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The stories told by permanently excluded female adolescents attending pupil referral units in relation to their past and future selves

Adele Thacker

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctorate of Applied Educational Psychology

May 2017
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADHD</td>
<td>Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSIA</td>
<td>Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BESD</td>
<td>Behavioural Emotional Social Difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPS</td>
<td>British Psychological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASP</td>
<td>Critical Appraisal Skills Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCSF</td>
<td>Department for Children, Schools and Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFE</td>
<td>Department for Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFEE</td>
<td>Department for Education and Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFES</td>
<td>Department for Education and Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOH</td>
<td>Department of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHCP</td>
<td>Education, Health and Care Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>Educational Psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCSE</td>
<td>General Certificate of Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS3</td>
<td>Key Stage Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Local Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOI</td>
<td>Narrative Oriented Inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFSTED</td>
<td>Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALS</td>
<td>Patterns of Adaptive Learning Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRU</td>
<td>Pupil Referral Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMH</td>
<td>Social, Emotional and Mental Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN</td>
<td>Special Educational Needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEP</td>
<td>Trainee Educational Psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSA</td>
<td>Temporal Self Appraisal theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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ABSTRACT

Department for Education statistics (DfE, 2016b) report an increase in permanent exclusion rates with exclusion also being associated with feelings of stigmatisation, rejection and shame (Harris, Vincent, Thomson, & Toalster, 2006) crime (Vulliamy & Webb, 2000) and social exclusion (Daniels, 2011).

Research relating to inclusion has focused upon excluded boys, who form the vast majority of the official exclusion figures, with girls being overlooked in school prevention strategies and research (Osler, Street, & Lall, 2002).

This research aimed to explore the stories told by permanently excluded young females in relation to their school experience. Attributions for prior misbehaviour and exclusion(s) were also explored alongside possible future selves.

An adapted version of Hiles and Cermak's (2008) model of ‘Narrative Oriented Inquiry’ (NOI) was employed. Guided narrative interviews, supported by the use of a visual life path tool, were conducted with 3 female adolescents attending Pupil Referral Units (PRU) within a rural Local Authority (LA).

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Ziber’s (1998) holistic-form and categorical content perspectives were applied to the data collected. Holistic form analysis considered the overall form of the story and was used to consider narrative plot lines whilst categorical content analysis permitted the identification of themes, informed by the research questions.

Narrators were found to reflect upon the transition from child-centered primary to perceived impersonal secondary settings whilst also reflecting upon the transition to PRUs. Key themes in relation to attributions emerged including feeling misunderstood and let down by their school settings, a critical period of distress at home and peer related factors such as bullying, conflict and peer pressure. The research also highlighted the potential impact
of experiences and attributions upon future selves alongside the potential gender differences in the experience of school and exclusion.

The current research informs potential adaptations to education policy and procedures in order to address possible gender specific social, emotional and mental health difficulties. It is hoped that the research presented promotes further interest into the marginalized group of permanently excluded young females alongside promoting the practical, ethical and epistemological reasons for researching the perspectives of young people.
INTRODUCTION

The following study portrays the narratives of permanently excluded female pupils with a focus upon their attributions for misbehaviour and hopes and expectations for the future. Females were highlighted as the desired focus due to previous literature suggesting that females are not a priority in school's thinking about behaviour management and school exclusion with the ‘invisibility’ of girls having implications for their ability to obtain support (Osler et al., 2002). Concern has also been expressed that the focus upon males, who form the majority of the official exclusion figures, has resulted in females being overlooked in school prevention strategies and research (Osler et al., 2002).

Although the quantity of research focusing upon exclusion is increasing, the focus often neglects to provide ‘a glimpse of the lives behind the statistics’ (Munn & Lloyd, 2005, p. 211). Current research focusing upon the views of permanently excluded young people within PRUs is limited with methodology being dominated by the use of structured interviews with a deductive, categorization approach to analysis. The flexible narrative approach adopted allowed a richer narrative to be obtained by imposing less structure. Perspectives therefore were able to be explored through exploration of how adolescents imposed ‘order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives’ (Riessman, 2008, p. 2).

A number of factors have contributed to my personal interest in this particular area of research. In my previous career I had the opportunity to open and manage an alternative provision for children at risk of exclusion. The provision had an inclusive and person centered approach and was successful in reintegrating children fully into mainstream primary schools. The value of hearing the views and experiences of the children was recognized in adapting practice to meet their needs, which in turn has promoted such an approach in my current practice as a Trainee Educational Psychologist.
During the doctoral training I have had many opportunities to visit alternative provisions and talk to the attendees in order to gain their views. It became apparent that the young people had varied and thought provoking stories to tell with varying perspectives as to their futures. Whilst visiting PRU settings and speaking to staff it became apparent that although there were more males in attendance it was felt by staff that this often deterred female referrals. As a result I developed an interest in the stories of females who were attending alternative provisions, particularly those whose entry was as a result of permanent exclusion.

It is acknowledged that professional identity as a TEP, holding individualized ideas and beliefs regarding education, may in turn have influenced the direction of the research and data interpretation. It is also acknowledged that although the use of the narrative interview may have facilitated the telling of stories, the researcher was still privileged in terms of interpretive voice. The influence of the researcher upon the production of knowledge, data collection and analysis is inevitable but its elimination would make it impossible to retain the benefits of qualitative research (Yardley, 2015).
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Setting the scene

1.1 Permanent Exclusion

The term ‘exclusion’ was first introduced in the 1986 Education Act, which outlined provision for three exclusion categories: permanent, fixed and indefinite. The indefinite category was abolished however in the 1993 Education Act as a result of dissatisfaction with its use (OFSTED, 1993).

Permanent exclusion is a measure that can be invoked by Head Teachers as a response to inappropriate or challenging behaviour (Daniels, 2011). Guidance states:

“It is for the head teacher to decide whether a child’s behaviour warrants permanent exclusion, though this is a serious decision and should be reserved for:

- a serious breach, or persistent breaches, of the school’s behaviour policy; or
- where allowing the pupil to remain in school would seriously harm the education or welfare of the pupil or others in the school “ (DfE, 2012b, p. 6).

In the case of permanent exclusion the Local Authority must arrange full time, supervised education by the sixth day onwards (DfE, 2012b). Full time education refers to the provision of English and maths as part of 21 to 25 hours of guided learning per week (DfE, 2012b). Research however has found excluded pupils to receive much less than the required amount (Evans, 2010).

A fixed term exclusion is a disciplinary measure where a child is temporarily removed from school to address incidents of serious misbehaviour, disruptive behaviour or breaches of the school policy. A pupil may be excluded for one or more fixed periods (up to a maximum of 45 school days in a single
academic year (Barker, 2010)). In exceptional cases, usually where further evidence has come to light, a fixed period exclusion may be extended or converted to a permanent exclusion (DfE, 2012b).

In addition to the formal categories of exclusion introduced, reference has frequently been made to ‘informal’ or ‘unofficial’ exclusions (Brodie, 2000; DfE, 2012b) whereby students are discouraged from returning to school or parents encouraged to remove their children. Official guidance emphasises that this is unacceptable practice (DfE, 2012b); evidence however suggests that it continues to be used (Berridge, Brodie, Pitts, Porteous, & Tarling, 2001). The accuracy of official statistics has therefore been questioned. Decreases in official exclusion rates may indicate an increased use of internal exclusions or managed moves, which could be considered as equally detrimental to official exclusion (Munn, Lloyd, & Cullen, 2000).

1.2 Exclusion statistics

Department for Education statistics (DfE, 2016b) report an increase in permanent exclusion rates between 2014-2015 with 5800 children and young people being excluded nationally in the 2014/15 school year compared to 4950 the previous year (table 1.1). On average around 31 permanent exclusions per day occurred in 2014/2015 compared to 26 in the 2013/14 school year. The greatest increase in the number of permanent exclusions was in secondary schools, where there were 4790 permanent exclusion in 2014/15 compared to 4000 in 2013/14. 83% of permanent exclusions were found to occur in secondary schools with over half of all exclusions being found to occur in Year 9 and above. Boys were found to be three times more likely to be permanently excluded than girls. Those with EHCP’s were four times more likely to be excluded than those without SEN with those receiving SEN support being found to be seven times more likely to be permanently excluded. 0.22% of pupils receiving free school meals were found to be excluded compared to 0.05% of those not on receipt of free school meals. Statistics therefore appear to suggest that permanent exclusions are on the rise with males, children with SEN and those in receipt of free school meals being at greater risk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>No of permanent exclusions</th>
<th>Proportion of school population (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008/09</td>
<td>6550</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/10</td>
<td>5740</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>5080</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011/12</td>
<td>5170</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012/13</td>
<td>4630</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013/14</td>
<td>4950</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014/15</td>
<td>5800</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Number and proportion of permanent school exclusions from 2008/09 school year to 2014/2015 (DfE, 2016b).

1.3 Reasons for exclusion

Persistent disruptive behaviour has been cited as the most common reason for permanent exclusion, accounting for 33.3% of permanent exclusions in the 2014/15 school year (DfE, 2016b). Physical assault against a pupil accounted for 13.3%, physical assault against an adult accounted for 6.0%, whilst 9.7% were accounted for by verbal abuse/threatening behaviour against an adult and 4.6% against a pupil. Drugs and alcohol accounted for 10% of permanent exclusions (DfE, 2016b).

The reasons provided for exclusion however must be viewed within the context of a pattern of behaviour, which may include substance abuse, truancy, volatility and aggression and strained relationships with staff (OFSTED, 1996). Permanent exclusion appears to be part of a process of gradual detachment from school which may begin months or years before the actual disciplinary measure is used (Berridge et al., 2001).
1.4 Pupil Referral Units

Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) are Local Authority controlled provisions established to provide for excluded pupils on a temporary basis, the main aim being to reintegrate pupils into a mainstream setting. A place in a PRU for an excluded young person is calculated by the government to cost between £12000 and £18000 a year whilst being associated with poor academic outcomes (Taylor, 2012). PRUs have developed a reputation of ‘holding units’ as opposed to educational centres (Goodall, 2005) with concerns that enforced association with anti social peers exacerbates rather than improves behavioural problems. The number of children being educated within PRUs has increased over the last 3 academic years (table 1.2) with only 1.4% achieving five A*-C GCSEs compared to 53.4% of young people educated within a mainstream school (Marks, 1996). Although PRUs should not be viewed as permanent placements, evidence suggests that excluded pupils often experience long periods of attendance (Atkinson, Johnson, Kinder, & Wilkin, 2004). Post reintegration regression to ‘poor to fit’ behaviour has also been highlighted (Pillay, Dunbar-Krige, & Mostert, 2013). There is however evidence to suggest that sometimes all that is needed is breathing space in an alternative setting with additional support to re-engage into mainstream (Evans, 2010). It must however be noted that because of past behaviour and the developed reputations, there is little motivation to accept pupils back into a mainstream setting (Atkinson et al., 2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Year</th>
<th>Number of young people within PRUs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013 – 14</td>
<td>12 895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014 – 15</td>
<td>13 583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 – 16</td>
<td>15 015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1.2: The number of young people within PRUs in England (DfE, 2016a)*
1.5 Political and educational context

Elected in 1997, the Labour government was committed to raise both academic and behavioural standards, with concerns being possessed regarding the rising rates of disaffection and school exclusions (DfEE, 1997). Throughout their administration the Labour government’s strategy saw an emphasis upon preventative practice, early intervention, inter-agency collaboration, addressing social and emotional needs and staff development (Cole, 2015).

Reduced funding at the beginning of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat administration was accompanied by changes in government philosophy. The ‘Department for Children Schools and Families’, a title representative of the inter connectedness of education, family and wider social care, was replaced with ‘Department for Education’ which in turn appeared to remove the emphasis upon an inter-agency, child centred approach (Cole, 2015). The introduction of new guidance on addressing pupil behaviour (DfE, 2012a) was viewed as ‘a retrogressive approach’ (Garner, 2013, p. 332) with the emphasis being placed upon control and discipline with no reference being made to relationship building or the social and emotional aspect of learning. Revised exclusion guidance (DfE, 2012b) also appeared to focus upon outlining legal duties with limited reference to unmet needs, early intervention, mental health issues and SENs (Cole, 2015).

In January 2015 the Department for Education released revised exclusion guidance without consultation and removed the stipulation that permanent exclusion should only be used ‘as a last resort’ and where remaining at the school would ‘seriously harm’ the education or welfare of the pupil or others in school’ (DfE, 2012b, p. 6). Under the January guidance the threshold was lowered considerably to ‘where a pupils behaviour means allowing the pupil to remain in school would be detrimental to the education or welfare of the pupil or others in the school’ (DfE, 2015b, p. 8).
By February 2015 the guidance was withdrawn by the Department for Education due to the threat of legal action on the grounds of the potential disproportionate impact upon ethnic minority pupils and children with special educational needs (Just For Kids, 2015).

Although school guidance relating to behaviour and discipline in schools has been revised (DfE, 2015a), it continues to focus upon the power available to teachers to use reasonable force, detentions and isolation alongside their rights to search pupils. The most notable change has been the removal of statutory home school agreements. In March 2017 a consultation was opened in relation to exclusion guidance documents. Within the consultation response (DfE, 2017b) the issue of SEND consideration prior to exclusion was raised. Although the potential impact of unmet needs and the need to identify and respond to potential causal factors was recognised, amendments to the guidance was not felt necessary to emphasise the need for early recognition and intervention further. Changes were made to support clarity as opposed to criteria or processes relating to exclusion. The new guidance is due to commence September 2017 (DfE, 2017a).

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review

Chapter two provides an exploration of a range of factors at the level of the individual, school and family in order to begin to understand the potential risk and protective factors for school exclusion. It is also necessary to explore research relating to reintegration of excluded pupils alongside future outcomes to further understand long-term consequences of permanent school exclusion. The voices of young people who have experienced school exclusion must also be considered which is to include attributions for behavioural choices, future aspirations and expectations. Theoretical considerations in the form of Attribution Theory (Weiner, 1985) and Possible Selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) will be examined in relation to their applicability to the voices of excluded pupils.
2.1 Risk and protective factors

Many children who find themselves repeatedly excluded have multiple ‘risk factors’ within their lives, which increase vulnerability (Bynner, 2001) meaning there is an increased chance of negative outcomes. Risk factors within the individual, family, wider community and educational provision rarely act in isolation (Fortin & Bigras, 1997). Despite the number of risk factors occurring in the lives of young people, many go on to achieve positive outcomes which may indicate the presence of resilience or protective factors which allow ‘successful adaptation, despite challenging or threatening circumstances’ (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990, p. 426).

2.1.1 Family, social and economic factors

Many young people who are referred to PRUs originate from considerably deprived backgrounds. They often experience chaotic homes in which problems such as drinking, drug-taking, mental health issues, domestic violence and family breakdown are common (Taylor, 2012). OFSTED (1996) comments that the lives of excluded young people present a ‘grim catalogue of misery’.

Family risk factors highlighted include: parental conflict; family breakdown; inconsistent discipline; abuse; parental mental health problems; low family income or unemployment; parental criminality or substance misuse; bereavement and loss; impoverished communities; and other traumatic life events (Cole, 2015; Cole & Knowles, 2011). Interviews with 28 young people (aged 14-20) from the North West of London who had experienced permanent exclusion found participants to suffer from pervasive disadvantage including sexual abuse, numerous shifts between homes, domestic violence, homelessness and bereavement with 18% having been looked after by local authorities and 45% being known to social services (Berridge et al., 2001).

Within family protective factors include: at least one good child-parent relationship; affection; authoritative parenting; parental support for education;
supportive parental relationship; and a supportive extended family. Wider community and environmental protective factors also include: the presence of a supportive network around the family; good housing; high standard of living; and a range of leisure activities (Cole, 2015).

2.1.2 School factors

A school’s ethos provides the context from within which children feel safe, know they are valued as individuals and are able to discuss their interests and voice their fears (OFSTED, 2005). This ethos requires staff to commit to adopt inclusive values whilst seeing exclusion as failure on the part of their school (Daniels et al., 2003). Staff maintaining a capacity to forgive, condemning the act and not the child and treating exclusion as offering a ‘fresh start’ are considered examples of best practice (Daniels et al., 2003).

The way in which behaviour is managed can be influenced by teacher attributions for difficulties. Teachers employed by low excluding schools have been found to be less likely to attribute difficulties to external factors beyond their control (Gibbs & Powell, 2011). When difficulties are attributed to within-child deficits less inclusive practices are noted as pathologising a young person allows inaction to be legitimized (Jull, 2008). To minimize problematic behaviours it is deemed necessary to look beyond the young person and consider environmental, curriculum and pedagogical alterations (Jull, 2008).

Hatton (2013) aimed to explore the differences in school ethos between primary schools with a view to identifying any differences in perception of school practices and attitudes to exclusion and inclusion. 20 schools highlighted as the most socio-economically deprived primary and junior schools within a large north of England county were coded as excluding or non excluding schools. Focus groups and interviews explored staff perceptions of practices in school and beliefs about inclusion and exclusion. Statements indicating a difference between excluding and non-excluding schools were used to create a questionnaire that was distributed to 16
schools and completed by 128 staff. Excluding schools were found to: not have a consistent behaviour management policy; target interventions at the individual; utilize sanctions and rewards equally; and believe the high level of need demonstrated by some pupils could only be met within specialist provision. Non excluding schools in contrast: had a clear and consistent behaviour policy; possessed a sense of shared responsibility within the school community; adopted a whole school preventative approach to intervention; emphasized rewards over sanctions; were less likely to attribute difficulties to factors beyond their control; and considered behavioural difficulties in the same way as learning difficulties.

2.1.3 Individual factors

Longitudinal research utilising the case files of 726 primary children excluded within the 1993/94 school year found 61% of participants to be in receipt of additional school support or a statement of educational needs at some point during the five year monitoring period (Parsons, Hayden, Godfrey, Howlett, & Martin, 2001). Behaviour difficulties have been associated with underlying learning difficulties (Gross & McChrystal, 2001), language disorders (Clegg, 2009) and cognitive impairments (Fisher & Blair, 1998). Difficulties in turn may be linked with self efficacy, the young person’s belief that they have the capacity to achieve goals (Bandura, 1977), with repeated experiences of failure resulting in disengagement (Bandura, 1977).

Protective/resilience factors at the individual level include: higher intelligence; secure attachment; positive attitude; good communication skills; sense of humour; and the capacity to reflect (Cole, 2015). Additional psychosocial protective factors include an easy temperament, proficient social skills and an internal locus of control (Daniel & Wassall, 2002) along with a good self esteem, self efficacy and a secure base (Gilligan, 2000). It must however be noted that the actual level of resilience is thought to be determined by the interaction of the young person and environmental factors (Knight, 2007).
The multiplicative effects of facing more than one risk factor must also be considered. Talbot (2002) reported the presence of two factors more than doubles the impact upon a child whilst the presence of three factors more than quadruples the negative implications. Emotional and behavioural disorders have also been found to be three times more likely to occur in children who face three or more stressful life events such as serious illness, bereavement or parental separation (DCSF/DOH, 2008). Research has discovered that multiple risk factors frequently occur in the lives of excluded young people (Daniels et al., 2003).

The literature explored suggests school exclusion can be linked to individual, social and educational factors. School exclusion must be viewed as a social issue, linked to disadvantage, societal and family difficulties; an educational issue, connected to the school system; and also a political issue, influenced by national policies on ‘discipline’, ‘academic standards’ and the merit of teaching social and emotional skills (Cole, 2015).

2.2. Reintegration

Only a small proportion of permanently excluded young people have been found to return to mainstream education. For example, only 31% of Parsons (2000) permanently excluded sample returned to mainstream education. Qualitative data in relation to reintegration has revealed a second exclusion to occur shortly after reintegration with the perception that staff were ‘just waiting’ for an incident of misbehaviour (Berridge et al., 2001).

Lown (2005) conducted interviews with 5 pupil case sets, including the pupil themselves and others involved in their reintegration (e.g. family members, school staff and LA support staff), to explore the factors perceived as important to successful reintegration to mainstream education. Three core dimensions were highlighted; positive relationships (between pupils, parents and teachers and teachers and pupils), support for academic progress and pupil characteristics (attitude towards placement and determination to
succeed). Parental support, inclusive school ethos, length of time away from a mainstream setting and staff training have also been highlighted as important factors in the reintegration of PRU students to mainstream settings (Thomas, 2015).

2.3 Future outcomes

It must be noted that, for some, school provides routine, boundaries and stability that are absent within home lives. Being excluded from their only potential source of stability and boundary setting into a chaotic home life may exacerbate problems (Evans, 2010). Research has shown that 20% of children who experienced exclusion during their primary school years were attending an alternative provider (including PRUs) 5 years later with 26% attending a special school (Parsons, 1999).

For some excluded young people the alternative provision provided in the wake of exclusion was viewed as a positive turning point with the individual attention and support in relation to social and emotional needs being valued (Berridge et al., 2001). Daniels and Cole (2010) found 19% of 141 permanently excluded young people interviewed 2 years post exclusion to believe exclusion to have increased opportunities they had desired. 50% of participants however viewed their exclusion as damaging particularly in relation to lost educational opportunities and stigmatization. Daniels and Cole (2010) found one or more A-C GCSEs to be obtained by only 18.7% of the sample.

Daniels et al (2003) tracked the careers of 193 young people aged 13-16 in a representative sample of 10 LA’s. 50% of the young people were found to be in education, employment or training 2 years after their permanent exclusion. In achieving these outcomes however the following factors were important: a belief in their own abilities; ongoing support from the local authority; supportive peers and family members; and the young people feeling their exclusion had been unjust.
Exclusion and non attendance is common amongst young offenders (Hayden & Martin, 1996). Research has shown that 30.4% of primary aged children who experience exclusion have engaged in offending behaviour within 5 years (Parsons et al., 2001). Berridge et al (2001) found 44.5% of 263 permanently excluded young people had no recorded offences prior to exclusion but had a record of offending following permanent exclusion.

Due to the negative outcomes associated with exclusion, including feelings of stigmatisation, rejection and shame (Harris et al., 2006) crime (Vulliamy & Webb, 2000) and social exclusion (Daniels, 2011). Clegg (2009) stresses that exclusion should only be used as a last resort and should be followed by efficient reintegration.

2.4 Pupil voice

The importance of listening to the voice of children and young people is now well established in response to legislation such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (“UN General Assembly,” 1989), Children and Families Act 2014 and the SEN Code of Practice (DfE, 2015c). Children with behavioural difficulties and those who have experienced exclusion continue to be under represented within research with explanations centering upon the claims that such a population experience difficulties in articulating themselves. Hamil and Boyd (2002) however suggest that pupils perceived as possessing persistent disruptive behaviour are actually found to be ‘surprisingly articulate’ during research interviews.

Lloyd-Smith and Tarr (2000) offer practical, ethical and epistemological reasons for researching the perspective of young people:

‘The reality experienced by children and young people in educational settings cannot be fully comprehended by inference and assumption. The meanings they attach to their experiences are not necessarily the meanings that their teachers or parents would ascribe; the subcultures that children inhabit in classrooms or schools are not always visible or accessible to adults’ (p.61)
Unless the views of children who challenge the mainstream school system are listened to, it is likely that their negative experiences will be perpetuated (Davies, 2005). The stories of children and young people can provide an insightful critique of educational systems which can enable a broader, multifaceted understanding of the complexities, successes and shortcomings of current practice (Toynbee, 2009).

2.5 Voice of children and young people who have experienced permanent and fixed term exclusion

Berridge et al (2001) conducted 28 interviews with young people aged between 14 and 20 who had all experienced permanent exclusion. Interviewees were found to discuss factors impacting upon their exclusion, associations being made with particular incidents or poor relationships. Whilst all the interviewees acknowledged the poor behaviour displayed at school, they did not perceive the incident, which was felt to trigger their permanent exclusion, as meriting the disciplinary measure. Whilst some expressed regret others viewed their exclusion as a positive event, which offered a legitimate reason to no longer attend a setting they disliked. Although initially responded to positively, this was often replaced with a sense of boredom, depression, disorientation and anxiety at having to find another setting to accept them.

Hayden and Dunne (2001) reported 41% of their permanently excluded sample to feel anger in response to their exclusion with 27% feeling sadness. The feelings associated with their exclusion were dependent largely on the extent to which they felt their exclusion was fair. The majority perceived their exclusion to have been unfair which resonates with the findings of many other studies (Booth, 1996; De Pear & Garner, 1996; Parsons, 1999). The sense of fairness appeared to depend upon: a belief that they had been treated differently to other pupils; the limited evidence available in relation to their involvement in the alleged incident; the incident not being serious enough to warrant exclusion; and a belief that they had not been given
enough chances. Viewpoints relating to not feeling listened to and lack of awareness of home circumstances, including the potential underlying reasons for poor concentration and anger, have previously been expressed (Munn and Lloyd, 2005).

Marks (1996) conducted interviews with 6 young people aged 12-13 who had experienced fixed term exclusion and referred to the concept of an ‘ambivalent self’. Many of the young people were noted to complain that staff had failed to recognize that they were not ‘bad’ but also described their punishment as justified. A number of young people were also felt to demonstrate ‘concrete disengagement’ in that they described their exclusion in relation to factual details, the neutral approach taken in turn allowing disengagement from the experience. It is therefore argued that the way in which pupils relate to interviewers and the way they talk about their exclusion seems to indirectly reflect important individual differences in the way exclusion is experienced.

It therefore appears that pupils who have experienced fixed term exclusions were more likely to generate internal attributions and in turn to take some responsibility for their exclusion than those who had experienced permanent exclusion. It may therefore be the case that those removed from a mainstream setting generate different attributions to those who return after a fixed term.

2.6 Attribution Theory

Weiner (1985) proposed a theory of motivation and emotion, which highlighted the role of ascriptions. Perceived causes of success and failure share the properties of locus (internal or external characteristics), stability (extent to which the attribution applies over time) and controllability (degree to which cause can be controlled). Two further properties, intentionality (Weiner, 1979) and globality, i.e. a global or specific cause (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978), have also been proposed. Expectancy beliefs and the emotions individuals experience as a result of the attributional
process are proposed to determine future behaviour (Weiner, 1985).

2.6.1 Styles of attribution
A distinction has been made between positive (optimistic) and negative (pessimistic) styles of attribution. A positive style has been characterized by a tendency to explain positive events as due to internal, stable and global factors and negative as external, unstable and specific whereas a negative style exhibits a reversed pattern (Peterson & Seligman, 1984).

Pupils who self report misbehaviour have been found to attribute negative events to internal, stable and global causes with positive events being attributed to external, unstable and specific causes (Kee Tony, 2003). Maras, Moon and Gridley (2014) found adolescents with SEBDs to possess a more negative attribution style with stable internal attributions of negative events and fewer internal attributions of positive events than pupils without SEBD. Internal and stable attributions have been reported to result in low self concept or helplessness (Abramson et al., 1978). Negative attribution style has been found to correlate with frustration and aggression (Toth, Cicchetti, & Kim, 2002) as well as foul language, bullying, habitual lateness, substance use, property damage, cheating and truancy (Kee Tony, 2003).

2.6.2 Locus of control
Locus of control refers to the degree to which one perceives a sense of mastery/control over life events (Rotter, 1966) and has been proposed to be involved in successful adjustment at any stage of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1964). An adolescents desire for autonomy and independence may result in frustration when a lack of mastery is perceived and in turn negative behaviours occur in an attempt to strive for autonomy (Kee Tony, 2003).

Elliot (1996) examined the relationship between a number of specific behaviours and locus of control in 237 children (9-16 years) with emotional and behavioural difficulties referred to a North of England Educational Psychology Service over a 2 year period. The Nowicki Strickland Locus of
Control Scale for Children (Nowicki & Stickland, 1973) indicated a relatively high degree of externality amongst the sample with no relationship being found between locus of control and behavioural severity. It must be noted however that scores of severity were allocated subjectively which in turn may question the validity of the measure. The sample also appeared homogeneous and so the scale used may potentially not possess sufficient discriminatory power.

2.6.3 Attribution of peers, teachers and parents

Miller et al (2000) identified factors highlighted for difficult classroom behaviour by 106 inner city mainstream pupils in their first year of secondary school. Pupil attributions were found to be best represented by four factors: fairness of teacher actions; pupil vulnerability; adverse family circumstances; and strictness of classroom routine. Shapiro, Miller, Sawka and Gardill (1999) reported teachers to ascribe the majority of causes of challenging behaviour as emanating from within the child (46%) and the home (33%). Miller (2003) however suggests that teacher attributions are constructed to protect the self resulting in the cause being located externally.

Miller et al (2002) identified factors highlighted by 104 parents for difficult classroom behaviour. Parental attributions for misbehaviour were best represented by three factors: ‘fairness of teacher’ actions’; ‘pupil vulnerability to peer influences and adverse family circumstances’; and ‘differentiation of classroom demands and expectations’. Parents therefore appear to agree with teachers that adverse home circumstance can impact upon pupil behaviour in schools but, in contrast to teachers, parents also agree with pupils that certain teacher characteristics are also a causal factor. Attributional decisions however represent phenomenal causality – as perceived by the viewer. Perceived causality is likely to differ between individuals and within a person over occasions (Weiner, 1985).

In relation to Attribution Theory, the way in which children and young people
have internalized the reason behind their exclusion may have implications for self-esteem, self-concept and hopefulness and in turn future expectations and motivation.

2.7 Future aspirations and expectations

The perception of negative long-term consequences of exclusion has been repeatedly highlighted (Lloyd & Peacock, 2001; Lloyd, Stead, & Kendrick, 2001; Munn et al., 2000) with many young people who have experienced permanent exclusion possessing few ideas as to their future (Daniels & Cole, 2010). Many young people retain limited horizons, lack self-belief and engrained low self-esteem, believing that the direction of their lives was no longer within their control due to eroded expectations and aspirations (Daniels & Cole, 2010).

2.8. Possible Selves

The future oriented component of self concept has been termed ‘Possible Selves’ which are the selves one believes one might become, would like to become and are afraid of becoming in the near and more distal future (Markus & Nurius, 1986). The theoretical framework of possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) suggests that possible selves are a manifestation of persistent goals, aspirations, motives fears and threats and can be categorized as positive, negative or impossible. Possible selves are proposed to provide a conceptual link between self-concept and motivation and in turn function as incentives for future behaviour whilst also providing an evaluative context for the current view of self (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Previous experience of success or failure in a domain influences beliefs about the relevance and attainability of possible selves in that domain which in turn may result in difficulty in articulating what success may look like and which strategies may be effective (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006; Oyserman & Markus, 1990a). The self-concept is viewed as a system of schemas about
the self constructed from past experiences in a particular domain, which systematically influence how information about the self is processed whilst shaping the perceivers expectations. They also determine the stimuli selected for attention, what is remembered and the inferences drawn (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Possible selves can also be influenced by the expectations of others alongside historical and socio-political contexts (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). If a context provided few role models of overcoming barriers to success, with extensive stereotypes which are incongruent with solution focused possible selves, positive possible selves are not sustained. Young people from socio-economically deprived communities are unlikely to have access to models of adults who fail to achieve their possible selves with ease. As a result such youths are likely to interpret difficulty as an indication of failure and in turn reduce persistence due to not recognizing difficulties as the norm (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006).

We are more likely to engage in strategies to attain a desired possible self when the self and devised strategies are consistent with our important social identities which are likely to incorporate community expectations about the occupations and attainments of in-group members (Oyserman et al., 2006). Socio-economically deprived communities are exposed to low achieving stereotypes of the in-group (Thomas, Townsend, & Belgrave, 2003) which in turn may result in social identities that are inconsistent with academic possible selves.

Positive possible selves also appear to reduce risk-taking behaviours. Oyserman and Fryberg (2006) report youths (11-15) with fewer positive possible selves to be more likely to report smoking and drinking alcohol. Those whose possible selves focus upon being popular rather than academically successful are also more likely to report smoking and alcohol consumption at age 15. Possible selves however do not always regulate action. Possible selves succeed in enhancing effort when they are linked to strategies and feel congruent with important identities (Oyserman et al.,
Oyserman, Bybee, Terry and Hart-Johnson (2004) found students whose academic focused possible selves were accompanied by detailed strategies to report greater self efficacy whilst also attaining better grades than those without a detailed strategic plan.

Adolescents who are unsuccessful in constructing and maintaining positive possible selves are likely to seek alternative ways to establish their identity. Delinquency may become such an alternative when other avenues appear unrealistic whilst rebellious behaviour can allow adolescents to define themselves as adventurous, powerful, independent and in control which in turn results in prestige with peers (Oyserman & Markus, 1990a).

Delinquency may also appear attractive to those who construct positive possible selves but have yet to create feared/ to be avoided selves. Expected positive selves alone therefore may not be sufficient to provide the motivation to avoid delinquent actions, feared possibilities being required to ensure action (Oyserman & Markus, 1990a).

A study of 238 youths between the age of 13 and 16 who possessed varying degrees of delinquency (as defined by educational establishment attending) revealed that non-delinquent youths were more likely to endorse positive possible selves whilst showing significantly more balance between their expectations and fears than did those classified as most delinquent. Although those classified as most delinquent possessed a feared self that may be associated with the evading of delinquent activity, many failed to generate the expected possible selves that could provide the vision as to how they may avoid criminality (Oyserman & Markus, 1990a). Confirmation was therefore provided for the hypotheses that negative possible selves are motivationally beneficial when combined with specific positive possible selves that provide strategies as to how to avoid the feared self (Oyserman & Markus, 1990b).

Oyserman et al (2006) devised an intervention which aimed to evoke possible selves and strategies to attain them, forge links between possible
selves and strategies, prevent youths from misinterpreting failure and to create a link between social identity and possible selves. Experimental participants (middle school youths from low income families) were found to generate more balanced and plausible academic possible selves alongside more feared off track possible selves. Absences and disruptive behaviour were found to reduce in the experimental group in comparison to controls with an increase in time spent on homework. Improved academic outcomes and depression scores were also noted. The positive impact remained stable or increased over a 2-year period. The intervention therefore was found to have lasting effects upon possible selves, which in turn were found to improve behavioural self-regulation, academic outcomes and depression.

2.8.1 Temporal self appraisal theory

A person’s identity involves more than thoughts in relation to the current self but also reflections of the self in the past and hopes and fears about the self in the future (A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2003). Present identity however can also influence the way in which remembered and predicted self are constructed (Strahan & Wilson, 2006).

Temporal self appraisal (TSA) theory states that people are motivated to praise their recent past selves and criticise their distant past selves in order to feel positive about themselves in the present (A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2001). Subjectively close past selves continue to have direct implications for present identity, resulting in a motivation to praise them. Conversely, psychologically distant past selves no longer influence former selves and can be contrasted with the current state, so people are motivated to criticize them in an effort to highlight the degree to which one has improved (Strahan & Wilson, 2006). Past research (Ross & Wilson, 2002; A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2001, 2003) demonstrates that psychologically distant past selves are remembered more critically than closer past selves. Negative past events have also been found to be perceived as more subjectively distant than positive earlier events. It therefore appears that peoples general motivation is to maintain a positive
view of present self by taking credit for past successes and attributing past failures to the distant past (Strahan & Wilson, 2006).

Research also suggests that when participants were led to perceive the future self as close a significantly more favourable future was expected (Strahan & Wilson, 2006). It therefore appears that people are motivated to view subjectively close possible selves favourably because they offer gratification of current identity. Motivation to achieve a possible future has also been found to be influenced by perception of temporal distance with the focus upon action planning enhancing with the degree of closeness perceived (Strahan & Wilson, 2006).

In summary, past and future selves have implications for present identity and motivation whilst current goals can influence how past and future selves are constructed. Past and future selves have also been shown to both be influenced by subjective temporal distance. Overall it appears that individuals have the freedom to construct their current identity by altering their views as to the past and predictions for the future in a way that assists their current desired conclusions about self (Strahan & Wilson, 2006).

2.9 Gender differences

2.9.1 Attributions
Previous research has indicated differences in male and female attributions for success and failure. Females have been found to often perceive luck to explain success and failure in relation to academic achievement and so feel limited pride in success and less shame in relation to failures (Feather, 1969). Due to luck being an external and unstable causal explanation, continued success would not be expected.

By making external attributions for accomplishments women refute credit and thereby degrade their abilities, whereas men emphasise the importance of their own ability in successful outcomes. This has been interpreted as evidence for a "self-enhancing" bias in men and of a "self-derogatory" bias in
women (Levine, Gillman, & Reis, 1982). Research in relation to the attributions of incarcerated adolescents revealed gender differences in the perceived cause of their misbehaviour with males reporting a heavy influence from peers who they wished to impress whilst females blamed themselves and their families for their misdeeds (Galbavy, 2003).

2.9.2 Possible selves

Gender differences have not been found in the number of positive possible selves generated (Leondari, Syngollitou, & Kiosseoglou, 1998), the number of balanced possible selves (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995) or expected possible selves (Aloise-Young, Hennigan, & Leong, 2001). Gender differences have however been found in the likelihood and content of feared possible selves with adolescent girls rating feared possible selves as more likely whilst describing more feared relational selves as opposed to the fewer self orientated feared selves generated by males (Knox, Funk, Elliot, & Bush, 2000; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). It has however also been found that during adolescence females possess significantly lower self-esteem than males (Bolognni, Piancherel, Bettschart, & Halfon, 1996).

Self esteem refers to an individual's sense of his or her value or worth, or the extent to which a person values, approves of, appreciates, prizes, or likes him or herself (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991). The most broad and frequently cited definition of self-esteem within psychology is Rosenberg's (1965), who described it as ‘a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward the self’ (p. 15).

If an individual possesses low self-esteem they are proposed to be more likely to run unsuccessful scenarios whereas those with more robust self-esteem envisage successful futures (Markus & Nurius, 1986). An individual with fragile self-esteem may also be more likely to lack perseverance in striving to achieve what they hope for due to low self-esteem being postulated to result in pruning of those selves deemed unattainable (James, 1890/1950).
Differences in the categories of possible selves generated have also been found to differ between genders. In general males have been found to focus upon self oriented possible selves (occupation, general failure and inferiority) whereas females possible selves have been found to be interpersonally related (Knox et al., 2000). Such a distinction is consistent with the ‘self in relation theory’ (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991) which proposes that the self concepts of females are defined through relationships whereas the self concept of males are more self oriented. Such findings suggest that relational feared selves are more accessible to female adolescents whereas feared selves relating to a general sense of failure or inferiority are more accessible to males (Knox et al., 2000).

In adolescence males and females differ in self-esteem, maturity and the degree to which self concept contains relationships and others. All of these differences may relate to differences within positive selves evident between genders (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006).

2.9.3 School experience

It has been proposed that regarding school exclusion most focus has been upon boys, who form the vast majority of the official exclusion figures, with girls being overlooked in school prevention strategies and research (Osler et al., 2002). Researchers have noted gender differences in behaviour and exclusion which have been taken for granted by teachers (Munn et al., 2000).

The 81 female participants aged between 13 and 16 within Osler et al’s (2002) research found females to highlight the importance of social friendships which were also a source of conflict and tension. Female conflicts were perceived to be emotional and drawn out as opposed to the short and physical nature of adolescent male conflict. Female friendships are often closer and more intimate than those of males which in turn may make the impact of such conflict of greater severity (Stanley & Arora, 1998).
Gender differences in bullying have also been highlighted with females experiencing and engaging in more sustained verbal and psychological bullying than males (Osler et al., 2002). Prior research has also found females displaying disruptive behaviour to perceive their need for recognition of verbal and psychological bullying to be overshadowed by the demanding behaviour displayed by males (Crozier & Anstiss, 1995).

It therefore appears that adolescent females possess different needs and in turn demonstrate different behaviours to their male counterparts. Such gender differences may in turn result in gender specific attributions and future aspirations. It therefore appears that a need exists to treat male and female delinquents as separate populations (Galbavy, 2003).

2.10 Focus for the systematic review

In the current research the decision was taken to reduce the systematic review to research that has sought to gather the views of permanently excluded young people in relation to their educational experience, attributions and possible future selves. A decision was made to not specify gender in order to explore whether gender has been distinguished in previous literature. A decision has also been made to include only research conducted within PRUs or Alternative Provisions where a possibility to reintegrate to mainstream education remains. The decision to exclude young people who had been permanently excluded and were attending a special school or who had returned to mainstream was felt justified in relation to research revealing future selves to influence past stories. The possibilities available to young people within PRUs may therefore alter the way in which stories relating to their exclusion are told.
CHAPTER THREE

Systematic review

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Inclusion criteria

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>EXCLUSION CRITERIA</th>
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<td>Non pupil voice or statistical focus</td>
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<td>Studies reporting secondary research or those which report only quantitative data</td>
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<th>EXCLUSION CRITERIA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The study must be published in a peer-reviewed journal in order to ensure credibility.</td>
<td>Non peer reviewed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.1: inclusion and exclusion criteria*
3.1.2 Search strategy

An exhaustive search of electronic databases was conducted in July 2016 with an additional search being conducted in May 2017 to identify additional papers, which may have published since the original search. The terms used included context related terms (e.g. ‘school’ and ‘exclusion’) population related terms (e.g. ‘child*’, ‘adolescent’, and ‘pupil’) and terms related to pupil voice (e.g. ‘voice’, ‘experience’, ‘perspective*’ and ‘perception*’). See appendix 1 for a detailed list of search terms used. The electronic databases searched were: ASSIA (Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts) Web of Science and psycINFO. Titles and abstracts were screened before full copies were obtained and inclusion criteria applied. At the abstract and title screening phase an inclusive rather than exclusive approach was taken to prevent papers containing relevant information that was not alluded to within the abstract being missed. The reference lists of the included papers were hand searched alongside relevant journals (Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties, Educational and Child Psychology and Educational Psychology in Practice).

3.2. Results

Electronic searches initially highlighted 684 studies. After the titles and abstracts were reviewed and duplicates removed 10 papers remained. A further 6 papers were found via reviewing the reference lists of relevant papers and 3 via specialist journals. 14 papers were excluded on the basis of sample, context and focus (appendix 2). Only one additional paper was found in the May 2017 search.
Figure 3.1: flow of information through the review phases
3.3 Critical appraisal

The Weight of Evidence model was applied to those papers meeting the inclusion criteria (table 3.2) in order to allow sufficient weight to be provided to well executed studies which utilized an appropriate design for answering the review question as opposed to appraising the studies simply on the basis of generic quality criteria (Gough, 2007). Weight of Evidence was not used as a screening tool due to the limited number of studies available but was considered in the presentation of findings.

