The role of relationships and creative learning approaches in supporting the learning of girls with a label of behavioural, emotional and social difficulties within one special education provision

by

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Abstract

Girls are expected to perform in certain ways in education and to become educational successes. However, there are girls who contravene this norm and become labelled as having the specific special educational needs of behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD). They experience episodes of school exclusion and may be excluded from mainstream education altogether. The perspectives of these girls is largely missing from the literature. This thesis seeks to address this gap, representing findings from a two-year ethnographic research project undertaken at Kahlo, a specialist school for excluded girls. The school acted as a site from which to explore – with the aid of concepts from Bakhtin - the complexity of re-engaging girls with a label of BESD in learning. Focusing specifically on the stories of two of the students the thesis reports and reflects on data generated using methods designed to improve participation in research, including digital, visual and multimedia accounts from students and staff. Aspects of sensory ethnography enhanced understanding within the guiding themes of relationships and creative approaches to learning.

Data generated from and with regards to the two students are included alongside the information from the material and discursive collage at Kahlo. The data emphasise how the flexibility associated with creative approaches to learning at Kahlo provided a personalised approach to learning in which the learner biography could be centred, supporting student engagement with learning activities. In this model of learning, relationships between staff and students shifted with a greater distribution of power and responsibility to the student. The desire for teachers to promote authentic interactions with students appeared more important than the methods used with regards to such in the classroom, although the affordances of the range of methodological approaches included in the research are discussed. The spaces opened up for student expression and communication of a range of identity performances enabled students to experience feeling cared for, and to subsequently reciprocate caring to staff and with regards to their learning activities.
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Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, GEORGIE BOORMAN, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

[title of thesis] THE ROLE OF RELATIONSHIPS AND CREATIVE LEARNING APPROACHES IN SUPPORTING THE LEARNING OF GIRLS WITH A LABEL OF BEHAVIOURAL, EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL DIFFICULTIES WITHIN ONE SPECIAL EDUCATION PROVISION.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed: 

Date: 14/12/16
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Part One: Introducing and Acquainting

Introduction

Typically labelled as the introduction chapter, I have opted instead to term this opening part ‘Introducing and Acquainting’. This decision reflects the range of issues, concepts, people and positions that the chapters introduce, all related to the research question, research context and theoretical and methodological lenses employed. The introductory vignette below provides an example of interactions at Kahlo, the school at which the study took place. This is followed by a brief introduction to this research site (including the aims and purposes of the educational establishment and the Knowledge Transfer Partnership (KTP1)), the research project through which I found myself located in Kahlo. I then consider the affordances of a Bakhtinian lens, as applied in other contexts, and the appeal of such in relation to my research area.

Part 1 continues by considering the broad context of learning, before exploring the more specific label of behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD) as an example of a special educational need (SEN), and briefly introduces just some of the difficulties associated with the use of this label. In Part 1, I have also located myself within the research context, and consider the methodological positions considered and

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1 The ESRC Knowledge Transfer Partnerships represent a funding initiative supported by government through the Technology Strategy Board from academic institutions to business organisations, to improve their performance (more to follow later in the chapter).
adopted within the study, before identifying the specific aims and purpose of the research and the research question.
Chapter One: Setting the Scene

Interactions at Kahlo

‘I’m not going up, I hate fucking Science!’ Despite her words, Keira had arrived at school in reasonably good humour this morning, a point noted by the staff over a shared breakfast of cereal, toast, coffee and juice in the communal space of the Hub downstairs. The aptly named Hub was buzzing with activity and conversation as students excitedly greeted the staff and one another, exchanging stories around the table with their tutor and tutor group as well as across the room to other staff and students.

Kahlo school is based on the south coast of England, in the centre of a notorious estate on the outskirts of a city, in a building converted for purpose from its previous role as a dental surgery and, before that, a children's home. Its identity as an educational establishment was now outwardly marked by a small plaque to the left of the door naming it as ‘Kahlo’, before relaying the motto of the school ‘The past is something that’s gone forever, the future’s something we’ll work on together’. This plaque provided the only external indication of the purpose of the building and stressed the importance of the development of students in dialogue or interaction with school staff.

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2 Kahlo is the pseudonym I have used to represent the school throughout this thesis. Pseudonyms are also used in representing all participants.
Inside, the school’s functionality does not undermine its décor. Rather, contemporary decoration contributes to functionality, seeming to almost guide it. The walls throughout the school are painted sky blue and cappuccino, and the tablecloths in the Hub and other decoration are derivatives of this colour scheme. The fittings in the kitchen resonate more closely with those of a home than a school, as does the majority of the furnishing in the downstairs of the building. This is no coincidence. Great care was taken in establishing the tone of this environment and in maintaining it. The walls are covered with colourful displays of work, notices and photos, as well as large, monochrome framed photograph posters (personalised to students, or providing a visual reminder of school trips), clearly marking the importance of the visual aspects of school culture at Kahlo, and in particular, photographs of staff and students. The reception area functions as the cuticle\(^3\) through which the Hub (see Figure 1) connects to the world beyond the school. This area celebrates the students’ achievements, displaying as it does the sculptures produced by the girls in art, poetry produced in English lessons, as well as the professionally produced Annual Review books, created and designed by the students to celebrate their progress across the year in preparation for their Annual Reviews.

