work child protection to child sexual exploitation.

Key Dates and How to take part

The Workshops will take place on 13th and 20th January 2017 at Venue

If you would like to take part and, or have any queries about the research please contact: roma.thomas@beds.ac.uk

Appendix 15 – Data Overview

Group work	Interviews	Data Sharing Workshop	Focus Groups	'Many Minds' Analysis Group	Field notes, Research Diary and Free writing texts
16 hours audio recordings of group work sessions from twice weekly sessions Sept – December 2016 Transcribed by Roma	8 x interviews with school staff 2 x interviews with boys Audio recordings transcribed by an agency	8 Boys 2 hours of audio recording material transcribed by Roma Co-terminus Transcript (Roma) Movement Notes by Rachel L Reflection Discussion between Roma and Rachel L.	3 x Focus groups with professionals 1xTeachers (n3) 1x Social workers (n8) 1x Multi-disciplinary – teachers, social workers, police, youth worker, social worker(n9) Focus group notes	1 session 5 participants Notes taken by Roma	Field notes written up on the day. Reflections recorded in Research Diary.

Group work	Interviews	Data Gathering Workshop	Focus Groups	'Many Minds' Analysis Group	Field notes, Research Diary and Free writing texts
<p>14 hours audio recordings of group work sessions from twice weekly sessions Sept – November 2016</p> <p>Transcribed by Roma</p>	<p>8 x interviews with school staff</p> <p>2 x interviews with boys</p> <p>Audio recordings transcribed by an agency</p>	<p>8 Boys</p> <p>2 hours of audio recording material transcribed by Roma</p> <p>Co-terminous Transcript (Roma)</p> <p>Movement Notes by Rachel L</p> <p>Reflection Discussion between Roma and Rachel L.</p>	<p>3 x Focus groups with professionals</p> <p>1xTeachers (n3)</p> <p>1x Social workers (n8)</p> <p>1x Multi-disciplinary – teachers, social workers, police, youth worker, social worker(n9)</p> <p>Focus group notes</p>	<p>1 session</p> <p>Notes taken by Roma</p>	<p>Field notes written up on the day.</p> <p>Reflections recorded in Research Diary.</p>