There is no single appraisal tool considered the gold standard for the appraisal of qualitative research which in turn results in its selection being based on a subjective decision (Newton, Rothlingova, Gutteridge, Le Marchand, & Raphael, 2011). The methodological quality of qualitative studies were appraised using the Critical Appraisal Programme (CASP) for Qualitative Research Checklist (CASP, 2013) (Appendix 3). The CASP was selected on the basis of its suitability for different designs as well as the detailed guidance materials provided which reduced ambiguity around each of the items allowing for greater consistency across papers.

A numerical value was not attributed to each paper as a total quality score does not provide information relating to individual elements with some elements having more weight than others (Boland & Cherry, 2014). For example, papers which were not explicit about the way in which data was analysed and featured no raw data would not be able to score higher than low for methodological quality. See Table 3.3.

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
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<td>Fitness for purpose of form of evidence to review question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Relevance of the study focus to the review question</td>
<td>Appropriateness of sample, evidence gathering and analysis</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Overall weight of evidence</td>
<td>Combination of A, B and C</td>
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*Table 3.2: weight of evidence framework (Gough, 2007)*
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<th>B*</th>
<th>C*</th>
<th>D</th>
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<td>Med-high</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garner (1996)</td>
<td>Low-med</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low-medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainwaring and Hallam (2010)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>O'Connor, Hodkinson, Burton and Torstensson (2011)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farouk (2017)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Med-High</td>
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* see Appendix 4 for criteria

Table 3.3: weight of evidence study allocation

33% of studies had an overall medium weight of evidence, 17% as high, 33% as medium-high and 17% as low-medium. It must however be noted that although a systematic approach to quality appraisal was adopted such a system requires subjective judgments to be made.

Due to the weight of evidence model being heavily influenced by the relevance of the paper to the review question the presented synthesis will expand upon the methodological strengths and limitations in order to establish the reliability and validity of relevant outcomes.

3.4. Findings

High
Mainwaring and Hallam (2010) directly applied the concept of possible selves. The hopes and aspirations of 41 young people were obtained, 25 of which attended a mainstream school and the remaining 15 attending a PRU. Semi structured interviews were used to elicit data which discovered that
mainstream secondary pupils were more likely to provide positive possible selves when compared to pupils attending a PRU. The young people attending PRUs were found to possess fragile possible selves whilst being pessimistic about their futures. 11 of the PRU attendees were able to provide positive possible selves with 8 demonstrating little awareness of the potential for difficulties to occur and five appearing to possess no clear vision for the future. Mainstream pupils were also more able to articulate a clear path to achieve their aims with alternatives plans if their first idea was unattainable. Mainwaring and Haring suggest that previous experience may account for the preoccupation with negative possible selves and a limited internalization of positive future options. The young people attending PRUs all reported difficult previous school experiences with a history of rejection from educational establishments.

It must however be considered that the pupils were in Year 10 and 11, a return to mainstream therefore may no longer be conceived possible. As a result possible selves may be more negative as a result of perceived educational future as opposed to the exclusion experienced. Once again not all pupils had been permanently excluded and therefore the possible selves described may have been influenced by PRU attendance alone. Past selves and attributions were not a focus within the research. The research was also deductive in nature due to categories onto which data would be matched being predefined.

Medium-High

Gersch and Nolan (1994) conducted a small scale study to examine the views of pupils excluded from school in terms of being excluded, previous school experiences and reintegration. 6 pupils who had attended an alternative provision, which aimed to reintegrate pupils into mainstream, were interviewed. Most of the young people voiced difficulties with schoolwork starting at primary age and increasing with the transition to secondary. Behavioural difficulties were highlighted within primary and secondary with reasons being provided for its occurrence i.e. boredom, not feeling listened
to, for attention. Peer and teacher relationship difficulties were also frequently voiced alongside the way in which they believed teachers perceived them. Significant family difficulties were also experienced by all of the participants.

Pupils reported an awareness of the reasons behind some of their exclusions with reasons often differing from what was reported in pupil files. A number of pupils felt they were not sufficiently warned and so did not believe they would be excluded permanently. Feelings of upset and disappointment were voiced along with anger, annoyance and disappointment. Many of the young people perceived their exclusion to be unfair and an injustice whilst feeling unsure as to their future. In relation to feelings prior to reintegration, pupils reported looking forward to attending school but to feel apprehensive about how they would be treated by pupils and teachers.

It must be noted that the research was retrospective meaning that a number of the pupils had been reintegrated to a mainstream school. As a result their recollection of exclusion and feelings prior to reintegration may have been biased by their actual experiences. A deductive nature was once again taken where categories of analysis were predefined. Focus was placed upon the past, neglecting consideration of views as to future outcomes.

Farouk (2017) explored the autobiographical memories of 15 female and 20 male students aged 15-16 years who had been excluded from secondary school and attending alternative provisions. The aim of the study was to examine the narrative depictions of the past in relation to how behaviour was explained and justified at different times in their school lives. A group of nine participants recalled the impact of a critical period of distress at home, such as parental separation and domestic abuse, upon their school life. The traumatic home experiences were felt by this group to be the root cause for their display of behavioural difficulties and exclusion. The difference between the child-centered experiences of primary education and impersonal nature of the secondary school phase were also highlighted alongside incidents of teacher and pupil confrontations. Bullying was also highlighted as impacting
upon behaviour and exclusion with self-control being lost with the build up of anger and frustration being too much to bear.

The research adopted a unique approach to gaining the views of young people through the use of narrative interviews, which appeared to result in rich data being gained. Although the perceived influencing factors for behaviour and exclusion were explored, an accompanying investigation into future desires was not a feature of the research. It was also noted that despite the potential for gender differences within the permanently excluded population the data was treated collectively with comparisons between genders not being a focus of the research.

Medium

Solomon and Rogers (2001) explored the perceptions of young people aged 13-16 years attending a PRU in Lancashire, northwest England. Views were sought in relation to their current circumstances, history and future prospects. A mixed method design was adopted, utilizing qualitative and quantitative elements. Interviews were conducted alongside administering a questionnaire based upon the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Survey (PALS) (Midgley et al., 1997). During the interviews the young people were encouraged to reflect upon their mainstream school experiences in relation to relationships with teachers and peers and the curriculum. They were also asked to give an account as to how they had come to attend the PRU along with their future plans. The young people were found to possess motivationally adaptive attribution patterns for recent success and failure but to possess low self efficacy, believing they were less able to bring about the outcomes they desired. A lack of sense of agency and choice were also uncovered. The young people largely blamed teachers and/or uncontrollable aspects of themselves (i.e. ADHD, being stressed, possessing anger problems) for their exclusions. All expressed a preference for not being in their current situation but were unable to voice how they may have avoided being excluded due to a tendency to describe themselves as people to who
uncontrollable things happen. The young people were also found to possess unrealistic views as to the future.

The questionnaire data obtained must be considered with caution due to the poor response rate which in turn may have resulted in those considered most disaffected from education not responding. It must however be noted that data was not distinguished between those entering the PRU as a result of permanent exclusion and those who may have been directly referred. As a result conclusions as to the impact of permanent exclusion upon motivational patterns and future aspirations cannot be concluded.

O’Connor et al (2011) provides an overview of a pilot study which aimed to utilize group activities and semi structured interviews, supported by a life grid, to explore the voices of pupils with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD). A small group of 4 participants was used who all attended alternative providers after permanent exclusion. A grounded theory approach was adopted to allow explanation and theory to be derived. Only one interview was conducted with a 14-year-old male who described the transition from primary to secondary school as a trigger of disengagement with exclusion being viewed positively due to allowing him to leave a school where he didn’t want to be. Peer relationships were felt to be reason behind his exclusion, once again suggesting an external attribution of blame. The young person however wanted to return to mainstream and expressed the desire to not repeat his previous experience. Themes emerging from the group sessions suggested that pupil behaviour was attributed to a dislike and disinterest in school. Some of the young people felt that they had been unfairly treated by their teachers with a perception that teachers possessed preconceived ideas about them and in turn did not care about their welfare.

Although an insight into attribution for misbehaviour and school exclusion was provided there is no mention as to future perceptions. The research also focused upon the establishment of appropriate methods as opposed to the findings obtained from such methods. The use of a life grid as a supporting
guide allowed relevant events and considerations to emerge as opposed to being forced upon the young people.

Low-medium

Garner (1996) explored the perceptions of young people within two PRUs with the aim being to compare current provision to that which was available 10 years ago. ‘Unstructured conversations’ were conducted. The permanently excluded young people were reported to know the reason for their placement in the unit with a view that they were likely to complete their education within the PRU due to mainstream schools not accepting them. The pupils described feeling a lack of control with there being little interest in their views. A feeling of inferiority was also indicated.

It must however be noted that once again a descriptive approach was taken upon the voice of a small number of young people whose gender was also undefined. Although brief comments were made about attribution and reintegration this was not the focus of the research and so remained at a superficial level.

Due to the limited papers uncovered a search was conducted for thesis produced within the last 10 years as part of a doctorate programme. A thorough search revealed 2 theses that had included a focus upon the voice of pupils attending alternative provisions who had experienced permanent exclusion.

Wood (2011) aimed to consider how parents and pupils made sense of their experience of permanent exclusion. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 6 pupils (and parents) who attended a local authority PRU. The gender of the 6 participants was undefined in the pen portraits provided. An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis methodology was applied and themes extracted. Themes related to pupils feeling that schools lacked an understanding of their needs whilst also feeling a lack of belonging. Themes in relation to school experience also related to strained home-school
relationships, peer relationship problems, negative relationships with teachers, not feeling listened to and the importance of mutual respect. Exclusion was often perceived as unfair (unfairness being perceived as not being treated the same as other pupils and feeling they were unsupported) with permanent exclusion being a result of an incident which had occurred due to their tolerance being pushed before reacting in an extreme manner which acted as a cry for help. Although permanent exclusion had been perceived to lead to improvements in their situation, they also felt regret and shame about the reputation they had gained. Pupils however accepted that responsibility had to be taken for their actions whilst also attempting to create a new identity. Reservations were possessed in relation to reintegration with anxiety occurring in relation to past experiences for some pupils. Anxiety was also proposed to result from the pressure adults placed upon them to succeed. All pupils had aspirations for the future in relation to succeeding academically and securing a place in a particular profession.

The researcher reflects upon the potential of power imbalance due to the young being asked to talk to an ‘Educational Psychologist’ (EP). It must be noted that the pupils in turn may have restricted their contribution due to concern as how the ‘EP’ may use the data. It must also be noted that the approach collated pupil voice in order to generate themes and therefore may have eliminated the representation of individual differences in the content and form of individual narratives.

Callwood (2013) aimed to consider the possible selves and future hopes and expectations of three young males attending an alternative provision following exclusion from mainstream school. A narrative enquiry approach was adopted with themes being extracted from narrative interviews. A number of possible selves were extracted from the data, which was treated separately. Possible selves in relation to a future self in a helping profession and as possessing a determination to achieve were highlighted in relation to ‘Charlie’. It was noted however that steps to achieve such goals were vague and unspecific, a comparison being drawn to the findings of Mainwaring and Hallam (2010). An alternative possible self as a marine however was voiced.
alongside a feared self of being a police officer or a drug dealer. Attention was paid to the way in which stories were told alongside content, highlighting for example the significance of the delay in responding to enquiry about feared selves suggesting a less developed feared self which may in turn reduce motivation to achieve his hoped-for self. Past, present and future selves related to thrill seeking were expressed by ‘Sonnie’ alongside a desire to be rich. Once again limited specific plans were possessed in how future possible selves could be reached. In contrast however, ‘Sonnie’ was able to voice a powerful narrative as to his feared self as a ‘tramp on the dole’ which in turn was proposed to potentially motivate him to achieve his hoped-for self. ‘Sonnie’s’ discourse was also felt to position his possible selves as having power, self-efficacy and agency in his ability to achieve his goals. In relation to future education however ‘Sonnie’ possessed a belief that he ‘has’ trouble, with trouble having power over him, which contrasts with the expressed external pressures to be well behaved.

Overall the research introduced the use of narrative with male pupils attending alternative provisions, which highlighted the benefits of conducting a holistic analysis which takes into account content, structure and context. It must however be noted that the research was conducted with a Year 10 male population within a specialist provision, a reintegration to mainstream therefore being less likely that those attending a PRU which in turn may have impacted upon the possible selves generated.

3.5. Synthesis

Current research focusing upon the views of permanently excluded young people within PRUs is limited and often of a descriptive nature. A tendency appears to exist for permanently excluded young people to externally attribute blame with feelings of unfairness, injustice and lack of control dominating the literature. Unrealistic and unclear views as to the future have been highlighted with the existence of fragile possible selves. Although young people appear to be positive about a return to mainstream there is little exploration of what they feel their remaining time in mainstream would
look like. Although prior schooling difficulties have been voiced there is little attention to the attributions for misbehaviour and possible selves in relation to reintegration and long-term aspirations.

It therefore appears that current research has neglected to explore attributions for misbehaviour and exclusion in tandem with the consideration of the possible future selves of permanently excluded young people. Little attention has been paid to the short-term hopes in relation to the remainder of compulsory education and long-term future aspirations.

Methodology appears to be dominated by the use of structured interviews with a deductive, categorization approach to analysis. As a result little freedom over the narrative of young people is allowed with individual differences being neglected alongside the potential detail that an additional focus upon form and context could add. It has also been noted that despite literature suggesting the need to treat males and females as separate populations (Galbavy, 2003) previous research has tended to not define the gender of their sample (Garner, 1996; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; O'Connor et al., 2011; Solomon & Rogers, 2001) or analyse data collectively (Farouk, 2017; Mainwaring & Hallam, 2010) with only one paper focusing upon the possible selves of young males (Callwood, 2013).
4.1. The applicability of narrative inquiry to the current study?

Although the quantity of research focusing upon exclusion is increasing, the focus often neglects to provide ‘a glimpse of the lives behind the statistics’ (Munn & L Lloyd, 2005, p. 211).

Woods (1983) states; ‘we shall never be able to get into another’s mind to see exactly how it is working’ (p17). Although gaining a child’s ‘true’ beliefs cannot be obtained verbally due to the potential influence of researcher effects and possible repression of feelings (Marks, 1995), it can provide an opportunity to discover different discourses or ways of speaking about exclusion.

Adopting a narrative approach allows the experiences of individuals to be captured and understood. Insights into psychological perspectives towards experiences and events are provided through exploration of how individuals ‘impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives’ (Riessman, 2008, p. 2). The primary function of narrative is to add coherence and meaning to the complexity of lived experience (Hiles & Cermak, 2008; Murray, 2015). Narratives therefore can be utilized to make sense of disruption (Murray, 2015), trauma (Crossley, 2000) and times of transition (Riessman, 1993) due to providing a sense of control and in turn a method of coping (Hiles & Cermak, 2008).

4.2. Focus of proposed research

The following study aims to portray the narratives of permanently excluded female pupils with a focus upon their attributions for misbehaviour and permanent exclusion and their hopes and expectations for the future. Females were highlighted as the desired focus due to previous literature suggesting that females are not a priority in school’s thinking about behaviour
management and school exclusion with the ‘invisibility’ of girls having implications for their ability to obtain support (Osler et al., 2002). Concern has also been expressed that current exclusion prevention and support strategies fail to recognize the particular emotional and developmental needs of girls (Osler et al., 2002). A flexible narrative approach was adopted in order to promote pupil voice and to obtain richer narratives by imposing less structure. Previous research appears to have restricted the stories of young people via imposing structure upon data collection whilst also failing to consider the concepts of Attribution and Possible Selves.
CHAPTER FIVE

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter research aims will be explained before discussing the epistemological position underpinning the study. An overview of ethical considerations throughout the research will be presented alongside justification of the methodological choices. An outline of the analysis framework adopted will also be provided.

5.2 Research Aims

The aim of this research is to explore prior educational experiences of permanently excluded females alongside their hopes and expectations for reintegration and long-term outcomes. In particular it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What types of stories are told by permanently excluded young females in relation to their school experience and how are they told?
2. What have prior misbehaviour and exclusion(s) been attributed to?
3. What possible future selves are generated by permanently excluded females?

These questions will be addressed through exploratory, inductive approaches. Narrative research methods offer the potential to explore how individuals impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives (Riessman, 2008). The use of a narrative approach is also proposed to provide a richer outcome by examining the form of the stories told as well as content.
5.3 Ontological and epistemological position

Ontology refers to the nature of reality whilst epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would be known (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

The positivist paradigm takes the ontological view that one reality exists with the researchers role being to discover that reality (Mertens, 2005). Such a perspective has been entitled ‘naïve realism’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Postpositivists however promote the critical realist perspective, agreeing with the presence of a reality but arguing that reality can only be imperfectly known due to human limitations (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The epistemological view adopted by positivist researchers is that the researcher and subject remain independent with neither party having an influence upon the other (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Postpositivists however argue that the researchers background knowledge can influence observations (Reichardt & Rallis, 1994) with objectivity being the standard to strive for by following rigorous procedures (Mertens, 2005). Quantitative, experimental methodologies dominate within the positivist paradigm (Mertens, 2005).

The constructivist paradigm takes the ontological view that reality is socially constructed resulting in the absence of one objective reality (Mertens, 2005). Research should therefore should aim to understand the multiple constructions of lived experience from the view point of those who live it (Schwandt, 2000). The epistemological view adopted by social constructivist researchers is that the researcher and subject influence each other. The concept of confirmability is therefore promoted over objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) making it necessary for transparency in relation to how inferences were drawn from the data. Interactive and qualitative modes of data collection are often adopted in order to obtain multiple perspectives (Mertens, 2005).

The focus of the current research was to highlight the way in which events had been perceived and construed by young people. As a result, the social constructivist paradigm, which dismisses the idea of one objective reality in
preference for advocating multiple interpreted realities (Cresswell, 2009), is promoted. The constructivist perspective adopted is perceived as valuable due to its focus on developing understanding of the construction of experiences (Wearmouth, 1999) with a desire to capture the complexity in views being preferred. There is an acceptance that there is not one ‘truth’ but a series of narratives that can illuminate the complexity of the processes within schools (Allan, 1999). ‘Narrative truth’ is viewed as the expression of a subjective experience with stories acting only as ‘windows on the truth’ (Gergen & Gergen, 1988). Riessman highlights that ‘meaning is fluid and contextual, not fixed and universal’ (1993, p. 15). This however is not perceived to cause difficulties for a narrative researcher as the focus is upon how narrators construct the past and what their story means to them (Silver, 2013). Narratives themselves however may be attributed ontological status as narratives are not just ways of seeing the world; it may be argued that people actively construct the world via narratives (Murray, 2015). The researcher also believes that the interviewer and interviewee participate in an interactive process with both parties influencing the other. As a result an interactive methodological approach was adopted. The implication of multiple realities is that research questions could not be established prior to the interviews with questions evolving with the telling of each narrative. To ensure adherence of the epistemological standpoint taken the interviewers vocalisations were transcribed alongside the interviewee. The logic used to generate interpretations was also made explicit allowing tracking to the original source to take place.

5.4 Identification of possible participants

5.4.1 Context
The PRUs within the researcher’s rural placement Local Authority were accessed for the research. Eight separate centres exist: one for KS1 and KS2 pupils, two for KS2 pupils, five for KS3 and 4 pupils and a medical provision for those too ill to attend school. Provision for permanently excluded children and young people was also offered for between 5-12
pupils per week in order to meet the requirement established by the DfE for Local Authorities to arrange full time provision for permanently excluded pupils to begin no later than the sixth day of exclusion (DfE, 2012b). Transition to the PRU was one of the options after 6th day provision, which was reported to occur after a maximum of 12 weeks. Alternative options included returning to mainstream, a shared placement between the PRU and mainstream and transition to a specialist provider. The PRU reported that the aim continued to be transition to full time permanent education within an appropriate setting for all pupils.

One KS3-4 provision was accessed for the research due to educating the majority of students who had been permanently excluded. Each centre had a manager with staff moving between centres. A total of 16 teachers, 8 Teaching Assistants and 3 Mentors were available to the centre. At the time the research was conducted 25 students were on roll at the centre. The centre had 5 classrooms plus a kitchen, which was used to teach Food Technology. It was aimed for a lesson to be conducted in each room at any one time meaning 5-6 lessons would occur simultaneously.

5.4.2 Selection criteria
A purposive sample was proposed whereby young people who were considered to possess experiences relevant to the study were considered for participation (Patton, 2002): that is, those who had experienced permanent exclusion.

The following additional inclusion criteria were also established:
- Females attending PRU provision full time who are unlikely to change placement during the research
- Aged between 11 and 16 years
- Females who are not known to be experiencing particular stressful experiences in their life e.g. bereavement/family separation
- Females who staff believe would not experience distress whilst speaking about their experiences
- Females with no diagnosed speech and language difficulty requiring the involvement of a Speech and Language Therapist, which may prevent the expression of views.

Year 7-10 pupils were the intended focus of the research due to being felt to be able to articulate and reflect upon their experiences in greater depth. Statistics also indicate that the majority of those excluded from school are of secondary school age (DfE, 2016b). Year 11 pupils were excluded due to reintegration to mainstream being an unlikely option.

5.4.3 Stakeholder engagement
The head teacher of the researcher’s placement Local Authority (LA) PRU gave permission for the study to be undertaken within the KS3/4 PRU setting which also provided 6th day provision for permanently excluded young people. The head teacher was assured that the anonymity of all pupils and the setting would be preserved. Reassurance was provided that the participants would be asked about their experience of exclusion and hopes for the future and would not be directly asked about their current setting. The researcher sent the manager of the centre selected an information letter (appendix 5), followed by a phone call to obtain consent for access to their setting. The centre manager allocated a member of staff who was thought to possess considerable knowledge about the permanently excluded young people in order to identify those who met the established inclusion criteria. The highlighted member of staff sent parents of the highlighted children an information sheet and consent form, with a stamped addressed envelope, on behalf of the researcher. Difficulties were encountered in obtaining parental consent as noted by previous researchers in communicating with ‘hard to reach’ participants (Pirrie, Macleod, Cullen, & Mccluskey, 2011) which may be accounted for by parental disengagement from education (Reay, 2005) and/or low levels of literacy (Sime, 2008). Once the letters had been distributed a follow up phone call was made by a member of PRU staff during
which parents were given the opportunity to speak to the researcher and/or to arrange for the completed consent letter to be collected (see appendix 11 for script provided). Pupil consent was only gained after parental consent had been provided.

5.4.4 Participant characteristics

Initially gender was not specified within the selection criteria. The majority of pupils highlighted as potential participants on the basis of the established success criteria however were females. The two males highlighted as potential participants were discounted due to the first having a diagnosis of Autism Spectrum, which may have resulted in the interview being anxiety provoking, and the second on the basis that he was a close relative of a pupil the researcher had completed therapy with as part of the TEP role. Revisiting the literature revealed that a female population was actually a more worthy population (see p.50 focus of proposed research).

Three females aged 15-16 were selected on the basis of the specified criteria. None were subjects of an Education Health and Care Plan or Statement of Educational Needs. Each young person had attended 6th day provision within a small group of permanently excluded young people prior to being transferred to the PRU. It must be noted that transition to the PRU for these young people referred to movement from part time education within a small group classroom to attending small classes within the same building on a full time basis. Further biographical participant details can be found in the appendices (appendix 6).

5.5 The research process

In order to facilitate rich and diverse narratives, individual interviews were selected as the preferred method of data collection. The interview format was felt to provide the opportunity for trust and rapport to be developed whilst also allowing in-depth reflection.
An ‘informant style’ of interviewing was used (Powney & Watts, 1987) which allowed the young people the freedom to respond and provide information they chose as opposed to a ‘respondent style’ of interviewing. The social constructivist epistemology underpinning the research meant the research questions could not fully be established at the outset due to their evolving as the study progressed (Mertens, 2005). An interview guide (appendix 7) supported the interview process with question wording and order being contextual and responsive to the young person’s account (Braun & Clarke, 2014).

Each interview was conducted on a one to one basis in an informal, comfortable environment within the PRU or at home if requested. A trusted adult remained nearby for the young person to access if they needed to as well as being asked to occasionally check visually that the young person remained comfortable. Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and was audio recorded (see below for data protection procedures). Two interviews were completed in total for each participant to avoid the occurrence of a single prolonged session whilst also allowing a clear distinction between past and future narratives.

5.5.1 The narrative interview

The narrative interview is an unstructured interview which has been classified as a qualitative research method (Flick, 1998). The development of the narrative interview has been motivated by considerable critique regarding the traditional question-answer format which imposes structure upon responses due to the interviewer selecting the topic and order of questions whilst also dictating the language used (Jovchwlolvitch & Bauer, 2000). The impact of the interviewer is restricted during the process by encouraging the spontaneous language of the informant in the narration of events by avoiding imposing any form of language that has not been generated by the informant. The narrative interview involves four phases (see table 5.1 for summary). It begins with ‘initiation’ of the topic before moving through the ‘main narration’ and ‘questioning’ phase and ending with ‘concluding talk’. Rules are
proposed to offer guidance in order to elicit rich narration whilst also appearing non-threatening (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Rules</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Exploration of the field</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formation of exmanent questions <em>(those based upon the researchers interest)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiation</td>
<td>Formation of initial topic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use of visual aids</td>
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<tr>
<td>Main narration</td>
<td>Non-verbal encouragement</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uninterrupted narrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Questioning</td>
<td>Exmanent into immanent questions <em>(those drawn from the narration using the language used by the narrator)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding talk</td>
<td>Why questions allowed</td>
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*Table 5:1: Phases of the narrative interview*

Prior to commencing the narrative interview prior literature relating to exclusion was reviewed. Identified gaps within the literature were highlighted and used to inform the initial central topic of school experience. The initial central topic was experiential to the informant, which would in turn facilitate a rich narrative, whilst being of personal significance and broad. Initial reading of the literature therefore led to the forming of exmanent questions (those based upon the researchers interests) which would be transferred to immanent questions, (those drawn from the narration using the language of the informant) during the course of the interview (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000).

During the ‘initiation stage’ (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000) of the initial interview the contents of the two interviews were explained to the young person whilst a time line, which was to further facilitate storytelling, was presented. The method was based on life grids, which is a visual tool for mapping important life events against the course of time (S. Wilson, Cunningham-Burley, Bancroft, Backett-Milburn, & Masters, 2007). Prior to initiation of the uninterrupted narrative, the young person was also asked to divide the timeline into chapters they felt would support their telling of their school story. An opening question to facilitate the telling of the story (Flick,
was provided to initiate the 'main narration' (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000). The participant’s narrative was uninterrupted other than by non-verbal and paralinguistic feedback to encourage continuation. Notes were taken using the original words used by the participant to allow gaps in the story to be filled during the ‘questioning stage’ (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000). The exmanent questions of the researcher were translated to immanent questions formed using the language of the informant.

It must be noted that it is proposed that ‘why’ questions and direct questions relating to opinions or attitudes should not be used due to inviting justifications and rationalisations (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000). A decision was however made to utilise such questions to invite opinions in order to ensure the required data was collected to support the formation of justifiable interpretations relating to attributions. Questions however often occurred after justifications and rationalisations had already occurred spontaneously.

Once gaps had been filled participants were asked to highlight critical events from their stories. Thomson et al (2002, p. 339) defines a critical moment as ‘an event described in an interview that either the researcher or the interviewee see as having important consequences for their lives and identities’. The young people were therefore asked to identify critical moments that were felt to lead to the consequence of exclusion. A compromise between narrative and questioning was therefore made with the introduction of standardised questions to support direct comparison between informants (Jovchlovitch & Bauer, 2000). The interview closed with ‘concluding talk’ during which ‘small talk’ occurs once the tape recorder has been switched off. The content of small talk that appeared to throw additional lights onto the more formal narrative was noted down in the researcher’s reflective diary (appendix 8).

The second interview focused upon the future, adopting the same narrative interview structure as the initial interview. An opening question was delivered with the use of a visual aid to elicit a ‘main narration’ before using the words of the participant to generate questions to fill gaps in the narrative. A ‘main
narration’ was elicited for the future feared, expected and hoped-for possible selves as defined by Markus and Nurius (1986). Plans and dreams for the future were explored in relation to reintegration and long-term outcomes.

The interview protocol was tested as part of a pilot study. One young person was selected to take part in the two-stage interview process. Due to no amendments being required, the pilot participant’s data was analysed with the additional participants.

A decision was made not to utilize respondent validation (Silverman, 1993). Narratives are not static identities and so aspects highlighted in specific retellings of the past reflect the aspects that are deemed important within the specific situation, with the listener, for specific goals (Fivush & Buckner, 2013). Narratives methodology is also interested not in the identification of truth but of the narrator’s expression of subjective experience (Gergen & Gergen, 1988). It was felt that asking a young person to once again revisit and reflect upon their stories during another interview would be unethical whilst also being futile due to the contents of a story being proposed to change with each retelling.

5.5.2. Life path tool

One of the primary aims of the study was to capture the educational stories of females who have experienced permanent exclusion. Previous research has demonstrated potential difficulties in the recall of educational events including those leading to exclusion (Pirrie et al., 2011). The use of a life grid has been found to aid thinking particularly when relaying difficult and often chaotic stories whilst also allowing sensitive issues to be raised at the narrators discretion due to direct questioning being reduced (S. Wilson et al., 2007). The exploratory research therefore utilized a visual life path aid to support narration, which was also hoped to create a relaxed atmosphere within which to support pupil voice. It was felt that the visual tool would reduce the intensity associated with the use of pure oral responses. Participants were able to choose whether they would like to enter details onto
the tool or the researcher whilst also choosing the ‘chapters’ for their story. Traditionally the tool is divided into ‘home’, ‘school’ and ‘other’ categories. A decision was made to not overtly include the categories on the visual to avoid imposing meaning onto the stories being told. The informants were therefore presented with a blank arrow before being asked how they would like to divide up their life path (i.e. chapters). All of the participants chose to divide the line into school years with the researcher acting as scribe. The participants were then asked to provide as much information as they could for each chapter with the researcher recording key notes which would support clarification at a later stage of the interview. Figure 5.5 illustrates the use of the life path tool within Claire’s narrative.

![Figure 5.5: Claire’s annotated life path](image)

### 5.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations have been informed by the British Psychological Society (BPS) Code of Human Research Ethics (2014). The research gained approval from the University Ethics Committee (appendix 9). The research however aimed not only to avoid harm but also to empower and give voice to young people who are typically disempowered in research.
Informed consent: voluntary and informed consent was obtained from parents and young people prior to involvement. The parents of young people selected on the basis of the specified criteria were initially sent a letter of consent together with a stamped addressed envelope (appendix 10). A follow up phone call was made by a member of PRU staff, using a prescribed script (appendix 11), which allowed parents to provide contact details if additional information was required or permission to be provided for the collection of consent by the researcher. Whilst gaining consent from parents it was ensured that the intentions of the research were clearly explained and that taking part in the research would in no way influence or improve their child’s current situation or permanently excluded status. The research was then explained to the young person who was provided with an information sheet and consent form to sign if they agreed to their participation (appendix 12). At this stage a discussion was held about the preferred setting for the interviews to take place along with the preferred time. In order to ascertain the young person’s understanding of the process, their involvement and the outcomes for them as individuals they were asked to describe what was going to happen before commencement. Hill (2006) suggests that disappointment can occur on the part of young people when no change occurs subsequent to the sharing of their stories. The benefit however of participation within social research is often the potential intrinsic benefits of voicing one’s story and having it heard (Munro, Holmes, & Ward, 2005).

Confidentiality and data protection: All participants were made aware of their right to confidentiality and anonymity. All transcripts were anonymised and stored safely alongside recordings (lockable filing cabinets and password protected data files). Pseudonyms and replacement terms for settings were used. Participants were made aware that confidentiality would only be breached if there were concerns relating to safety as well as being informed as to how the data was to be used. Interviews were tape-recorded and therefore contained identifiable information. The recordings were only available to the research team who ensured safe storage of the recording whilst in use. Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008) emphasise the
importance of considering anonymity when presenting narrative accounts. Data which contained identifiable information or information that required sharing for safeguarding reasons was excluded from the transcripts to ensure confidentiality “at the expense of some of the data's richness” (Andrews et al., 2008, p. 538). Only a sample transcript is presented within the appendices to further protect the identity of the young people.

It must however be noted that staff within the school may be able to identify the child due to only a small sample being available. During the initial negotiation meeting with the PRU head an agreement was reached that only a reflective account of findings would be provided minus potentially identifiable quotes. The anonymity of the settings used and individual participants would therefore be ensured.

**Protection of participants:** The researcher was aware that the interview content might be potentially sensitive. Participants may also feel a degree of anxiety due to data collection involving face-to-face interviews. The narrative interview approach employed however promoted sensitive open questioning. Participants were invited to share as much information as desired without feeling pressured. If a young person did appear anxious during an interview the option to stop was discussed. An initial meeting was also held during which the research was explained and consent gained. The session aimed to also allow the young person to become comfortable with the researcher and to ask any questions held to allay fears and anxieties. The school’s knowledge as to students who were unlikely to experience distress at sharing their narratives was used to select participants. Sources of support were discussed if distress was experienced with a list of relevant phone numbers and websites also being provided to all participants at the end of each interview *(appendix 13: debrief sheet)*. At the end of the interview participants were asked if they were happy for their recording to be used. If the young person disclosed information which indicated a child protection concern the information was passed to the school designated person after discussing the need to do so with the young person. The interview process was divided into two sessions to avoid the occurrence of a single prolonged session. A gap of
one week between each 30-60 minute session was implemented to reduce the impact of multiple sessions. The interviews took place in a familiar, private place on an individual basis with a familiar adult being nearby to access if required. The researcher strived to create a safe, non-threatening environment and to promote feelings of trust and security through the use of active listening techniques.

**Power:** To prevent participants from feeling as though it would be rude to refuse to provide consent it was necessary to address potential issues of power. Information was provided as to their role within the research and how the information provided could be used in advance of consent being requested. They were also informed that a discussion would be held at the end of the interview as to how they were happy for the information to be used e.g. if they gave consent for all of the information provided to be used within the research and whether it would be beneficial for any of the information to be shared with their current setting. The research adopted ‘process consent’ with consent being an on-going consideration within the research process with ongoing opportunities to agree to continue or withdraw (Hill, 2005) which aimed to give informants control throughout the process (Sime, 2008). On the occasion where the young person felt that they would like to talk to someone within their setting, a meeting between the young person and requested adult was arranged.

### 5.7 Validity and trustworthiness

Due to quantitative research methods dominating the psychology field there has been a tendency to assume the criteria used to judge the validity of quantitative studies can be applied to qualitative research. The diverse nature of qualitative research however requires the application of specific criteria (Yardley, 2015). Yardley (2015) provides four broad principles to support the evaluation of qualitative research validity.

1. **Sensitivity to context:** Firstly an extensive literature search was conducted to ensure a unique research focus was selected. The voluntary and informed nature of interview participation alongside
ensuring the use of a private and comfortable setting and building empathy and rapport ensured a sensitive approach to obtaining a self-narration. Sensitivity to context was also demonstrated through the consideration of the research context upon the narrative produced whilst also including verbatim extracts from the narrative to support potential interpretations and assumptions.

2. **Commitment and rigour:** Commitment was demonstrated in the recruitment of a hard to reach population alongside the adoption of narrative as a methodology, which required thorough and systematic analysis and exploratory focus. Thoroughness was demonstrated via the use of a critical friend to develop and enhance the interpretations made.

3. **Transparency and coherence:** Clear communication of the data collection and analysis processes adopted will be provided. To ensure ‘descriptive validity’ interviews were taped and transcribed with a sample transcript being included (Robson, 2011) *(appendix 14)*. Reflexivity is defined as the “explicit consideration of specific ways in which it is likely that the study was influenced by the researcher” (Yardley, 2015, p. 268) and is an important factor in the transparency of qualitative research. Conscious awareness as to the potential impact of the researcher upon the interview process, construction of the narrative and analysis was maintained. A research diary was kept to support reflection upon factors which may have impacted upon the research process *(appendix 8)*. Coherence was ensured between the selected design and the underpinning epistemology with clarity in the written account of the research process being aimed for.

4. **Impact and importance:** The true measure of validity has been proposed to be the degree to which the research has the potential to make a difference practically or theoretically (Yardley, 2015). It is hoped that the exploratory research will promote the voice of permanently excluded young females whilst contributing to an improved understanding as to the stories behind exclusion.
The use of interviewing assumes that young people want to talk, are able to articulate their thoughts and recall events. As a result the data may be distorted due to featuring the voices of those who provide consent and are willing to talk. The small sample used may also limit the degree to which the interviewees are representative of the population of excluded children. To increase **transferability**, the qualitative parallel to external validity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), ‘thick description’ (Mertens, 2005) was used in the form of details relating to time, place and context in order to allow comparisons between the research and receiving context. Multiple participants were also used (Yin, 2005). It must be noted that the current study does not intend to produce generalisations as the focus is upon locating the pupils at the centre of the research process through the production of individualized accounts which reflect personalized perspectives (Dockett & Perry, 2007).

To ensure **credibility** of the gathered data, the criterion that parallels internal validity in postpositivist research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), multiple interviews were used to ensure participants were not rushed with peer debriefing also being used to assist in progressive subjectivity (Braun & Clarke, 2014).

Cooper (1993) voices concerns relating to the **authenticity** of data collected by interview. He states; ‘We must be aware that the nature of the pupils’ perceptions will be influenced by the circumstances that prevail when we ask for them’ (p129). A child’s narrative is likely to be influenced by the way in which the interviewer is perceived (Marks, 1995). This doesn’t however invalidate the account as obtaining a factual account is not the focus of the research, a belief being held that in order to truly understand behaviour there is a need to accept subjectivity (Cooper, 2003).

As a qualitative researcher the data is regarded as situationally bound (Howitt, 2013) and therefore consistency is not expected. As a result **dependability**, the qualitative parallel to reliability (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), is restricted to that of transcription and can loosely be applied to analysis and interpretation. A coding system was established to ensure consistency in **transcription**, which was followed throughout the transcription of each
narrative. *Inter-rater comparison* (Yardley, 2015) was also utilised whereby the emerging analysis was discussed in repeated meetings with other professionals who had read the transcripts. It was felt inappropriate however to adopt a formal inter-rater reliability procedure due to the acceptance that the interpretation is highly researcher dependent. The views of other professionals were therefore not considered a measure to ensure validity or reliability. The perspectives offered by ‘critical friends’ were viewed as a resource for developing the interpretations made (B. Smith & Sparkes, 2006).

A critical friend can be defined as ‘a trusted person who asks provocative questions, provides data to be examined through another lens, and offers critiques of a person’s work as a friend. A critical friend takes the time to fully understand the context of the work presented and the outcomes that the person or group is working toward’ (Costa & Kallick, 1993, p. 50).

The role of critical friend within the current research was to facilitate the reflective capacity of the researcher and consideration of alternative perspectives. The asking of questions allowed the researcher to think aloud and reflect whilst also ensuring adherence to the narrative theoretical basis.

The influence of the researcher upon the production of knowledge, data collection and analysis is inevitable but its elimination would make it impossible to retain the benefits of qualitative research (Yardley, 2015). This was however acknowledged and reflected upon during the research through the use of a reflective diary which promoted the ‘critical and systematic reflexivity’ called for by Hiles and Cermak (2008). Informant style interviews were used to allow a degree of interviewee control whilst researcher input was also transcribed. A paper trail of analysis was kept, as recommended by Flick (1998), to ensure objectivity could be assessed (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

To further enhance trustworthiness (Mishler, 1990) analytical findings are to be clearly presented alongside evidence from the data set. For additional transparency tables are included within the appendices, which demonstrate the analysis steps taken (Appendix 15-23). The use of quotations will ensure
authenticity (Mishler, 1990) due to demonstrating a commitment to remain close to the data.

5.8 Selected narrative approach

5.8.1 Defining narrative

The term ‘narrative’ holds a range of meanings (Polkinghorne, 1995) making it necessary to clarify its use.

Narratives are texts (written or spoken) which communicate stories of lived experience (Bruner, 2006). Narratives are reconstructions consisting of descriptions and interpretations of events (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) which are driven by communicative intent. A speaker connects events into a sequence that is consequential for the meaning that the speaker wants the listener to take away from the story. A narrative can therefore be defined as ‘an organized interpretation of a sequence of events’ (Murray, 2015, p. 87). Event that are perceived significant are selected as meaningful for a particular audience (Riessman, 2008). Narratives serve to ‘unite the past and present and to signify future trajectories’ (Gergen & Gergen, 1986, p. 37). Personal narratives provide ‘the most internally consistent interpretation of presently understood past, experienced present and anticipated future’ (Cohler, 1982, p. 207). The primary function of narrative is to bring order to disorder by organizing what is disorganized and giving it meaning (Murray, 2015).

A narrative focus is to be adopted, narrative being a theoretical and methodological approach. Narrative is viewed as a vital part of human activity which provides the means to make sense of a disordered reality (Murray, 2015) via rendering events into a story as opposed to simply cataloguing a series of events (Sarbin, 1986). Narrative is also concerned with attributing agency to characters within the narrative and inferring causal links between events whilst also providing the opportunity to define ourselves (Murray, 2015). Stories are proposed to shape our identity and guide our actions with
language providing the medium to understand ourselves as we constantly engage in the process of recreation (Crossley, 2000).

5.8.2 Narrative plots

Narrative is an attempt to link events in time and meaning as opposed to the simple listing of events. Events in isolation describe independent occurrences whilst the way in which events are related within a narrative allows meaning to be produced and a plot formed. The plot provides coherence and meaning as well as a context necessary to understand the featured events, characters, goals, morals and relationships that form a story (Jovchvlovitch & Bauer, 2000). Accounts of human experience cannot proceed without temporal embedding, as events need to be placed within a context of preceding and subsequent events to be properly understood. A view of self in a specific moment is nonsensical unless it can be linked to one’s past (Gergen & Gergen, 1988).

All plots may be converted to a linear form, a ‘plot line’, to represent evaluative shifts towards or away from valued goals (Gergen & Gergen, 1988). A plot line is defined as the link between distinct events occurring over time and an ‘evaluative comparison’ (Gergen & Gergen, 1983, p. 258). As one approaches a valued goal over time the plot line becomes more positive whereas a negative plot line occurs as movement away from a valued goal occurs. Three prototypical narrative forms have been proposed in relation to the way in which a plot develops over time:

- Progressive narrative: events are connected in a way which suggests progression towards a goal. Movement in a positive direction may act as a motivational source.
Typologies of narrative have also been adopted from the literary field (Cermak, 2004; Frye, 1957; Gergen & Gergen, 1986) to support consideration of narrative plots:
• ‘Romantic saga’ consists of a series of episodes in which challenge is faced with a happy ending occurring after a number of struggles (series of regressive – progressive phases)
• Tragedy involves rapid downfall after achieving a high position (progressive narrative followed by rapid regressive narrative)
• A romantic-comedy plotline features a regressive narrative followed by a progressive whereby events become increasingly problematic before happiness is rapidly restored

![Figure 5.4: Graphical representations of narrative typologies](image)

5.9 Narrative analysis
Narrative analysis refers to a collection of methods which can be applied to interpret texts of storied form (Riessman, 2008). Narrative relies upon extended accounts that are preserved and analysed as a unit rather than as categorized fragments as is commonly found in other qualitative approaches such as grounded theory and thematic analysis. As a result the structural and sequential features are retained (Riessman, 2008).