The parking space at the front of Kahlo is insufficient to contain all the taxis at the student’s arrival time of 8:30am, and as a consequence, some negotiation is

\(^3\) A concept borrowed from Goffman (1959).
required between drivers to enable entrance and exit. Many of the students have journeys in excess of one hour, reflecting the large number of out-of-county placements, and this is the case for Keira. To facilitate an uneventful journey, Keira, like all the other students at Kahlo, is provided with an iPod shuffle, so as to distract from the time spent travelling and provide a preferred activity in transit between school and home. The iPod is engraved with a message from the school, personalising this to each student.

On arrival, the students are met by school staff at the front door of the building, an activity which follows the staff briefing each morning. The information sharing undertaken in the staff briefing is identified by staff as crucial to a successful morning with the students. During the briefing, plans for the day are confirmed and agreed, and an opportunity provided for staff to communicate information across the team regarding the day’s activities. Retrospective accounts of students’ behaviour from the night before are also fed in to the meeting, following contacts made to the school by parents and carers via e-mail, phone or text.

‘Start Right’ is the label given to registration and breakfast at Kahlo. As they enter the school, students are ushered up the stairs for registration in their tutor groups, before they return downstairs for breakfast, again in their groups. This grouping enables potentially volatile combinations to be isolated in advance, and
also assigns students to staff during this activity, so that every individual knows to and for whom they are responsible.

As Keira’s tutor group surrounds its breakfast table, food is selected and requested. The regularity with which students select the same options for breakfast means that prediction is possible, and staff often anticipate what would be needed, making sure that these items are readily available, if not within arms’ reach. Given that today is now Thursday, conversations shifts and ranges from television programmes from the night before, the girls’ situations at home and plans for the weekend fast approaching. The removal of the radio which has, over time, proved a source of conflict (having been increasingly identified with the power of one student), means that it is now not uncommon to hear the girls, and less regularly staff, humming or singing one of their favourite songs, either tunefully, or as is often the case, intentionally badly. The space provided by this time also offers an opportunity for students to tease the staff, and for staff to control and guide the jokes directed at them - or others within the staff team - before the students have the opportunity to do so.

Keira’s input into the tutor group conversations this morning relates primarily to her feelings towards the staff at her care placement, as well as a much-anticipated trip to London at the weekend to have contact with her birth family. She leaves the table during this time to share with the headteacher some of the poetry she had been working on the previous evening. Rather than a homework
task assigned by a member of staff, this was a free-time activity that Keira has chosen herself. It provides her with a self-selected and self-directed opportunity to communicate her thoughts, feelings and intentions.

This morning offers some evidence of a resolution to the long-standing dialogue over who was to clear away the breakfast debris. The students now seem to accept responsibility for clearing their breakfast items, the third week in a row this has happened without contention, the first without a reminder. This provides a marked contrast to the previous routine of staff clearing away after the students have gone to lessons.

Twenty-five minutes after it began, breakfast is now over and staff and students disperse upstairs, as is the routine, to begin the planned learning activities of the first lesson. It is a request from the senior tutor that signals the transition from breakfast to lesson one, rather than a school bell. Within five minutes, the thriving space full of conversation and laughter has emptied, with the only people now remaining in the Hub being Keira, Heidi (a student from another tutor group who appeared to be dragging her heels regarding attendance at the first lesson) and the senior tutor. Keira’s protests are repeated: ‘I hate fucking Science. I’m not going in’. It is at this point that Hazel [English teacher] manages to catch the eye of the home-link worker from behind the door, through the window. With efficiency (and minimal words), the home-link worker re-enters the Hub, and she and Heidi were soon in their respective workspaces. This
enables the senior tutor to continue her conversation with Keira in the absence of any third party, functioning as an audience.

The senior tutor is well aware that resistance to Science lessons is common. In fact, the majority of students on arrival at the school identify science as a problem lesson, one that holds for them neither intrinsic interest, nor perceived relevance. Keira communicates this once again, using different words but retaining the same message. The concerns expressed by students towards engagement with Science as a subject is not a message lost on staff. Ongoing work is being undertaken by teaching staff and senior management to reform the curriculum so as to reduce the labelling of ‘subjects’, centring topics or themes instead of subject-specific lessons to promote a sense of connectedness and integration across the whole structure of lessons. Having been at the school for two months now, Keira is aware of the expectations regarding attendance at lessons, and that Science is no different.

‘Well [said the Senior Tutor unhurriedly], you know the score. I’m not going to make you go in. However, that’ll be the Stay, Target, Achieve and Respect marks gone from the lesson if you don’t go in. Not a good start to the day. I don’t want the day to start like that for you, when I know what a top week you’ve been having so far. So, how’s about it? We’ll head on up the stairs now, I’ll drop you off at your classroom, and head on over to mine?’