Within psychology, narrative analysis is an emerging field and so agreement as to definitions and processes has yet to emerge (Howitt, 2013). The cross-disciplinary application of the narrative methodology has also resulted in the development of a number of narrative analysis techniques. Therefore there is
no singular narrative analysis approach (Mishler, 1995) with Riessman (1993) suggesting that ideas as to analysis may even be derived from the narratives themselves.

An adapted version of Hiles and Cermak’s (2008) model of ‘Narrative Oriented Inquiry’ (NOI) was employed (Figure 5.6) due to appearing an inclusive and pluralistic model as opposed to being definitive and exhaustive. NOI is also viewed as an approach that is firmly rooted within a psychological perspective (Hiles & Cermak, 2008). NOI is viewed as a ‘methodological approach’ that guides research planning from question formulation, through data gathering to analysis. The authors combine a number of interpretive perspectives which they argue are used flexibly allowing the analyses that are most helpful in answering the research to be selected. Hiles and Cermak (2008) state that the interpretative approaches that constitute their model can be used singularly or in combination.

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Ziber's (1998) interpretive perspectives, which are incorporated within the NOI model, are based on the combination of two dimensions: holistic-categorical and content-form. The first dimension refers to the unit of analysis i.e. whether the story is examined as a whole or dissected into defined categories. The second dimension refers to the distinction between the story account itself, i.e. its content, and how the story is retold. From these two dimensions four model of analysis can be produced: holistic-content, holistic form, categorical content and categorical form.

- Holistic-content perspective involves identifying patterns within the story, which link key aspects to the overall image presented. In other words, what are the significant aspects of the narrative and how do they relate to the narrative in its entirety
- Holistic-form perspective focuses upon the plot or structure of the narrative
- Categorical-content perspective involves identifying themes throughout the narrative. Utterances are extracted, classified and gathered into categories.
• Categorical-form perspective involves selecting a feature of the narrative and considering how this relates to the general form of the narrative. The focus is upon ‘discrete stylistic or linguistic characteristic of defined units of analysis’ (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 13).

Each of the four modes is proposed to be related to certain types of research questions (Lieblich et al., 1998)

Although Discourse Analysis and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) may utilize narrative interviews, it was felt that neither approach was appropriate for the current research. Firstly Discourse Analysis is centred upon the way in which language has been constructed and it’s function, going beyond the level of individual words (Howitt, 2013). The heavy focus upon language use within dialogue was therefore not felt appropriate for an explorative study focusing upon the content and form of stories. IPA was also discounted as a methodology. Although IPA is an approach dedicated to the exploration of lived experience (J. A. Smith & Osborn, 2015), it often begins by exploring the themes of one transcript before integrating common themes across transcripts and examining similarities and differences (Howitt, 2013). It was felt that the rich description of individual narratives would be lost along with the context from which meaning is obtained (Parker, 2008).

5.9.1 Analytical process

5.9.1.1 Transcription

An orthographic transcription (Howitt, 2013) was used, that is, a verbatim record of what was said including repetitions, hesitations, emphasis and false starts. The principle of parsimony was therefore adhered to in that the features of speech which were not intended to be used in analysis were not transcribed (Howitt, 2013). Crossley (2000) states that although analytic work focusing upon discourse requires fine details to be transcribed, this is not necessary for narrative analysis which only requires the interview content including questions and answers. All researcher and interviewee vocalisations were transcribed due to the research being underpinned by the
theory of a co-constructed self as opposed to narrative reflecting a unitary self (Riessman, 2008). The process of transcription allowed for further familiarisation with the data, which in turn highlighted interpretive ideas and significant threads. A sample transcript can be found in appendix 14.

5.9.1.2 Initial readings

To gain an initial sense of the data repeated reading was employed. This allowed the researcher to generate a picture of the whole story while reflecting upon the ideas and tone of the young people. Although six readings are recommended (Crossley, 2007) in practice the number of readings conducted far exceeded this. Once initial readings had been conducted the data was prepared for analysis which involved dividing the narrative into a numbered sequence of segments, a segment being roughly a self-contained story episode or move in the telling of the story (Hiles & Cermak, 2008) as indicated by a movement in time, topic, theme or perspective. The extract below demonstrates this process:

1. Well basically in primary I was normal. I wasn’t naughty. I was really good. I never got on the teachers bad side or anything.
2. It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven because it’s the first year isn’t it and you got to try and mix in and try and get noticed. That’s what I thought.
3. Because I saw people kicking off and stuff I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes, I’m going to do it as well because people laugh at you if you are not the same as them. So then I started to be naughty.
4. It wasn’t that bad in Year 7 but then when I got to Year 8 it started to get worse. I got in trouble more and I used to have detention everyday. I used to get my smart card signed and I used to get sent home.
5. Year 9 was the worst because I was proper kicking off like all the time, like all day everyday. I used to walk out of school. I used to trash the school and I used to not listen to what I was told. Teachers told me what to do and I just swore at them and didn’t listen.

Although some approaches encourage transcripts to be presented as numbered lines which are viewed as arbitrary, the use of segments was
preferred due to narratives being viewed as a sequence of events (Hiles & Cermak, 2008).

A multi layered analysis was performed upon the transcripts through the application of the interpretative perspectives holistic-form and categorical-content which were selected on the basis of their ability to address the research questions established at the outset (Lieblich et al., 1998). The methods selected allowed theoretical models to inform the close exploration of the narrative content whilst also allowing broad exploration of the types of stories told by permanently excluded females about their school experiences.

5.9.1.4 Holistic-form perspective

The holistic-form perspective considers the overall form of a story (Hiles & Cermak, 2008) and so was drawn upon to consider the plot line of each narrative. According to Gergen and Gergen (1988) every narrative can be formally outlined by it’s plot progression, which can be distinguished by plot analysis. A graphic representation, ‘skeleton plot’ (Riessman, 2008) of each individual’s plot line was produced to depict the evaluation of prior schooling events. The use of a structural graph has been outlined as an effective tool for presenting large amounts of narrative material in a clear, accessible format (Lieblich et al., 1998) and was therefore felt a useful first step to provide an overview of the school experiences encountered prior to exclusion. Each plot was then compared to the plot lines identified by (Gergen & Gergen, 1986).

The holistic-form perspective was utilized to fulfil the first research questions:

1. What types of stories are told by permanently excluded young females in relation to their school experience and how are they told?

The staged approach outlined by Lieblich et al (1998) was followed. The first stage of the analysis involved identifying the theme or issue, which was to be the focus for the plot. A decision was made to focus upon school experience
in an attempt to demonstrate the young female’s evaluations as to their experience throughout their education journey.

The second stage involved identifying plot dynamics. Inferences from particular forms of speech, which included reflective and evaluative comments alongside terms that expressed the structural components of the narrative e.g. turning points, progression or remaining in the same place, were used alongside the collation of narrator comments judged by the researcher as evaluative comments. Lieblich et al (1998) state that analysis may be enhanced by the researchers ‘personal perspective and evaluative impression’ (1998, p. 91).

The final stage including the production of the graphical representation. To enhance transparency key extracts from the transcript, which depicted a cluster of meaning, were added to the graphical representation.

To increase transparency whilst also aiding the production of graphical representations a summary table of each past narrative was produced (appendix 15-17).

The descriptive and interpretive summary table aimed to document the key features of each narrative such as the beginning, middle and end (Murray, 2015). Such a process allowed key issues in the text to be highlighted alongside narrative linkages whilst also discerning subplots within the overall narrative. Key evaluative extracts were also included alongside reflections related to notable themes and tone. Evaluative extracts obtained from the uninterrupted narrative formed the basis of the evaluative interpretation with extracts taken from the clarification questioning stage being used to support interpretations. The location of the extracts are differentiated by colour within the summary table.
5.9.1.4 Categorical-content perspective

This approach to narrative analysis involves submitting self contained story episodes to thematic analysis (Hiles & Cermak, 2008). The categorical-content analysis (Lieblich et al., 1998) was selected due to permitting the identification of themes running through each narrative, informed by the research questions which aimed to highlight attributions of misbehaviour and exclusion alongside the possible selves generated. Although the choice of research questions identified the subtext upon which the analysis would focus, it was noted that interpretation of the selected subtext can be validated or facilitated by aspects of the narration outside of the selected subtext (Lieblich et al., 1998). Material outside of the required subtext was therefore extracted with the relevant statements and phrases if required to ensure clarity in the extracts meaning.

The research conducted aimed to explore the stories of permanently excluded young females in relation to their experience of schooling and their future selves. In particular it sought to answer the following questions:

Table 5.2: Demonstration of summary table
2. What has prior misbehaviour and exclusion(s) been attributed to?
3. What possible future selves are generated by permanently excluded females?

The theoretical orientation of attribution theory and possible selves informed the readings of past and future stories. The first stage required sections of text referring to attributions of misbehaviour and exclusion to be extracted from the ‘past’ narrative transcript (*appendix* 18-20). Due to the ‘future’ narrative taking a more directive approach by providing the frame of feared, expected and hoped-for possible selves, all of the obtained text was used as the data for the categorical content analysis. To further support analysis of possible selves a two staged approach was taken – the first descriptive and the second interpretive (Murray, 2015). The first descriptive stage included the production of a summary account of the possible selves generated for each young person, which was completed prior to the interpretive content analysis stage (*appendix* 21-23).

Clusters of meanings were then identified, as suggested by the Narrative Oriented Inquiry model, as opposed to separating the narrative as you may if utilizing thematic analysis (Langdridge, 2007). From the clusters of meaning identified, a principal sentence was used to represent each category. The principal sentence selected was that which contained the words and phrases repeated throughout the narrative whilst also being felt to best depict the category/cluster of meaning it was selected to represent (see *appendix* 18-23). Lieblich (1998) suggests that a focus upon principal sentences rather than the complete text is advisable when the material is in rich in elaboration and repetition. The categories were reduced to those felt to represent *clusters* of meaning developed throughout the narrative, as opposed to those that featured sparingly, prior to discussion. Whilst considering the attribution subtext the properties proposed by Weiner’s (1972) Attribution Theory, locus (internal or external characteristics), stability and controllability, were considered alongside intentionality (Weiner, 1979) and globality (Abramson
et al., 1978) with thoughts and reflections being entered into the ‘comments’ section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was calmer in primary and the first bit of Year 7 but then my attitude changed. I used to do whatever I wanted (C1 87)</td>
<td>Internal factors</td>
<td>‘Claire’ appeared to recognize a number of controllable internal factors that impacted upon her behaviour including her attitude and the choices she intentionally made. ‘Claire’ appeared to take full responsibility for her intentional actions (“It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I went to chuck chairs and stuff because I was obviously so angry and I couldn’t take my anger out on the teachers so I took it out on the equipment (C1 47)</td>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes it was just nothing like them saying sit down or something or telling me to stop and I would just explode and start to kick off (C1 51)</td>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>‘Claire’ however also spoke about the presence of uncontrollable anger and outbursts, which were not always justified (“When they annoyed me I would kick off for no reason”). It was however recognized that ‘Claire’ appeared to be able to control the outlet for her anger i.e. “I couldn’t take my anger out on the teachers so I took it out on the equipment” (C1 47).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My anger was getting worse because I had it all building up so I just exploded that day when I got excluded (C1 65)</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Demonstration of principal sentences and categorization
Figure 5.6: An overview of analysis process adapted from Hiles and Cermak (2008)
CHAPTER SIX

Findings: interpretive analysis

6.1 Introduction
The analysis presented within this chapter aimed to explore the content and form of stories told by young females who have experienced permanent exclusion. The first section of the chapter focuses upon how the story of school experience is told through the use of holistic form analysis and consideration of plot line typologies. A graphical representation is presented alongside verbal commentary and analysis in terms of plot line trajectory using typologies adopted from the literary field (further explanation provided in section 5.8.2: narrative plots). The second section focuses upon attributions of past behaviour and the way in which exclusion itself has been understood. Clusters of meaning are considered and supported through illustrative excerpts. The third section of the chapter focuses on future possible selves. Clusters of meaning, which are supported through illustrative excerpts, are presented.

6.2 Typologies: How are the stories of permanently excluded females told?

6.2.1. Interpretive holistic form analysis
A summary of the beginning, middle and end of each story, a process recommended by Murray (2015), is provided within appendix 15-17 alongside categorization of each narrators evaluative statements. Those relating to school experience are to be discussed below. The additional statements are presented in appendix 15-17 for transparency as a result of the analysis being used to support the re-storying process after content analysis.

6.2.1.1 Tara’s past story
Figure 6.1: Graphical representation of school experience: Tara
School experience commentary:
Tara’s school experience plot line appears stable throughout primary with little shift in her evaluative position being noted. Some evidence of a progressive narrative however appears to occur with transition to secondary school as suggested by the emphasis upon the word ‘loved’ and the use of the term ‘thrive off it’ when talking about Year 7 in comparison to previous comments relating to being ‘alright’ and feeling ‘comfortable’.

Although Tara appeared to initially enjoy Year 8, a regressive tone occurs when Tara had to return to the school attended for the first part of Year 7. A further sharp regression occurs which appears to coincide with Tara feeling ‘really let down’ (T1 50) due to ‘empty promises’ (T1 71) being made whilst also feeling the help she needed was not being provided (‘I’m not getting the help I need’ (T1 50)).

Progression however is noted in Tara’s evaluation of the immediate provision provided after permanent exclusion (6th day provision) due to feeling listened to, respected and supported (‘They’re listening to me and it actually feels really nice to be listened to … they respect me I respect them back’ (T1 120)). Tara however does appear concerned as to the impact of her move to the PRU upon her education (‘In a way I wish I was still there [mainstream] because my education is going to get behind’ (T1 144)).

After transitioning to the PRU setting slight regression is noted which appears to be influenced by a perceived lack of trust (‘They don’t trust people and that’s why I feel like I clash with the teachers’ (T2 37)), the amount of support received (‘They are not really giving me the help that I need’ (T2 24)) and the scope of education being received (‘I only get so much education’ (T2 23)). It is however noted that Tara feels ‘lucky’ as she believes she is beginning to change for the better (‘I am lucky to be here because if I was in a mainstream now I would probably be the same girl that I was’ (T2 41)).
Typology reflections
Tara’s plot line relating to her school experience appears consistent with a ‘romantic saga’ trajectory characterized by progressive peaks and troughs whereby obstacles are met and overcome and new ones faced. The presence of a bright imagined future however is questionable. Tara’s narrative ends with a regressive trough with a return to mainstream being expected to result in regression. Tara’s plotline may therefore be best conceived as repeated tragedies with challenges being perceived as partly insurmountable. The initial regression in Tara’s trajectory appears to occur with a return to her initial secondary school after a period away due to relocation. It appears that Tara had encountered difficulties at home and with her peers that she did not feel she was receiving support for (‘I’m not getting the help I need’ (T1 50)). The high point in Tara’s plotline coincides with a movement away from the mainstream school setting. A regressive trajectory however follows with a move from small group emergency provision, following permanent exclusion, into the PRU centre. The regressive evaluation appears to occur as a result of the absence of trust (‘They don’t trust people and that’s why I feel like I clash with the teachers’ (T2 37)), and the absence of the support and assistance desired (‘They are not really giving me the help that I need’ (T2 24)).

6.2.1.2 Claire’s past story
The teachers were really nice (C1 79)
The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer (C1 79)
I didn’t have anything to react to (C1 79)

Obviously because I was naughty they chose things to pick on me about because they knew I would react (C1 28)
Because I didn’t listen they picked on me more (C1 28)
I didn’t want to do anything (C1 37)
They picked on me more (C1 44)
I wouldn’t listen to the teachers because obviously I knew what they were going to say (C1 46)
I was obviously so angry (C1 47)
I was supposed to have a counsellor but they didn’t get me one. I spoke to someone like once. (C1 62)
They were not making the effort to get me to do good (C1 61)
I wanted to get back in (C1 70)

People respect me and I respect them here (C2 93)
I can just go out and calm down (C1 84)
It is a lot smaller so not many people get in your way (C1 90)
I get my own space in here (C1 93)
You can be yourself (C2 13)
After getting used to the place I have liked it (C2 19)
They can help you when you want them to (C2 23)
I like being here because there are more teachers than students (C2 24)

It was hard to settle in (C1 13)
There wasn’t anyone to interact with (C1 74)
It feels weird. It is just not like school (C2 11)
I felt lost and confused (C2 19)
I didn’t want to be here

Uninterrupted narrative (C1)
Clarification phase (C1)
Future story (C2)

Figure 6.2: Graphical representation of school experience: Claire
School experience commentary

Claire’s school experience appears stable throughout her primary education due to the perception of a positive environment (‘The teachers were really nice’ (C1 79), ‘The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer’ (C1 79)). On entry to mainstream however Claire’s school experience trajectory became regressive which appears to coincide with regression in her perception of peer influence and behaviour self reflection (‘it all changed when I went from primary to Year seven. You got to try and mix in and try and get noticed’ (C1 5), ‘I turned into a different person when I went from primary to high school’ (C1 19)). Claire appears to believe she was picked on due to her negative behaviour (‘Obviously because I was naughty they chose things to pick on me about because they knew I would react’ (C1 28)). Claire also appears to believe that her school was not providing the support she needed in order to change her behaviour (‘They were not making the effort to get me to do good’ (C1 61), ‘I was supposed to have a counsellor but they didn’t get me one’ (C1 62)). Claire’s school experience then appears to stabilize, albeit continuing to be evaluated as negative.

Claire initially possessed a desire to return to mainstream (‘For the first couple of weeks I was like “oh mom what can I do to get back in” because obviously I wanted to get back in because I didn’t want to miss out on my lessons and being with my mates’ (C1 70)). Whilst within the 6th day emergency provision Claire disliked not having people to interact with whilst also appearing to dislike the change in environment from a mainstream school (‘I thought “I don’t want to stay here because I don’t like it and there are not many people and it feels weird. It is just not like school” ’ (C2 11), ‘I felt lost and confused and I didn’t want to be here’ (C2 19)). Claire’s narrative however becomes progressive as she moves from 6th day provision into the PRU centre. The smaller environment appears to allow Claire to have her own space and to avoid triggers whilst also not feeling as pressured to follow her peers (‘It is a lot smaller so not many people get in your way and if you get annoyed there is always a classroom you can go in to do your work without anyone else in there’ (C1 90), ‘You can be yourself’ (C2 13)). Claire’s
narrative also appears progressive with increased familiarity with her new setting (‘After getting used to the place I have liked it’ (C2 19)).

**Typology reflections:**

Overall Claire’s plot line appears to follow a ‘romantic comedy’ trajectory, an initial period of stability is followed by a regressive phase of challenge before finally progressing to a potential “happy ending”. The regressive phase appears to coincide with the primary to secondary transition where Claire began to feel as though she was treated unfairly despite recognizing deterioration in her behaviour (‘Obviously because I was naughty they chose things to pick on me about because they knew I would react’ (C1 28)) whilst also feeling as though her school was not making attempts to support her (‘They were not making the effort to get me to do good’ (C1 61)). Claire initially disliked her move to emergency 6th day provision due to it’s unfamiliarity and inability to socialize with peers (‘There wasn’t anyone to interact with’ (C1 74), ‘It feels weird. It is just not like school’ (C2 11)). The turning point in Claire’s narrative appears to occur with the transition from 6th day emergency provision to the PRU centre ‘after getting used to the place’ (C2 19). The increased familiarity and respect reported results in the appearance of a “bright future”.

6.2.1.3 Molly’s past story
Year 6: I did not like my teacher (M1 13)
He had a close relationship with my bully….
It felt like he was on her side (M1 89)

Year 7: I was just happy (M1 7)

Year 7 was fine (M1 15)

Not all the teachers at that school understood that respect is a two way thing (M1 44)
They would just have a go at me all the time and make me feel ten times worse (M1 45)
There was no-one actually physically there to help me (M1 49)
They didn’t understand (M1 48)

It completely broke my heart (M1 131)
I asked for any other solution (M1 130)
I was like “I cannot be doing with this school anymore” (M1 136)
I was literally threatening to smash up the building… I was that unhappy there (M1 136).

Year 8: It was really hard to go to school with teachers that pick on you everyday (M1 112)
We had got a new head teacher…He was so strict and so horrible (M1 116)
It got to me not wanting to go to school (M1 142)
When they did give me support it was the wrong support (M1 31)
They clearly didn’t want to help me (M1 58)
They were expecting so much from me and it was horrible (M1 145)
The teachers did not understand me at all (M1 163)

Year 9/10: I do have that worry of now I have no future and everything because I’ve been kicked out of school (M1 126)
I really want to get into mainstream so I can obviously get the grades and stuff I want. Here is not ideal for a good future (M2 27)

6TH day provision: Here is quite good as they have helped people get good grades and they are helping me get back to another school. (M1 126)

PRU: Here is really good because if we are good and we don’t swear or show rudeness back we get rewarded … to get us back into the habit (C2 22)
We do good things here like trips and stuff (C2 25)
If you are feeling stressed you can go and speak to someone (C2 27)
Here is so good (C2 27)

I do like the school. I prefer it to my own school (M1 29).

Uninterrupted narrative (M1)
Clarification phase (M1)
Future story (M2)
School experience commentary
Molly’s overall school experience appears stable initially before regression occurs as a result of reported bullying and dislike of a particular teacher during Year 6 (‘He would get on with other students but when it came to me he was like “erm what are you speaking for?”...He had a close relationship with my bully in Year 5 and I think that’s why whenever I would try and tell him about it he would think “she is not like that. She wouldn’t do that”. It felt like he was on her side’ (M1 88-89)).

Progression appears to initially occur with secondary transition although only reported to be “fine”. Molly however also commented that during this time a hierarchy across her peers had not been established resulting in a decision to spend time with those in the ‘middle’ (‘cause we had just gone into Year 7 and nobody knew who the populars were, no one knew who were those classed as not really liked so I was hanging around with people like in the middle’ (M1 98)). A regressive trajectory then occurs however which appears to coincide with the formation of a new friendship which was perceived to negatively influence her choices (‘I was hanging around with this girl in Year 7 and 8 and she was the one person who impacted on me a lot as she was so naughty and I think that also impacted on me throughout school as I had adopted her behaviour and that made stuff worse’ (M1 189) and in turn her relationship with teachers (‘They would just have a go at me all the time’ (M1 45), ‘They would not give me a second chance’ (M1 44)).

Conflict within her friendship group was reported to result in further regression due to the absence of support required (‘There was no-one actually physically there to help me’ (M1 49)) along with the lack of appreciation of the impact of her past (‘They didn’t understand that I was the way I was because of everything I’d been through’ (M1 58)). Further regression occurs with a managed move which Molly had objected to (‘I really did not want to go. I asked for any other solution’ (M1 130)). The initial establishment of friends was short lived with bullying being reported to occur after a disagreement. Molly emphasized her unhappiness by the making of threats (‘I was literally threatening to smash up the building if they did not get
me back to my old school because I was that unhappy there’ (M1 136), ‘I was like “I genuinely feel like killing myself here” ’ (M1 138)).

Slight progression occurs with a return to her initial secondary school although Molly reported to feel she was picked on as a result of her prior reputation (‘Teacherson, just because they knew what I used to be like, would use me as an easy target. They did stuff to me that I wouldn’t like because they knew me’ (M1 22)). A negative evaluation was maintained due to perceived unfairness (‘the teachers really weren’t fair with me’ (M1 27)) unrealistic expectations (‘When I returned to school A they were expecting so much from me and it was horrible’ (M1 145)) and the inflexibility of staff (‘We had got a new head teacher. He wasn’t as flexible as our old one. He was so strict and so horrible’ (M1 116)) alongside feelings that she was misunderstood and that the school did not wish to provide support (‘The teachers did not understand me at all’ (M1 163), ‘they clearly didn’t want to help me’ (M1 58)).

A progressive trajectory occurs post exclusion due to a reported belief that staff wanted to provide help and support to achieve her desired goal (‘they are helping me get back to another school’ (M1 126)), the provision of rewards (‘we get rewarded with like a McDonalds or something to get us back into the habit’ (M2 22)) alongside the opportunity to speak to someone when needed (‘If you are feeling stressed you can go and speak to someone’ (M2 27)). Although a positive evaluation of the PRU setting was noted, there were still concerns regarding the impact of permanent exclusion and education within a PRU on her future (‘Here is not ideal for a good future’ (M2 27)).

Typology reflections
Molly’s plot line relating to her school experience is consistent with a ‘romantic saga’ trajectory characterized by progressive peaks and troughs whereby obstacles are met and overcome and new ones faced. The plot line ends with the suggestion of a bright imagined future due to a positive
evaluation of her current situation and expectation that a return to mainstream will take place to allow a positive future to occur.

In relation to school experience regression appears to occur due to lack of staff understanding, inappropriate support, a feeling of being picked on and perceived unrealistic expectations. Progressive peaks however coincide with changes in settings. It must however be considered that throughout her time within mainstream secondary her evaluation remains negative albeit to different degrees. Her narrative may therefore be perceived to possess similarities to that of a ‘romantic comedy’ trajectory. An initial period of stability is experienced during primary which is followed by a regressive phase of challenge, which continued throughout secondary to different degrees, before finally progressing to a potential “happy ending” post exclusion.
6.3 Categorical content analysis: what has prior misbehaviour and the experience of permanent exclusion been attributed to?

6.3.1. Tara’s attributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category subcategory</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Things got really bad with my mom and it affected my schooling. I completely went off the rails. It was just really bad (T1: 23).</td>
<td><strong>Home factors</strong></td>
<td>During Tara’s narrative a large focus was placed upon her home life and the impact it had upon her school experience and friendships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She let me down the most when I needed her (T1 62).</td>
<td>Let down</td>
<td>Tara appears to feel very ‘let down’ and ‘neglected’ by her mother which began when her mother became involved in a ‘toxic relationship’. Tara also appears to have been impacted upon by her mother mental health difficulties, which resulted in anger being displayed in school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It just escalated from a happy family just to like, being abandoned. It’s really horrible but that’s how I felt, just like I’ve been abandoned (T1 86).</td>
<td>Neglected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My mom she was so depressed and I would look at my mom and be the person she was. I would go to school and be really down. I wouldn’t talk to anybody and say I’m down because my mom’s down, it was anger that used to talk (T2 115).</td>
<td>Parental mental health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was always trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things like getting into fights (T1 46)</td>
<td><strong>Peer factors</strong></td>
<td>Tara identified her friends as playing a part in her exclusion. Tara recognized upon reflection that her friends were not ‘true friends’ but during her schooling she remained loyal whilst ‘trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things’ (T1 46) and protecting her friends. Tara also appears to have encountered psychological bullying that was unaddressed resulting in Tara ‘taking the law into my own hands’ (T1 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It felt like nothing was getting done so I took it into my own hands and I went in and had a fight (T1 26-27)</td>
<td>Entertainer</td>
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<tr>
<td>If someone started on them I’d always have their back. I’m just that kind of protective person if I’m honest (T1 46)</td>
<td>Unaddressed bullying/peer issues</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Loyalty</td>
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</table>
| They promised me everything in the world...it was just empty promises. I got none of it and I felt really let down (T1 50) | **School and services** | Tara appears to feel let down in relation to the limited support provided by school and social services when it was needed whilst also feeling that she was not listened to, understood or treated fairly. Although Tara’s attributions initially appear external she did admit to intentionally using negative behaviour as a ‘cry for help’ and an opportunity to have ‘time off school’.

Table 6.1: Attribution categorical content analysis: Tara
Attributions relating to home

During Tara’s narrative a large focus was placed upon her home life and the impact it had upon her school experience and friendships. Attributions appear to centre upon her mother and the change that had resulted with the introduction of a new partner (‘I used to say my mom was the best when she was a single parent … but she is in a toxic relationship and she is going to lose all of us if she is not careful’ (T1 55), ‘I actually did miss the love and attention she used to give us but when she found this man it’s all him, it was never us…It went down hill from there to be fair’ (T1 68)). External attributions therefore appear to dominate which are specific to her mother’s parenting due to her father being described as ‘the only who picked up the pieces for me and got me on the right lines again’ (T1 106). Tara appears to believe that the difficulties at home were to remain consistent resulting in a desire to step away from her mother (‘I still love my mom and I want to build bridges with my mom when I am older but at the moment it is just not meant to be’ (T1 148)).

Tara appears to feel very let down by her mother, resulting in the use of phrases such as ‘abandoned’ and ‘neglected’, whilst also appearing to feel misunderstood by those around her who never questioned ‘why is she like this?’ (T1 64). Tara also spoke about the impact of her mother’s mental health difficulties which resulted in outbursts at school (‘My mom she was so depressed and I would look at my mom and be the person she was…I wouldn’t talk to anybody and say I’m down because my mom’s down, it was anger that used to talk. I used to take it out on people that didn’t deserve it at the time but I didn’t see that. If my anger got the better of me it was a cry for help’ (T2 115)).

Attributions relating to peers:

Tara also identified her friends as playing a part in her exclusion. Tara recognized upon reflection that her friends were not ‘true friends’ but during her schooling she remained loyal whilst “trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things” (T1 46). It therefore appears that there was a degree of
intentionality and controllability on Tara’s part due to the internal nature of the attribution.

Tara spoke about the event she believed led to her permanent exclusion, which involved a fight with a peer after a lengthy period of reported bullying, during which she ‘accidentally’ hit a teacher. Tara attributes the bullying to the jealously of a friend and her friend’s knowledge of the difficulties she was having at home (‘Well I was getting bullied like by three of my best mates because of the trouble I was going through at home with my mom’ (T1 26)). The factors underpinning the bullying in Tara’s eyes therefore appear to suggest a degree of externality.

The bullying reported by Tara, together with school inaction, appeared to result in Tara ‘taking the law into her own hands’ (T1 27) after ‘empty promises’ (T1 50) were made by the school. Tara did however recognize the part her stubbornness may have played in the incident. Overall it appears that Tara makes external and internal attributions for the act of violence that preceded her permanent exclusion. Tara however recognized that the fight alone did not result in her exclusion but was influenced by behaviour being shown as a result of her home life, attitude and friendship group.

Attributions relating to school and other services:
Tara appears to attribute her permanent exclusion to a fight during which a teacher was hit. Although Tara admitted to intending to have a fight in an attempt to stop her bullying (‘it felt like nothing was getting done so I took it into my own hands and I went in and had a fight’ (T1 27), ‘I just wanted to get it all over and done with. I didn’t want this bullying to go on any longer’ (T1 92)) she reported the involvement of the teacher to be accidental. She did however believe that the occurrence of the fight to a degree was under the school’s control and so could have been avoided if the actions promised to address the bullying encountered had been carried out (‘if the teachers had done what they said they were going to do. If they had put us all in a room to sort it out and shake hands I wouldn’t be here talking to you today about my exclusion. I would still be in school getting the education I need’ (T1 163)).
Tara appears to feel that although permanent exclusion was a fair consequence for the ‘teacher assault’ she was also punished for the bullying that had occurred which was perceived as unfair. Tara however did appear to take responsibility for the part she played (e.g. ‘In a way we are both to blame because I shouldn’t have gone into school and did what I did, but I did, and I feel that the girls shouldn’t have bullied me, but they did’ (T1 164)).

Overall the theme of feeling ‘let down’ features heavily in Tara’s narrative. Her disappointment with the school appears global due to the perception that the one teacher she could talk to let her down by failing to arrange the meeting to address the peer difficulties being encountered. Tara also felt let down in relation to the limited support provided by school and social services when it was needed (‘I wouldn’t be where I am today if they were there to help me and give me the support that I needed’ (T1 170)) whilst also feeling that she was not listened to or understood. Tara appears to believe that she was misunderstood by people due to nobody questioning the reasons behind her misbehaviour (‘It was never “why are you doing this?” it was just “You’re a bad kid”’ (T1 124)) whilst her reputation resulted in being treated differently (‘Because the others were fairly decent they had more time for them than they did for me’ (T1 158)). Although Tara’s attributions initially appear external she did admit to her negative behaviour being used as a ‘cry for help’ (‘I thought “I am going to start to rebel a bit because I’m not getting the help I need”’(T1 50) ‘Basically my poor behaviour was a cry for help because I didn’t know what to do’ (T1 50)). Exclusion also appears to be viewed as positive (‘I knew that if I got in trouble I would be rewarded for it by exclusion’ (T1 123)). It may have been that exclusion allowed a legitimate reason to be out of school as Tara had voiced concerns about unauthorized absence (e.g. ‘I said “I don’t want to go in” but I had to because you get fined don’t you?’ (T1 93)).
6.3.2. Claire’s attributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category subcategories</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because I saw people kicking off and stuff I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes, I’m going to do it as well because people laugh at you if you are not the same as them. So then I started to be naughty (C1 6)</td>
<td><strong>Peer pressure</strong></td>
<td>Elements of active and passive peer influence are noted throughout Claire’s narrative. Claire appears to recognise the impact of her peers upon her choices suggesting a degree of intentionality and controllability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was getting egged on to be in the popular group and to be naughty and stuff. They were like “if you are naughty and stuff you can be with us” (C1 39).</td>
<td>Passive/indirect peer pressure</td>
<td>Claire also appears to take responsibility for her actions i.e. ‘I’ve actually realized that it was not a good thing to do’ (C1 22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would shout at me and I would shout back because I wouldn’t allow that (C1 47). Because I didn’t listen they picked on me more so I reacted even more than usual. It got out of hand until I would not do as I was told everyday. (C1 37). They were not making the effort to get me to do good (C1 61).</td>
<td><strong>School factors</strong></td>
<td>Claire spoke about intentional actions, which appears to have been in retaliation to teachers ‘having a go’. On reflection however Claire stated, ‘I realized that I shouldn’t have done it’ (C1 67). Although Claire stated that she recognized staff were trying to keep the school rules she also appears to have felt that staff ‘picked on’ her because of her reputation – externalization and justification. Claire appears to have felt let down by the school particularly in relation to the removal of a counsellor, which had supported improvements to be made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes it was just nothing like them saying sit down or something or telling me to stop and I would just explode and start to kick off (C1 51)</td>
<td><strong>Internal factors</strong></td>
<td>Claire suggests that there was often ‘no reason’ for her outbursts, which in turn indicates internal factor, which could not be controlled. Claire appears to take full responsibility for her intentional actions (‘It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong.</td>
<td>Anger</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Choice</td>
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Table 6.2: Attribution categorical content analysis: Claire

Peer pressure

Claire spoke considerably about the impact of her peers upon her behaviour as she transitioned from primary to secondary education (‘It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven because it’s the first year isn’t it and you got to try and mix in and try and get noticed. That’s what I thought’ (C1
5)). Elements of direct (‘I was getting egged on to be in the popular group and to be naughty and stuff. They were like “if you are naughty and stuff you can be with us” so I obviously thought that I would be naughty so I could be with them’ (C1 39)) and indirect (‘Because I saw people kicking off and stuff I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes, I’m going to do it as well because people laugh at you if you are not the same as them’ (C1 6)) influence are noted. Claire appears to recognise the impact of her peers upon her choices (‘I was copying them so if the others weren’t acting like that then I wouldn’t have’ (C1 106)) suggesting a degree of intentionality and controllability. Claire also appears to take responsibility for her actions with reflection also occurring after exclusion i.e. ‘I’ve actually realized that it was not a good thing to do but there is nothing I can change about it now’ (C1 22).

School/teacher factors

During her narrative Claire spoke about intentional actions, which appeared to be in retaliation to teachers ‘having a go’ (‘They would shout at me and I would shout back because I wouldn’t allow that’ (C1 47)). A particular altercation with a teacher was noted to precede her permanent exclusion after a warning had been issued. On reflection however Claire stated, ‘I realized that I shouldn’t have done it’ (C1 67). Although Claire stated that she recognized staff were ‘trying to keep the school rules’ she also appeared to feel that staff ‘picked on’ her because of her reputation and the fact she would react (‘Because I didn’t listen they picked on me more so I reacted even more than usual. It got out of hand until I would not do as I was told everyday’ (C1 37)). It therefore appears that Claire attempts to externalize blame for her outbursts by suggesting there may have been a degree of justification for them.

Claire appears to feel let down by the school particularly in relation to the removal of a counsellor, which had supported improvements to be made (i.e. ‘Things were better when I had a counsellor because I could tell them everything and they made things better for me and helped me to control my anger’ (C1 63)). Claire therefore appears to attribute improvement in self-
control to an external resource. The instability of the resource and its intentional removal by the school however appeared to result in further anger difficulties which appeared to be perceived by Claire to be beyond her control (i.e. ‘When school ended it because they said I didn’t need it then I used to kick off even more’ (C1 103)).

Internal factors
Claire appears to take full responsibility for her permanent exclusion stating that ‘It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong’ (C1 99). Claire however referred to becoming annoyed by teachers, which would result in ‘outbursts’. Although Claire initially appears to be externalizing the reason for her outbursts she suggested that there was often ‘no reason’ for them with Claire also indicating the presence of uncontrollable anger (‘I would kick off for no reason but then it got to the stage when I was on my last warning and I stopped but it just happened again’ (C1 52)). It was however recognized that Claire appeared to be able to control the outlet for her anger i.e. ‘I couldn’t take my anger out on the teachers so I took it out on the equipment’ (C1 47).

It was also noted that Claire attributes the outburst which preceded her exclusion to have been a result of a build up of anger as a result of no longer having a counsellor to support her (‘My anger was getting worse because I had it all building up so I just exploded that day when I got excluded’ (C1 65)).
6.3.3. Molly’s attributions

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category subcategories</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Every time I would fall out with this one girl I would get all my friends from other schools to message her and then she would tell the lads and I would come to school and I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102). They pressured me with smoking and drinking and doing like bad stuff. I think I was scared of not being able to fit in with them. (M1 188).</td>
<td>Peer factors</td>
<td>Molly appears to have experienced ‘sustained friendship problems’ throughout secondary. Conflict appeared to result in attempts to gain acceptance through negative behaviour, truanting and physical fights. Instances of direct and indirect peers pressure were also described.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would not let me do stuff that students would be able to. I obviously kicked off about it and skipped lessons because I didn’t like it (M1 27). The reason I had done those things were because some teachers didn’t listen to me and that is why I think I was excluded because the teachers did not understand me at all. They just didn’t help me with what I needed help with.) (M1 162-3)</td>
<td>School factors</td>
<td>Molly perceived that she was treated unfairly which resulted in truanting and retaliation - externalisation. Molly believed she was let down by her school due to the ‘wrong support’ being offered due to being misunderstood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did bad stuff to fit in with people like when I moved to ‘school B’ I threatened this girl on my first day to get in the popular group. (M1 82-3). I had obviously been in a few fights with people but it was after ongoing things. It had been things with people saying stuff about my appearance, stuff that I was so insecure about, stuff that I used to self harm about and stuff that I used to punish myself over (M1 63).</td>
<td>Internal factors</td>
<td>Molly spoke at great length about the desire to be ‘with the popular people’ (M1 80) due to a fear of being judged. Molly reported to ‘do bad stuff’ in order to gain entry. Further evidence of Molly’s insecurity occurred when she stated that fights took place due to comments being made about her appearance.</td>
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Table 6.3: Attribution categorical content analysis: Molly

**Peer factors**

Molly appeared to experience peer difficulties during secondary school, which she perceives to have impacted upon her behaviour (‘I had sustained friendship problems and then from there I stopped doing what teachers said and I started to give attitude and I used to refuse to do stuff’ (M1 16)). Although Molly may appear to externalize her behaviour she does describe intentional attempts to appear ‘cool’ in order to secure friends after a
disagreement with her established peer group (‘I would come to school and I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me’ (M1 102)).

Conflict within Molly’s peer group appeared to lead to physical contact and in turn intentional avoidance/truanting (‘When I fell out with them…. It led to a huge fight …. and that led to me not doing P.E. When I was at that school I was always getting into isolation because I did not want to go to P.E. I would refuse to go. I would be there for a few days and then get excluded for the amount of refusing I did because of those girls’ (M1 106-7)). Conflict also appeared to be exacerbated through intentional continuation over social media (‘The arguments that had gone on at school I would carry them on over the internet. I would make a status about it and carry it on which would make it ten times worse’ (157-8)).

Overall Molly appears to believe fights to have contributed to her permanent exclusion although it does appear that Molly was not always directly involved which in turn may be an attempt to suggest her exclusion was unjustified (‘A few fights went on so I think it was all of them put together and there was a fight outside of school between my friends and because I was in the area at the time that impacted on my exclusion’ (M1 67)).

Molly appears to have succumbed to direct peer pressure due to her fear of not being accepted by her chosen group (‘They pressured me with smoking and drinking and doing like bad stuff. I think I was scared of not being able to fit in with them’ (M1 188)). Molly however also appears to believe that membership of the ‘popular group’ would protect her from judgement (‘I just wouldn’t want to be classed as the lower people as people like that are classed as retards or people who are not liked’ (M1 82-3)) which in turn may indicate the presence of perceived social norms and indirect peer pressure.

Overall Molly believed that her exclusion could have been prevented if she had socialized with a positive peer group (‘If I wasn’t hanging around with the
wrong people and had a good group of friends and I didn’t go through so many friendship problems I think I would have been ok’ (M1 183)).

School factors
Molly appears to believe that she was treated unfairly by staff because of her reputation (‘They did stuff to me that I wouldn’t like because they knew me’ (M1 22)) with minor behaviours being addressed that would not be highlighted in other young people (‘Little things that wouldn’t matter with other students I got in trouble for’ (M1 147)). Molly felt ‘picked on’ which resulted in outbursts and truanting (‘Obviously half way through Year 10 the teachers really weren’t fair with me…they would not be equal with me…I obviously kicked off about it and skipped lessons because I didn’t like it’ (M1 27)).

Although Molly states ‘rudeness and defiance’ as factors that impacted upon her exclusion she also appears to justify her actions through the claims that she mirrored staff response towards her i.e. ‘I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me. If they’d shown me the least bit of disrespect I’d show them no respect what so ever’ (M1 69). Further externalisation is therefore noted alongside justified intentional behaviours.

When asked directly what influenced her exclusion Molly stated ‘I would just genuinely blame it on the teachers’ (M1 162). Molly appears to feel let down by her school due to feeling misunderstood and not listened to with inappropriate support being offered (‘the reason I had done those things were because some teachers didn’t listen to me and that is why I think I was excluded because the teachers did not understand me at all. They just didn’t help me with what I needed help with’ (M1 162)).

Molly’s thoughts relating to being misunderstood appears to have resulted in support being misdirected due to Molly stating ‘They were offering me support but not support in those areas I needed help on like how to make my self happier, how to stop self harming, how to have a good life at home and how to work through friendship problems’ (M1 47). Attempts to obtain support
were also reported to not be responded to. The example of staff failing to respond to a warning that a fight could occur was provided, its occurrence was then blamed upon the school (‘Obviously that was school in the wrong as I had told them I thought a fight was going to happen’ (M1 64-65)).

Molly also felt that staff lacked flexibility even though they ‘knew what I had been through’ (M1 158). She therefore appears to externalize her behaviour and in turn justifies her response with unfair expectations and minimal consideration of her home situation (‘They were expecting so much from me and it was horrible because I couldn’t do all that’ (M1 145), ‘I think it was too much to ask from me especially with everything I was going through’ (M1 154)).

**Internal factors**

Molly referred to a number of internal factors during her narrative. Firstly Molly spoke at great length about the desire to be ‘with the popular people’ (M1 80) which were considered a higher status due to a fear of being judged. Molly ‘did bad stuff to fit in’ (M1 82) whilst stating that she ‘didn’t really care’ (M1 105) about the fact her friends acted negatively towards others because ‘I was one of them’ (M1 105). Molly therefore appears to have intentionally done ‘bad stuff’ in order to achieve her desired outcome of acceptance.

Molly also stated that she ‘struggled with self esteem’ (M1 43) with fights occurring when comments were made about sources of insecurity (‘It had been things with people saying stuff about my appearance, stuff that I was so insecure about, stuff that I used to self harm about and stuff that I used to punish myself over’ (M1 63)). Molly therefore once again externalises blame for the occurrence of fights whilst justifying her retaliation.
6.4 Categorical content analysis: What future selves are generated by permanently excluded females and what factors are believed to facilitate and hinder the achievement of hoped-for possible selves?

### 6.4.1. Tara’s possible selves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOPED-FOR</td>
<td>I just want to put my head down and get the help that I need to get the grades that I need to get the job that I want (T2 5)</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Tara hopes to engage with education in order to achieve the grades she needs for the employment she desires which in turn will provide independence. Tara wants to prove people wrong which she believes can be done by achieving her desired grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I want to be that person who people think “she wasn’t like that when she was a kid”. I want prove to them that they were wrong all along and that it was just my age (T2 108).</td>
<td>Prove people wrong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPECTED</td>
<td>I expect to go back to mainstream and to just go back to square one again but I don’t want that happen. (T2 12)</td>
<td>Revert</td>
<td>Tara’s expected self is not consistent with her hoped-for self. Although she hopes for achievement and success she appears to believe that she is likely to revert to her previous situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I just feel like I won’t get them grades so I won’t be able to get the jobs that I want (T2 86).</td>
<td>Failure</td>
<td>Tara’s more distant future appears more negative than her pending future, which appears to be a result of a spiral effect which begins with not obtaining the grades required.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I feel like I am going to struggle getting there but I won’t stop until I’ve done it, I really won’t. (T2 104).</td>
<td>Determination and persistence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEARED</td>
<td>To go back to square one again (T2 17).</td>
<td>Revert</td>
<td>Tara’s feared self demonstrated some consistencies with her expected self in relation to reverting back to her previous circumstances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I wouldn’t want to stay here (T2 21)</td>
<td>Remaining in PRU</td>
<td>Tara does not wish to remain within the PRU due to the reputation she may develop, peer influence and the limited support on offer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I want to go to work and have the work that I want and get the money that I need but if I don’t get these grades then it’s not going to happen (T2 98).</td>
<td>Employment dislike</td>
<td>Tara once again appears to perceive a spiral effect to occur with not achieving the exam grades required leading to unemployment and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ending up on benefits because I see the frustration in my dad when he is on benefits (T2 94).</td>
<td>Benefits</td>
<td></td>
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*Table 6.4: Possible selves categorical content analysis: Tara*
Hoped-for self
Tara’s future hopes include applying herself to her learning in order to achieve the grades she needs to obtain the job she desires which in turn will allow her to be independent (‘If I had them grades then I would have the money to bring up my children when I am older, to buy a house, do my tax, keep a car on the road’ (T2 89)).

Tara’s future hopes appear realistic and achievable to an outsider but she appears to doubt the degree to which they will be achieved without support (‘I just want to … get the help that I need to get the grades’ (T2 5)) significant persistence and determination (‘I feel like I am going to struggle getting there but I won’t stop until I’ve done it, I really won’t’ (T2 104)). Tara however appears realistic in her understanding that she needs to take action as she cannot rely on other people to earn it for her (‘I can’t ask for too much from people. If I want it I have got to earn it for myself’ (T2 122)).

Tara’s future employment hopes are made possible for her by choosing a job which she believes no body else wants which in turn increases her chances of being successful (‘I’m interested in that job, an embalmer, and a lot of people don’t want that job’ (T2 73). Tara however still feels the need to have a ‘back up plan’ suggesting a degree of doubt continues to be possessed.

Although Tara appears to have had difficulties in engaging in learning she states that she has changed due to age being the reason for her previous behaviours (‘If I can get them decent grades and prove to people that everything I did in like year 9, year 7, and year 8 was all down to me age and that I am not like that, I have changed’ (T2 72)). It therefore appears that a move away from her previous identity is highlighted which in turn will allow her to ‘prove people wrong’. Tara however believes that this will not be an easy transition (‘I know I’m going to struggle but I’ve got to try now. I’ve got to try and prove people wrong’(T2 68)).
Expected self
Tara’s expected self is inconsistent with her hoped-for self. Although she hopes for achievement and success she appears to believe that she is likely to revert to her previous situation (‘I expect to go back to mainstream and to just go back to square one again but I don’t want that happen’ (T2 12)). It therefore appears that her hoped-for self is positive but not entirely possible with her expected self-being consistent with her past identity and experiences. This however may be influenced by the fact she perceived her behaviour to partly be a result of her age (‘I’ve always got that naughty streak in me, just like a typical teenager naughty streak kind of thing’ (T2 12)).

Tara appears to believe that she will not obtain the grades she desires (‘I just hope to get them grades but I don’t think I will’ (T2 92)) which in turn will result in unsatisfactory employment or unemployment and disappointment (‘I just feel like I didn’t get them grades so I won’t be able to get the jobs that I want’ (T2 86), ‘I would probably give up and live off benefits… I would feel that I would have ruined my whole life’ (T2 88)).

Despite Tara appearing to have a negative outlook for her expected future, she reports that although it will be ‘horrible’ and she would be ‘devastated’ she will continue to persevere even though it is likely to be difficult (‘I feel like I am going to struggle getting there but I won’t stop until I’ve done it, I really won’t ’ (T2 104)).

Feared self
Tara’s feared self demonstrated some consistencies with her expected self in relation to reverting back to her previous circumstances (‘Just going back on the same road I was on, getting excluded twenty four seven and losing a lot of my friends’ (T2 28)). It therefore appears that Tara sees her feared self as potentially occurring.

In relation to her future educational journey Tara appears to fear remaining within her current PRU educational setting. She fears the impact it will have upon her reputation (‘I don’t want to stay here as I don’t want the reputation
of being like the naughty girl’ (T2 21)), the education she receives (‘If I stay here I only get so much education but in a mainstream I would get more because they have more to offer’ (T2 23)) and her behaviour due to peer influence (‘I wouldn’t want to stay here. It’s nice because it only has so many students but the students are naughty and that’s when I feel like I go off track’ (T2 19)).

Tara appears to perceive a spiral effect to occur with not achieving the exam grades required leading to a disliked job or unemployment and entry to the benefits system (‘I want to go to work and have the work that I want and get the money that I need but if I don’t get these grades then it’s not going to happen’ (T2 98)). Tara has personal experience of living on benefits which in turn may make that future a greater possibility to her (‘I don’t want to end up on benefits because I see how horrible it is for him [dad] and how horrible it makes us feel to see him like that. I don’t want that to happen’ (T2 97)).
6.4.2. Claire’s possible selves

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOPED-FOR</td>
<td>Obviously because I have been here for a year and a half now it has just changed me and my perspective (C2 2).</td>
<td>Remain in PRU</td>
<td>Claire appears to have had a negative experience during a reintegration taster session which in turn has resulted in her hoped-for possible self being to remain where she feels comfortable and able to be herself and no longer in a mainstream which she can no longer see being successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I don’t want to leave here because if I do I don’t know what is going to happen but here I know I can control my anger but in a bigger school I don’t know what I will do (C2 100).</td>
<td>Change in “perspective”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are not many people to judge you here, you can feel yourself (C2 13).</td>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I expect to stay here .. it would be normal routine. I would do my work (C2 22).</td>
<td>Normality and consistency (PRU)</td>
<td>Claire once again voices her desire for familiarity and predictability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I don’t really expect nothing, anything could happen (C2 56).</td>
<td>Unpredictability</td>
<td>Claire appears unsure as to what to expect from her future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I’m just going to keep going until things go my way (C2 64)</td>
<td>Determination and persistence</td>
<td>Claire does not appear overly confident in her ability to achieve her hopes due to repeatedly explaining what she would need to do if she was unsuccessful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEARED</td>
<td>Going to mainstream. I wouldn’t get any grades. I know I would fail my GCSE’s because of my anxiety (C2 35)</td>
<td>Return to mainstream Failure due to anxiety</td>
<td>Overall Claire appeared to fear a return to mainstream, which would result in a repetition of her past situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It would just happen like it did in my old school. That’s the fear (C2 39).</td>
<td>Repeat of previous situation</td>
<td>Claire once again appears to identify herself as anxious which has been reinforced by the anxiety felt during a taster day at a mainstream school, which makes future anxiety possible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOPED-FOR</td>
<td>I didn’t like being around people, I didn’t know how to talk to other people, I felt lost (C2 7).</td>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They know that I won’t be able to learn anything because it’s different. If I refused to go in one mainstream school, I knew that I wouldn’t get why I would be made fun of. (C2 37)</td>
<td>Less judgment and pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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Table 6.5: Possible selves categorical content analysis: Claire

Hoped-for possible self

Claire appears to have had a negative experience during a reintegration taster session (‘I did one [taster session] but there were too many people, there were 34 students. I went in for a few minutes but I had to leave because my anxiety was too high and I just felt lost’ (C2 7)) which in turn may have resulted in her hoped-for possible self being to remain where she feels comfortable and no longer in a mainstream which she believes will prevent learning due to its unfamiliarity resulting in anxiety (‘They know that I won’t be able to learn anything because it’s different. If I refused to go in one mainstream school, I knew that I wouldn’t get why I would be made fun of.’ (C2 37)).
lesson with 34 people then I’m obviously going to do it with every lesson because my anxiety just goes up and up and I just lose it’ (C2 21)). It appears therefore that the length of time spent within the PRU setting has resulted in a change in ‘perspective’ (‘Being here and spending all the time I have – like if I had started mainstream before the end of Year 10 it would be a lot different. I would be used to the school’ (C2 2)). Claire appears to see herself as an anxious person and so the desire to stay in a place, which is now familiar to her and offers her consistency, may align with her perceived identity.

During her past story the theme of peer pressure featured heavily with Claire reflecting that this had impacted upon her behaviour. Claire appears to hope to remain within the PRU setting due to perceiving less judgment and peer pressure which allows her to act independently to her peers (‘There are not many people to judge you here, you can feel yourself’ (C2 13)).

Claire very much views a return to mainstream as a negative event whilst remaining within the PRU is viewed as possible and positive. Claire spent a considerable amount of time during her hoped-for narrative explaining the pros of remaining in the PRU and the expected cons of a return to mainstream as if to justify her decision to herself and/or the listener.

A recurrent theme appears to be that of familiarity. Claire perceives the PRU to offer her familiarity and greater predictability (‘I don’t want to leave here because if I do I don’t know what is going to happen but here I know I can control my anger but in a bigger school I don’t know what I will do’ (C2 100)) as does a career in an area which she has some experience (‘I have wanted to work with children since I was young because I have a nephew and niece who I used to see everyday so I got the hang of washing and feeding them, playing with them and doing everything. It hasn’t made me want a child but just to work with them for now’ (C2 46)).
Expected possible self
Claire’s expected possible self aligns with her hoped-for self in that she expects to remain within the PRU setting where her routine can be maintained (‘If I stayed here it would be normal routine. I would do my work’ (C2 22)). Claire however continued to justify her reasoning for remaining within the PRU by voicing her expected future if she returned to a mainstream setting (‘I expect to stay here because if I do start mainstream it wouldn’t be good because my anxiety would go up’ (C2 18)).

Claire does not appear to believe obtaining her desired future will be easy (‘I expect to find things tricky’ (C2 31)). She recognizes that the amount of time spent in the PRU impacts upon the speed at which you are able to work which may indicate a difference in the perceived quality of education received (‘There are people in my class that have come from high school recently and have learned a lot more than what others here have so they want to get on with the work and move on quick. There are others that want to go slow and remember it because they have been out mainstream for a long time’ (C2 30)). Experience may therefore have impacted upon her expectations.

Claire appears unsure as to what to expect from her future (‘You just wait to see what happens’ (C2 59)). Her previous negative experience may have impacted upon her ability to express what success may look like.

Claire does not appear overly confident in her ability to achieve her hopes due to repeatedly explaining what she would need to do if she was unsuccessful (‘If I couldn’t get the dreams I want I would just have to carry on in life. You can’t just let it go if you can’t get what you want, it doesn’t work that way’ (C2 57)) which in turn may indicate that this is viewed as a more possible future for her.

Claire also relates to her mother’s experience of needing to believe in herself and to keep trying which once again may make her perceived expected future a greater possibility (‘When I left school I didn’t want to go back
because I lost the place and I thought “I’m not going back, I’m not going to do nothing” but my mom kept pushing and pushing to get me to do it and I did in the end…She got kicked out of school when she was younger but her mom was doing the same to her and she did everything. She passed her GCSEs. She doesn’t want me to follow in her footsteps. She doesn’t want me to end up like she could have done if she didn’t believe in herself” (C2 75-76)).

Feared possible self
Overall Claire appears to fear a return to mainstream which would result in a repetition of her past situation as a result of indirect peer pressure (‘At high school you get judged don’t you for who you are…You can’t be shy in high school can you because people will laugh at you and stuff’ (C2 13)) and a perceived inability to be yourself (‘I would get in trouble straight away because I would just do what I did last time like wearing make up. I don’t wear much here because there are not many people and you can be yourself’ (C2 12)).

Claire once again appears to identify herself as anxious which would be triggered by entering classrooms with unfamiliar peers (‘It’s weird sitting in a class with loads of people that you haven’t met before. When you haven’t been in that situation it goes round and round in your head and you get more nervous. It just confuses you and you don’t want to do it’ (C2 38). The anxiety triggered was predicted to result in failure (‘Going to mainstream. I wouldn’t get any grades. I know I would fail my GCSE’s because of my anxiety’ (C2 35)) alongside potential outbursts and exclusion (‘I couldn’t go into a room with a massive class so I wouldn’t be able to work and I would end up kicking off at the teacher and I would probably get kicked out. Getting kicked out just before you leave would not look good on you so I fear going’ (C2 36)).

Claire’s fears are therefore aligned with what she expects to happen if a return to mainstream occurred due to the unfamiliarity of the environment which has been exacerbated by the length of time spent within the PRU.
Hoped-for possible selves

Molly appears to possess high aspirations for herself (‘I would like to go through the whole process of becoming a legal executive or some sort of solicitor like a barrister or maybe a lawyer’ (M2 7)) although at times appears to doubt the degree to which they would be achieved (‘If I just carry on going...’ (M2 2)).
the way I am at the moment then **maybe** I will get to where I want to be’ (M2 18), ‘I’ll go through the whole process of **trying** to be what I want to be’ (M2 64), ‘I hope uni will happen but I can’t predict the future’ (M2 88)).

Molly however does appear to possess a degree of determination in relation to achieving her future career dreams (‘**I know what I want and I really want to get it. I don’t even want to think about another path because I don’t even want to persuade myself to go that way because I know that the path I want is the best path for me’** (M2 108)).

Molly also expresses her desire to prove people wrong (‘**I hope to prove to people that I have become a person that they never thought I would become**’ (M2 10)) whilst appearing to believe that not everyone believes she will be successful in her future (‘**Different people see a different side to me. My closest friends know I have high aspirations and aims but people who I have … shown my bad side to would be like “she has got no future. She has been kicked out of school. She has nothing going for her”**’ (M2 77)). Molly appears to believe ‘**my grades will show that I have turned my life around**’ (M2 103).

In order to achieve her hoped-for future however Molly reports that a return to mainstream will be required due to education within the PRU setting not providing what is needed for a high achieving future (‘**Here is not ideal for a good future’** (M2 27)).

Molly however does appear to recognise the need to prove herself in order for her hoped-for return to mainstream to be possible (‘**It’s just a case of having to prove that I will be good in mainstream and I can do it for a really really long time**’ (M2 5)) whilst needing to modify the way in which she reacts (‘**I am hoping that I won’t show the reaction that people normally expect from Molly (laugh). I want to give a reaction that people say “woh she is handling this really well”... that is what I am hoping for’** (M2 38)).
Expected possible self
Molly appears realistic in that she believes she will experience challenges and disappointments (‘I expect that obviously I’m not going to get everything I want’ (M2 82), ‘I expect that I am going to come across people I don’t like and to come across situations that I absolutely hate’ (M2 37)).

Molly however expects that with effort and determination her hoped-for future is possible (‘no matter how hard things get I’m not going to give up’ (M2 83) ‘If I get my head down and attend lessons and pay attention and not get put off learning then obviously I will get the grades I want’ (M2 42)). Molly also recognizes the need for patience, applying her need to wait for her mother’s health to improve to her need to wait and remain positive for her hoped-for future (‘I can’t just click my fingers and get what I want. I’ve learned that because everything that I’ve been through with my mom and I wished and hoped that things would get better and they didn’t for a really long time. It does get better in the end’ (M2 91)).

Molly does appear to recognise the resilience she has developed as a result of her past experiences, which will allow her to persist in the face of adversity (‘I genuinely think I have already been through the worst… I think I could get through the worst because everything is fine now and that was the worst’ (M2 86-87)). Molly therefore expects her hoped-for future to occur with self-belief, determination and persistence, effort and patience.

Feared possible self
Molly reports to fear being ‘left out’ which appears consistent with her past attempts to secure acceptance (‘I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me’ (M1 102)) and attempts to ensure she was perceived as having friends (‘I always want people to think I had friends’ (M1 110)).

Molly appears to believe that a return to mainstream is needed to ensure she is not ‘left out’ whilst also ensuring she is able to achieve the desired grades and a “better future”. Molly therefore reports to fear remaining within the PRU
setting which in turn may prevent achievement of grades and employment aspirations (‘Everyone at mainstream obviously are going to get good futures and they are probably going to get a better future than half of the kids that are here’ (M2 52).

Molly has experienced success in the past with effort (‘I got A*'s in my business assessments. I was so proud of myself for getting my head down in lessons’ (M1 146)) which may in turn explain why she would feel as though she had ‘betrayed’ herself if her feared unsuccessful future self occurred. Molly appears to continue to fear that her exclusion will impact upon future employment (‘I just don’t want to go to a job interview and them to say “oh you’ve been excluded from school you don’t have the GCSE’s we like” and then get turned away. That is the worst-case scenario’ (M2 102)) although she feels that achieving good grade will demonstrate that she has turned her life around (‘My grades will show that I have turned my life around’ (M2 103)).

6.5 Summary of findings

1. What types of stories are told by permanently excluded young females in relation to their school experience and how are they told?

The narratives demonstrated characteristics consistent with ‘romantic saga’ and ‘romantic comedy’ trajectories. Multiple or single regressive phases of challenge were faced and overcome although the presence of an implied happy ending was at times questionable. Claire believed a bright future was possible if she continued to receive education within the PRU setting whereas Molly and Tara believed a return to mainstream was necessary for a positive future. It appeared that the amount of time away from a mainstream school impacted upon Claire’s desire to no longer return to mainstream. Progressive peaks appeared to be present during primary education and post exclusion whereas initial regressive troughs occurred at the point of transition or at the point a friendship group had been established with the impact of peers being a dominant theme in all three narratives. Additional
regressive troughs appeared to occur with feelings of being misunderstood, unfairness as a result of the reputation possessed and feeling let down due to insufficient or inappropriate support.

2. What have prior misbehaviour and exclusion(s) been attributed to?

A number of external sources of attributions emerged during the young females narratives including peers, home and school. Parent mental health and feelings of neglect were both categories that emerged. In relation to the peer category, direct and indirect peer pressure, peer conflict and group membership were categories generated across the three females interviewed. Both Molly and Tara felt that their educational settings played a large role in their exclusion and misbehaviour with feelings of being let down, misunderstood and unfairly treated being common features across the narratives obtained. Although Molly and Tara recognized their poor behaviour, they felt that their exclusion could have been avoided with greater understanding and action on the part of their educational setting.

Internal sources also emerged within the narratives obtained with Claire reporting her exclusion to be a result of her own choices albeit influenced by peer pressure. Additional internal sources for poor behaviour included the poor friendship choices made, uncontrollable anger and reactions, intentional use of behaviour as a method to communicate difficulties and as a legitimate method of avoidance via the behaviour itself (truanting) or perceived consequence (exclusion).

3. What possible future selves are generated by permanently excluded females?

All three young females hoped-for a successful educational career in order to fulfil future employment aspirations with the hoped-for educational establishment being that which was perceived to support success. Both Tara and Molly hoped-for a return to mainstream whereas Claire hoped to remain within the PRU setting due to the length of time spent within the PRU
meaning it was now the most familiar setting. Claire feared a return to mainstream due to predicted heightened anxiety and in turn failure whereas Molly and Tara both feared remaining within the PRU setting.

A desire to prove people wrong was possessed by both Tara and Molly who both felt misunderstood within their secondary mainstream settings whilst also voicing a number of external sources to explain their misbehaviour and permanent exclusion.

Expected possible selves appeared to be dominated by a belief that challenges would be encountered, which in turn would require determination and persistence. It therefore appeared that a degree of self-doubt was contained within all future narratives as to the achievement of hoped-for futures.

Molly’s hoped-for possible self was consistent with her expected possible self, which may have been influenced by the fact that her prior exclusion was attributed to external school factors. Tara and Claire both appeared to recognize the part that they played in their exclusion whilst also reporting limited self-belief and confidence in the strengths they possessed. Tara’s expected possible self showed greater consistency with her feared whereas Claire’s expectations for returning to mainstream were also consistent with her feared possible self.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion and reflections

This chapter aims to reflect upon the accounts constructed whilst relating findings to existing literature and theoretical perspectives.

In the sections that follow each question asked of the data will be considered in turn in order to inform thinking around the form and content of stories shared by permanently excluded females.

7.1 What types of stories are told by permanently excluded young females in relation to school experience and how are they told?

The narratives presented demonstrated characteristics consistent with ‘romantic saga’ and ‘romantic comedy’ trajectories. Multiple or single regressive phases of challenge were faced and overcome although the presence of an implied happy ending was at times questionable. Progressive peaks appeared to be present during primary education and post exclusion whereas initial regressive troughs occurred at the point of transition or at the point a friendship group had been established. The possible reasoning for such a narrative plot line will be explored in relation to Temporal Self Appraisal theory alongside further investigation of the relevance of transition points.

7.1.1. Temporal Self Appraisal theory

Accounts of human experience cannot proceed without temporal embedding, as events need to be placed within a context of preceding and subsequent events to be properly understood. A view of self in a specific moment is nonsensical unless it can be linked to one’s past (Gergen & Gergen, 1988).

All of the narrators viewed their present selves more positively than during secondary education with significant progression occurring post exclusion. Such findings appear consistent with Temporal Self Appraisal (TSA) theory which states that people are motivated to praise their recent past selves and
criticise their distant past selves in order to feel positive about themselves in the present (A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2001) whilst also highlighting the degree to which one has improved (Strahan & Wilson, 2006).

Although Tara’s narrative showed progression with entry to part-time 6th day provision, regression began to occur with her movement into the PRU group setting. The relevance of relationships however became apparent with Tara feeling listened to, cared about and supported within the small group 6th day provision but to perceive a lack of trust within the centre as a result of her past reputation and being treated like the other attendees who may have already lost the trust of staff.

It must however be noted that although positive change was reported it continued to be accompanied by reference to ‘bad days’. TSA theory suggests that subjectively close past selves continue to have direct implications for present identity which in turn may suggest that the narrators continued to identify with objectionable behaviour.

7.1.2 Transition impact: Point of regression
For all of the young females interviewed permanent exclusion appeared to be part of a process of gradual detachment from school which began months or years before the actual disciplinary measure was used (Berridge et al., 2001). The key point of regression appeared to be that of transition or at the point at which a peer group was established. Previous research has also found the transition from primary to secondary as a trigger of disengagement (O'Connor et al., 2011). Literature has found permanently excluded young people to highlight the difference between the child-centred and personal culture of primary school and the impersonal nature of secondary which required conformity as opposed to securing recognition and support as an individual (Farouk, 2017). Research has referred to young people feeling lost physically and emotionally resulting in affective disturbance at the point of transition with behaviour problems triggered by transition being sustained and exacerbated into later school careers (Trotman, Tucker, & Martyn,
2015). Re-introduction of a person centered and supportive approach within alternative settings have been found to re-engage permanently excluded young people into education (Farouk, 2017).

7.1.3 Positive reaction to post exclusion: point of progression
All of the young people referred to experiencing a positive experience of education post exclusion. For Claire this came at the point familiarity with the setting and perceived respect were experienced whereas for Tara this appeared dependent upon the degree to which she felt she was understood by staff and the amount of individual academic and emotional support received. The transition to a setting deemed more able to meet their needs was found to result in a more positive view of school which in turn led to a more positive view of themselves and their abilities, a process Cooper (1993) called ‘positive resignification’. The alternative provision provided in the wake of exclusion was viewed as a positive turning point with the individual attention and support in relation to social and emotional needs being valued (Berridge et al., 2001).

Although initially responded to positively, this was often replaced with a sense of concern about the impact of exclusion upon their future and the desire to return to mainstream in order to obtain the education required for a desired successful future. Daniels and Cole (2010) found 50% of permanently excluded participants to view their exclusion as damaging particularly in relation to the potential for lost educational opportunities and stigmatization as in the case of Molly and Tara. 19% however believed exclusion to have had a positive effect on their lives, sometimes being perceived to have increased desired opportunities as in the case of Claire who felt placement within the PRU allowed her to focus on her learning whilst reducing anxiety.

In summary, the narrators highlighted the impact of transition and relationships upon their behaviour with regression occurring upon entry to secondary and the establishment of friendships with progression post
exclusion. It has however also been noted that such an occurrence could be a result of the tendency to criticize distant past selves and praise recent past selves in order to suggest progression and positivity about present selves. The narrators also voiced the long-term implications of exclusion with both positive and negative views being noted.

7.2 What have prior misbehaviour and exclusion(s) been attributed to?
The section that follows aims to discuss the implications of attribution theory for the findings that emerged during the narratives obtained. Attributions relating to the event of permanent exclusion will be considered before those referring to prior behaviour. The section will end with consideration of attribution styles.

7.2.1 Attributions for the exclusion itself
Although previous research has found excluded pupils to believe their exclusion to be unfair (Booth, 1996; De Pear & Garner, 1996; Parsons, 1999), mixed responses were collated from the female participants within the current research. Both Tara and Molly felt their permanent exclusions could have been prevented by school action being taken in response to peer conflict. Tara and Molly believed their exclusions, as a result of a physical altercation, to be unfair due to the incidents occurring as a result of school inaction meaning their tolerance was pushed beyond manageable limits. Such findings appears consistent with those of Wood (2011) who also found exclusion to often be perceived as unfair (unfairness being perceived as not being treated the same as other pupils and feeling they were unsupported) with permanent exclusion being a result of an incident, which had occurred due to tolerance being pushed before reacting in an extreme manner which acted as a cry for help.

Despite this both females also recognized the part they played in their exclusion and therefore showed similarities to Munn and Lloyd’s (2005) findings that although many pupils felt a sense of injustice, they often recognized that sometimes they had acted in ways that made exclusion a reasonable consequence. Both Tara and Molly therefore perceived their
exclusion to have been a result of external, uncontrollable school factors (i.e. school inaction) and internal and intentional factors (i.e. the decision to engage in physical contact with peers). Claire on the other hand felt her exclusion was as a result of purely internal factors i.e. the choices she made with no other sources being highlighted when directly asked about the reasons behind her exclusion.

When describing their exclusions the concept of ‘ambivalent self’ (Marks, 1996) appeared to be demonstrated, particularly by Molly and Tara due to reporting to be misunderstood as staff had failed to recognize that they were not ‘bad’ whilst also describing their punishment as ‘a reasonable consequence’. It must however be noted that as in Berridge et al’s (2001) research a degree of regret was expressed with exclusion also being viewed as a positive event which allowed change to take place as a result of movement away from a negative peer group and a setting which was disliked alongside individual attention and support being valued.

**7.2.2. Impact of peers upon behaviour**

In relation to the peer category, direct and indirect peer pressure, peer conflict and group membership were categories generated across the three females interviewed.

Permanently excluded young people have also been found to voice a need for acceptance alongside a fear of rejection (De Pear, 1995, 1997). Rendall and Stuart (2005) found excluded pupils to possess lower scores in domains relating to the possession of close friendships and global self esteem. All of the narrators highlighted peer difficulties. The narrators, upon reflection, noted past relationships to not be true friendships that offered support but those who pressured engagement in negative behaviours via direct and indirect peer pressure. It was also noted however that a common theme related to the need for belonging and acceptance upon entry to secondary school which may have been impacted upon by the possession of low self esteem and confidence as suggested by the fact that the need for self belief
and confidence was highlighted as a necessary factor for future success by two of the three narrators. Research relating to the recollections of permanently excluded pupils in alternative provision highlighted impressing classmates as an incentive for misbehaviour with mostly girls using defiance and arguing with staff in order to impress their friends. Altercations with peers were also felt to occur as a result of social pressure exerted by peers (Farouk, 2017). It is proposed that hierarchies are established within schools with altercations occurring in order to maintain perceived popularity and status whilst also avoiding becoming victims themselves (Farouk, 2017). The need to gain membership of a popular group was a prominent theme within Molly’s and Claire’s narrative with both fearing judgement if membership was not maintained. Instead of gaining esteem from academic achievements or recognition of teachers or parents, Molly and Claire appeared to gain their sense of self worth through belonging to an anti-establishment social group.

Membership of a negative anti establishment peer group by permanently excluded young people has been proposed to occur as a result of impersonal secondary school systems (Farouk, 2017). Within the narratives collated the informal creation of a peer group hierarchy was evident which required misbehaviour and confrontation with peers and staff to secure entry and to avoid perceived judgement. Recent literature has also highlighted that early reliance on peers and friendships can have a negative or positive influence upon school engagement particularly in vulnerable adolescents who at an early age became emotionally autonomous from their parents (Collibee, Le Tard, & Wargo Aikins, 2016). This may particularly have been relevant for Tara and Molly who experienced early detachment from their parents as a result of preoccupation with a new relationship in the case of the former and mental and physical health in the latter.

Tara appeared to experience peer conflict as a result of bullying, which occurred as a result of her home situation. Literature has found permanently excluded young people in alternative provisions to talk about fights within school occurring as a result of a build up in frustration and anger being too much to bear after bullying (Farouk, 2017). In Tara’s case the frustration and
anger appeared to be in relation to her peers being perceived to be getting away with their behaviour along with her school not taking action as promised when the potential for a fight was reported.

Prior research has highlighted females to view peer friendships as a valued outcome of education but that such friendships can also be a source of great tension and conflict (Osler et al., 2002) with females being more likely than their male counterparts to cite interactions with peers as a source of distress in school (Pomeroy, 2000). Females have also been found to place a great deal of effort on ensuring reputation and being liked by others (Osler & Vincent, 2003). All three females spoke of the need to impress peers through negative behaviour, conformity and loyalty with Molly also speaking of an increased use of negative behaviour after exclusion from her peer group in order to be perceived as cool and in turn gain inclusion into another friendship group. Female friendships often tend to be closer and more intimate than those of boys and so the effects of name calling or social exclusion may therefore be more severe for girls (Stanley & Arora, 1998) resulting in attempts to gain re-entry to an established group or inclusion within an alternative peer group.

7.2.3. Factors within the school and broader learning environment
The participants identified a number of external and uncontrollable school factors that were felt to have impacted upon behaviour and in turn exclusion including inappropriate or absent support and action, unfairness and a feeling of being misunderstood. Positive relationships with teachers were also highlighted as being limited. Relationships were felt to be impacted upon by the possession of a negative reputation, which resulted in attempts to trigger outbursts or to action sanctions in response to minimal misdemeanours.

Permanently excluded young people have been found to speak of unfairness as a result of a reputation they had gained whilst also expressing views about not feeling listened to which in turn evoked anger and resentment. Viewpoints relating to lack of awareness of home circumstances, including the possible underlying reasons for poor concentration and anger, have also
been expressed (Munn & Lloyd, 2005). It must also be noted however that research suggests that pupil’s feelings of unfairness are not unfounded. Mayer (2001) found evidence of teacher preferential treatment with pupils identified as displaying SENs in the area of SEBD encountering disapproving statements at a ratio of 15:1 whilst Van Anker and Talbot (1999) found teachers seven times more likely to interact negatively with students identified as disruptive. Pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties however may also possess a heightened sense of injustice as a result of the insecurity they feel and mistrust of adults as a result of past experiences (Wise, 2000).

Wise (2000) identified ‘relationships with teachers’ and ‘not getting the support they needed’ as unhelpful educational experiences in the education of young people with emotional and behavioural difficulties attending special educational establishments. Cefai and Cooper (2009) review of past literature also found poor teacher relationships, victimization by staff and peers and a sense of oppression to be established themes in relation to the educational experiences of those with emotional and behavioural difficulties. Excluded young people have also been found to perceive a general lack of support from teachers whilst being less positive in respect to teacher-pupil relationships (Rendall & Stuart, 2005).

It must however be noted that the aims of mainstream schools are not synonymous with meeting the needs of all pupils. School organization literature highlights the dilemmas schools face including the rights and needs of the collective and those of the individual with demands driving school to addressing the rights and needs of the collective (Cooper, Drummond, Hart, Lovey, & McLaughlin, 2000). Such a focus may therefore be detrimental to students who need a broader education in relation to social emotional and academic competence. Permanently excluded young people have been found to highlight the impersonal nature of secondary which required conformity as opposed to securing recognition and support as an individual (Farouk, 2017). All of the females spoke about the inappropriate and inconsistent nature of the support provided.
7.2.4 Home factors
A number of external sources of attributions appeared during the young female’s narratives. Parent mental health and feelings of neglect were both home-related categories that emerged from the narratives.

Farouk (2017) found a small group of permanently excluded participants attending an alternative provision to recall critical periods of distress at home such as parent separation, periods of domestic abuse and violence. The group identified a period of traumatic home circumstances as the root cause for their display of behavioural difficulties and eventual exclusion from school.

A number of home factors were featured within Tara’s story. Tara described in detail a difficult period at home as a result of her mother’s ‘toxic relationship’, which resulted in feelings of abandonment and conflict. Tara however very much spoke of a period in her life which ended with a permanent move to her father’s and termination of her relationship with her mother until she was older. Tara reported her home situation to be very much the root cause of her difficulties, as in Farouk’s (2017) research, which was further exacerbated by peer conflict as a result of her home circumstances and lack of perceived understanding by her school setting. Molly also spoke of difficult home periods as a result of domestic abuse and her mother’s cancer diagnosis with a lack of understanding and allowances from her school being a dominant theme.

Although Claire’s narrative did not feature any home factors. It must be considered that home factors may not have been absent from Claire’s life but as a result of taking responsibility for her exclusion external factors were not prioritized within her narrative.

7.2.5 Internal
Internal sources also emerged within the narratives obtained with Claire reporting her exclusion to be a result of her own choices albeit influenced by peer pressure and uncontrollable anger. Claire’s attribution of exclusion to self related and uncontrollable sources may have resulted in the experience
of shame and in turn withdrawal and motivational inhibition (Weiner, 1985) as suggested by no longer hoping for a return to mainstream.

Additional internal sources for poor behaviour across all three narratives included uncontrollable anger and reactions. Uncontrollable aspects of self (i.e. ADHD, being stressed, possessing anger problems) have also been identified within prior research as to reasons behind exclusion (Solomon & Rogers, 2001).

Despite the internal factors highlighted there appeared to be a theme of rehabilitation throughout all three narratives, as found in research relating to permanently excluded pupils within alternative settings (Farouk, 2017). All three narrators were able to highlight progress, which in turn may have allowed distance to be created between themselves and their past,

7.2.6 Attribution styles emerging during the narratives
Although all of the narrators recognized the part they played in their exclusions, a number of external factors were reported including parental mental health and care, peer pressure and conflict and lack of appropriate school support as a result of being misunderstood. The possession of a greater external locus of control has previously been found to be possessed by excluded participants when compared to a group consisting of unlikely candidates for exclusion (Rendall & Stuart, 2005). The current research also identified perceived uncontrollable factors including anger. Previous research has highlighted the presence of external and uncontrollable factors within the reflections of PRU attendees relating to the reasons behind their exclusion i.e. teachers, stress, and anger problems (Solomon & Rogers, 2001). It must however be considered that the pupils may construct attributions to protect the self and so locate the cause externally or to uncontrollable factors.

Successful adjustment at any stage of psychosocial development has been proposed to involve a sense of mastery and control over ones life (Erikson, 1964). An adolescents desire for autonomy and independence may result in
frustration when a lack of mastery is perceived and in turn negative behaviours in an attempt to strive for autonomy (Kee Tony, 2003). The external, uncontrollable factors that were therefore generated by the females interviewed may have in turn led to a reduced sense of mastery and consequent frustration and anger. The attributional antecedent to anger is an ascription of negative self related events to factors controllable by others (Weiner, Graham, & Chandler, 1982). In Tara’s and Molly’s stories for example a physical response occurred, which allowed control to be taken, when school failed to take action in response to reports that they feared a fight may occur.

A distinction has been made between positive (optimistic) and negative (pessimistic) style of attribution. A positive style has been characterized by a tendency to explain positive events as due to internal, stable and global factors and negative as external, unstable and specific whereas a negative style exhibits a reversed pattern (Peterson & Seligman, 1984). Pupils who self report misbehaviour have previously been found to attribute negative events to internal, stable and global causes with positive events being attributed to external, unstable and specific causes (Kee Tony, 2003). Internal and stable attributions have been reported to result in low self concept or helplessness (Abramson et al., 1978).

Although Molly’s narrative possessed a number of attributions suggestive of a positive style, Claire’s appeared more consistent with that of a negative attribution style whereas Tara possessed elements of both. The distinction in turn may partly explain the difference in future expectations with Molly perceiving a future of success which is to include a positive return to mainstream, Claire believing a return to mainstream would be entirely unsuccessful resulting in fear whereas Tara continues to hope for a return but expects that she may revert to previous behaviours. The current findings therefore appear consistent with the fact that the negative attribution style associated with internal and stable attributions appears to result in lower self concept although the excluded females interviewed did not all demonstrate a negative attribution style.
Causal stability has been proposed in part to determine expectancies regarding the likelihood of future success or failure with hopelessness being elicited when a negative outcome is attributed to a stable cause (Weiner, 1979). Claire identified herself as an anxious person who possessed uncontrollable anger when within a mainstream school environment. Claire therefore may expect failure to occur with a return to mainstream due to the mainstream environment being perceived to remain stable in its triggering of the negative emotional response. Tara on the other hand appeared to believe her ‘naughty streak’ was a result of her age making future achievement a possibility with maturity.

In summary, the narrators appeared to acknowledge the role-played in their exclusion to differing degrees. School inaction in relation to addressing peer difficulties however appeared to also result in a sense of injustice. Although the long-term impact of exclusion was questioned, its initial occurrence was felt to be positive due to allowing escape from a disliked situation. The impact of indirect and direct peers pressure and psychological bullying was a prominent theme with peer groups also appearing to define self worth. Critical periods of distress within the home and lack of school understanding and support were also considered. In relation to Attribution Theory, the way in which the narrators internalized the reason behind their exclusion and behaviour appeared to have implications for their future motivations and the degree to which their desired futures were a possibility.

7.3 What possible future selves are generated by permanently excluded females?

The potential perception of negative long-term consequences of exclusion has been repeatedly highlighted (Lloyd & Peacock, 2001; Lloyd et al., 2001; Munn et al., 2000) with many young people who have experienced permanent exclusion possessing few ideas as to their future whilst possessing engrained low self esteem (Daniels & Cole, 2010). Although the potential for negative long-term consequences appeared to be feared within the current research there was a perception that with determination and
persistence desired for outcomes could be obtained. The participants in the current research continued to value education whilst hoping to attend the educational setting they perceived to offer them the opportunity for success. Many excluded young people have also been found to value schooling even if their own experiences have been negative (Munn & Lloyd, 2005). All of the narrators hoped for a successful future which appeared to be defined by achieving good grades and the intrinsic reward of gaining preferred employment which was in line with prior research (Osler & Vincent, 2003). The hoped for career aspirations of the female participants varied greatly. Claire chose a traditionally female occupation of working with children whereas Molly hoped for employment within the law industry. Tara however selected an area of employment that she felt she could be successful in due to it being a career people did not like, that of an embalmer, which once again indicated her lack of self belief.

The self perceived likelihood of a hoped-for possible self being achieved has been suggested to be a function of the discrepancy between real and ideal selves; possible selves being rated unlikely if perceived as highly discrepant from the real self. Conversely, the likelihood of feared possible selves are a function of the perceived distance between the real and feared self (Knox et al., 2000). In relation to the narratives gathered those who had attributed their prior difficulties to predominantly external factors appeared to possess confidence in their hoped-for future being achieved which in turn may indicate that the real self presents limited discrepancy to the ideal self. Those who appeared to lack self-belief and confidence, whilst also discussing internal attributions to a greater degree, appeared to believe a greater possibility of their feared self-occurring. Their present real self therefore appeared closer to their feared than their hoped-for future selves.

Possible selves provide the means to evaluate the current or real self with individuals experiencing high self-esteem when they perceive their positive self-conceptions as attainable with respect to the present self. On the other hand when negative possible selves pervades the current self concept, low esteem occurs (Knox, 2006). Considerable discrepancies between hoped-for
and real selves has a negative impact upon self esteem and life satisfaction (Cross & Markus, 1991) whilst hoped-for selves that are not discrepant can elicit self efficacy alongside feelings of competence and effectance (Oyserman & Markus, 1990a). The data obtained revealed those who were unable to voice strengths they possessed were those who believed that a return to mainstream would result in reverting to previous negative behaviours whilst also voicing a need for greater self belief and confidence in order to achieve their hoped-for possible selves.

Self esteem however appears to operate in a circular manner. Our self-esteem may be a result of the degree to which our hoped for selves are attainable in light of our present selves whilst also influencing the possible selves that are generated. If an individual possesses low self esteem they are proposed to be more likely to run unsuccessful scenarios of possibilities whereas those with more robust self esteem envisage successful futures (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Previous experience of success or failure in a domain has been proposed to influence beliefs about the relevance and attainability of possible selves in that domain which in turn may result in difficulty in articulating what success may look like and which strategies may be effective (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006; Oyserman & Markus, 1990a). Claire’s negative experience during a taster day therefore may have influenced her belief that a return to mainstream could be successful. In turn Claire found articulating her expected future difficult although she appeared to possess some knowledge as to what would be required for success to be achieved. Molly on the other hand appeared confident in her belief that a successful future would be gained whilst also being able to recall instances of previous academic success with effort. It must however also be noted that the possibility of progress or failure may also have been impacted upon by attribution due to Claire possessing greater internal attribution for her past behaviour whereas Molly possessed a greater amount of external attributions.

Possible selves have been proposed to also be influenced by the
expectations of others alongside historical and socio-political contexts (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). If a context provided few role models of overcoming barriers to success positive possible selves are not sustained. All of the young people’s expected possible selves appeared to align with their experiences. Claire for example spoke of her mother also experiencing permanent exclusion with success being achieved with self-belief and determination. She therefore believed that success was possible with determination and effort. Molly also spoke of her experience of people having to persist in order to achieve their hopes, which once again aligned with her future expectations. It must however be noted that both Tara and Molly possessed a desire to prove people wrong which in turn indicates a perception that others expected negative futures for them. Such expectations however appeared to act as a motivating factor as opposed to adding doubt to their own expectations.

It also appeared that those who had been attending the PRU for a greater amount of time feared a return to mainstream due to it becoming unfamiliar. Evidence which suggests that in some cases breathing space in an alternative setting with additional support to re-engage into mainstream is all that is needed for a successful reintegration (Evans, 2010) may only be the case in short term placements and not in cases where lengthy placements have resulted in institutionalization. Wood (2011) found excluded pupils within PRUs to possess reservations about reintegration to mainstream school due to prior issues being perceived to continue to exist with pressure being felt to adapt to the schools system rather than the other way around suggesting integration rather than inclusion.

All of the young people also appeared to possess a renewed sense of agency in their future. Spiteri (2009) found attendance at an alternative provision instilled a sense of responsibility in participants. Within the current research transition to the PRU appeared to act as a turning point in the young people’s lives as well as offering the opportunity for self-reflection. For Tara she realized that the PRU offered an opportunity to get her head down although she was taking it for granted despite reporting she had changed.
Both Molly and Claire also appeared to have noted change with the former identifying a greater ability to make amends and the later perceiving improvements in attitude, self-control and ability to act independently to peers. Alternative provisions have also been reported to provide an opportunity to ‘interpret the world differently’ (Spiteri, 2009). Molly and Tara for example were able to reflect upon prior friendships and recognize that they did not possess true friendships that were able to provide support.

Possible Selves are proposed to provide a conceptual link between self concept and motivation and in turn function as incentives for future behaviour (Markus & Nurius, 1986). The renewed sense of agency may therefore have been impacted upon via questioning relating to possible selves. Tara for example stated ‘Talking to you now I can see how much it could change my whole entire future if I didn’t get them grades and I feel like I do want the best from my future and I need to act now’ (T2 102) whilst Molly stated ‘If I don’t start doing anything about it now then I genuinely feel like I will have no hope’ (M2 107). Motivation to achieve a possible future has also been found to be influenced by perception of temporal distance with the focus upon action planning enhancing with the degree of closeness perceived (Strahan & Wilson, 2006). It must however be noted that the steps to achieve such hoped for selves appeared vague and unspecific, an observation found by other possible selves researchers (Mainwaring & Hallam, 2010; Wood, 2011).

Underlying the possible selves construct is the assumption that the self has motivational capacities that instigate direct behaviour (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989). Previous literature however has proposed that in order for possible selves to lead to action there needs to be a balance between hoped for and feared future selves with feared selves only being motivationally beneficial when paired with positive possible selves and in turn actions (Oyserman & Markus, 1990b). A distinction can be made between participants in relations to specificity of future plans. Claire and Tara were able to outline their hoped for and feared possible selves whilst also outlining the changes that needed to be made to achieve their hoped for selves. Molly on the other hand was
unable to discuss a feared possible self in detail or the actions that needed to be taken for success. Tara and Claire therefore appeared to focus upon the process that would lead to success whereas Molly focused upon only her hoped for outcome in detail. For Tara and Claire their possible selves may therefore possess a self regulatory function and in turn direct action whereas Molly's possible self is likely to only provide self enhancement i.e. they allow her to feel positive but are unlikely to result in action. Future goals may make us feel good particularly if they are vague and carry no specific actions (Gonzales, Burgess, & Mobilio, 2001). Balance between feared and hoped for possible selves therefore appears to augment motivation by imagining feared and hoped for possible selves that indicates a way out of the feared self and directs actions towards the desired self (Oyserman & Markus, 1990b). When not accompanied with strategies to attain hoped for selves and avoid feared, possible selves merely serve as self enhancement rather than to self regulate behaviour (Seginer, 2009).

In summary, attributions for previous behaviour appeared to impact upon confidence and belief in the attainability of desired possible selves with greater externalization resulting in greater self-belief. Prior experience, the experiences of others and self esteem also appear to impact upon the possible selves generated. The expectations of others however appear to have a motivating effect due to the desire to prove people wrong. Discussions as to possible selves also appeared to impacted upon narrators sense of agency.

7.4 The potential impact of gender
Previous research has revealed gender differences in the perceived cause of misbehaviour with males reporting a heavy influence from peers who they wished to impress whilst females blamed themselves and their families for their misdeeds (Galbavy, 2003). Girl's friendships have also been highlighted as a source of tension and conflict that may hinder learning and school attendance with psychological bullying also impacting negatively upon social, emotional and mental health (Osler et al., 2002).
The current research found peers to feature heavily within the narratives with direct and indirect peer pressure alongside conflict being felt to impact upon the behaviour displayed and choices made which in turn lead to their exclusion. The need to impress peers and to become a member of a perceived popular and/or ‘cool’ group appeared to be used as an explanation for behaviour although this did not appear to be purely in an attempt to impress due to being influenced by the need for belonging and acceptance. This may have been a result of self esteem with adolescent females being found to possess significantly lower self esteem than males (Bolognini et al., 1996) whilst the ‘self in relation theory’ (Jordan et al., 1991) proposes that the self concepts of females are defined through relationships. Although past stories were dominated by peer relationships it must be noted that future stories did not feature relational connections despite past literature suggesting females possible selves to be interpersonally related whereas males are self oriented (Knox et al., 2000).

The narratives formulated however appear consistent with the findings of previous literature due to evaluative narratives being generated as opposed to the male related factual narrative (Schulkind, Schoppel, & Scheiderer, 2012). Further research would be required however as to whether such differences exist as a result of autobiographical storage or the way in which information is prioritized and selected at the point of narrative construction.

Prior literature has highlighted gender differences in relation to bullying with girls choosing to self-exclude as a result. Gender differences in the way bullying is experienced make it harder to recognize in girls with verbal and psychological bullying being more commonly associated with females (Osler et al., 2002). Within the current research Tara’s reports suggested the experience of psychological bullying which was not addressed by school despite being reported. As a result physical retaliation occurred which in turn resulted in disciplinary action. Although Tara accepted the inappropriateness of assault as a way of resolving the problem, she also felt a sense of injustice that the bullying that had preceeded the outburst went unaddressed (Osler et al., 2002). Research has found institutional failure to address bullying in
females to result in retaliation and punishment of the victim as a result (Osler et al., 2002). Molly and Tara also reported to respond to peer conflict with self exclusion by truanting, a coping strategy more likely to be employed by females (Osler et al., 2002). Both Molly and Tara however perceived their requests for support to be ignored with previous research finding girls to believe this to be a result of being overshadowed by the more demanding behaviour displayed by boys (Crozier & Anstiss, 1995). An ethnographic study of female friendships carried out within two mixed sex London comprehensive schools suggested that teachers do not fully recognize the detrimental effects of peer conflict and psychological bullying upon females (Hey, 1997).

Within the current research both Tara and Molly appeared to at times value their friendships with deterioration being noted in behaviour with the emergence of conflict and tension. Molly in particular spoke of making attempts to impress peers through negative behaviour, at times conflict emerged in her peer group, in order to secure membership of another group. Girls have been found to place a great deal of emphasis upon ‘reputation’ and being liked by others (Osler & Vincent, 2003) whilst also highlighting the importance of social friendships despite also being a source of conflict and tension (Osler et al., 2002).

In summary, peer relationships appear to impact greatly upon the female participants. The desire to be accepted by a popular group, which determined feelings of self worth, was a dominant theme. Drawn out psychological bullying, together with school inaction, was found to result in negative behaviours such as truanting and physical altercations when tolerance levels were pushed. It therefore appears that, as prior research has indicated, the needs of girls may not be met by current policy and procedures.

Overall the findings obtained appear to suggest the significant impact of secondary transition and the formation of friendship groups upon female adolescents. Peer relationships appeared as a dominant theme throughout
the narratives with peer pressure, conflict and psychological bullying being used to account for behaviour. Although their role in exclusion was acknowledged, a sense of injustice was felt as a result of inappropriate school action. The attribution style adopted together with prior experiences, self esteem and the experiences of others were all found to impact upon the possible selves generated. The findings obtained will now be tempered by consideration of possible limitations.

7.5 Limitations

7.5.1 Participant related reflections
The aim of the research was to raise awareness of the voice of a marginalized, vulnerable and understudied group of permanently excluded females within PRUs. Three diverse narratives were collected with common themes being explored in relation to theoretical perspectives and literature. Due to not adopting a positivist methodology, generalizability was not of priority concern. It cannot be ignored however that the sample consisted of only participants of white British ethnicity. Perceived discrimination has been proposed to impact upon the self esteem of ethnic minority adolescents (Verkuyten, 1998) which may in turn may impact upon the construction of possible selves.

It must also be noted that research utilized an opportunity sample of females who were willing to share their stories. It could be argued that those who provided consent were not representative of those most in need. The research may be based upon the word of the most articulate and open participants. The research presented however analysed each participant’s story individually with the findings not being generalized to all females with an experience of permanent exclusion. The research therefore fulfils its aim to offer an insight into the individual experiences of permanently excluded young females in an attempt to encourage interest in a marginalized and understudied group.
7.5.2. Reflections upon data collection

Two main weaknesses of the narrative interview have been highlighted by researchers: the uncontrollable expectations of the narrators and the unrealistic role and rule requirements of its procedure (Jovchlwlovitch & Bauer, 2000). The informant is likely to make hypotheses regarding the interviewer’s agenda and what they already know which in turn is likely to influence the narrative told. The story obtained is therefore likely to become an account with a purpose for example to please the interviewer, defend themselves or to make a particular point. It was therefore necessary to interpret the narration in light of possible hidden agendas and strategic storytelling. The narrative interview rules define an ideal procedure. On reflection the narrative interview requires a compromise between uninterrupted narrative and questioning. Although the narrative allowed diverse perspectives to be revealed there was also a need for standardized questions to allow comparisons between informants to occur. Several sequences of narration and questioning occurred which in turn may result in blurred boundaries between the semi-structured and narrative interview format resulting in the narrative becoming partly directed by the researcher. The description ‘semi structured interviews enriched by narration’ therefore could be used to define the approach taken (Jovchlwlovitch & Bauer, 2000). It is also noted that the format used for the future possible selves interview adopted a structured approach in order to obtain the information required which in turn may also have restricted the narrative generated.

Jovchlwlovitch and Bauer (2000) argue that ‘why’ questions and direct questions relating to opinions or attitudes should not be used due to inviting justifications and rationalisations. A decision however was made to utilise such questions to invite opinions in order to ensure the required data was collected to support the formation of justifiable interpretations relating to attributions. Questions however were often asked after justifications and rationalisations had already occurred spontaneously. It is however recognized that asking ‘why’ questions would have directed the narrative as opposed to allowing control of the narrative content to remain with the narrator.
Requiring the young females to tell their story to an unfamiliar adult in a research context may have restricted the identity expressed (Fivush & Buckner, 2013) and in turn the stories told. The research however was of a constructivist nature and so did not aim to obtain truth but to explore the way in which stories were told in the context established.

It must also be recognized that a self-narrative offered within an interview is not stable due to developing and changing throughout time. The transcriptions therefore provide a frozen account of a dynamic changing identity (Cermak, 2004). Stories are influenced by the context in which they are told including the interview goal, the relationship between the interviewer and informant, perceived expectations and the mood of the informant. Stories narrated therefore represent only one of the possible forms (Cermak, 2004).

7.5.3. Reflections upon analysis
Howitt (2013) suggests that narrative research to the novice can appear to be a ‘somewhat chaotic set of ideas…waiting to find its focus’ with models ‘harder to come by’ and theory ‘more difficult to clarify’ (p. 382). In spite of this, narrative research provides an opportunity to explore an individual in their totality through their personal narratives. The approach taken was essential to ensuring the elicitation of rich and purposeful data, however a number of considerations of a practical nature impacted upon the scope of the analysis to be conducted. A pragmatic decision to select two subtypes of analysis was necessary, that of holistic form and categorical content analysis.

One criticism of the categorical content analysis is the potential disregarding of contextual factors as a result of extracting categories resulting in a potential loss of the ‘intensity, emotionality and tonality’ of the narrative (Lieblich et al., 1998). This could not be rectified by including full transcripts within the appendices, which would have provided a rich context in which to interpret the content analysis, due to the potential for the identities of the
young people to be revealed. Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008) emphasise the importance of considering anonymity when presenting narrative accounts. Only a sample transcript is presented to further protect the identities of the young people as those who know them may be able to identify their distinctive narrative due to only a small sample being available which in turn would undermine anonymity and data protection. This is therefore acknowledged as a potential weakness of the current research.

Although the structural graphs produced as part of the holistic-form analysis were able to present a large amount of narrative in an accessible format, the reduction of a large quantity of diverse material may deter from extensive use of the tool (Lieblich et al., 1998). It must also be considered that the request for participants to consider school chapters may have added an emphasis to turning points in their life which in turn impacted upon the narrative plot and its graphical representation. Criticisms relating to the sketching of plot lines in an attempt to reduce the complexity of the data was hopefully countered however by the additional use of categorical content analysis. Cermak (2004) stated that from a methodological point of view, a holistic form analysis should be followed by a detailed inquiry of the narrative as credibility of the plot line is the result of further elaborate questioning of the data.

It must also be acknowledged that the researcher was a novice narrative researcher requiring a significant amount of learning along the journey. The quality of the research may therefore have been compromised. The impact of the researcher upon interpretation is also recognized. It is acknowledged that the account presented could be interpreted differently. There were many paths throughout the process of analysis that could have been taken with the decisions made shaping the presented account. It is also acknowledged by the researcher that their own professional identity as a TEP, holding individualized ideas and beliefs regarding the education of young people, may have influenced the direction of the research and data interpretation. It is also acknowledged that although the use of the narrative interview may have facilitated the telling of stories, the researcher was still privileged in terms of their interpretive voice. The influence of the researcher upon the
production of knowledge, data collection and analysis is inevitable but its elimination would make it impossible to retain the benefits of qualitative research (Yardley, 2015). This was however acknowledged and reflected upon during the research through the use of a reflective diary which promoted the ‘critical and systematic reflexivity’ called for by Hiles and Cermak (2008).

The researcher aimed to conduct data analysis in a transparent and systematic way, which was clearly presented and described within the methodology section. Illustrative quotes were used throughout to support the categories and principal sentences generated. The researcher therefore argues that a ‘well grounded and supportive account’ (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 175) has been presented based upon the principals of transparency (Hiles & Cermak, 2008), trustworthiness and authenticity (Mishler, 1990). The true measure of validity has however been proposed to be the degree to which the research has the potential to make a difference practically or theoretically (Yardley, 2015). It is hoped that the exploratory research has promoted the voice of permanently excluded young females whilst contributing to an improved understanding as to the stories behind exclusion.

7.6 Implications

7.6.1 Educational psychology profession
It is argued that narrative offers both a theoretical underpinning and method for EP practice. A large part of the EP role is to support people to explore and reflect upon situations through talking in order to consider ways of moving forward. The research has demonstrated the richness of data that can be obtained through the use of uninterrupted narratives guided by a visual tool. The narrative resources of the individual, and not the interpretive skills of the listener, are reported to be key when using narrative approaches to explore the meaning an individual gives to an event(s) (Hiles & Cermak, 2008). The use of the life path visual tool used may therefore support the narrative resources of the individual in order to facilitate thinking and communication of their stories with stories themselves being proposed to add
coherence to scattered and often confusing experiences (Murray, 2015). It has been proposed that individuals come to discover and reveal themselves in the narratives they tell (Lieblich et al., 1998). Cefai and Cooper (2009) state that ‘if individual narratives are foregrounded and given authentic expression, then wider understanding of children who struggle can be developed’ (p.32).

EPs also have a role to place in staff INSET-training focusing upon social, emotional and mental health alongside supporting staff to be reflective practitioners in order to identify and consider alternative interpretations of pupil misbehaviour. There is also scope for EPs involvement prior to and at the point of reintegration to ensure needs are appropriately identified in order to develop a person centred plan to support transition.

7.6.2. Educational settings
The current research has highlighted the potential need for educational settings to provided sufficient pastoral support to allow staff to understand pupils and the difficulties they may be experiencing whilst also supporting wider staff to adequately understand pupil needs. The importance of building positive relationships with students has also been emphasized suggesting the need for staff INSET training emphasizing the importance of being proactive in forging links with pupils. It has also become apparent that the females within the current research experienced significant peer difficulties in relation to direct and indirect peer pressure, peer conflict and bullying. It therefore appears that support in negotiating relationships prior to and during secondary education may be of benefit whilst also ensuring sufficient support and provision is in place to allow young people to develop self-belief, self-esteem and confidence. It must however be noted the need for discreet interventions and support due to the apparent female fear of judgement. Overall the research has revealed the need for a greater focus upon mental health and relationships on a whole school and individual basis.
It appears that PRU settings provide an opportunity for reflection and reintroduction of a sense of agency within its permanently excluded attendees. It does however appear that attendees benefit from experiencing trust and being given the opportunity to reflect upon prior experiences whilst also experiencing external motivation prior to developing internal motivation. The impact of length of time in attendance was also revealed as a possible factor in willingness to return to a mainstream setting and therefore reintegration should be considered at the point of placement.

7.6.3 Female students
Research has demonstrated the increased risk of negative outcomes for those who experience permanent exclusion ((Berridge et al., 2001). The current research has highlighted factors that may need to be addressed to support young females in particular who are at risk of or have a history of exclusion to grow and thrive in the future for example providing sufficient provision to address peer relationship difficulties, psychological bullying and fragile self belief and confidence. Females appears to define self worth through their relationships (Jordan et al., 1991) and so it appears vital to not only provide direct proactive and reactive support in relation to forming positive relationships and dealing with conflict but also to provide and encourage alternative methods on which to evaluate self worth e.g. academic or sporting achievements. It also seems necessary to support females to develop positive attribution styles by encourage internal attributions for success as opposed to adopting a "self-derogatory" bias (Levine et al., 1982) whereby external attributions for accomplishments are made. Females therefore appear to need access to additional pastoral support and/or direct therapeutic input in order to provide guidance alongside a space to reflect and consider future goals and desires.

The interview process itself appeared to leave the young females with a sense of agency and motivation to work towards their future. There is already evidence of successful interventions aiming to change possible selves with accompanying impact upon attitude and future success (Day, Borkowski,
Punzo, & Howsepian, 1994). Key principles in developing successful interventions appear to be supporting students to develop vivid visions of their hoped-for, feared and expected selves whilst ensuring connections between current situation and the likelihood of desired or feared selves occurring being emphasized (Carey & Martin, 2007). Such an approach may be beneficial for adolescents in particular who seek autonomy and independence (Kee Tony, 2003) due to facilitating their considerations of the future as opposed to adopting a directive approach.

7.6.4 Future research
The current research has begun to address some of the methodological limitations of previous research whilst also raising a number of implications for future research with permanently excluded young people.

It has been suggested that young people may lack the ability to provide credible accounts of their lives (Lubbe, 1986). The young females in the current research however were engaged and willing to share a detailed account of their experiences, reflections, hopes and fears. This is consistent with the experience of Wise (2000), who reported participants to appear ‘honoured’ to be given the opportunity to share their experiences, and Hamil and Boyd (2002) who found pupils perceived as possessing persistent disruptive behaviour were actually found to be ‘surprisingly articulate’ during research interviews.

The research adopted a social constructivist epistemology and aimed to put the voices of young females at the forefront. Previous research, particularly that relating to attributions, has focused upon the voices of parents (Hayden & Dunne, 2001; Miller et al., 2000) and teachers (Miller, 1995). Although it is accepted that young people attach different meaning to experiences to that of the adults around them, a research body should be established where all are heard as opposed to promoting one voice as being anymore valid than another. It has been suggested that in order to accept the voices of young people as credible, we must be willing to consider them as equal to those of parents, professionals and schools (Wise, 2000). It is therefore proposed that
future research should further aim to explore the voices of children and adolescents by adopting the social constructivist perspective alongside methods which allow the young people to talk freely. The current research has demonstrated that rich information can be gained through the use of a narrative approach and by imposing less structure upon the accounts. The guided interview structure successfully facilitated the young females to share their stories whilst enhancing involvement through the use of an ‘open, non-hierarchical, facilitative and reflexive’ position (Wetton & Williams, 2000). It has also been suggested that telling stories supports people to make sense of experiences (Riessman, 1993) and so the use of a guided interview aimed to elicit stories may support young people to convey their experiences. Future research may therefore benefit from seeking to elicit the voices of vulnerable groups, who have encountered a challenging and potentially traumatic experience, through the use of narrative approaches, which impose less structure to accounts.

The research also utilized a visual life path tool to reduce the intensity of the interviewer whilst also providing a linear structure to aid recall and elaboration upon narratives. Future research may therefore benefit from drawing on this tool to provide a loose structure in an overall unstructured interview, to aid interview thinking and to facilitate rapport building whilst also addressing the suggestion of Wetton and Williams (2000) that more child friendly data gathering approaches are needed to obtain the views of children and young people.

The current research selected females as the participant group due to indications of gender differences in attributions, possible selves and the way in which narratives are told. Future research may benefit from a comparative study in order to fully investigate possible gender differences.

The current research also highlighted a potential impact of time upon future reintegration hopes. Future research could investigate the impact of time upon the formation of possible selves with the potential indication that longer placements result in a reduction in the degree to which reintegration could be
successful. The impact of reintegration upon possible selves and attributions for prior behaviour would also be worthy of future research.

7.7 Conclusion

This current exploratory investigation suggests that the female permanently excluded pupils interviewed perceived a number of factors to have impacted upon their behaviour and in turn exclusion. A key point of regression in their narratives appeared to be the transition from a child centered primary setting to that of impersonal secondary education, which in turn may have facilitated the formation of an informal hierarchy and alliance with an anti-establishment peer group. Progression in their school experience appeared however to result with transition to an alternative setting which re-introduced a child centered and personalized approach. The use of narrative as an investigative approach however has allowed consideration that the way in which the stories were told might act to protect their current selves.

Key themes in relation to attributions emerged in relation to feeling misunderstood and let down by their school settings, a critical period of distress at home and peer related factors such as bullying, conflict and the pressure to gain membership to a popular group to prevent judgement. The females interviewed appeared to gain their sense of self worth through belonging either within their family or more commonly a popular peer group. The hierarchical peer group established appeared to dominate the views of the young females who found adjustment to impersonal secondary education difficult. The research also highlighted the potential impact of attributions upon future selves with those exhibiting internal attributions lacking self belief and in turn appearing less confident in the possibility of a successful mainstream future.

In relation to future possible selves all the females interviewed possessed the desire to be successful academically in order to achieve employment in an area they desired. Desires for reintegration appeared to depend upon the length of time within the alternative setting and the degree to which a return
was expected to be successful. All of the narrators appeared to lack self-belief, believing that determination would be needed alongside external support and positive relationships.

The current research has also highlighted the possible gender differences in the experience of school and exclusion. It appears that females are subjected to greater verbal and psychological bullying which when unaddressed can lead to self-exclusion via truancy and/or retaliation. The female desire for relationships and belonging, which in turn define self worth, has also been found to impact upon the behaviour displayed.

An implication of this research is that unless the views of children who challenge the mainstream school system are listened to, it is likely that their negative experiences will be perpetuated (Davies, 2005). The stories of children and young people can provide an insightful critique of educational systems which can enable a broader, multifaceted understanding of the complexities, successes and shortcomings of current practice (Toynbee, 2009).

It is hoped that the research presented promotes further interest into the marginalized group of permanently excluded young females alongside promoting the practical, ethical and epistemological reasons for researching the perspective of young people.

‘The reality experienced by children and young people in educational settings cannot be fully comprehended by inference and assumption. The meanings they attach to their experiences are not necessarily the meanings that their teachers or parents would ascribe; the subcultures that children inhabit in classrooms or schools are not always visible or accessible to adults’ (Lloyd-Smith & Tarr, 2000, p. 61).

An additional implication of this research is that the views and perspectives of female permanently excluded pupils should be incorporated into educational research in recognition of the principle of promoting pupil
participation whilst also being used to inform policy and practice. Overall it is felt that:

‘There is much to be learned from hearing what girls have to say for themselves. Teachers’ and theorists’ views do not reflect the complexity, the detail, the level of insight, the vigour and the feelings that girls express when they talk about their experiences’ (Crozier & Anstiss, 1995, p. 31).
REFERENCES


people’s accounts of parental substance use. *Qualitative Research, 7*(1), 135-141.


**APPENDICES**

Appendix 1: search terms

<table>
<thead>
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<th>CONTEXT</th>
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<td>Pupil referral unit</td>
<td>View*</td>
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## Appendix 2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria appraisal

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Non permanently excluded

Distinction not made between excluded and at risk

The research included a larger number of primary than secondary pupils.

Although unclear about age range paper included

Not reported to have been excluded.

Primary and secondary pupils permanently excluded not distinguished.

Research conducted in Scotland – secondary collated data from 3 projects with no information as to age of participants or the category of exclusion experienced (NOTE 3 projects cited followed up)

Excluded on the basis of being conducted in Scotland and not focusing upon permanently excluded young people

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<td>Trotman, Tucker and Martyn (2015)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Date between subgroups not defined making it impossible to extract information in relation to permanently excluded participants/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farouk (2007)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Although focus was upon autobiographical memory exploration of attributions for behaviour and exclusion were indirectly part of the research.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 3: Critical appraisal of qualitative studies (CASP checklist)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>Was there a clear statement of the aims?</th>
<th>Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?</th>
<th>Was the research design appropriate?</th>
<th>Was the recruitment strategy appropriate?</th>
<th>Was the data collected in a way that addressed research issue?</th>
<th>Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?</th>
<th>Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?</th>
<th>Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?</th>
<th>Is there a clear statement of findings?</th>
<th>Is the research valuable?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solomon and Rogers (2001)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garner (1996)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainwaring and Hallam (2010)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gersch and Nolan (1994)</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>O’connor et al (2011)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farouk (2017)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 = yes, 2 = partially, 1 = unclear and 0 = no.
### Appendix 4: Critical appraisal criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appropriateness of study design for answering research question</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>Qualitative basis featuring pupil voice. Interviews, focus groups or questionnaires utilized. Data in relation to a number of cases.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                                                               | MEDIUM | Limited qualitative data relating to pupil voice  
Data in relation to limited number of cases |
|                                                               | LOW | Quantitative data focus  
Limited participants |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relevance of the study focus to the review</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>Outcomes in relation to permanently excluded pupils the focus. A range of outcomes were considered.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEDIUM</td>
<td>Outcomes in relation to excluded pupils were part of the focus. Multiple outcomes considered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>Outcomes in relation to excluded pupils were not a highlighted focus. Minimal relevant analysis featured. Limited outcomes considered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5: Access letter to PRU managers

Title of Project: The Stories Young People within Pupil Referral Units Tell About Their Exclusion and Possible Selves

Ethics Approval Number or Taught Project Archive Number:
Researcher: Adele Thacker (lxalt@nottingham.ac.uk, 0799 008 6417)
Supervisor: Neil Ryrie (lpanr@nottingham.ac.uk, 0115 846 7303)
School of Psychology, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

My name is Adele Thacker and I am studying for the Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology at the University of Nottingham. I am currently on placement with Shropshire Educational Psychology Service. As part of my training I am researching how exclusion is understood by permanently excluded children and their expectations and hopes for the future. The research has been approved by the Nottingham University Ethics Committee.

Consent to participate in a research study
The purpose of this letter is to request permission for your setting to participate in this study and to provide you with additional information about the purpose and nature of the research.

Project description
The aim of the research is to explore the experiences of permanent exclusion from the perspectives of young people. I am particularly interested in the critical events young people highlight as impacting upon their mainstream school experience along with the barriers that are likely to impact upon their futures and the strengths possessed which may support progression towards future goals. The young people will not be directly asked to comment upon their current provision.

I would like to recruit pupils who meet the following criteria:

- Pupils attending the provision full time and are unlikely to change placement for the duration of the research
- Aged between 11 and 14 years
- Pupils who are not currently experiencing stressful experiences in their life i.e. bereavement/family separation
- Pupils who you consider to be unlikely to experience distress whilst speaking about their experiences
- Pupils with no identified speech and language difficulties which may prevent the expression of views (e.g. involvement of Speech and Language therapy).
Participants will be asked to take part in a 2 part 1:1 interview, each session lasting for 30 minutes to 1 hour. The interviewer has DBS clearance. With your permission, it is anticipated that the interviews would take place within a private, comfortable room within the PRU setting. A trusted adult will be asked to occasionally check that the young person remained comfortable during the interview whilst also being asked to remain nearby in order for your child to be able to access them if needed. The students will be asked to recount critical events which they feel to have impacted upon their schooling as well as outlining their hopes and expectations for the future. The strengths and resources they hold to support them in achieving future goals will be explored alongside any barriers they identify. The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed.

**Why is the research being conducted?**

It is important that the education system listens to the voices of students, including the marginalised and the vulnerable. This study aims to increase understanding of how the past experiences and future expectations of permanently excluded pupils can be conceptualised. It is also hoped that the insight provided into barriers to future outcomes, alongside the strengths and resources possessed, will have implications for the way in which excluded young people are supported to access education and achieve long term goals.

**Confidentiality and data protection**

Participant names and school data will be anonymised and all identifiable factors within the recordings will be excluded from the transcription. Students will be assigned a pseudonym. All recordings will be stored in a lockable filling cabinet and transcriptions files will be password protected. All data including recordings and transcriptions will be destroyed 3 years after completion of the research.

The only exception to the confidentiality rule would be if during the interview a participant indicated potential danger to themselves or another person.

**Identification of participants and consent procedures**

A list of criteria will be provided to support you in the identification of suitable pupils. An information letter and consent form, together with a stamped addressed envelope, will be provided for you to post to the parents of the young people selected. Once parental consent has been gained, the young people will be asked to meet with the researcher. During the meeting the young people will be provided with information as to the purpose of the research and their potential role before being asked to provide voluntary consent if they would like to take part. It must be made clear that the participants are invited to share as much information as desired without feeling pressured. If a young person did appear anxious during an interview the option to stop would be discussed. The participants will have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason, and this includes withdrawing their data.

**Disclaimer**

You are not obliged to take part in the study and are free to withdraw at any time during data collection. Should you wish to withdraw from the research you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and without obligation to provide a reason.
If you have any complaints about the study, please contact: Stephen Jackson (Chair of Ethics Committee) stephen.jackson@nottingham.ac.uk.

I will follow up this letter with a phone call within the next week to discuss the possibility of your involvement. In the meanwhile if you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me directly via lpxalt@nottingham.ac.uk or the research supervisor lpanr@nottingham.ac.uk.

I look forward to discussing the research with you further

Yours Sincerely
Adele Thacker
Trainee Educational Psychologist
University of Nottingham
## Appendix 6: Participant details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Year group</th>
<th>Statement/ EHCP</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Tara      | 14  | 9          | No             | Excluded April 2016  
9-10 weeks spent in small group part time 6th day provision  
Full time transition to centre July 2016  
(Interviewed 4 mths post exclusion) |
| Molly     | 15  | 10         | No             | Excluded May 2016  
8 weeks spent in small group part time 6th day provision  
Full time transition to centre July 2016  
(Interviewed 3 mths post exclusion) |
| Claire    | 15  | 10         | No             | Excluded October 2015  
6 months part time small group provision  
Full time transition to centre April 2016  
(Interviewed 11 mths post exclusion) |

*All interviews were conducted between July and September 2016*
Appendix 7: Guided interview

*Please note: the delivery of the questions below are likely to fluctuate dependent upon the narrative supplied by the young people. This is a method deemed necessary to facilitate the elicitation of a story within narrative approaches.

- Re-visit consent letter and check understanding at the outset. Ask young person to explain what they believe they are going to be asked to do and how they believe their information is to be used
- Remind of right to stop and/or withdraw at any time
- Remind that they do not have to answer and questions they so not want to.

SESSION 1

1. Life path and uninterrupted narrative
Give the life path template, which marks the beginning and the end of the required period (i.e. the start of schooling to their entry to the PRU), to the young person to support the telling of their story (figure 1). “I'm interested in hearing about your time in school. I would like you to tell me as much as possible about it starting from the time you joined your first school until you entered the PRU. I would like you to note down key information you would like to talk about on this life path which may help you to tell me your story”. Ask the young person if they would like to write on the template themselves or for it to be written for them. Once completed ask “I would like to hear as much as possible about your time in school starting from the time you joined your first school until you entered the PRU. Do you feel ready to start?”

![Figure 1: life path template](image)

Once there is a summary statement and/or a pause signalling the end of the story ask “is there is anything else they would like to add?”

2. Clarification phase to elicit additional material
Clarification questions will be dependent upon the material provided within the uninterrupted narrative. The following example forms can be used:
- Tell me more about that
- What does that mean?
- Do you want to talk me through……?
- I wonder……
- How did that make you feel?
• Have we missed anything?
• How does this relate to….?
• Do you have an example?

3. Critical moments

“I wonder if you feel any of the events you have spoken about played a part in your exclusion?”
“I wonder if you feel any of the events you spoke about helped you in any way?”

Questions to support the identification of critical moments can include:
• Do you think anything else played a part in your exclusion?
• Did anything else help you?
• Could anything have prevented that from happening?
• Who/what else played a part in that?
• How did you feel about that?

AT THE END OF THE SESSION CHECK IF THE YOUNG PERSON GIVES CONSENT FOR THEIR RECORDING TO BE USED

SESSION 2

1. The Future
• Long term
  o Central topic: Let’s imagine you are 18 years old. Tell me what you think your life might be like at 18? Tell me as much as possible about it.
  o What would you like it to be like?
  o What do you not want it to be like?
  o What will have happened between now and then?
  o What strengths and resources do you hold which may help you to achieve your goal
• Short term
  o Central topic: Let’s imagine you are 6mths older. What do you think will be happening? Tell me as much as possible about it.
  o What would you like to be happening?
  o What would you not like to be happening?
  o How feel about a potential return to mainstream school?
  o What will have happened between now and then?
  o What strengths and resources do you hold which may help you to achieve your goal

Additional clarification and exploratory questions may include:
• What would help you to achieve long term/short term ideal?
• What may make it difficult to achieve long term/short term ideal?
• How confident are you that you could achieve ideal?
• How likely is it that you will achieve your ideal?
• What may help your return to mainstream school?
• What may hinder your return to mainstream school?

AT THE END OF THE SESSION CHECK IF THE YOUNG PERSON GIVES CONSENT FOR THEIR RECORDING TO BE USED

GIVE YOUNG PERSON DEBRIEF SHEET
Appendix 8: Reflective diary extracts

Diary extract 1: consideration as to the use of participant validation

Reflections:
At first I though this would be a wise move to add further validity to conclusion but a number of reflections have deterred me from this. Firstly would it be ethical for a third interview to be conducted, which would require a participant to once again revisit a potentially traumatic experience? Narrative also states that stories are static and will differ depending upon context. Finally the social constructivist perspective believes there is no objective reality and so the focus is not to identify fact. What would having a participant re-reading their narrative add as they may identify aspects that are ‘un true’ but were told in such a way for a purpose in the initial telling.
Diary extract 2: Pilot interview: Tara

Reflections:
Although initial concerns were possessed in relation to the use of a guided interview, these were found to be unwarranted. Tara spoke at great length about her experiences. A common theme appeared to be about her school setting not listening to her. It was as though she was taking advantage of the opportunity to tell her story to someone who wanted to hear it.

I left Tara feeling rather emotional. It was as if transference of Tara's emotions had occurred. Tara appeared to repeat emotive aspects of her story, which in turn may have made them more powerful and prominent. I also left feeling disappointment that Tara had experienced what she had with a negative view of her educational establishment which required need to remind self this was her perception. Tara may have also told her story in a particular way to ensure emotion was felt.

I question whether Tara reacted to the empathy offered which in turn resulted in further attempts to evoke this due to finding it reinforcing? What other attempts did Tara make to secure continued listening? To what degree are my facial expressions impacting upon the narrative. I have ensured minimal vocalisations but non-verbals also need to be closely monitored.
Diary extract 3: Write up of findings

After completing and writing up the findings it appears I have been overly ambitious in what the word count will allow. It is therefore necessary to select analysis and findings to present.

I had hoped to present multiple plot lines for each narrative depending upon the evaluative categories that emerged. This however is not going to possible. On reflection it appears worthwhile to present school experience plot line due to highlighting the significance of transition points. This would not be highlighted by any other analysis. Although the plot lines for the evaluation of peers and home are interesting, the commentary appears to be covered within the attributions section.

I have also begun to reflect upon the difference between thematic analysis and categorical content analysis due to both resulting in a set of themes. Narrative however is a methodology and not just a stand-alone type of analysis as is thematic analysis. Narrative also focuses upon identifying clusters of meaning whilst the re-storying process appears to be the defining characteristic that distinguishes narrative from thematic analysis.
Appendix 9: Ethics approval letter

SJ/wb
Ref: 823R

Wednesday, 06 April 2016

Dear Adele Thacker & Neil Ryrie,

**Ethics Committee Review**

Thank you for submitting an account of your proposed research ‘The Stories Young People within Pupil Referral Units Tell About Their Exclusion and Possible Selves’.

That proposal has now been reviewed by the Ethics Committee and I am pleased to tell you that your submission has met with the committee’s approval.

Final responsibility for ethical conduct of your research rests with you or your supervisor. The Codes of Practice setting out these responsibilities have been published by the British Psychological Society and the University Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns whatever during the conduct of your research then you should consult those Codes of Practice. The Committee should be informed immediately should any participant complaints or adverse events arise during the study.

Independently of the Ethics Committee procedures, supervisors also have responsibilities for the risk assessment of projects as detailed in the safety pages of the University web site. Ethics Committee approval does not alter, replace, or remove those responsibilities, nor does it certify that they have been met.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

*Professor Stephen Jackson*
*Chair, Ethics Committee*
Appendix 10: parent information and consent letter

Title of Project: The Stories Young People within Pupil Referral Units Tell About Their Exclusion and Possible Selves

Ethics Approval Number or Taught Project Archive Number:

Researcher: Adele Thacker (lpxalt@nottingham.ac.uk, 0799 008 6417)
Supervisor: Neil Ryrie (lpanr@nottingham.ac.uk, 0115 846 7303)

School of Psychology, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

My name is Adele Thacker and I am training to become an Educational Psychologist with the University of Nottingham. I am currently placed in Shropshire as a Trainee Educational Psychologist. As part of my training I am carrying out a project that aims to explore the experiences of young people who have experience exclusion from school.

I would like to invite your child to take part in the research. Before you decide whether you give your consent for your child’s involvement, it is important you understand what this would involve.

Project description
The aim of the research is to explore the experience of permanent exclusion from the point of view of young people. I am particularly interested in the events that young people think have impacted upon their school experience. I am also interested in what they feel will help them to reach their future goals as well as what they think may make this harder.

Your son/daughter will be asked to take part in 2 short interviews with me, each session lasting for approximately 30 minutes. I have been cleared by the Disclosure and Barring Service\(^1\). The interviews will take place in a private, comfortable room within the centre unless a different place is requested. A trusted adult will be asked to occasionally check that your son/daughter remained comfortable during the interview whilst also being asked to remain nearby in order for your child to be able to access them if needed. Your son/daughter will be asked to talk about events which were felt to have led to their exclusion as well as talking about their hopes and expectations for the future. The interviews will be audio recorded and a typed record made. We are aware that they he/she may recall uncomfortable personal memories, however, young people are invited to share only as much information as desired without feeling pressured. If a young person did appear anxious during an interview

\(^1\) The Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) was formed by the merger of the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) and the Independent Safeguarding Authority. The primary role of the DBS is to prevent unsuitable people from working with vulnerable groups including children.
they could to stop. A young person can stop the interview at any time without having to say why.

Confidentiality and data protection
Your son/daughter’s identity will be kept totally anonymous. This means that they will not be able to be identified from anything they say. Your son/daughter’s name and school data will be anonymised (replaced with different names) and all factors which may identify them within the recordings will not be included in the typed record. All recordings will be stored in a lockable filling cabinet and typed records will be password protected. All data including recordings and typed records will be destroyed 3 years after completion of the research.

The only exception to the confidentiality rule would be if during the interview a participant indicated potential danger to themselves or another person.

Outcomes
As well as helping the study, it is hoped that your son/daughter will benefit from the experience of sharing their stories. I hope this study will help find out more about what how schools can support young people at risk of exclusion; and how best to support future progress for those permanently excluded.

Disclaimer
You do not have to give permission for your child to take part in the study and are free to withdraw consent at any time. If you want to withdraw consent you can do so without having to give a reason.

If you have questions or want to discuss the researcher further please contact me on the details below:

lpxalt@nottingham.ac.uk

If you would like your child to take part please sign the attached consent form and return in the stamped addressed envelope provided. If you give your consent for your child to take part I will then explain the research to them before asking if they wish to take part, making sure we have their consent too. Your child would have the right to withdraw at any time.

If you have any complaints about the study, please contact: Stephen Jackson (Chair of Ethics Committee) stephen.jackson@nottingham.ac.uk.
Title of Project: The Stories Young People within Pupil Referral Units Tell About Their Exclusion and Possible Selves

Ethics Approval Number or Taught Project Archive Number:
Researcher: Adele Thacker (lpxalt@nottingham.ac.uk, 0799 008 6417)
Supervisor: Neil Ryrie (lpanr@nottingham.ac.uk, 0115 846 7303)

School of Psychology, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

- Have you read and understood the Information Sheet? 
  YES/NO

- Have you had the opportunity to ask questions about the study? 
  YES/NO

- Have all your questions been answered satisfactorily? 
  YES/NO

- Do you understand that you are free to withdraw consent for your child’s involvement? 
  (at any time and without giving a reason) 
  YES/NO

- I give permission for my child’s data from this study to be shared with other researchers, and to be published within a doctoral thesis, provided that their anonymity is completely protected. 
  YES/NO

- I understand that my child does not have to answer any questions they do not want to and that they are free to withdraw at any time 
  YES/NO

- I understand that my child’s responses will be tape recorded 
  YES/NO

- Do you agree to allow your child to take part in the study if they provide their consent? 
  YES/NO

“This study has been explained to me to my satisfaction, and I agree to allow my child to take part. I understand that I am free to withdraw consent at any time.”

Signature of parent: 

Date: 

Name (in block capitals)
Appendix 11: Parent phone call script

I am calling regarding the letter you received in the post about a piece of research exploring the voices of young people who have experienced exclusion.

[If letter had not been received state that a second letter will be sent – confirm address]

As the letter states:
Participants would be asked to take part in 2 short interviews. They would be asked to talk about events which were felt to have led to their exclusion as well as talking about their hopes and expectations for the future. The interviews would be tape-recorded and a typed record made. Participants would be invited to share only as much information as they wanted and would be able to stop at any time without having to say why.

The identity of the young people would be kept totally anonymous so they could not be identified. Anything that could identify them would be removed from the records.

You would not have to give permission for your son/daughter to take part in the study and would be free to withdraw consent at any time.

Are you happy for me to give your number to the researcher, Adele Thacker, so she can answer any questions you have and make arrangements for consent to be gained (posted or collected in person) if you were happy for her to speak to [young person’s name] to see if he/she would like to take part?

Before I take your number can I just check?

You understand what the project is about and the part [name] may play?
You understand that you will not have to give consent?
You know what your phone number will be used for?
Appendix 12: Young person’s information and consent form

Hi! My name is Adele Thacker and I am training to become an Educational Psychologist (someone who tries to help schools support children and young people). I am working in Shropshire and am also a student at the University of Nottingham.

As part of my training I am doing a project with young people who have been excluded from school.

I would like to invite you to take part. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the project is being carried out and what it would involve.

Purpose of the research
It is very important that the views of young people are listened to by adults.

I am particularly interested in finding out about:
- What your experiences of school were like
- What you hope for the future
- What you think may help you or make things harder for you in the future

Why have you been chosen?
You have been chosen to take part as you are attending XXXX and it was felt that you may be willing to talk about your experience. Several other pupils will also be asked.

Do I have to take part?
No. It is up to you whether or not to take part. You can change your mind at any time, and stop. You do not have to give a reason.

What will happen during the research?
If you agree to take part, a time and a date will be agreed for out first meeting. The meetings are to take place within a private, comfortable room within the centre unless an alternative place is requested (i.e. home). Two meetings will take place all together. Each will last about 30 minutes. A trusted adult will be asked to occasionally check that you are comfortable during the interview whilst also being asked to remain nearby in order for you to be able to access them if needed. I will ask you to talk about your experiences in school before being excluded. I will also ask about what you hope for the future and what you think may help you reach your future goals, or what would slow you down. You would only be expected to talk about things you felt comfortable with talking about and if at any point you wanted to stop you could, without explaining why.

I plan to audio record the conversations using a digital recorder. This is so I can remember what you have told me. No one other than the research team will listen to this. It will be stored securely.

**Confidentiality**
All the information collected will be kept confidential. You will be given a false name so your real name will not be used in any reports or publications. The recordings will be listened to by the researcher and will be destroyed when the research is completed. Only information using your false name will be shared with others. The only time I would have to speak to someone else would be if you tell me something that means you or somebody else is in danger.

The research findings will be published in my thesis, a research report. A summary of the research may also be fed back to the centre.

**What next**
If you have any questions please ask them.

If you would like to take part then please fill in the attached consent form
Title of Project: The Stories Young People within Pupil Referral Units Tell About Their Exclusion and Possible Selves

Ethics Approval Number or Taught Project Archive Number:
Researcher: Adele Thacker (lpxalt@nottingham.ac.uk, 0799 008 6417)
Supervisor: Neil Ryrie (lpnr@nottingham.ac.uk, 0115 846 7303)
School of Psychology, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

The participant should answer these questions independently:

- Have you read and understood the Information Sheet? YES/NO
- Have you had the opportunity to ask questions about the study? YES/NO
- Have all your questions been answered satisfactorily? YES/NO
- Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study? YES/NO
- I give permission for my data from this study to be shared with other researchers, and to be published within a doctoral thesis, provided that my anonymity is completely protected. YES/NO
- I understand that I do not have to answer any questions I do not want to YES/NO
- I understand that my responses will be tape recorded YES/NO
- Do you agree to take part in the study? YES/NO

“This study has been explained to me to my satisfaction, and I agree to take part. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time.”

Signature of the Participant: Date:

Name (in block capitals)

I have explained the study to the above participant and he/she has agreed to take part.

Signature of researcher: Date:
Appendix 13: Debrief document

Talking about your past experiences and thoughts about the future may have raised things you would like to talk to someone about. A list of support options have been provided below:

- (name of centre pastoral staff/tutor) is available to talk to within your centre.

If you do not want to talk to someone you know then the following sources of support and advice may be helpful:

- **SupportLine Telephone Helpline:** 01708 765200, [www.supportline.org.uk](http://www.supportline.org.uk)
  Provides emotional support and information relating to other sources of support throughout the UK.

- **Childline:** 0800 1111, [www.childline.org.uk](http://www.childline.org.uk)
  Emotional support for children and young people on issues relating to child abuse, bullying etc.

- **Get Connected:** 0808 808 4994, [www.getconnected.org.uk](http://www.getconnected.org.uk)
  Free telephone and email helpline which can connect a child or young person to any UK helpline where appropriate.

- **Samaritans:** Helpline: 116 123 [www.samaritans.org](http://www.samaritans.org)
  24hr service offering emotional support.

- **Shropshire Youth:** 01743 258 850 [www.shropshireyouth.info](http://www.shropshireyouth.info)
  Free information and advice on a wide range of issues, including jobs, learning and relationships.

- **www.thesite.org** - Advice, information and support for young people
Appendix 14: Transcript sample

1. A: I’m interested in hearing about your time in school. I would like you to tell me as much as possible about it starting from the time you joined your first school until you entered the pru. You can talk about anything you want to including things outside of school which may have impacted on school. We are going to use this arrow to help us. I will write a few things down that I may want to check with you later to make sure I have understood. The first thing we need to do is divide it up into chapters. How would you like to divide it up?

2. C: I’d rather do years, like school years. I can remember it all as everyone asks about. When new people come in they ask “why you have been excluded” and you just have to tell them don’t you.

3. A: So what we will do is go through each block and I will ask you to tell me as much as you would like about that time. So let’s start right at the beginning with the beginning of primary school?

4. C: Well basically in primary I was normal. I wasn’t naughty. I was really good. I never got on the teachers bad side or anything.

5. It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven because it’s the first year isn’t it and you got to try and mix in and try and get noticed. That’s what I thought.

6. Because I saw people kicking off and stuff I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes, I’m going to do it as well because people laugh at you if you are not the same as them. So then I started to be naughty.

7. It wasn’t that bad in Year 7 but then when I got to Year 8 it started to get worse. I got in trouble more and I used to have detention everyday. I used to get my smart card signed and I used to get sent home.

8. Year 9 was the worst because I was proper kicking off like all the time, like all day everyday. I used to walk out of school. I used to trash the school and I used to not listen to what I was told. Teachers told me what to do and I just swore at them and didn’t listen.

9. I used to get done for my uniform because I used to have my skirt too high and my jumper tuck into my skirt and my top button undone, which was against the school rules, but I didn’t listen.

10. I went into Year 10 for like two weeks. I was on my last warning as I had had a governors meeting at the end of Year 9 and they said that if my behaviour didn’t improve I would be getting kicked out permanently. I didn’t think they were actually telling the truth. I thought they were just joking with me to try to get me to settle down, which I was for a little while.

11. Then this teacher, she really annoyed me and I went on a mental rampage and kept on being really naughty so my mom had a letter, which said I got kicked out and that I wasn’t allowed to return to school.

12. I waited about a month of no school and then I came here.

13. I have nearly been here a year now. At first it was hard to settle in because it was new and I didn’t know anybody. It was like starting year 7 again but then after getting used to the people here they are actually like similar to me, similar situations to what I was in.

14. Now I might be going to ‘school A’.

15. A: Anything else you would like to add?

16. C: No
Appendix 15: Tara summary table and holistic form analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Evaluative excerpts</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning (primary and</td>
<td>‘Tara’ appeared to enjoy primary school. She felt that she had good relationships with peers and staff with few ‘problems’ being encountered. ‘Tara’ had an established friendship group prior to transitioning to secondary school, which made her feel ‘comfortable’.</td>
<td>School:</td>
<td>School enjoyment and engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moves to year 7)</td>
<td>ächt positive relationships</td>
<td>Primary was alright (8)</td>
<td>Home difficulties emerging resulting in transition</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Tara” appeared to continue to enjoy school and engage with learning during Year 7. ‘Tara’ moved to another school half way through Year 7 due to moving in with her father as a result of difficulties at home with her mother.</td>
<td>I used to love going (8)</td>
<td>Positive relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Although “Tara” reported to see the school counsellor with the emergence of home difficulties this was terminated as a result of the counsellor’s cancer diagnosis. A replacement was reported to not “want to see me” (57). Counselling did not continue at the school she moved to.</td>
<td>I felt more comfortable (12)</td>
<td>Stability throughout primary with some evidence of a progressive narrative in relation to evaluation of her feeling towards school as suggested by emphasis upon word ‘loved’ and the use of the term ‘thrive off it’ when talking about Year 7 in comparison to previous comments related to being ‘alright’ and feeling ‘comfortable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I loved school. I absolutely loved school. I used to thrive off it (year 7) (15)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was pretty scary… you feel a bit intimidated (transition) (37)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I actually liked it in year 7 (38)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I liked ‘Ron’, he was funny. He used to come and see me every week and cheer me up….he just used to make me feel complete (school counsellor) (153)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Behaviour:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I was like really good in school (8)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I wouldn’t say I was one of the bestest students in my primary school but I wasn’t the worst (13)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I wasn’t like messing around (33)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Because I was so good through primary I got to go for a reward to scarborough (34)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I put my head down and just got on with it (year 7) (18)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Home:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I used to say my mom was the best when she was a single parent (55)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>At the end of Year 7 I was having trouble at home with my mom (16)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Friendships:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I got on with a lot of people (8)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I found my friends who I knew that I was going to go up to secondary school with and I felt more comfortable (12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Middle (schooling leading up to perm ex) | ‘Tara’ appeared to believe the beginning of Year 8 was ‘okay’ with school being enjoyed. ‘Tara’ moved back to the school she had begun in Year 7 due to moving back to the area with her father. ‘Tara’ appeared to continue to have problems at home resulting in frequent moves between living with her father and mother (“moved pillar to post”(23)). Towards the end of Year 8 ‘Tara’ believed her behaviour was affected by her home situation resulting in ‘Tara’ going “off the rails” (23).

‘Tara’ reported to have experienced sexual abuse, which in turn made the introduction of her mother’s male partner to the home difficult.

‘Tara’ reported to become “low and depressed” (58) whilst also engaging in self-harm. Multiple internal exclusion occurred with ‘Tara’ reporting to purposely go into school and “be a little shit” (125) in order to get excluded and have time off school.

‘Tara’ reported to experience bullying which appeared to psychological bullying due to ‘Tara’ reporting ‘bullshit’ being spread about her. ‘Tara’s’ perception that “nothing was getting done” (27) resulted in her “taking the law into my own hands” (27). A fight took place.

School:

- Year 8 was okay (20)
- I really liked going to school (20)
- I had to start school ‘M’. I really didn’t want to go back (22).
- ‘Place N’ only had six hundred pupils and I felt more relaxed there (18)
- It felt like nothing was getting done (27)
- “I’m not getting the help I need” (50)
- I felt really let down (50)
- I felt really lost. I just needed help (50)
- So it was just like I was kind of on my own trying to get help (57)
- It just got to that point when I just gave up (59)
- School were just really petty with me (60)
- It was never why I have done it (64)
- They fed me empty promises (71)
- I just got to the point where I was fed up of being isolated (77)
- I was the one who was being punished when I wasn’t doing anything (77)
- If they aren’t going to do it then I’m going to do it (78)
- They didn’t realize where I was coming from and like I felt really let down by loads of teachers to be honest (81).
- I just didn’t want to go to school (93)
- School said that their moral was to keep everyone happy and I wasn’t happy so I feel like they’ve let me down (97)
- It was just like a prison the way they just talked to you and they used to like keep you in. I didn’t like it at all (123)
- They didn’t care (158)
- I felt isolated (158)

Behaviour:

We did get into trouble outside of school and inside of school together (20)

| Feeling let down (school and home) |
| Not being understood |
| Not getting help need but also not asking for help – “poor behaviour was a cry for help” (50) |
| Home difficulties |
| Transitions |
| Friendship difficulties - bullying |
| Helplessness |
| Unfairness (“pettiness” in school and being blamed at home) |
| Reputation |

Although ‘Tara’ appeared to initially enjoy Year 8, a regressive tone occurred when ‘Tara’ had to return to the school attended for the first part of Year 7. A further sharp regression occurred which appeared to coincide with home and friendship difficulties and a feeling that “nothing was getting done” (27) which in turn resulted in ‘Tara’ attempting to deal with difficulties alone by responding aggressively.
place during which ‘Tara’ “accidentally” hit a teacher. ‘Tara’ was permanently excluded as a result.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comments relating to fight that led to perm ex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I wasn’t the worst but I wasn’t the best either (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wouldn’t say we were bad but we were naughty (41).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There was a line when I would say no but sometimes I would just feel like no I’ll do it (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was always trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I completely went off the rails (23).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the end of Year 8 I was just becoming really naughty (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought “I am going to start to rebel a bit because I’m not getting the help I need” (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my poor behaviour was a cry for help (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excluding me for the stupidest things (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I just used to go into school and be a little shit (125)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments relating to fight that led to perm ex

| taking the law into my own hands (27) |
| It just got to the point when I don’t know, it just went tits up (81). |
| It was just something that didn’t need to happen if the school had just sorted it beforehand (81). |
| I didn’t have any thoughts going through my head to be honest except that I just wanted to get it all over and done with (92) |
| I was just getting on the right lines of behaving and wanting to put my head down when it all happened. I was kind of disappointed in myself for doing it but then also I thought I’m actually glad for doing it because where are the girls now? (100) |

Exclusion

| I really don’t think it was fair (95) |
| I can understand with the teacher assault but for the bullying (95) |
| If school had sorted it [bullying] none of this would have |
happened (96)
I was quite naughty before hand (99)

Home:
I was having trouble with my dad (23)
Things got really bad with my mom and it affected my schooling (23)
….trouble I was going through at home with my mom and it got really physical towards – with us both (26)
I was just going through a bad time at home (transition from Yr 8-9) (48)
My mom found a new partner and like it was really hard at the time (51)
My mom moved him in after three days and I thought that was too quick like none of us said he could (52)
I feel really let down by my mom (55)
It went down hill from there to be fair. It was really horrible (68).
My mom was there for me when It came to school (58). She let me down the most when I needed her (62)
I was going through an unhealthy stage at home but she just wasn’t there like she just didn’t care.
It was horrible (63)
I didn’t want to be isolated. I wanted to spend family quality time with them (67)
we just weren’t going to get along. It didn’t work out and that’s why I ended up with my dad (85)
It just escalated from a happy family just to like, being abandoned. It’s really horrible but that’s how I felt, just like I’ve been abandoned (86)
I didn’t want to be there and I wanted to put myself in care, that’s how bad it got (104)
It got to the point where I thought I need to have contact with my dad now cause I can’t see myself living with my mom any longer (105)
I felt like my mom’s mom because I was trying to tell my mom what’s right and wrong (173) used to annoy me that she can’t understand why I was like that (199)

Friendships:
I made a really close friend (Year 8) (20)
I had a big friendship group to be fair (43)
I was getting bullied like by three of my best mates my mates, well, just turned against (26)
I was having messages until 4 o’clock in the morning (78).
I was having sleepless nights because of her calls – at least I think it was her calls. It was horrible. I hated it (93)
they weren’t the real friends (135)
my friend from ‘place N’ came down and she got really jealous. It all went downhill from there…. It just went even worse (139).

‘Tara’ moved to the 6th day provision for permanently excluded students. ‘Tara’ was initially offered at a PRU centre placement nearer to her home but after informing staff that a young person who bullied her attended that centre she was asked to write a letter explaining her situation. The contents of the letter was taken into consideration and ‘Tara’ was allowed to remain at the centre where the 6th day provision was based.

‘Tara’ may a permanent move to her fathers where she reported to feel ‘happy’ and ‘loved’ whilst also recognizing the boundaries that were in place.

School:
6th day provision
I absolutely love it (115).
They are going to help me (116). I got the good news about a week ago to say that I am staying here. I am absolutely over the moon about it (118).
They’re listening to me and it actually feels really nice to be listened to (120)
They respect me I respect them back (120)
I’m glad that I am out of that school….. In a way I wish I was still there because of my education is going to get behind (144)
When I was in 1:1 …..I put my head down…they used to reward me for it. I know that shouldn’t be the case but I felt good about myself like I had done something to deserve this (139).

Enjoyment
Respect
Being heard and understood
Conflict (regret and relief)
Love and boundaries
Trust
Peer influence
Frustration and perseverance (resilience)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Although ‘Tara’ appeared to view herself as ‘lucky’ for moving to the centre she also appeared to possess some concerns about her future and reputation. ‘Tara’ appeared to believe she was changing for the better but felt that she needed a greater amount of support and trust to allow further progression to be made.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Within PRU centre</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| there is only a minimal amount of staff (8)  
It’s nice because it only has so many students but the students are naughty and that’s when I feel like I go off track (19)  
I wouldn’t want to stay here (19)  
I don’t want to stay here as I don’t want the reputation of being like the naughty girl (21).  
I only get so much education (23)  
They are not really giving me the help that I need (24)  
They ain’t pushing me to do it (24)  
I’m quite lucky to be here (32)  
judging me like who I used to be at ‘place M’ and that’s why I feel like I’m getting angry (33)  
they have got no trust in me (33)  
They don’t trust people and that’s why I feel like I clash with the teachers (37)  
Here you got people nagging at you like twenty four seven …It just feels like you are in a borstal, it’s horrible. You have no freedom (40),  
I am lucky to be here because if I was in a mainstream now I would probably be the same girl that I was (41)  
I got a really bad attitude for school. I don’t mind coming in but I don’t like doing a lot. I’m normal (30)  

**Behaviour:**  
I am starting to get on the right lines again (148)  
I’m putting my head down and getting on with my work and I’m actually enjoying it (160)  
I feel like I can have my off days but I am pretty good as well (3)  
I do put my head down sometimes but if I can’t do things I get frustrated and that’s when off go off the slot then and just distract everybody else (3) |

| **A more progressive tone occurs when ‘Tara’ moves to live with her father whom she credits for getting her back on the “right lines” (a permanent move to her fathers coincided with a move to the PRU)** |

| **Progression is noted in ‘Tara’s’ behaviour at school and her evaluation of 6th day provision setting due to feeling listened to, respected and supported. ‘Tara’ however does appear concerned as to the impact of her move to the PRU upon her education.** |

| **After spending time within the centre some regression is noted which appears to influenced by a perceived lack of trust, the amount of support received and the scope of education being received. ‘Tara’ also appears to be influenced by the behaviour of her peers. It is however noted that ‘Tara’ feels “lucky” as she believes she is beginning to change for the better.** |
When I'm with people who are quite naughty then when they play up that is when I'll start playing up as well to follow them (9)
I've always got that naughty streak in me, just like a typical teenager naughty streak kind of thing (12)
If I can't do it I just give up (25)
I kind of go off the rails when I have a bad day (31)
now I've got a good chance to put my head down I'm taking it for granted (32)
I'm changing and I'm getting on the right road (33)
when they can't trust me I feel like I ain't going to bother (38)
but I feel like here I am starting to get on the right tracks (41)
I can say no but there are times when I just want to say no but I choose to be naughty (47)
I'm like that person that stands up for them selves but in the wrong way… I struggle to words my words to people so if I start saying it aggressively I feel like they may start listening to me more. I know it's not the right way to go about it (49)
When I'm angry I'm angry and I really can't stop myself (54)
Half the time I know I'm wrong… I am not going to stand there and be taken for a mug… feel like if I stand my ground they might know where they stand with me (55)
me being naughty is a cry for help…. there is a reason not because I choose not to do it (131)

Home:
My dad’s the only who picked up the pieces for me and got me on the right lines again and I thank my dad for it (106)
We have love in the family and that's all I need and that's how I feel happy (107)
We are not getting neglected (107)
He puts his foot down with me which I like (108)
I’m so happy at home, so happy (109)
Dad has been the best dad I could have ever asked for
like when I’ve needed him (64)
We have had our arguments and our run ins but nobody is
going to have a cool life where they haven’t argued with
their parents (64)
I respect my dad and he respects me back and that is all I
can ask for and he gives us the love we need (65)

Friendships:
none of the girls now have said anything to me, they’ve
blocked me on facebook (78)
I’ve only got ‘Ashley’ now (28)
I used to say my mom was the best when she was a single parent (55).

At the end of Year 7 I was having trouble at home with my mom (16).

Things got really bad with my mom (23). It was really hard at the time (51). I feel really let down by my mom (55). It was really horrible (63). It went down hill from there to be fair (68). It just escalated from a happy family just to like, being abandoned (86). We just weren’t going to get along (85).

It didn’t work out, I didn’t want to be there and I wanted to put myself in care, that’s how bad it got (104).

We have love in the family and that’s all I need and that’s how I feel happy (107).

We are not getting neglected (107).

He puts his foot down with me, which I like (108).

I’m so happy at home, so happy (109).

Dad has been the best dad I could have ever asked for (64).

PRIMARY 6TH day provision PRU

TIME
I wouldn’t say I was one of the bestest students in my primary school but I wasn’t the worst.

I put my head down and just got on with it.

I wasn’t the worst but I wasn’t the best either.

I was always trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things.

I wouldn’t say we were bad but we were naughty.

I completely went off the rails.

At the end of Year 8 I was just becoming really naughty.

I just used to go into school and be a little shit.

I am going to start to rebel.

I was doing stupid things.

I kind of went off the rails when I have a bad day.

I’ve got a good chance to put my head down.

I’m taking it for granted.

When they can’t trust me I feel like I ain’t going to bother.

I know it’s not the right way to go about it.

Contradictory statements:

I do put my head down sometimes.

I’m changing and I’m getting on the right road.
205

Graphical representation: Friendships

I got on with a lot of people. (8)

I made a really close friend (20)
I had a big friendship group to be fair (43)

I was getting bullied like by three of my best mates (26).
My mates, well, just turned against me (26). I was having sleepless nights because of her calls — at least I think it was her calls. It was horrible. I hated it (93)
My friend from ‘place N’ came down and she got really jealous. It all went downhill from there... it just went even worse. (139)

None of the girls now have said anything to me, they’ve blocked me on facebook (78)

I’ve only got ‘Ashley’ now (28)
Appendix 16: Claire summary table and holistic form analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Summary</th>
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<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>‘Claire’ did not appear to experience problems in primary school due to the school environment and her peers being “calmer” meaning there was no need to ‘kick off’. ‘Claire’ appeared to perceive a need to ‘impress’ her peers on arrival to secondary school. ‘Claire’ appeared to adopt the behaviours displayed by her peers in order to “mix in and try and get noticed” (C1 5) due to believing that “people laugh at you if you are not the same as them” (C1 6)</td>
<td>SCHOOL: The teachers were really nice (c1 79) The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer (C1 79) I didn’t have anything to react to (C1 79) BEHAVIOUR: Well basically in primary I was normal (C1 4) I wasn’t naughty. I was really good (C1 4). I never got on the teachers bad side or anything (C1 4). Obviously I was calmer in primary (C1 87) I didn’t do anything wrong. I was a proper goodie two shoes (C1 18) I was good. I didn’t have anger issues (The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer) so there was no need to kick off (C1 79). It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven (you got to try and mix in and try and get noticed) (C1 5) I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes (C1 6) I thought it was cool at first but now I realize it’s not (C1 30) So then I started to be naughty (C1 6) I turned into a different person when I went from primary to high school (C1 19) PEERS: The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer (C1 79) There wasn’t many people to mix in with who were quite bad (primary) (C1 21) People laugh at you if you are not the same as them (C1 6) When you get to secondary people think they are it and act gobby (so I decided to do it back) (C1 80)</td>
<td>Primary = calmer Fitting in and acceptance ‘Claire’s’ story appears dominated by reflection upon her behaviour, which appeared to reflect the behaviour of her peers, as opposed to her evaluation of her school experience or home circumstance. When asked about her choice of topic she stated ‘there is no point talking about home or what school did because it was all me, it was my choice to behave like that’ (C1 108) ‘Claire’s’ story appears regressive, in relation to her evaluation of her and peers behaviour, during the transition from primary to secondary (pessimistic tone).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
‘Claire’ appeared to continue to emulate the behaviour of her peers. After a fight occurred ‘Claire’ noticed that a reputation was established. Although initially enjoying this she found peers would attempt to trigger a reaction “because they knew I would react and snap and lose it” (C1 82).

‘Claire’ noted deterioration in her behaviour throughout Year 8 and Year 9. Her comment “I was getting pushed into doing more things” (C1 80) suggests the presence of peer pressure and a continuing desire to fit in. ‘Claire’ also appeared to believe that “because I didn’t listen they picked on me more so I reacted even more than usual” (C1 37).

Although ‘Claire’ felt she was “picked on” she also recognized that “they were trying to keep the school rules” (C1 44).

After a final warning was issued ‘Claire’ was “trying to be good” (C1 59) although this was not sustained due to doing “what everyone wanted me to” (C1 61). ‘Claire’ also believed little effort to be exerted by school to “get me to do good”(C1 61).

‘Claire’ only spent a couple of weeks in Year 10 before being permanently

| Middle (schooling leading up to perm ex) | SCHOOL: Obviously because I was naughty they chose things to pick on me about because they knew I would react (C1 28). Because I didn’t listen they picked on me more so I reacted even more than usual (C1 37) I didn’t want to do anything. I was at a stage where I thought I am not going to try at nothing, I am just going to be naughty and do whatever I want (C1 37). They picked on me more and they were getting me done for more stuff (C1 44). I know they were trying to keep the school rules (C1 44) I wouldn’t listen to the teachers because obviously I knew what they were going to say (C1 46) I was obviously so angry and I couldn’t take my anger out on the teachers (C1 47) They annoyed me (C1 52) They were not making the effort to get me to do good (2nd week after warning) (C1 61) Counsellor I was supposed to have a counsellor but they didn’t get me one. I spoke to someone like once…but then they changed their mind about it (C1 62) Things were better when I had a counsellor (C1 63) They said I didn’t need it so it stopped (C1 65) They didn’t even ask me (C1 103) BEHAVIOUR: I wasn’t that bad in Year 7 but then when I got to Year 8 it started to get worse (C1 7) Year 7 was only little bits and when it got into Year 8 it was everyday (C1 35) I got in trouble more (C1 7) Year 9 was the worst because I was proper kicking off like all the time, like all day everyday (C1 8) Peer pressure/emulation Reputation Standing up for self Fairness/unfairness Control Motivation |
| --- | | |

‘Claire’ continues to reflect upon her behaviour whilst also beginning to discuss the direct impact of her peers (moving from solely her perceptions to introducing direct actions of her peers i.e.” People laugh at you if you are not the same” (C1 6) to “I was getting egged on to be in the popular group” (C1 39). Comments as to teachers also were introduced with a conflict between a view that the teachers were trying to keep school rules whilst also being perceived to trigger reactions.

‘Claire’s’ narrative appears to continue to regress with a short period of progression but this was not retained (pessimistic tone).
| excluded.                                                                 | I was on my last warning (Year 10) (C1 10)  
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I went on a mental rampage and kept on being really naughty (C1 11)</td>
<td>I was on my last warning (Year 10) (C1 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I was kicking off in school I wasn’t learning anything and I was wasting my education (C1 95)</td>
<td>When I was kicking off in school I wasn’t learning anything and I was wasting my education (C1 95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would kick off for no reason (C1 52)</td>
<td>I would kick off for no reason (C1 52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would kick off all the time (C2 13)</td>
<td>I would kick off all the time (C2 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After final warning</td>
<td>After final warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first week was amazing. I did everything I was told but then the second week, I don’t know, it just got to me more (C1 55)</td>
<td>The first week was amazing. I did everything I was told but then the second week, I don’t know, it just got to me more (C1 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn’t do anything. I was just avoiding everything like when my mates used to kick off I was moving away from them and trying to be good (C1 59)</td>
<td>I didn’t do anything. I was just avoiding everything like when my mates used to kick off I was moving away from them and trying to be good (C1 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the last week I did what everyone wanted me to as if I’m going to go I’m going to go (C1 61)</td>
<td>In the last week I did what everyone wanted me to as if I’m going to go I’m going to go (C1 61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was worse over the few days before my exclusion (C1 99)</td>
<td>I was worse over the few days before my exclusion (C1 99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of counsellor</td>
<td>Removal of counsellor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I went back to my normal self. My anger was getting worse because I had it all building up so I just exploded that day when I got excluded (C1 65)</td>
<td>I went back to my normal self. My anger was getting worse because I had it all building up so I just exploded that day when I got excluded (C1 65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEERS:</td>
<td>PEERS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was getting egged on to be in the popular group (C1 39)</td>
<td>I was getting egged on to be in the popular group (C1 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I obviously thought that I would be naughty so I could be with them (C1 39). It ended up getting worse and worse (C1 39)</td>
<td>I obviously thought that I would be naughty so I could be with them (C1 39). It ended up getting worse and worse (C1 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was getting pushed into doing more things (C1 80)</td>
<td>It was getting pushed into doing more things (C1 80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was copying them (C1 106)</td>
<td>I was copying them (C1 106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be good or anything in all your lessons because people will laugh at you because they are obviously kicking off and stuff and they would expect you to do it (C2 13)</td>
<td>You can’t be good or anything in all your lessons because people will laugh at you because they are obviously kicking off and stuff and they would expect you to do it (C2 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would kick off all the time because my mates would do it</td>
<td>I would kick off all the time because my mates would do it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and I thought it was cool to do it as well (C2 13)

After fight
It was kind of good at the time….people thought “don’t mess with her because she can fight”….. More people were pushing my buttons because they knew I would react and snap and lose it (C1 82).

After warning
when my mates used to kick off I was moving away from them (C1 59)
y they got moody with me so I stayed with my mates who were in lesson (C1 60).
In the last week I did what everyone wanted me to as if I’m going to go I’m going to go (C1 61)

End (Move to PRU)

‘Claire’ appeared to possess a desire to return to school initially but to also believe that the move to the PRU to have resulted in improvements in behaviour, anger control and learning.

Whilst in 6th day provision ‘Claire’ reported her behaviour to be “bad” whilst having few people to interact with (“there were only a few in that small room and they were mostly boys who weren’t the type to talk to” (C1 72)). ‘Claire’ appeared to possess the desire to want to enter the centre in order to be with other people. ‘Claire’ was told she “couldn’t be with them because of my behaviour and that if I wanted to go into centre then I had to improve my behaviour and not kick off” (C1 74).

SCHOOL:
For the first couple of weeks I was like “oh mom what can I do to get back in” because obviously I wanted to get back in because I didn’t want to miss out on my lessons and being with my mates (C1 70)
At first I wanted to go back to school (C1 23)
If I didn’t get kicked out then I wouldn’t be where I am now (C1 23)
I am quite glad though as if I didn’t I would probably get in more trouble now and more things would happen (C1 41)
If I wasn’t here now I don’t know what I’d do (C1 95)

6th day provision:
At first it was hard to settle in (C1 13)
There wasn’t anyone to interact with (C1 74)
“They are probably not going to move me (into centre), they are going to keep me here” (C1 75)
I’m doing it to myself. It’s not like they are doing it (C1 76)
I thought “I don’t want to stay here because I don’t like it and

Regret/relief
Responsibility
Space
Control
Respect
Understanding

‘Claire’s’ narrative becomes progressive as she moves from 6th day provision into the PRU centre. Despite initially possessing a desire to return to mainstream she
‘Claire’ appeared to come to the realization that her behaviour needed to change (“Something just hit me one day and I thought “I can’t carry on like this anymore because it doesn’t come good on me” (C1 76)).

‘Claire’ appears to appreciate the space she is offered within the centre, which allows her to “just go out and calm down” (C1 84). Although ‘Claire’ appears to highlight improvements she continues to perceive herself to be “naughty” due to still having days where “I kick off and don’t do as I am told” (C1 104).

there are not many people and it feels weird. It is just not like school (C2 11)
I felt lost and confused and I didn’t want to be here (C2 19)

PRU
The teachers aren’t as strict (C1 42)
They don’t get in your face as much. They just shout at you from across the room which is better (C1 48)
I can just go out and calm down (C1 84)
It is a lot smaller so not many people get in your way and if you get annoyed there is always a classroom you can go in to do your work without anyone else in there (C1 90)
I get my own space in here (C1 93)
I have found it easier because there is less people in the classroom so if you need help you can put your hand up and ask for it (C2 4)
I have got used to it (C2 11)
You can be yourself (C2 13)
After getting used to the place I have liked it (C2 19)
They can help you when you want them to (C2 23)
I like being here because there are more teachers than students (C2 24)
People respect me and I respect them here (C2 93)

BEHAVIOUR:

6th day
My behaviour at first was so bad here (C1 71)
“I am just going to do what I want when I want” (C1 75)
“If they are not going to do anything then I am not going to do anything” (C1 75)
Something just hit me one day and I thought “I can’t carry on like this anymore because it doesn’t come good on me” (C1 76)

appears to have begun to believe that the centre has resulted in improvements in her experience, anger, control and learning outcomes. The smaller environment also appears to allow ‘Claire’ to have her own space and to avoid triggers whilst also not feeling as pressured to follow her peers. ‘Claire’s narrative appears to have become stable with ‘Claire’ continuing to believe she has good and bad days.

Although ‘Claire’ appeared to not have “anyone to interact with” (C1 74), she possessed a desire to enter the centre in order to be with more people. Her evaluation of the impact of her peers therefore could be viewed as remaining stable despite moving from a position of peer pressure to behaving negative in response to feeling that “They are probably not going to move me (into centre), they are going to keep me here” (C1 75)
| PRU | In here I do have some days where I don't listen and I do kick off and stuff (C1 42)  
Once they actually put me into lessons…my attitude started to change (C1 72)  
It's different now as I have learned how to control my anger a lot more (C1 82)  
I am naughty (C1 92)  
Now I just stay in lessons or I go outside to calm down and go back in because I think it is the right thing to do (C1 94)  
The move to centre has helped but not that much. I am still naughty. I can still have my days where I kick off and don’t do as I am told (C1 104) |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEERS:</td>
<td>There wasn't anyone to interact with (6th day provision) (C1 74)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|   | Some people push my buttons (PRU) (C1 84)  
It is a lot smaller so not many people get in your way (PRU) (C1 90)  
I do have friends but there are more in a high school (C2 10)  
If someone kicks off here you just leave them to it. You are friends with them but not as close as you would be in high school so you wouldn't be pressured to do it (C2 41)  
I do want to be with my friends but I don't because if I see them kicking off then I know I would because they are doing it (C2 40) |
It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven (C1 5)
I thought that I'm not going to act the goody two shoes (C1 6)
So then I started to be naughty (C1 6)
I turned into a different person when I went from primary to high school (C1 19).

The first week was amazing, I did everything I was told (C1 55)
I didn't do anything, I was just avoiding everything (C1 59)

In the last week I did what everyone wanted me to (C1 61)
I was worse over the few days before my exclusion (C1 99)
The second week, I don't know, it just got to me more (C1 55)

My attitude started to change (C1 72).
I have learned how to control my anger a lot more (C1 82).
The move to centre has helped but not that much. I am still naughty. I can still have my days where I kick off and don’t do as I am told (C1 104)
People laugh at you if you are not the same as them (C1 6)
When you get to secondary people think they are it and act gobby (so I decided to do it back) (C1 80)

I was getting egged on to be in the popular group (C1 39)
I obviously thought that I would be naughty so I could be with them (C1 39)

It ended up getting worse and worse (C1 39)
I was getting pushed into doing more things (C1 80)
I would kick off all the time because my mates would do it and I thought it was cool to do it as well (C2 13)
More people were pushing my buttons because they knew I would react and snap and lose it (C1 82).

Some people push my buttons (C1 84)
not many people get in your way (C1 90)
You are friends with them but not as close as you would be in high school so you wouldn’t be pressured to do it (C2 41)
I do want to be with my friends but I don’t because if I see them kicking off then I know I would because they are doing it (C2 40)

There wasn’t anyone to interact with (C1 74)
There are not many people and it feels weird (C2 11).

The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer (C1 79)
There wasn’t many people to mix in with who were quite bad (C1 21)

The kids were a lot sweeter and calmer (C1 79)
There wasn’t many people to mix in with who were quite bad (C1 21)

There wasn't anyone to interact with (C1 74)
There are not many people and it feels weird (C2 11)

There weren’t many people to interact with (C1 74)
There are not many people and it feels weird (C2 11)
Appendix 17: Molly summary table and holistic form analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Evaluative excerpts</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beginning</strong> (primary and moves to year 7)</td>
<td>‘Molly’ appeared to enjoy primary school up until Year 5 whilst also being “quite a good kid” (M1 6).</td>
<td><strong>SCHOOL</strong> I was just happy (M1 7). <strong>Year 6</strong> I did not like my teacher (M1 13) He would get on with other students but when it came to me he was like “erm what are you speaking for?” (M1 88) He had a close relationship with my bully…. It felt like he was on her side (M1 89) <strong>Year 7</strong> was fine (M1 15)</td>
<td>Friendships Transitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Year 5 ‘Molly’ reported experiencing bullying. After standing up to the bully and reporting it to staff Molly’ perceived herself to have many friends.</td>
<td><strong>BEHAVIOUR</strong> I was quite a good kid then (M1 6) (Year 5 I got bullied and that’s when) I got a bit mouthy towards the other students and when I thought I could control people (M1 12) I used to play up in his lessons (Year 6) (M1 13) I would trash the reading corner when no one was in the class, I would throw all the books on the floor and I would kick all the chairs over (M1 91) I was a horrible kid (M1 94) It wasn’t bad it was just fine (M1 13). <strong>Year 7</strong> was fine. I did all my work. I was a really good behaved student (M1 15)</td>
<td>Desire to be liked Power and control</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Molly’ reported to dislike her Year 6 teacher which in turn resulted in reported misbehaviour. Although ‘Molly’ stated that she would ‘trash’ the classroom she added she could then “pick them up and tidy them and show him where they are then maybe he would like me” (M1 95).</td>
<td><strong>HOME</strong> In Year 3 I remember having to move because obviously my mom and dad like had a lot of problems which involved domestic abuse (M1 10) It was ok because we had lived with our cousins when we first came here (M1 51) My mom had like anxiety and depression (M1 56)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Molly reported two school moves in primary due to house moves as a result of domestic violence, which included time in a safe house. ‘Molly’ reported her mother to experience anxiety and depression which required ‘Molly’ “to go everywhere with her” (M1 56)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Molly’ appeared to initially enjoy her transition to secondary school. She reported to be a “really good behaved student” (M1 15) whilst meeting lots of new people.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle (schooling leading up to perm ex)</td>
<td>PEERS/FRIENDSHIPS</td>
<td></td>
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<td>----------------------------------------</td>
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| Half way through Year 7 ‘Molly’ reported to have copied the negative behaviour of a peer who she perceived as “cool”. ‘Molly’ was moved to another school as part of a managed move in order to “fix up my behaviour” (M1 17). ‘Molly’ objected to the pending move to a “rougher school” (M1 17) | I used to have quite a lot of friends and got on with loads of people (M1 7)  
I did have quite a lot of friends (M1 12)  
**Year 5** I got bullied (M1 12)  
She ended up getting excluded for a few days so she didn’t do anything after then (M1 75).  
Ever since that moment I had quite a lot of friends in primary school and I’d hang around with the popular group. I’d always be asked to play with someone or be partners with them (M1 76) |
| Although the transition was initially viewed positively, friendships difficulties resulted in the desire to return to her initial school, which occurred a couple of weeks before the end of Year 8. During the summer holidays ‘Molly’ was informed that her mother had cancer which resulted in additional effort in | **Year 7 transition**  
I’d met loads of new people (M1 14)  
I was hanging around with people like in the middle... until half way through **Year 7** (M1 98). |
| | SCHOOL |
| | When I got into year 8 I was used to all the teachers and loads of people (M1 15)  
They’d pick on me for stupid reasons (M1 42)  
Not all the teachers at that school understood that respect is a two way thing (M1 44)  
They would not give me a second chance. (M1 44)  
They would just have a go at me all the time and make me feel ten times worse then I was actually feeling (M1 45)  
There was no-one actually physically there to help me (M1 49)  
School A’ knew about my past but they never helped (M1 47)  
They didn’t understand that I was the way I was because of everything I’d been through (M1 58)  
I remember I was told that I was going to this different school, this horrible different school with people I did not get along with, on my birthday.... It completely broke my |
| | **Misunderstanding**  
**Let down**  
**Respect**  
**Lack of understanding**  
**Unfairness**  
**Bullying**  
**Reputation**  
**Desire to be liked**  
**Friendships** |
school as “I didn’t want her to remember me as always being naughty at school” (M1 111).

The return to her initial school prior to the school holidays meant “All over the summer holidays I had no friends” (M1 109). ‘Molly’ also reported a loss of confidence and a feeling of self consciousness due to a change in her appearance (“I had short hair. I was uglier than I was” (M1 108)).

‘Molly’ however reported to begin to misbehave due to thinking “school would be the best place to get it out because obviously my mom was unhealthy at home” (M1 23) whilst also reporting to experience additional friendship problems. ‘Molly’ also appeared to believe she was treated unfairly as a result of her reputation with expectations being felt to be too high. ‘Molly’ reported to “fit in with the wrong people” (M1 36). Peer pressure was reported to result in drug and alcohol use.

Although ‘Molly’ reported support to be offered she felt it was not “ in those areas I needed help on like how to make my self happier, how to stop self harming, how to have a good life at home and how to work through friendship problems” (M1 47).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>school as “I didn’t want her to remember me as always being naughty at school” (M1 111).</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>heart (M1 131).</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managed move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I really did not want to go. I asked for any other solution (M1 130).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was happy for a bit (M1 133).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t even understand why they sent me there. I’d been mugged and came back to ‘school A’ with a black eye because I’d got into fights (M1 104).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School B was a rougher school (M1 17).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was like “I cannot be doing with this school anymore” (M1 136).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was literally threatening to smash up the building if they did not get me back to my old school because I was that unhappy there (M1 136).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This head teacher was not understanding. I was like “I genuinely feel like killing myself here” (M1 138).</td>
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<tr>
<th>Return to school A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, just because they knew what I used to be like, would use me as an easy target. They did stuff to me that I wouldn’t like because they knew me (M1 22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was really hard to go to school with teachers that pick on you everyday who were so horrible (M1 112).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We had got a new head teacher. He wasn’t as flexible as our old one. He was so strict and so horrible (M1 116).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There were some teachers I absolutely hated from my past experience with them so I skipped lessons, which got more frequent. It got to me not wanting to go to school (M1 142).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything just annoyed me (M1 23).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half way through <strong>Year 10</strong> the teachers really weren’t fair with me (M1 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I just hated ‘school A’. I had such a bad life there (M1 30).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although a transition to secondary school was initially stable the impact of a young person perceived as “cool” resulted in a change. At the time “Molly” appeared to view the friendship as positive although on reflection she was able to see that negative behaviour adopted as a result “made stuff worse” (M1 189). Although progression appeared to initially occur with a managed move this was followed by regression when further friendship difficulties occurred. ‘Molly’ felt that on return to her initial secondary school she was treated differently as a result of her reputation so although progression occurred she still viewed her school experience as negative.

‘Molly’ noted regression in her behaviour which appeared to mirror her peer/friendship experiences. Cycles of progression and regression however appear to occur. Progression occurred with her mothers cancer diagnosis which was followed be regression as “school was the best place to let it out” (M1 23). Progression occurred again at the start of Year 10 thoughts regarding the future resulted in the desire to “knuckle down” (M1 38). |
‘Molly’ reported to “knuckle down” (M1 38) in Year 10. ‘Molly’ reported to have become behind in subjects, which resulted in stress. The stress experienced plus the perception of teachers being unfair appeared to result in the skipping of lessons. ‘Molly’ perceived herself to be “bullied” by teachers, which required the need to “stick up for myself” (M1 43). Molly reported to miss a significant amount of school resulting in the involvement of Education Welfare.

Friendships problems were also reported to have occurred resulting in fights being had in response to “people saying stuff about my appearance, stuff that I was so insecure about, stuff that I used to self harm about and stuff that I used to punish myself over” (M1 63). ‘Molly’ stated that although this was reported to staff it was not dealt with as promised.

‘Molly’s’ permanent exclusion occurred after a fight within school, which ‘Molly’ had reported to warn staff would occur. ‘Molly’ however highlighted the occurrence of “rudeness and defiance” (M1 162) and “fights outside of school” (M1 28).

The teachers obviously offered me support and stuff but when they did give me support it was the wrong support (M1 31). The school had always said to me that they would never give up on me and never let me down as that would be them failing their job but they obviously have (M1 34) Everything turned horrible when school was horrible (M1 36)

The teachers weren’t fair with me they didn’t understand where I was coming from (M1 39)

They clearly didn’t respect that and they clearly didn’t want to help me (M1 58).

It was just horrible (M1 61).

They just don’t understand that some students need more help than others (M1 73).

When I returned to ‘school A’ they were expecting so much from me and it was horrible (M1 145)

If I did absolutely anything I would get a really bad sanction (M1 153)

The teachers did not understand me at all (M1 163)

They didn’t care (M1 163)

They would just come out with the most random things and jump to conclusions (M1 172).

BEHAVIOUR

I stopped doing what teachers said and I started to give attitude and I used to refuse to do stuff (M1 16)

Every time I would fall out with this one girl … I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102).

Managed Move

I then got moved to school B on a managed move so I

although regression appeared to occur as a result of further friendship difficulties.

Although ‘Molly’ appeared to evaluate her peer friendships as positive at the time, on reflection she states “I didn’t have the right friends and people who actually cared about me, I just had people I could mess around with” (M1 183).
could fix up my behaviour but it didn’t work because school B was a rougher school (M1 17)
I got into fights there (M1 17).
I did bad stuff to fit in with people like when I moved to ‘school B’ (M1 82)
I would be there for a few days and then get excluded for the amount of refusing I did because of those girls (M1 107)
I was in exclusion every single day (M1 137)
I just sat in this one room all day with other students that had done worse things (M1 137).

After mom’s cancer diagnosis – beginning year 9
I started to put my head down for her (M1 29)
I thought “I can’t put my mom through anymore”. I had that thing where I could lose her because it was stage three cancer and I didn’t want her to remember me as always being naughty at school so I tried as hard as I could (M1 111).

Half way through Year 9 I got worse (M1 23)
I misbehaved and stuff (M1 33)
I thought school would be the best place to get it out (M1 23).

When I got into year 10 I thought “oh I’m going to knuckle down because I want a good future” (M1 28)
I had started to work in Year 10. Everything was on point. I did my work …. then it just went wrong (M1 117).
I could be so good …but little things that wouldn’t matter with other students I got in trouble for (M1 146-7).
I had obviously been in a few fights with people but it was after ongoing things. It had been things with people saying stuff (M1 63)
I’d refused to do a few things that I was unhappy with
I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me (M1 69)
I’d think I was amazing with everything I was doing but it was just stupid (M1 157).

HOME
I found out my mom had cancer (year 9) (M1 21)
They would just phone my mom and tell her loads of horrible stuff and then that would lead to problems at home (M1 35).
I was worried about so many things as my mom still had to be on medication and stuff and she was still quite ill (Year 10) (M1 135)
I had that thing where I could lose her because it was stage three cancer (M1 111)

PEERS/FRIENDSHIPS
I had sustained friendship problems (M1 16)

Half way through Year 7 I started hanging around with this girl who had already had sex, had already done stuff with lads, had attitude, had been smoking and I just thought she was so cool. I wanted to be like her….We thought we were the hardest kids going (M1 98-99).

I was hanging around with this girl in Year 7 and 8 and she was the one person who impacted on me a lot as she was so naughty and I think that also impacted on me throughout school as I had adopted her behaviour and that made stuff worse (M1 189).

There was us two girls in this massive lads group. If we would ever fall out the lads would always take her side and I’d have the odd few on my side. I would then start to threaten the lads with other people like “I’m going get
“and I don’t know why I did that. I just thought I was completely in control (M1 101). Every time I would fall out with this one girl I would get all my friends from other schools to message her and then she would tell the lads and I would come to school and I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102).

School B – managed move
I’d been bullied (M1 17)
I was hanging around with the wrong girls because I thought hanging around with the populars would be the best thing and I fitted in with them (M1 18)
I fell out with them (M1 18)
I did bad stuff to fit in with people like when I moved to ‘school B’ (M1 82)
They were horrible to so many people but I didn’t really care because I was with them and I was one of them (M1 105)
When I fell out with them, think it was because I was friends with someone they didn’t like, they started calling me two faced, put posts about me on facebook and they would walk past me at school and say stuff so one day I told one of them to “f*** off”. She had these two other girls with her and they followed me outside and they had a huge go at me and went to hit me (M1 106).

Summer before return to School A
I had no friends (M1 19)
All over the summer holidays I had no friends. I stayed in all day and just watched movies all holiday (M1 109). I would always want people to think I had friends so every time I went out I would make sure people knew I was with them (M1 110)
| Half way through Year 9 I had more friendship problems (C21) |
| I’d fit in with the wrong people and obviously get myself into drugs and alcohol and just everything turned horrible when school was horrible (M1 36) |
| Everything was on point. I … had loads of friends (yr 10) (M1 110) |
| I became friends with this one girl that these group of girls I was hanging around with didn’t like. I’d said something, called someone a bitch, and this one girl group turned against me. I was basically hated throughout Year 10 (M1 118). |
| I didn’t have the right friends and people who actually cared about me, I just had people I could mess around with (M1 183). |

| End (Move to PRU) | After permanent exclusion ‘Molly’ entered 6th day provision. ‘Molly’ attended the centre for a few hours a day where she was educated within a small group. At the time of interview ‘Molly’ had been educated within the centre for about 2 weeks. |
| ‘Molly’ possessed worries in relation to her future but appeared reassured by the fact the centre had helped people to achieve good grades and to return to a mainstream school. |
| “Molly” spoke about students within the |
| SCHOOL |
| I do like the school. I prefer it to my own school (M1 29). |
| I do have that worry of now I have no future and everything because I’ve been kicked out of school but here is quite good as they have helped people get good grades and they are helping me get back to another school (M1 126). |
| Here is really good because if we are good and we don’t swear or show rudeness back we get rewarded with like a MacDonald’s or something to get us back into the habit (M2 22) |
| We do good things here like trips and stuff (M2 25). |
| If you are feeling stressed you can go and speak to someone (M2 27). |
| Here is so good but I really want to get into mainstream so |

| Future concerns |
| Support |
| Realisation |
| Respect |

Although ‘Molly’ possesses some concerns regarding her future a progressive narrative form the point of permanent exclusion appears to have occurred in relation to her
centre lacking perseverance and confidence when challenges were faced which ‘Molly’ felt was a result of the mainstream schools attended.

‘Molly’ reported an improvement in the quantity and quality of her friendships with “true friends” (M1 184) being found who provide support but do not pressure. “Molly” also reported to acknowledge “lower people” (M1 83) i.e. “If they say hi to me I will say hi back. I wouldn’t be like a snob and ignore them”. (M1 84)

I can obviously get the grades and stuff I want. Here is not ideal for a good future even though it is really good (M2 27).

BEHAVIOUR
I have genuinely changed a lot (M2 17)
I lasted a week of being good (M2 22)
I’ve proved that I can be good (M2 23)
I’ve had my good and bad days (M2 28)
There is not one I have not apologized to for the things I have done. I feel that is a step forward as that is something I wouldn’t do in my old school (M2 28 – 29)

HOME
She (mom) has got a good group of friends now which help with so many things (M1 56)
I am actually quite happy with how I am at the moment with everything like at home and my friends (M1 166).

PEERS/FRIENDSHIPS
I have a better social life (M1 29)
I’m quite nice to other people now, people who would be classed like that (the lower people as people like that are classed as retards or people who are not liked). I’m ok with a lot of them (M1 84).
I have realized how good some people are that I have become friends with from not being at that school (M1 123).
Everything just changed from ‘school A’ (M1 124)
Now I’ve left I have more friends than what I did before even though I don’t go to school (M1 119).
I am actually quite happy with how I am at the moment with everything like at home and my friends (M1 166).

school experience, home circumstances, behaviour and friendships.
Now I have actually realized who my true friends are and they are completely different to how my old friends were as they help me in ways I need to be helped (M1 184). These people aren’t your fake people who talk about you behind your back, they tell you how it is and those are the sort of people I like (M1 186). They are not the sort of people who peer pressure you into stuff (M1 186). I am happy with them (M1 186).

Uninterrupted narrative
Clarifying stage
Future story
Graphical representation: behaviour

-ve

I was quite a good kid (M1 6)

I stopped doing what teachers said and I started to give attitude (M1 16)
Every time I would fall out with this one girl ... I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102)

(year 5 i got bullied and that's when) I got a bit mouthy towards the other students and when I thought I could control people (M1 12).
I used to play up in his lessons (Year 6) (M1 13)
I was a horrible kid (M1 94)

I started to put my head down for her (M1 29)
I thought "I can't put my mom through anymore"... I didn't want her to remember me as always being naughty at school so I tried as hard as I could (M1 111)

I have genuinely changed a lot (C2 17)
I lasted a week of being good (C2 22)
I've proved that I can be good (C2 23)
I've had my good and bad days (C2 28)
There is not one I have not apologized to for the things I have done. I feel that is a step forward as that is something I wouldn't do in my old school (C2 28-29)

I then got moved to school B on a managed move so I could fix up my behaviour but it didn’t work (M1 17)
I did bad stuff to fit in with people like when I moved to 'school B' (M1 82)

Half way through Year 9 I got worse (M1 23)
I misbehaved and stuff (M1 33)
I thought school would be the best place to get it out. (M1 23)

I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me (M1 69)
I’d think I was amazing with everything I was doing but it was just stupid (M1 157)

I had obvious been in a few fights with people (M1 63)
I’d refused to do a few things that I was unhappy with doing (M1 68)
I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me (M1 69)
I’d think I was amazing with everything I was doing but it was just stupid (M1 157)

+ve

Year 7 was fine. I did all my work. I was a really good behaved student (M1 15)

I was quite a good kid (M1 6)

TIME

Primary Year 7 Year 8 Year 9/10 6TH day provision PRU
In Year 3 I remember having to move because obviously my mom and dad like had a lot of problems which involved domestic abuse (M1 10).
It was ok because we had lived with our cousins when we first came here (M1 51).
My mom had like anxiety and depression (M1 56).

I found out my mom had cancer (M1 21)
I could lose her (M1 111)

They would just phone my mom and tell her loads of horrible stuff and then that would lead to problems at home (M1 35).

I was worried about so many things as my mom still had to be on medication and stuff and she was still quite ill (M1 135).

She (mom) has got a good group of friends now which help with so many things (M1 56).
I am actually quite happy with how I am at the moment with everything like at home and my friends (M1 166).
I didn’t have the right friends and people who actually cared about me, I just had people I could mess around with M1 183).

I used to have quite a lot of friends and got on with loads of people (M1 7)

I’d met loads of new people I was hanging around with people like in the middle… until half way through Year 7 (M1 98).

Ever since that moment I had quite a lot of friends in primary school and I’d hang around with the popular group (M1 76).

Year 5 I got bullied (M1 12)

Half way through Year 7 I started hanging around with this girl…I just thought she was so cool. I wanted to be like her….We thought we were the hardest kids going (M1 98-99).

I’d been bullied (M1 17) I fell out with them (M1 18)

When I fell out with them… they started calling me two faced, put posts about me on facebook and they would walk past me at school and say stuff (M1 106)

There was us two girls in this massive lads group. If we would ever fall out the lads would always take her side (M1 101) I would come to school and I would have nobody (M1 102).

All over the summer holidays I had no friends (M1 109).

Year 9 I had more friendship problems (M1 21)

I’d fit in with the wrong people and obviously get myself into drugs and alcohol (M1 36)

I was hanging around with the wrong girls because I thought hanging around with the populars would be the best thing and I fitted in with them (M1 18) They were horrible to so many people but I didn’t really care because I was with them and I was one of them (M1 105)

Everything was on point. I … had loads of friends (M1 110)

I got bullied (M1 12) I fell out with them (M1 18)

When I fell out with them… they started calling me two faced, put posts about me on facebook and they would walk past me at school and say stuff (M1 106)

I became friends with this one girl that these group of girls I was hanging around with didn’t like….and this one girl group turned against me. I was basically hated throughout Year 10(M1 118).

Everything just changed from ‘school A’ (M1 124) Now I’ve left I have more friends than what I did before even though I don’t go to school (M1 119). Now I have actually realized who my true friends are and they are completely different to how my old friends were as they help me in ways I need to be helped (M1 184). They are not the sort of people who peer pressure you into stuff (M1 186) I am happy with them (M1 186).

I have a better social life (M1 29)

Everything just changed from ‘school A’ (M1 124)

Now I’ve left I have more friends than what I did before even though I don’t go to school (M1 119). Now I have actually realized who my true friends are and they are completely different to how my old friends were as they help me in ways I need to be helped (M1 184). They are not the sort of people who peer pressure you into stuff (M1 186) I am happy with them (M1 186).

Now I have actually realized who my true friends are and they are completely different to how my old friends were as they help me in ways I need to be helped (M1 184)

They are not the sort of people who peer pressure you into stuff (M1 186)

I am happy with them (M1 186)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Things got really bad with my mom and it affected my schooling. I completely went off the rails. It was just really bad (T1: 23).</td>
<td><strong>Home impact</strong></td>
<td>During ‘Tara’s’ narrative a large focus was placed upon her home life and the impact it had upon her school experience and friendships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I loved school. I absolutely loved school. I used to thrive off it but at the end of Year 7 I was having trouble at home with my mom (T1: 15-16).</td>
<td>Parental mental health</td>
<td>Attributions relating to ‘Tara’s’ home life appeared to centre upon her mother and the change that had resulted with the introduction of a new partner therefore resulting in an external attribution which appeared specific to her mothers parenting due to her father being described as “the only who picked up the pieces for me and got me on the right lines again” (T1 106). ‘Tara’ appeared to believe that the difficulties at home were to remain consistent resulting in a desire to step away from her mother - “I still love my mom and I want to build bridges with my mom when I am older but at the moment it is just not meant to be not when I am starting to get on the right lines again” (T1 148). ‘Tara’ appeared to believe that the situation at home with her mom was beyond her control with ‘Tara’ feeling as though she lacked any influence upon the situation (e.g. “none of us said he could” (T1 52)) despite attempts to voice her opinion (“I still say that to her now” T1 55))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My mom she was so depressed and I would look at my mom and be the person she was. I would go to school and be really down. I wouldn’t talk to anybody and say I’m down because my mom’s down, it was anger that used to talk. I used to take it out on people that didn’t deserve it at the time but I didn’t see that. If my anger got the better of me it was a cry for help (T2 115).</td>
<td>Let down</td>
<td>‘Tara’ appeared to feel very let down by her mother, resulting in the use of phrases such as “abandoned” and “neglected”, whilst also appearing to feel misunderstood by those around her who never questioned “why is she like this?” (T1 64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel really let down by my mom because I used to speak so highly of her. I used to say my mom was the best when she was a single parent and I still say that to her now but she is in a toxic relationship and she is going to lose all of us if she is not careful (T1 55)</td>
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<tr>
<td>She let me down the most when I needed her (T1 62).</td>
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<tr>
<td>At the time I was going through an unhealthy stage at home but she just wasn’t there like she just didn’t care. It was horrible (T1 63).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I actually did miss the love and attention she used to give us but when she found this man it’s all him, it was never us. We just got pushed to the side and then we just kind of missed it. It went down hill from there to be fair. It was really horrible (T1 68).</td>
<td>Neglected</td>
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<tr>
<td>It just escalated from a happy family just to like, being abandoned. It’s really horrible but that’s how I felt just like I’ve been abandoned (T1 86).</td>
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</table>
There was a line when I would say no but sometimes I would just feel like no I’ll do it. I knew I’d get in trouble for it but I just thought I’d do it anyway for the laugh (T1 42).

I was always trying to make everyone happy by doing stupid things like getting into fights (T1 46).

I was having messages until 4 o’clock in the morning and it just got to the point where I thought you know what if the school aren’t going to do anything (T1 48).

Well I was getting bullied like by three of my best mates because of the trouble I was going through at home with my mom and it got really physical towards – with us both and my mates, well, just turned against. The biggest one squared up to me so me….. it felt like nothing was getting done so I took it into my own hands and I went in and had a fight (T1 26-27)

I just wanted to get it all over and done with. I didn’t want this bullying to go on any longer (T1 92).

Bullying attributions
It was jealousy that kind of caused it because my friend from ‘place N’ came down and she got really jealous. It all went downhill from there because she got jealous.
I wouldn’t say she was sly but she would do it sneakily but I wouldn’t say she was sly. She went and told my mates a load of bullshit about me like I was saying stuff behind their backs when I wasn’t. That’s where it started (T1 139-140)

Well I was getting bullied like by three of my best mates because of the trouble I was going through at home with my mom (T1 26)

I KNEW they weren’t the friends – they weren’t the real friends but I still stuck by them because I thought they were at the time before I knew they wasn’t (T1 135)

Even school were saying to me “they’re not your friends, they’re not your friends” and they were doing everything
in their power to try and split us up but because I saw them as my friends I wasn’t having that. I would argue with the teachers and say “you are not splitting us up bla de bla de bla”. I wish that I had listened to the teachers now because I would still be in that school (T1 142-143)

If someone started on them I’d always have their back. I’m just that kind of protective person if I’m honest (T1 46)

They promised me everything in the world like counselling sessions and it was just empty promises. I got none of it and erm I felt really let down (T1 50)

I felt let down. They fed me empty promises (T1 71)

Taking the law into my own hands… it felt like nothing was getting done so I took it into my own hands and I went in and had a fight (T1 27)

If the school aren’t going to do anything… and they had had plenty of time, they had about a months notice and they still didn’t do anything about it so I thought if they aren’t going to do it then I’m going to do it (T1 48)

It was just something that didn’t need to happen if the school had just sorted it beforehand. They said that they were going to sort it out that day but I thought that day was too late. I’d had enough. They didn’t realize where I was coming from and like I felt really let down by loads of teachers to be honest (T1 81)

He was the one who let me down… because he said he was going to get us all in a room to try and get us to shake hands and sort it, to have clean slate like. He told me it would be this date and then he’d be like “ah it will be next time” and it got to the point where it was never then but it will be next time, it will be next time (T1 89-91)

If school had sorted it none of this would have happened (T1 96)

School said that their moral was to keep everyone happy and I wasn’t happy so

School and services
‘Tara’ appears to attribute her permanent exclusion to a fight during which a teacher was hit. Although Tara admitted to intending to have a fight she reported the involvement of the teacher was accidental. She did however believe that the occurrence of the fight to a degree was under the schools control and so could have been avoided if the actions promised to address the bullying encountered had been carried out. ‘Tara’ therefore appeared to feel that although permanent exclusion was a fair consequence for the “teacher assault” she appeared to believe she was also punished for the bullying that had occurred which was perceived as unfair. ‘Tara’ however did appear to take responsibility or the part she played (e.g. “In a way we are both to blame because I shouldn’t have gone into school and did what I did, but I did, and I feel that the girls shouldn’t have bullied me, but they did” (T1 164)).

Overall the theme of feeling ‘let down’ featured heavily in ‘Tara’s’ narrative. Her disappointment with the school appeared global due to the perception that the one teacher she could talk to let her down by failing to arrange the meeting to address the peer difficulties
feel like they’ve let me down (T1 97)

I felt like I was getting passed on and just telling everyone about my life (T1 194)

If the teachers had said – if the teachers had done what they said they were going to do. If they had put us all in a room to sort it out and shake hands I wouldn’t be here talking to you today about my exclusion. I would still be in school getting the education I need (T1 163).

I got let down by social services as I needed them the most when I was living with my mom but they came into my life when I had just moved to dad’s…. She let me down but I knew she would… I wouldn’t be where I am today it they were there to help me and give me the support that I needed (T1 170)

I went off the right lines because I didn’t get the support that I needed (T2 113).

I always used to skip lessons in maths and science cause I couldn’t do it. I was so confused and I wasn’t getting the help then either (T2 85)

There is no one other than myself to blame but I did ask for help (T2 114)

I thought “I am going to start to rebel a bit because I’m not getting the help I need” (T1 50).

Basically my poor behaviour was a cry for help because I didn’t know what to do. I felt really lost. I just needed help (T1 50).

So it was just like I was kind of on my own trying to get help (T1 57)

School were just really petty with me because they saw how down I was. They were excluding me for the stupidest things (T1 60).

I just got to the point where I was fed up of being isolated, just sat in one room and then my dad was having to pick me earlier so that I wouldn’t see them and then it just felt that I was the one who was getting – I was the one who was being punished when I wasn’t doing anything (T1 77).

being encountered. ‘Tara’ also felt down in relation to the limited support provided by school and social services when it was needed whilst also feeling that she was not listened to or understood. ‘Tara’ appeared to believe that she was misunderstood by people due to nobody questioning the reasons behind her misbehaviour whilst her reputation resulted in being treated differently. Although ‘Tara’s attributions initially appeared external she did admit to intentionally rebelling against the rules when her intentional negative behaviour used as a “cry for help” was not responded to. Exclusion also appeared to be viewed as positive. It may have been that exclusion allowed a legitimate reason to be out of school as ‘Tara’ had voiced concerns about unauthorized absence (e.g. “I said “I don’t want to go in” but I had to because you get fined don’t you?” (T1 93))
The way they were treating me compared to my friends, it was different. Me and my friend were going through the same kind of situation at home and we just got like, they didn’t care. They thought “well you’re going to mess up”. Because we were bad they thought “you’re naughty, go away, you aren’t going to waste our time”. Because the others were fairly decent they had more time for them than they did for me (T1 158).

I knew that if I was getting in trouble I would get excluded for it and it would be an extra day off then. I knew that if I got in trouble I would be rewarded for it by exclusion. I’d get rewarded for it so that was why I was doing it (T1 123).

I just used to go into school and be a little shit and get excluded for it because you got time off school (T1 125)

It was never “why are you doing this?” it was just “you’re a bad kid” (T1 124).

There was never a reason for why we were like it. That was the point I was trying to get across to them. Why am I like this? Why am I finding life so hard at the moment? but it was just “oh she is a generally naughty girl” (T1 159).

I felt like if you’re not going to listen to me I’m not going to listen to your rules and regulations (T1 124).

**Extracted from future narrative**

**Principal sentence**

The highlighted text is simply for the purpose of differentiating between themes, the colour itself is not significant

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*T1 134 A: If I was to say from all of this we have talked about what would you say were the key things that lead to your exclusion?*

*T1 135 T:* My home with my mom, my attitude towards school erm and the friendship group I made to be fair. I KNEW they weren’t the friends – they weren’t the real friends but I still stuck by them because I thought they were at the time before I knew they wasn’t
Appendix 19: Claire’s categorical content analysis in relation to attributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts</th>
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<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It all changed when I went from primary to Year seven because it’s the first year isn’t it and <strong>you got to try and mix in and try and get noticed</strong>. That's what I thought (C1 5).</td>
<td>Peers pressure</td>
<td>‘Claire’ spoke considerably about the impact of her peers upon her behaviour during secondary education. Although elements of active and passive influence were noted, ‘Claire’ appeared to recognise the impact of her peers upon her choices suggesting a degree of intentionality and controllability. ‘Claire’ also appeared to take responsibility for her actions with reflection also occurring after exclusion i.e. “I’ve actually realized that it was not a good thing to do but there is nothing I can change about it now” (C1 22).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Because I saw people kicking off and stuff I thought that I’m not going to act the goody two shoes, I’m going to do it as well because people laugh at you if you are not the same as them. So then I started to be naughty</strong> (C1 6)</td>
<td>Passive/indirect peer pressure</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even my mom says that I turned into a different person when I went from primary to high school. It’s not known really is it for kids to be naughty in primary really. There wasn’t many people to mix in with who were quite bad because I’d known them all my life. I went to primary and nursery with them so I knew them but going to high school, it’s your chance to mix in with new people and you think it’s time to impress them and show them what you can do and stuff (C19-21).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I didn’t want to look like goody two shoes when everyone else wasn’t because they would have laughed at me and stuff (C1 32).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shouting out in class and not doing my work, throwing stuff around and like gobbing off at the teachers because I thought it was cool at first but now I realize it’s not. If I wasn’t doing that then I probably wouldn’t have mixed in with the wrong people (C1 30-31).</td>
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<tr>
<td>There were other people reacting the way I was and I was copying <strong>them</strong> so if the others weren’t acting like that then I wouldn’t have (C1 106)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>At high school you get judged don’t you for who you are, ....You can’t be shy in high school can you</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
because people will laugh at you and stuff. You can’t be good or anything in all your lessons because people will laugh at you because they are obviously kicking off and stuff and they would expect you to do it. When I was at school I would kick off all the time because my mates would do it and I thought it was cool to do it as well (C2 13).

When you get to secondary people think they are it and act gobby so I decided to do it back. That was when my anger started as I was getting pushed into doing more things and people were annoying me more (C1 80).

Basically in Year 7 there was like groups: the popular group, nerdy group and the unpopular group. I was getting egged on to be in the popular group and to be naughty and stuff. They were like “if you are naughty and stuff you can be with us” so I obviously thought that I would be naughty so I could be with them, I ended up with then and it ended up getting worse and worse (C1 39).

I did what everyone wanted me to as if I’m going to go I’m going to go (C1 61).

In this one lesson ‘Miss A’ had a go at me because I had a full smart card and I was told if you had a full card you had to go to pastoral. I was going to pastoral and she stopped me and told me to go to lesson but I didn’t. I went to pastoral and she came in and started kicking off at me so I kicked off back. She sent me home and then the next day mom got a letter saying I was permanently excluded (C1 56).

They would shout at me and I would shout back because I wouldn’t allow that (C1 47).

They were having a go at me and I thought I’m not letting them have a go at me. If they are going to have a go at me I’m going to have a go

| Active/direct peer pressure | Teachers/school factors

‘Claire’ spoke about intentional actions, which appeared to be in retaliation to teachers “having a go”. On reflection however ‘Claire’ stated, “I realized that I shouldn’t have done it” (C1 67).

Although ‘Claire’ stated that she recognized staff was trying to keep the school rules she also appeared to feel that staff “picked on” her because of her reputation and the fact she would react. It therefore appears that ‘Claire’ attempts to externalize blame for her outbursts by suggesting there may have been a
Obviously because I was naughty they chose things to pick on me about because they knew I would react (C1 28).

Because I didn’t listen they picked on me more so I reacted even more than usual. It got out of hand until I would not do as I was told everyday. I didn’t want to do anything. I was at a stage where I thought I am not going to try at nothing, I am just going to be naughty and do whatever I want (C1 37).

They picked on me more and they were getting me done for more stuff (C1 47).

**Attribution for being picked on**

I know they were trying to keep the school rules and if I did it then everyone would want to but I didn’t listen to what they said (C1 44).

They were not making the effort to get me to do good (C1 61).

I was supposed to have a counsellor but they didn’t get me one (C1 62).

They said I didn’t need it [counsellor] so it stopped and I went back to my normal self (C1 65).

The counsellor helped but when school ended it because they said I didn’t need it then I used to kick off even more. They didn’t even ask me (C1 103).

I went to chuck chairs and stuff because I was obviously so angry and I couldn’t take my anger out on the teachers so I took it out on the equipment (C1 47).

Sometimes it was just nothing like them saying sit down or something or telling me to stop and I would just explode and start to kick off (C1 51).

I would kick off for no reason but then it got to the stage when I was back (C1 67).

‘Claire’ spoke about her attempts to improve her behaviour after receiving a warning regarding exclusion. This however appeared shortlived due to the perception that school “Were not making the effort to get me to do good” (C1 61)

‘Claire’ appeared to feel let down by the school particularly in relation to the removal of a counsellor, which had supported improvements to be made (i.e. “Things were better when I had a counsellor because I could tell them everything and they made things better for me and helped me to control my anger (C1 63). ‘Claire’ therefore appears to attribute improvement in self-control to an external resource. The instability of the resource and its intentional removal by the school however appeared to result in further anger difficulties which appeared to be perceived by ‘Claire’ to be beyond her control (i.e. “When school ended it because they said I didn’t need it then I used to kick off even more” (C1 103))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School effort/let down</th>
<th>Internal factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unfairness</td>
<td>Anger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Claire’ appeared to take full responsibility for her intentional actions (" It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong")

‘Claire’ referred to becoming annoyed by teachers, which would result in “outbursts”. Although ‘Claire’ initially appeared to be externalizing the reason for her outbursts she suggested that there was often “no reason” which in turn indicates unjustified
| C1 96: A: If I was to say from all of this we have talked about, what would you say were the key things that lead to your exclusion?  
C1 97: C: My attitude, my uniform and my make up. In high school I would wear a lot of make up and I wouldn’t care what the teachers said but now I have changed the way I am.  
C1 98: A: Is there anything or anybody else that you think may have impacted on your exclusion?  
C1: 99 C: No, well, the teachers said it was me or my friend that went. They chose me because I was worse over the few days before my exclusion. But it was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong. |
| --- | --- |
| My anger was getting worse because I had it all building up so I just exploded that day when I got excluded (C1 65).  
It was me, I chose to do it, I was in the wrong.  
Choice  
Responses as a result of an internal factor, which could not be controlled. It was however recognized that ‘Claire’ appeared to be able to control the outlet for her anger i.e. “I couldn't take my anger out on the teachers so I took it out on the equipment” (C1 47). |

Extracted from future narrative  
**Principal sentence**  
The highlighted text is simply for the purpose of differentiating between themes, the colour itself is not significant.
Appendix 20: Molly’s categorical content analysis in relation to attributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Every time I would fall out with this one girl I would get all my friends from other schools to message her and then she would tell the lads and I would come to school and I would have nobody. That is when I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102).</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>‘Molly’ appeared to experience considerable friendship difficulties during secondary school, which she perceives to have impacted upon her behaviour and exclusion. Although ‘Molly’ may appear to externalize her behaviour she does describe intentional attempts to appear ‘cool’ and become part of a ‘popular’ group. ‘Molly’ also appears to have succumbed to peer pressure due to her fear of not being accepted by her chosen group. ‘Molly’ therefore recognizes that she copied the behaviour of those she believed were ‘cool’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I fell out with them, think it was because I was friends with someone they didn’t like, they started calling me two faced, put posts about me on facebook and they would walk past me at school and say stuff so one day I told one of them to “f*** off”. She had these two other girls with her and they had a huge go at me and went to hit me. It led to a huge fight and I tried and tried to get out the way and that led to me not doing P.E. When I was at that school I was always getting into isolation because I did not want to go to P.E. I would refuse to go. I would be there for a few days and then get excluded for the amount of refusing I did because of those girls (M1 106-7).</td>
<td>Peer conflict = attempts to gain acceptance, truanting and fights</td>
<td>Conflict within ‘Molly’s’ peer group appeared to lead to physical conflict and in turn intentional avoidance/truanting with conflict also being exacerbated through intentional continuation over social media.</td>
</tr>
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<td>I skipped a few lessons because of friends (exclusion) (M1 171)</td>
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<tr>
<td>I struggled to get up in the morning as I would be up all night worrying about stuff being said about me (absentism) (M1 143)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Overall ‘Molly’ appeared to believe fights to have contributed to her permanent exclusion although it does appear that ‘Molly’ was not always directly involved but within the area which in turn may be an attempt to suggest her exclusion was unjustified.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I had started to work in Year 10. Everything was on point. I did my work and had loads of friends and then it just went wrong. I became friends with this one girl that these group of girls I was hanging around with didn’t like. I’d said something, called someone a bitch, and this one girl group turned against me (M1 117-8).</td>
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</table>
I had obviously got myself in with the wrong group of people for quite a few years. Every time they had arguments I would stick up for them and I would swear on the internet and threaten people. I’d think I was amazing with everything I was doing but it was just stupid. The arguments that had gone on at school I would carry them on over the internet. I would make a status about it and carry it on which would make it ten times worse (157-8).

I had also been in fights outside of school which impacted on me being suspended (exclusion) (M1 28)

A few fights went on so I think it was all of them put together and there was a fight outside of school between my friends and because I was in the area at the time that impacted on my exclusion (M1 67)

They pressured me with smoking and drinking and doing like bad stuff. I think I was scared of not being able to fit in with them. The consequences of not doing what they did would obviously be me not being able to be with them (M1 188)

I then started hanging around with this girl who had already had sex, had already done stuff with lads, had attitude, had been smoking and I just thought she was so cool. I wanted to be like her. I started hanging around with her and we had this massive group of lads who we would hang around with. We thought we were the hardest kids going. I thought I was invincible (M1 99).

I was hanging around with this girl in Year 7 and 8 and she was the one person who impacted on me a lot as she was so naughty and I think that also impacted on me throughout school as I had adopted her behaviour and that made stuff worse (M1 189).

School  'Molly' appeared to also engage in negative behaviour
Teachers, just because they knew what I used to be like, would use me as an easy target. They did stuff to me that I wouldn't like because they knew me (M1 22).

Obviously half way through Year 10 the teachers really weren't fair with me. They would let other kids sit in other places and they would not be equal with me. They would not let me do stuff that students would be able to. I obviously kicked off about it and skipped lessons because I didn't like it (M1 27).

The amount of meetings they made my mom go to for the most stupid reasons. I could do stuff that other students were doing and automatically they would just phone my mom and tell her loads of horrible stuff (M1 35).

The teachers weren't fair with me they didn't understand where I was coming from, that's obviously why I got kicked out (M1 39).

They'd pick on me for stupid reasons like if I didn't know the answer to something they would force me to answer it even though I have like hardly any confidence (M1 42).

If I knew I'd done wrong then I'd apologise and they would be like "no it's too late now". They would not give me a second chance (M1 44).

It was really hard to go to school with teachers that pick on you everyday who were so horrible (M1 112).

We had got a new head teacher. He wasn't as flexible as our old one. He was so strict and so horrible and it literally just took the littlest things to get isolation, detentions, phone calls home and exclusions (M1 116).

I just sat in this one room all day with other students that had done worse things (M1 137).

Treated unfairly = truanting and retaliation

choices as a result of disliking specific teachers, which included trashing the reading corner in primary and truanting in secondary school.

Other school factors that appear to have been perceived to have impacted upon behaviour centre upon the concept of being treated unfairly which includes inappropriate expectations and support and lack of respect.

‘Molly’ appears to believe that she was treated unfairly by staff because of her reputation with minor behaviours being addressed that would not be highlighted in other young people. ‘Molly’ therefore felt "picked on" which resulted in kicking off and skipping lessons.

‘Molly’ also felt that staff lacked flexibility even though they “knew what I had been through” (M1 158). Molly therefore appears to externalize her behaviour and in turn justifies her response with unfair expectations, lack of equality in the distribution of sanctions and minimal consideration of her home situation.

Although ‘Molly’ also states “rudeness and defiance” as factors that impacted upon her exclusion she also appears to justify her actions through the claims that she mirroring staff response towards her i.e. “I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me. If they’d shown me the least bit of disrespect I’d show them no respect what so ever” (M1 69). Further externalisation is therefore noted alongside justified intentional behaviours.

‘Molly’ appeared to believe
Little things that wouldn’t matter with other students I got in trouble for. The deputy head, he was like not flexible with that sort of stuff even though he knew what I had been through because he had read my file. He showed no respect what so ever towards me (M1 147-8).

They were expecting so much from me and it was horrible because I couldn’t do all that especially with everything I was going through at home (M1 145).

They expected me to be good all together and just be like the innocent don’t do anything wrong student. If I did absolutely anything I would get a really bad sanction. If I went to a lesson late I would be put in isolation for two days, it’s so stupid (M1 153).

I think it was too much to ask from me especially with everything I was going through because my mom was still going through cancer at that stage (M1 154).

I wouldn’t want to be bullied by a teacher. Some teachers are like, I don’t know, they just say stupid stuff and if I think it’s wrong I’ll say something about it. Not all the teachers at that school understood that respect is a two way thing. I was the one always in the wrong even if I tried telling them (M1 44)

I was rude to teachers if they were rude to me. If they’d shown me the least bit of disrespect I’d show them no respect what so ever because I honestly see respect as a two way thing. It was honestly something they lacked so much at that school (M1 69).

The teachers obviously offered me support and stuff but when they did give me support it was the wrong support (M1 31)

The school had always said to me that they would never give up on me and never let me down as that would be them failing their job but...
They obviously have (M1 34).

They were giving me the wrong help. They would just have a go at me all the time and make me feel ten times worse than I was actually feeling (M1 45).

They were offering me support but not support in those areas I needed help on like how to make myself happier, how to stop self harming, how to have a good life at home and how to work through friendship problems (M1 47).

There was no-one actually physically there to help me (M1 49)

'School A' knew about my past but they never helped. They didn’t understand that I was the way I was because of everything I’d been through… They clearly didn’t respect that and they clearly didn’t want to help me (M1 58).

They offered me anger management because I had bad anger issues but it never happened. They said they would get a psychologist in but they didn’t come in until after I’d been excluded permanently (M1 60).

They had always said that I could come out of lessons if I ever needed to speak to someone when I was feeling stressed because of everything I’d been through but when it came to that it would be “why are you skipping lessons?” They would have a huge go at me and say “if you don’t go to lessons now you are in isolation”. The reason I was with them at that time was because I needed to speak to someone and they just threatened me saying that they are going to put me in isolation if I don’t go back. It was just horrible (M1 61).

I had obviously been in a few fights with people but it was after ongoing things. It had been things with people saying stuff about my appearance, stuff that I was so insecure about, stuff that I used to self harm about and stuff that I
A girl referred to as ‘Molly’ described her experiences of being excluded and the role of the school in not understanding her needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self</th>
<th>‘Molly’ referred to a number of internal factors during her narrative. Firstly ‘Molly’ spoke at great length about the desire to be “with the popular people” (M1 80) which were considered a higher status due to a fear of being judged.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Used to punish myself over.** The teachers knew that but when I used to try to tell them they were like “we will do something about it” (M1 63)

*This one girl she was saying something to me and I’d then gone to a teacher and said “I’m not going to do anything about this but I can honestly see it turning into a fight” and they were like “oh we will try and avoid that”. The next day the fight happened and then I was the one that was in trouble and I was like “I’d warned you about this. I told you this was going to happen and you hadn’t helped me with the situation”. Obviously that was school in the wrong as I had told them I thought a fight was going to happen (M1 64-65)*

They just don’t understand that some students need more help than others (M1 73)

**Schools don’t help at all (M1 73)**

I would just genuinely blame it on the teachers. There were some teachers that helped me but the reason I had done those things were because some teachers didn’t listen to me and that is why I think I was excluded because the teachers did not understand me at all. They just didn’t help me with what I needed help with. Obviously I was really vulnerable. I was at such a vulnerable stage. I just felt they didn’t care. (exclusion) (M1 162-3)

I don’t feel schools help with mental health…. they should be helping us with how to deal with liking ourselves and liking the way that we look and being able to just have confidence in ourselves (M1 178)

I was hanging around with the wrong girls because I thought hanging around with the populars would be the best thing and I fitted in with them (M1 18)

**Desire to be ‘popular’**
I have this massive fear of being judged. I wouldn’t want to be judged in class as like lower class people. I’d want to be with the popular people, the higher up. That’s where I’ve basically been since Year 6. I’ve always been with the populars (M1 80).

Having this obsession with being with them changed me. My parents never taught me to grow up and judge people I just saw these people one day and I thought “they are so cool, I want to be like them”. I tried so hard to be like them (M1 81).

I did bad stuff to fit in with people like when I moved to ‘school B’ I threatened this girl on my first day to get in the popular group. I just wouldn’t want to be classed as the lower people as people like that are classed as retards or people who are not liked. I wouldn’t want to be like that (M1 82-3).

I remember these girls that I would hang around with. I’d threatened someone to be with them. When I was hanging around with them they were horrible to so many people but I didn’t really care because I was with them and I was one of them (M1 105).

I would start to play up and stuff so people would think I was cool and hang around with me (M1 102).

I had this thing where I would always want people to think I had friends so every time I went out I would make sure people knew I was with them and I would make sure people could see that I was with people and enjoying myself (M1 110).

I had obviously been in a few fights with people but it was after ongoing things. It had been things with people saying stuff about my appearance, stuff that I was so insecure about, stuff that I used to self harm about and stuff that I used to punish myself.

Acceptance?

‘Molly’ therefore “did bad stuff to fit in” (M1 82) whilst stating that she “didn’t really care” (M1 105) about the fact her friends were horrible to others because “I was one of them”(M1 105). ‘Molly’ therefore intentionally “did bad stuff” in order to achieve her desired outcome of acceptance.

Further evidence of ‘Molly’s’ insecurity occurred when she stated that fights occurred due to comments being made about her appearance and things she punished herself for. ‘Molly’ therefore once again externalized blame for the occurrence of fights whilst justifying retaliation.
M1 161 A: If I was to ask what you feel led to your exclusion what would you say?
M1 162-163 M: I think it would be my rudeness and defiance because of how frequent it was but I would just genuinely blame it on the teachers. There were some teachers that helped me but the reason I had done those things were because some teachers didn’t listen to me and that is why I think I was excluded because the teachers did not understand me at all. They just didn’t help me with what I needed help with. Obviously I was really vulnerable. I was at such a vulnerable stage. I just felt they didn’t care.

M1 170 A: You talked about teachers playing a big part in your exclusion (.) is there anything else you think played a part?
M1 171-172 M: Friends. I skipped a few lessons because of friends. I had so many problems going on and if something happened I would just want to go and speak to someone about it like they had said so I would go straight to student support and the deputy head would be like “why are you in here again? Are you trying to skip classes?” and I’d be like “no I’m trying to tell them what has been going on” and they would be like “no you are trying to find excuses to get out of your lessons”. They would just come out with the most random things and jump to conclusions.
Appendix 21: Tara’s categorical content analysis in relation to possible selves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible self</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Excerpts Principal sentence</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOPED FOR</td>
<td>‘Tara’s’ short-term hopes appear to centre upon applying herself to her learning in order to achieve the employment she desires which in turn would provide her with the financial means to be independent. ‘Tara’ also possessed the desire to “prove people wrong” by succeeding</td>
<td>I just want to put my head down and get the help that I need to get the grades that I need to get the job that I want (T2 5)</td>
<td>Achievement (grades = employment = independence)</td>
<td>‘Tara’s’ future hopes appear realistic and achievable to an outsider but she appears to doubt the degree to which they will be achieved without significant persistence and determination. ‘Tara’ however appears realistic in her understanding that she needs to address her hopes, as she cannot rely on other people to earn it for her.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I want to be able to get the grades and go straight into work, buy myself a house or a flat, put a roof over my head, finally find where my own two feet are so I can do things for myself, be able to put a car on the road and be able to pay for it. I want to settle down when I get old enough (T2 107).</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Tara’ future employment hopes are made possible for her by choosing a job which she believes no body else wants which in turn increases her chances of being successful. ‘Tara’ however still feels the need to have a “back up plan” suggesting a degree of doubt continues to be possessed.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>If I had them grades then I would have the money to bring up my children when I am older, to buy a house, do my tax, keep a car on the road (T2 89).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Although ‘Tara’ appears to have had difficulties in engaging in learning she states that she has changed due to age being the reason for her previous behaviours. It therefore appears that a move away from her previous identity is highlighted which in turn will allow her to “prove people wrong” ‘Tara’ however believes that this will not be an easy transition.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I hope that I’ve got good G.C.S.Es because I want to do hair and beauty in college and I’m hoping that I can carry that on if my grades aren’t the ones that I need to be an embalmer or truck driver. I could at least then be – at least I know I’ve got a back up plan so I don’t have to be like my dad and live off benefits (T2 79).</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Tara’ also possesses the desire to “build bridges” with her mother but appears to believe this is dependent upon her mother’s desires. ‘Tara’ also recognizes that this is very much a future hope as she feels that it would not be positive whilst she is trying to “get my head down”.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I’m hoping – I want to be an embalmer but I need good grades and I feel I’m not the cleverest of people (T2 71)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>If I had them grades then I would have the money to bring up my children when I am older, to buy a house, do my tax, keep a car on the road (T2 89).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I’m interested in that job, an embalmer, and a lot of people don’t want that job. Dad said he wishes he was that and I feel that I would make my dad proud and I feel that I would probably get the job as not many people want to do that and if I get the qualifications I need that I feel that I could probably be an embalmer (T2 73).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>If I can get them decent grades and prove to people that everything I did in like year 9, year 7, and year 8 was all down to me age and that I am not like that, I have changed</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXPECTED</td>
<td>‘Tara’ appeared to expect that a return to mainstream would result in reverting to behaviours that previously led to exclusions due to the possession of a “naughty streak” whilst also being “easily lead”. ‘Tara’ also did not expect to achieve the grades she needed which in turn would result in employment difficulties. ‘Tara’</td>
<td>I expect to go back to mainstream and to just go back to square one again but I don’t want that happen. I know I’ve changed since I have been with my dad but I’ve always got that naughty streak in me, just like a typical teenager naughty streak kind of thing (T2 12)</td>
<td>Revert</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>I feel like I’m quite easily lead and if I’m hanging round with a big group of friends then I’ll go back to square one and I’ll end up getting excluded again (T2 13)….I feel like if I did that I’d probably let my dad down… I don’t want to let him down because he’s my dad and he’s done a lot for me (T2 15)</td>
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<td>I don’t think I am going to get the grades that I need but at least I can try and that’s all anybody can ask of me, as long as I try but I don’t think I am going to get them (T2 82)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I probably think I’ll get my English but not my maths and my science because they are the main subjects I really really do struggle on, science and maths (T2 81)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Tara’s’ expected self is not consistent with her hoped for self. Although she hopes for achievement and success she appears to believe that she is likely to revert to her previous situation. It therefore appears that her hoped for self is positive but not entirely possible with her expected self being consistent with her past identity and experiences. ‘Tara’s’ more distant future appears more negative than her pending future, which appears to be a result of a spiral effect, which begins with not obtaining the grades required.</td>
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</table>

<p>|  | I want to make her proud cause she is probably thinking that “she is going to go nowhere in life and carry on the way she is”. I want to prove to her that it was just me being a typical teenager, I just want to prove to her that I can change (T2 100) |  | Prove people wrong |
|  | I want to be that person who people think “she wasn’t like that when she was a kid”. I want prove to them that they were wrong all along and that it was just my age (T2 108) |  |  |
|  | I want to prove her wrong more than anybody at the moment. I want to feel that it is in the past... The future is what is going to change (T2 109). |  |  |
|  | I know I’m going to struggle but I’ve got to try now. I’ve got to try and prove people wrong (T2 88). |  |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEARED</th>
<th>‘Tara’ feared reverting to her previous situation at mainstream, which would include the loss of her only friend. ‘Tara’ did not want to remain within the PRU due to the belief that her education would be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To go back to square one again (T2 17)</td>
<td>Just going back on the same road I was on, getting excluded twenty four seven and losing a lot of my friends. I fear that because I’ve only got ‘Ashley’ now and if I lost her I would probably be lost myself (T2 28).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revert</td>
<td>‘Tara’s’ feared self demonstrated some consistencies with her expected self in relation to reverting back to her previous circumstances. It therefore appears that ‘Tara’ sees her feared self as potentially occurring. ‘Tara’ once again appears to perceive a spiral effect to occur with not achieving the exam grades required leading to unemployment and benefits which in turn may lead to homelessness and being unable to have children due to being unable to provide for them.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>however appeared to believe she would continue to try until she achieved what she wanted/needed.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I just feel like I won’t get them grades so I won’t be able to get the jobs that I want (T2 86). I would probably give up and live off benefits. I don’t want to do that but if it comes to the worse then I would have to. I would feel that I would have ruined my whole life (T2 88).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure (grades =&gt; unemployment)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Determination and persistence</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I just hope to get them grades but I don’t think I will (T2 92).</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I don’t get the grades it could change my whole life and that’s how much I really want my grades (T2 90).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel like I am going to struggle getting there but I won’t stop until I’ve done it, I really won’t. I feel like if that was the case I would make people more proud as people would say “you used to give up”. To say that I got there and I’d done it I would be proud (T2 104).</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I wouldn’t want to stay here. It’s nice because it only has so many students but the students are naughty and that’s when I feel like I go off track (T2 19).</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I don’t want to stay here as I don’t want the reputation of being like the naughty girl (T2 21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining in pru (reputation, peer)</td>
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</table>
limited as a result whilst also resulting in the reputation of being a “naughty girl”.

‘Tara’s’ “worst fear” was to not achieve the grades she needed which in turn would result in gaining employment in an area she hated or unemployment. ‘Tara’ voiced her fear of “ending up on benefits” due to having personal experience of how this can impact on people.

If I stay here I only get so much education but in a mainstream I would get more because they have more to offer (T2 23).

I want to go to work and think “I like this job”. I would hate to think “I hate it I don’t want go” and I would end up losing my money, I don’t want that (T2 95).

I want to go to work and have the work that I want and get the money that I need but if I don’t get these grades then it’s not going to happen (T2 98).

Ending up on benefits because I see the frustration in my dad when he is on benefits (T2 94).

I don’t want to end up on benefits because I see how horrible it is for him and how horrible it makes us feel to see him like that. I don’t want that to happen (T2 97).

What need to achieve hoped for?

‘Tara’ felt that in order to achieve her hoped for future she needed someone who could provide her advice whilst also being firm and pushing her. She felt it was important that this person knew her story and had “faith in her”. ‘Tara’ appeared to believe that she was more likely to obtain the support she needed within a mainstream setting.

I feel like I need someone pushing me, “come on ‘Tara’, come on, come on”, always on my back all the time going “come on get this done, get that done” I’d probably get it done straight away. (T2 25)

I just need that little bit more help and support and trust to get to where I want to be (T2 41)

I just need, I need that help. All I’ve asked for is help but I feel like I have been let down by so many teachers that it seems like I am asking for too much but i’m just asking for help (T2 52).

‘Tara’ also appears to lack confidence in her ability to achieve her hoped for future on her own with the need for additional support and advice featuring heavily in her narrative. It must however be noted that the themes of being misunderstood, unsupported and let down were prominent within her past narrative and so ‘Tara’ may possess reservations in the degree to which this support is possible (I just need, I
‘Tara’ also stressed the importance of trust to allow her to prove that she has changed is no longer the person she was.

It was also felt that positive friendships were needed to deter her from negative choices by demonstrating positive behaviour.

‘Tara’ also recognised internal factors that played a part including the need for confidence, self-control and a positive attitude towards school.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>someone who knew what I’ve been through and understands where I want to get to. Someone who can be firm with me, someone who I can sit down and explain my whole entire situation for them to understand me to be like “right we are going to do this” and someone to motivate me as well. Someone who has faith in me (T2 125).</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I would probably get on better in mainstream. There would be more people around to help than here as there is only a minimal amount of staff but in a school it is a lot bigger and I feel I would get more help there than I could here as they have a lot more to offer (T2 8).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel like if I was in a mainstream getting the help that I need I would be able to put my head down and be able to do the best in life (T2 9).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I just want that person who is quite firm with me, who is quite strict, but on the other side isn’t too firm or too strict, so that I know where I stand with them. I feel like I haven’t met that person yet that who has done that for me (T2 53).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need someone to explain to me the situation if I don’t get my grades and I don’t put my head down, where I could possibly end up in the future. I need to open my eyes and realize what I have got to do to change. I need to know what I have got to do instead of me struggling to find what I have got to do, someone to be like “you have got to do this” so I feel like I have got a helping hand to guide me there instead of me having to find out for myself. I need someone to say “you have got to put your head down now in these subjects” that’s what I need if I didn’t have that helping hand that I need then I’m not going to get there. If I had that person to tell me straight, to tell me where to go and how to go about it and maybe help me with my anger, I feel I could get there if I was told what to do (T2 117).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having extra lessons on the subjects that I need. Like instead of doing languages, doing extra maths or science or need that help. All I’ve asked for is help but I feel like I have been let down by so many teachers that it seems like I am asking for too much but i’m just asking for help (T2 52)).</td>
</tr>
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The topic of trust also appears heavily which ‘Tara’ states is needed to allow her to prove that she has changed. It must however be noted that ‘Tara’ appears to believe she is struggling to Achieve this due to not receiving the help needed which in turn results in frustration and negative choices (If I prove to them that I do want to change and that I do want education then I’ll get it but I’m struggling to do that at the moment because it’s all frustration at the moment because they are not really giving me the help that I need (T2 24)).

‘Tara’ also appears to believe different friendships are required in order to avoid trouble whilst also gaining additional support with her learning. ‘Tara’ therefore does not appear to want to hold on to her previous identity.
extra English. To be able to go back into all the lessons because I really do need that maths, science and English for what I want to be and I just want good grades in general (T2 51)

If I prove to them that I do want to change and that I do want education then I'll get it but I'm struggling to do that at the moment because it's all frustration at the moment because they are not really giving me the help that I need (T2 24).

I need that little bit more help like a bit more motivation from the teachers with me. I need them to be a bit firmer (T2 32)

I can't ask for too much from people. If I want it I have got to earn it for myself. (T2 122).

When I'm angry I'm angry and I really can't stop myself. I just struggle with that and I feel that I probably need help with my anger to cool me down and know how to word my words properly to someone (T2 54)

I just need them to give me the chance to prove to them that I can do it. I feel like at the moment I have been here for a week and they are already judging me like who I used to be at 'place M' and that's why I feel like I'm getting angry because I know I'm changing because I'm living with my dad. I know I'm changing and I'm getting on the right road. I feel like they have got no trust in me and I need them to trust me so I can prove to them that I am not the person they think I am but it is hard to try and prove it to them when they aren't going to trust you (T2 33).

I'm trying to say to them "trust me, just trust me" but I feel like people here are different and they go by the majority. They don't trust people (T2 37)

I try proving to them that I can be trusted but when they
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What may prevent achieving?</th>
<th>Positive friendships</th>
<th>Self confidence and belief</th>
<th>Absence of support and help</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Tara’ also highlighted that she struggled in school, which in turn resulted in her going “off the rails”. Not receiving help support and trust that I need now. From year 8 they said it was my attitude but I needed help (T2 111).</td>
<td>If I don’t get the help support and trust that I need now, From year 8 they said it was my attitude but I needed help (T2 111). I also get distracted when people are in the class. When I’m with people who are quite naughty then when they play up that is when I’ll start playing up as well to follow them (T2 9).</td>
<td>Not gaining the help required is also perceived as a barrier with ‘Tara’ stating that she required help from an early stage of her secondary education but that her attempts to communicate this were misinterpreted as a bad attitude (“From year 8 they said it was my attitude but I needed help” (T2 111)). ‘Tara’ also recognizes that when she struggles she goes “off the rails”</td>
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The potential for indirect pressure was also highlighted with ‘Tara’ believing she would “play up” if her peers did due to being “easily led”. ‘Tara’ highlighted that she would stand up for herself and her friends but that due to difficulties in articulating herself she often came across aggressive which could be a barrier to future success (“I know it’s not the right way to go about it but it’s the way I am because I struggle to word my words properly” (T2 48)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Indirect peer pressure</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends probably as I’m quite easily lead. I feel like I can say no but there are times when I just want to say no but I choose to be naughty. It’s not because I want to, it’s because I feel like others are doing it so why can’t I? They’re not getting done for it then why do I have to get done for it. That’s what I mean when I say I’m easily lead. (T2 47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I struggle a little bit and I don’t know, I kind of go off the rails when I have a bad day and if I have a bad day in the morning then I have a bad day all through the afternoon because I’m moody and I’m stubborn and I won’t say sorry. I’m just like that and then it will just drag on and on and then I feel like I’m hated by the teachers and that’s when I’m like if you ain’t going to give me respect then I’m not going to give you it (T2 31).</td>
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<tr>
<td>If I can’t do things I get frustrated and that’s when off go off the slot then and just distract everybody else in the class (T2 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If my friends started playing up or friends were getting told off by the teachers I’d feel like “hang on don’t have a go at her”, because that’s what I’m like. I’m so protective of my friends. I won’t have nobody, nobody at all give them shit! That’s what I’m like (T2 48).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I’m like that person that stands up for themselves but in the wrong way. There are other ways to go about it but I feel like I’m quite aggressive. When it comes to trying to do it the nice way round and I can’t do it. I struggle to word my words to people so if I start saying it aggressively I feel like they may start listening to me more. I know it’s not the right way to go about it but it’s the way I am because I struggle to word my words properly (T2 48).</td>
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**Principal sentence**

The highlighted text is simply for the purpose of differentiating between themes, the colour itself is not significant
### Appendix 22: Claire’s categorical content analysis in relation to possible selves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible self</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Excerpts</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOPED FOR</strong></td>
<td>‘Claire’ appeared to initially hope for a return to mainstream but to now hope to remain within the PRU due to its familiarity.</td>
<td>I did hope to go to mainstream. Obviously because I have been here for a year and a half now it has just changed me and my perspective (C2 2). I was ready at the start of year 11 but then actually going it just hit me. I just said I didn’t want to go because I knew if I did then I would fail (C2 99). I did hope to go to mainstream but now I hope to stay here (C2 5). Starting here was hard because I felt lost and confused and I didn’t want to be here but after getting used to the place I have liked it (C2 19). If I started half way through Year 10 then it would have been different (C2 98). At the start I thought “I don’t want to stay here … but I’m just here now and I have got used to it. It is just like my everyday routine.” (C2 11). Being here and spending all the time I have – like if I had started mainstream before the end of Year 10 it would be a</td>
<td>Change in “perspective”</td>
<td>‘Claire’ appears to have had a negative experience during a taster session which in turn has resulted in her hoped for possible self being to remain where she feels comfortable and no longer in a mainstream which she can no longer see being successful. “I did one [taster session] but there were too many people, there were 34 students. I went in for a few minutes but I had to leave because my anxiety was too high and I just felt lost. I felt like I didn’t know where I was even though I did but it was how I felt. I was claustrophobic because there were too many people in the class. It felt weird because there were too many people” (C2 7). “They do want me there but in a way they don’t because they know that I won’t be able to learn anything because it’s different. If I refused to go in one lesson with 34 people then I’m obviously going to do it with every lesson because my anxiety just goes up and up and I just lose it” (C2 21). ‘Claire’ therefore appears to have difficulty explaining what success may look like.</td>
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</table>
guidance had been received. ‘Claire’s’ further education and future hopes related to working with children or animals with caring for children being perceived as an area she had prior experience with.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unfamiliarity = stress = fail</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Claire’ also appears to see herself as an anxious person and so the desire to stay in a place, which is now familiar to her and offers her consistency, may align with her perceived identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Claire’ very much views a return to mainstream as a negative event whilst remaining within the PRU is viewed as possible and positive. ‘Claire’ spends a considerable amount of time during her hoped for narrative explaining the pros of remaining in the PRU and the expected cons of a return to mainstream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A recurrent theme appears to be that of ‘familiarity’. ‘Claire’ perceives the PRU to offer her familiarity and greater predictability as does a career in an area which she has some experience.</td>
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<tr>
<th>I don’t want to leave here because if I do I don’t know what is going to happen but here I know I can control my anger but in a bigger school I don’t know what I will do (C2 100).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Starting here was hard because I felt lost and confused and I didn’t want to be here but after getting used to the place I have liked it (C2 19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the start I thought “I don’t want to stay here because I don’t like it and there are not many people and it feels weird. It is just not like school” but I’m just here now and I have got used to it. It is just like my everyday routine that I know I have got to do (C2 11).</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRU JUSTIFICATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Being here I have found it easier</td>
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</table>
because there is less people in the classroom so if you need help you can put your hand up and ask for it (C2 4).

There are not many people to judge you here, you can feel yourself (C2 13).

If someone kicks off here you just leave them to it. You are friends with them but not as close as you would be in high school so you wouldn’t be pressured to do it, that’s what it feels like (C2 41).

People respect me and I respect them here (C2 93).

The people are in the same situation as you so they know what you went through and you know what they went through so you can help each other (C2 94).

I think I would rather stay with my parents for a bit longer because I don’t think I would be ready to be on my own two feet... I would rather stay with my mom and let her help me get used to it before rushing into it because if you rush into it you could lose everything (C2 45).

I want to go to college and either work with animals or children I have wanted to work with children since I was young because I have a nephew and...
niece who I used to see everyday so I got the hang of washing and feeding them, playing with them and doing **everything**. It hasn’t made me want a child but just to work with them for now (C2 46). If I couldn’t do that then I would do hair and beauty or stuff like that (C2 47).

If I couldn’t do that then I would do hair and beauty or stuff like that (C2 47).

| EXPECTED | ‘Claire’ expected to remain within the PRU setting due to it being familiar to her, which in turn would reduce anxiety and allow her to engage in learning. ‘Claire’ however felt she might struggle.  

‘Claire’ however stated that she did not expect anything as “anything could happen”. It was however clear that ‘Claire’ expected to | I expect to stay here because if I do start mainstream it wouldn’t be good because my anxiety would go up (C2 18).  

**If I stayed here it would be normal routine. I would do my work (C2 22).**  

I reckon Year 11 will go okay because from what I’ve learnt so far I’m doing good but it might change (C2 25).  

I don’t really expect nothing, anything could happen (C2 56).  

You just wait to see what happens (C2 56) | **Normality and consistency (PRU)**  

‘Claire’ once again voices her desire for familiarity and predictability whilst justifying her desire to not remain to mainstream.  

‘Claire’ does not appear to believe obtaining her desired future will be easy. She recognizes that the amount of time spent in the PRU impact upon the speed at which you are able to work. Experience may therefore have impacted upon her expectations.  

“There are people in my class that have come from high school recently and have learned a lot more that what others here"
remain determined and to “carry on until I get it [grades]” as there were needed in life.

If I couldn’t get the dreams I want I would just have to carry on in life. You can’t just let it go if you can’t get what you want, it doesn’t work that way (C2 57).

(A: Do you expect to get the grades you need to go to college?)

I do sometimes, yes, but there are days when I think I’m going to fail and if I do fail I’m just going to carry on and redo it until I do get it. There is no point in giving up on something because you need them in life. You need to get good grades to have a life because you don’t want to be stuck on benefits all your life and not do anything. You don’t want to be sat there and not doing anything so if it’s not going to go your way then you need to keep going until it does, till you find what you want and get it (C2 61).

I’m just going to keep going until things go my way (C2 64)

have so they want to get on with the work and move on quick. There are others that want to go slow and remember it because they have been out mainstream for a long time” (C2 30).

‘Claire’ appears unsure as to what to expect from her future. Her previous negative experience may have impacted upon her ability to express what success may look like.

‘Claire’ does not appear overly confident in her ability to achieve her hopes due to repeatedly explaining what she would need to do if she was unsuccessful which in turn may indicate that this is viewed as a more possible future for her.

‘Claire’ also relates to her mother’s experience of needing to believe in herself and to keep trying which once again may make her expected future a greater possibility.

“When I left school I didn’t want to go back because I lost the place and I thought “I’m not going back, I’m not going to do nothing” but my mom kept pushing and pushing to get me to do it and I did in the end. She doesn’t want me to end up having nothing. She wants me to have the best future I possibly can. She got kicked out of school when she was younger but her mom was doing the same
Overall ‘Claire’ appeared to fear a return to mainstream. She felt anxiety would be experienced whilst also reverting to her previous mainstream experience. ‘Claire’ explained that anxiety would be experienced if she attended a large class and would result in her wanting to leave or “kicking off at the teacher”. It was felt that this in turn would result on permanent exclusion.

### Going to mainstream. I wouldn’t get any grades. I know I would fail my GCSE’s because of my anxiety (C2 35)

I think it is because I have been here a year and a half and the most I’ve been in a class with is like ten people (C2 37).

I couldn’t go into a room with a massive class so I wouldn’t be able to work and I would end up kicking off at the teacher and I would probably get kicked out. Getting kicked out just before you leave would not look good on you so I fear going (C2 36).

It’s weird sitting in a class with loads of people that you haven’t met before. When you haven’t been in that situation it goes round and round in your head and you get more nervous. It just confuses you and you don’t want to do it, you want to get out and if you go out you would get into trouble and then you would lose out on more stuff (C2 38).

I don’t want to go to mainstream because I know that I am going to get

### Return to mainstream (unfamiliarity=anxiety =outburst = exclusion)

Overall ‘Claire’ appeared to fear a return to mainstream, many of her fears being voiced earlier in the narrative to justify her desire to remain within the PRU.

‘Claire’ once again appears to identify herself as anxious which has been reinforced by the anxiety felt during a taster day at a mainstream school, which makes future anxiety possible.
stressed in a bigger classroom and I am not going to like it. It is going to worry me going there everyday and being expected to do stuff and I would just refuse (C2 3).

I wouldn’t get any grades. I know I would fail my GCSE’s because of my anxiety (C2 35).

If I do start mainstream it wouldn’t be good because my anxiety would go up (C2 18).

At mainstream if you need help it is going to look weird because they have done stuff that I haven’t so if I ask for help I will look weird in front of everyone if you know what I mean? because no-one else is asking for help (C2 4)

It would just happen like it did in my old school. That’s the fear (C2 39).

At high school you get judged don’t you for who you are... You can’t be shy in high school can you because people will laugh at you and stuff. You can’t be good or anything in all your lessons because people will laugh at you because they are obviously kicking off and stuff and they would expect you to do it. When I was at school I would kick off all the time because my mates would...
| What need to achieve hoped for? | ‘Claire’ described the internal factors she would need in order to achieve her hoped for future, which included confidence and self-belief. Additional support and guidance was also felt necessary. | I need a bit more help. If I go to my work and it confuses me I just don’t do it altogether (C2 29). Support from school and my mom to help me get what I need and to show me the right way (C2 52) I am going to need confidence in myself and to think about things and how they are going to plan out or the way people are going to react (C2 73). I just need to believe in myself and have confidence and think that I’m going to do it. If I don’t, if I’m like “I’m going to fail” and saying stuff like that then I am not going to believe in myself and I’ll give up (C2 79). I do say to myself “believe in yourself”, “just do it”, and “do it for your mom or your dad, make them proud” (C2 80). There are times when I just think that I need a bit more help. If I go to my work and it confuses me I just don’t do it altogether (C2 29). Support from school and my mom to help me get what I need and to show me the right way (C2 52) I am going to need confidence in myself and to think about things and how they are going to plan out or the way people are going to react (C2 73). I just need to believe in myself and have confidence and think that I’m going to do it. If I don’t, if I’m like “I’m going to fail” and saying stuff like that then I am not going to believe in myself and I’ll give up (C2 79). I do say to myself “believe in yourself”, “just do it”, and “do it for your mom or your dad, make them proud” (C2 80). There are times when I just think that I need a bit more help. If I go to my work and it confuses me I just don’t do it altogether (C2 29). Support from school and my mom to help me get what I need and to show me the right way (C2 52) I am going to need confidence in myself and to think about things and how they are going to plan out or the way people are going to react (C2 73). I just need to believe in myself and have confidence and think that I’m going to do it. If I don’t, if I’m like “I’m going to fail” and saying stuff like that then I am not going to believe in myself and I’ll give up (C2 79). I do say to myself “believe in yourself”, “just do it”, and “do it for your mom or your dad, make them proud” (C2 80). There are times when I just think that I need a bit more help. If I go to my work and it confuses me I just don’t do it altogether (C2 29). Support from school and my mom to help me get what I need and to show me the right way (C2 52) I am going to need confidence in myself and to think about things and how they are going to plan out or the way people are going to react (C2 73). I just need to believe in myself and have confidence and think that I’m going to do it. If I don’t, if I’m like “I’m going to fail” and saying stuff like that then I am not going to believe in myself and I’ll give up (C2 79). I do say to myself “believe in yourself”, “just do it”, and “do it for your mom or your dad, make them proud” (C2 80). | ‘Claire’ focuses mainly upon internal factors that she will require to achieve her hoped for future. When asked about strengths ‘Claire’ was unable to voice strengths she currently possessed and instead stated “I need to…” once again indicating a potential lack of self-belief and confidence. Opportunities to enhance confidence however appear to be occurring within the PRU. “I didn’t think I could [get 100% in a test] but knowing that I did made me proud of myself and gave me a lot of confidence to carry on and to do more stuff” (C2 85). It is unclear whether ‘Claire’ has a history of failure, which underpins her lack of self-belief. It may however be that a bidirectional relationship is in place with lack of self belief resulting in failure as a result of anxiety which in turn reinforces the lack of self belief? |
am going to fail. I can have off days but I still carry on because that is all I can do. Some days I do have confidence but others I can have none where I want to hide away and speak to nobody (C2 81).

There are days when I don’t think I am going to pass but other days where I do (C2 96).

Sometimes people start off bad and they do end up good but that is only if you believe in yourself and believe you can do it (C2 89).

What may hinder hoped for being achieved?

| 'Claire’ felt that being with her friends would act as a hinder due to copying their negative behaviour. A lack of determination and persistence and confidence and self-belief were also thought to hinder her future achievements. ‘Claire’ also explained the importance of possessing a good reputation due to a bad reputation impacting upon future employment opportunities. | I do want to be with my friends but I don’t because if I see them kicking off then I know I would because they are doing it. If they are kicking off and they are looking at you thinking why aren’t they doing it you are going to react (C2 40). I reckon the wrong people at the wrong time. If you see someone getting into trouble just walk away because you know if you get into it you will get done (C2 91). If you have a bad reputation, say I got arrested and I stole and vandalized and stuff like that, then it would look bad on me and I wouldn’t get a job. They would look at my record and think “what if she | Peer pressure |

‘Claire’ once again reflects upon past experiences to consider what may hinder future progress. She recognizes the impact her peers had upon her behaviour choices and so believes that being with her friends would be negative despite being desired.

‘Claire’ also refers to the impact a “bad reputation” may have upon her future. It is unclear whether ‘Claire’ believes she already possess a negative reputation although she states that

“Sometimes people start off bad and they do end up good but that is only if you believe in yourself and believe you can do it” (C2 89)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal sentence</th>
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<td>The highlighted text is simply for the purpose of differentiating between themes, the colour itself is not significant</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reputation</th>
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<td>It may therefore be that even if she did this could be overcome and so may not impact upon her future self. A good reputation therefore remains a possibility. ‘Claire’ however appears to believe “to not get in to trouble is the main thing” (C2 87) whilst making a conscious effort to avoid trouble.</td>
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<tr>
<th>does that to us? What if she is going to fail? What if she makes our business look rubbish?” and stuff like that (C2 87)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If you have a bad reputation then you won’t be able to get a job (C2 49)</td>
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<tr>
<td>You need a good reputation (C2 88)</td>
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Appendix 23: Molly’s categorical content analysis in relation to possible selves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible self</th>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Excerpts</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</table>
| HOPED FOR    | ‘Molly’s’ future hopes consisted of a fresh start at a mainstream school, which she believed would be conducive to a “good future” (M2 27). ‘Molly’ also hoped to show people that she had “turned her life around completely” (M2 75) which she felt would “shock people completely” (M2 75). ‘Molly’ appeared to recognise turning her life around to demonstrate achievement despite adversity (“I want to build my own future and say that I have been through the worse but still managed to get here” (M2 73)). Further into the future ‘Molly’ hoped to train and achieve employment within the law industry. | I want to go back to a mainstream school and I want to get good grades. I just want to do well and get a fresh start at a new school (M2 2)  
I really want to get into mainstream so I can obviously get the grades and stuff I want. Here is not ideal for a good future (M2 27)  
I hope to prove to people that I have become a person that they never thought I would become (M2 10).  
I want to build my own future and say that I have been through the worse but still managed to get here (M2 73). I want to be that sort of person that people say “oh she was a little shit and now she has turned her life around completely” and be like “oh Molly you have turned your life around, I’m so proud”. I want to be that sort of person that people say that stuff about and like I want to be that sort of person where people are like “oh my god that’s Molly I never expected her to be like that”. I want to shock people completely with the sort of person I become, everyone that’s ever doubted me in my life. I’m going to | Mainstream return to secure better grades | ‘Molly’ appeared to possess high aspirations for herself although at times appeared to doubt the degree to which they would be achieved (“If I just carry on going the way I am at the moment then maybe I will get to where I want to be” (M2 18), “I’ll go through the whole process of trying to be what I want to be” (M2 64), “I hope uni will happen but I can’t predict the future” (M2 88)). ‘Molly’ however does appear to possess a degree of determination in relation to achieving her future career dreams (“I know what I want and I really want to get it. I don’t even want to think about another path because I don’t even want to persuade myself to go that way because I know that the path I want is the best path for me” (M2 108)). ‘Molly’ also expresses her desire to prove people wrong whilst appearing to belief that not everyone believes she will be successful in her future. (“Different people see a different side to me. My closest friends know I have high aspirations and aims but people who I have been in fights with, who I have shouted at and shown my sad side to would be like “she has got no future. She has been
literally put my fingers up to then and be like “ha I did it without you” (M2 75)

I want to go to a job interview and them to be like “you got kicked out of school but you got really good grades and we can help you because we believe that you can do good here” because my grades will show that I have turned my life around (M2 103).

I am hoping that I won’t show the reaction that people normally expect from Molly (laugh). I want to give a reaction that people say “woh she is handling this really well”….. That is what I am hoping for (M2 38)

I then want to go to sixth form and study law and after I go there I want to go to university and study law again (M2 6).

I would like to go through the whole process of becoming a legal executive or some sort of solicitor like a barrister or maybe a lawyer, any of those. I find law really interesting and so I want to go down the law industry (M2 7).

I want - when I get to university obviously I’ll have all my university fees and everything but I’m going to take out university loans and then obviously I’ll go through the whole process of trying to be

kicked out of school. She has nothing going for her” (M2 77)).

‘Molly’ however does appear to recognise that she does need to prove herself in order for her hoped for return to mainstream to be possible (“because I have only been here a while I have not had time to prove myself ”(M2 4)

“It’s just a case of having to prove that I will be good in mainstream and I can do it for a really really long time” (M2 5)).
| EXPECTED | ’Molly’ appeared to expect that she was going to experience challenges and adversity whilst having to accept some disappointment (I expect that obviously I’m not going to get everything I want (M2 82)).

’Molly’ appeared to believe that her hoped for future would be achieved with persistence and determination, which in turn would require patience.

’Molly’ also appeared to expect that due to the fact she had already overcome adversity she would be able to cope with difficulty future situation (“I think I could get through the worst because everything is fine now and that was the worst which has made me believe that no matter I expect to have good and bad days (M2 36).

I expect that obviously I’m not going to get everything I want (M2 82).

I expect that I am going to come across people I don’t like and to come across situations that I absolutely hate (M2 37).

Obviously little things will happen but I just want to feel that all things don’t need a reaction and just to let people get on with it (M2 13). At the moment I can’t seem to get my head around that but I really want to (M2 14).

I’m going to go through stages in life which are really hard but you go through the worst to get to the better. I’m just going to keep believing that because no matter how hard things get I’m not going to give up (M2 83).

I hope uni will happen but I can’t predict the future (M2 88).

I hope uni will happen but I can’t predict the future (M2 88). | Adversity | ’Molly’ appears realistic in that she believes she will experiences challenges and disappointments.

She recognizes the need to exert effort and to moderate her reactions although this is currently viewed as a challenge to overcome.

’Molly’ does appear to recognise the resilience she has developed as a result of her past experiences, which will allow her to persist in the face of adversity. A good life will therefore be achieved with self-belief, determination and persistence, effort and patience.
If I get my head down and attend lessons and pay attention and not get put off learning then obviously I will get the grades I want (M2 42).

I think it is going to take time but I just need to be patient. I know people who it has taken so long to get to where they want to be and I can’t see me being any different (M2 90).

I can’t just click my fingers and get what I want. I’ve learned that because everything that I’ve been through with my mom and I wished and hoped that things would get better and they didn’t for a really long time. It does get better in the end (M2 91).

I want to get somewhere but I’ve got to work my way towards it. I’ve got to keep doing what I do every single day and carry on with my life and it will be good (M2 92).

I’ll be understanding because I’ve been through so much that I genuinely think there is nothing that I will come across and be like “woah I haven’t heard of that. I haven’t been through that” (M2 94).

I think I’ll know how to manage things much better when I’m older because of the things I have been through (M2 93).
I genuinely think I have already been through the worst - everything with my dad, school, my mom, boys, friends and suicide attempts… I think I could get through the worst because everything is fine now and that was the worst which has made me believe that no matter what happens I’ve always got my close friends that are there for me and things will get better as long as I try (M2 86-87).

`resilience`

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEARED</th>
<th>‘Molly’s’ feared future self consisted of missing out on things that were available to her mainstream peers including prom and the opportunity to take GCSE’s, attend sixth form and achieve the grades required for a good future. Being unsuccessful in her future career was also feared which appeared to result from a perceived negative perception of employers to exclusion and not achieving the grades required.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To stay here. To not have a prom. To not get the grades I want. To not even be able to do my GCSE’s. Not being able to go to sixth form (M2 50). <strong>Not being able to do things that everyone else is because they are at mainstream (M2 51).</strong> Everyone at mainstream obviously are going to get good futures and they are probably going to get a better future than half of the kids that are here until later on because it is just common sense because they have not been kicked out of school or anything. I would want to be like them but if I got half or none of the things that they got I would feel so let down. I would feel like I had betrayed myself. I <strong>absolutely hate feeling like I am the left out one. I hate feeling like I can’t do certain things (M2 52-3)</strong></td>
<td>Missing out</td>
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‘Molly’ appears to fear being “left out” which is consistent with her past desires for acceptance within the “popular group” and attempts to ensure she was perceived as having friends (“Always want people to think I had friends” (M1 110)).

‘Molly’ appears to believe that a return to mainstream is needed to ensure she is not “left out” whilst also ensuring she is able to achieve the desired grades and a “better future”.

‘Molly’ has experienced success in the past with effort (“ I got A**’s in my business assessments. I was so proud of myself for getting my head down in lessons” (M1 146)) which may in turn explain why she feel as though she had “betrayed” herself if she missed out on a positive future.
| What need to achieve hoped for? | 'Molly' recognized that in order to achieve her hoped for future she needed the support currently received to continue whilst also exerting a significant amount of personal effort. It was also noted that 'Molly' placed value in maintaining good relationships with teachers, which she perceived to result in increased effort and improved grades. | A good relationship with the teachers because if I have a good relationship with the teachers I can walk in and have a laugh with them and I just feel comfortable in the lessons and that would make me want to do well and make me want to do the work (M2 31). To meet new people and get off to a good start with the teachers and maintain a good relationship with them so like it will benefit my grades and stuff because I find that always works, well it did at my old school (M2 3). I need to put my head down and stuff and make my mom proud (M2 56). I know if I put my head to it then I will be fine (M2 110). | 'Molly' appears to emphasise the degree to which her own efforts are needed to secure success (“I need to do it for myself more than anybody. I can't rely on everybody else's support. I need to help myself do it” (M2 19)). 'Molly' appears to believe that with effort she will achieve her hoped for future, which may be as a result of past success with effort. 'Molly' also reflects upon the value of having good relationships with teachers. It appears that positive relationships provide 'Molly' with the motivation to succeed. This also appears to be impacted upon by previous experience (“At my old school I had this really good English teacher who I had a really good friendship with. I maintained a really good relationship with them. Even though they put me in my place I'd respect them for that and I would always..."
I need to do it for myself more than anybody. I can’t rely on everybody else’s support. I need to help myself do it (M2 19).

I’ve proved that I can be good. I just need to realize that I don’t always need a McDonalds out of it or something good because something good will happen at the end of it obviously like me getting back into mainstream and having a future. I need to think about it in the long run and not the short term (M2 23).

**STRENGTHS**

I am quite a confident person (M2 58). My grammar and the way I speak to people is quite good (M2 59). I am really good at writing letters and CVs and describing things and using strong vocabulary, not like swear words and stuff but long words (M2 60). I’m quite a welcoming person (M2 61). I might come across like a person who doesn’t take crap from people but if I think someone genuinely needs my help I will give it to them. I’m not a bad person (M2 62).

**What may hinder achievement of hoped for?**

‘Molly’ believes that “repeating all my old behaviours” would prevent her from returning to mainstream. ‘Molly’ also believed she needed to take action immediately. ‘Molly’ was able to list a number of strengths she already possessed as opposed to those traits and skills she needed to develop. Just doing what I used to do at my old school like refusing to do things, being rude and just being the sort of person you wouldn’t like want to be associated with. If I carry on being rude and I carry on being defiant and don’t do as people ask and I make big deals out of little.

**Personal effort**

pay attention in my English lessons” (M2 59)). When questioned about strengths possessed which may support the achievement of her hoped for future ‘Molly’ was able to list a number of strengths she already possessed as opposed to those traits and skills she needed to develop.

Revert Reverting to past behaviour was believed to be the main factor that would hinder future progress and achievement with rudeness and defiance being the factors believed to have resulted in exclusion. It was also felt that action needed to be
as she would have “no hope” in being successful otherwise.

‘Molly’ appeared to believe that her friends might hinder her achievement of her hoped for self but that this could be overcome with motivation.

things and get angry easily then I won’t be able to go back to mainstream because that’s the reason I got kicked out my old school (M2 21)

Just me completely going against my word like not getting my head down and just repeating all my old behaviour like not being nice to people, disrespecting my elders and everything like that (M2 55).

Just sitting next to my friends and stuff. If I’m motivated enough then I wouldn’t speak to them. I’d have the odd chat with them but I would still do my work (M2 44)

Just not starting to do anything about it now. I am in year 10 and basically in year 11 after next week so I literally have about 8 months to get myself together before those grades are on that piece of paper and that is a massive deal. If I don’t start doing anything about it now then I genuinely feel like I will have no hope. I could still go to college and stuff but if I don’t start now I will have less chance of doing what I want and not having to go down a different route (M2 107).

taken ASAP in order to ensure her hoped for future remained a possibility.

**Principal sentence**

*The highlighted text is simply for the purpose of differentiating between themes, the colour itself is not significant*