[Keira remained quiet] ‘The alternative is to be stuck down here by yourself...
for [looking at her watch] 40 minutes, and that'll not be much fun, especially when you know that Lucy [the Science teacher] puts on a good lesson. [She pauses a while to allow time to reflect on her comments, before encouragingly suggesting to Keira], ‘Go on. Give it a go.’

With that, the senior tutor walks towards the door, using the magnetic key (possessed only by staff) to open the door. She holds the door open, making no further eye contact while Keira makes her decision. A brief pause ensues, then Keira follows the tutor towards the door and out of the Hub. As she does so, the Senior Tutor smiles a warm smile, looking at Keira. ‘You see, that’s the thing with you, Keira, when you take the time, you make good choices’. Up the stairs, the senior tutor opens the door to Science with the magnetic key, nodded towards Lucy, and Keira takes her seat without further resistance. The afternoon briefing held by staff after students have left will no doubt include reference to this morning’s resistance, to ensure that habits do not form around non-attendance in Science, and to ensure that the staff response does not reinforce such. It allows staff to plan around such issues collaboratively.

‘Start Right’ offers the opportunity for the verbal and body language of Keira and all the other students to be identified by staff, to ascertain the type of day that they might expect, and to gauge the level of support, encouragement or space to afford the students.
This vignette offers a brief example of some of the interactions between staff and girls with a label of BESD at Kahlo, observed and/or discussed during my time at the school as part of the KTP research project. This KTP project aimed to develop an educational model for use at Kahlo that could be communicated and transferred to similar educational establishments. The girls in attendance at Kahlo were often described and/or labelled differently to one another, and there was some substantial contrast in life histories and experiences of education, but all had experienced exclusion from education, and all had been labelled with a SEN relating to the broad label of BESD.

![Figure 1: The Hub at Kahlo](image)

Placements officers, social workers, parents and carers, and the students themselves asserted that attendance at Kahlo has supported and enabled greater access to learning in a far more regular and engaged manner than had been available from their previous
placements (across a range of mainstream local authority and/or alternative provisions). This was indicated by evidence from a range of markers including:

- reports from students, staff, parents and carers and professionals across education and social care services;
- school attendance and attainment records;
- progress across a range of educational, emotional, social and attitudinal measures.

The opening vignette alludes to some of the characteristics which support and enable learning in the specialist educational provision at Kahlo. Rather than arguing that Kahlo offered *the* only model for promoting engagement and learning among teenage girls who had expressed their disengagement with education, I became very interested in exploring the characteristics associated with the model of provision available at Kahlo, and the assumptions underpinning practices and decision making there.

The ethos of the school was frequently highlighted by visitors to Kahlo. Often unable to verbalise the qualities of or values underpinning such an ethos, visitors frequently referred to the sensory nature of their experience, commenting on how they had been able to ‘feel’, or even ‘taste’ it. Communication with students and their support networks was personalised, and based on in-depth knowledge of the individual student and their current situation and circumstances. For example, Keira’s presentation at breakfast did not trigger any major concerns among staff, nor did any information fed into the school the previous evening or that morning from the staff at Keira’s care placement.
The routine of ‘Start Right’, when students are greeted on entry to the school each morning before being guided to the smaller community of their tutor group (while remaining part of the broader school community in the shared space of the Hub), illuminates something of the community belonging fostered at Kahlo. The environment is planned so as to encourage this sense of community. As staff and students share breakfast together, attention is directed to building and maintaining this community.

The present and future focus identified in the school motto is also highlighted by the proactive monitoring of students undertaken by staff. The *immediate* future (the day ahead) is proactively influenced, as staff use the initial interactions to gauge the present and manage the day ahead, anticipating issues so as to guide responses. Consideration is also given beyond the immediate future, as is evidenced by the staff planning together for the management of behaviours in a collaborative way, pooling knowledge and resources at afternoon staff briefings.

As is evident in the opening vignette, relationships were central to the morning activities. For a school identified as a provision for students with social, emotional and behavioural issues, the warmth with which these students typically greet staff and one another, and seem to enjoy attending Kahlo, was striking. Communication between staff and students differs to that in the traditional didactic or instructional model. Relationships with students were aided by information from the home environment. Communication from home was fed in to the staff team in morning briefings, again
highlighting the ecological approach posited by Brofenbrenner (1979) and assumed in the practices in Kahlo, for example in considering the ‘whole’ student, an individual situated within all their broader social context.

The products of creative teaching and learning opportunities and experiences are also identified and celebrated in the above description through the poetry lining the walls produced in English lessons, and sculptures designed and created in Art lessons. Creative methods are also evidenced in the girls’ communication of their achievements through Annual Review books, which include photographs, written text and scanned copies of their work, as an alternative to verbal or written modes of communicating such. Creative thinking, methods and pedagogy are also indicated through the alternative or shifting focus from subjects to themes to remove the rigid division between subject boundaries, and encourage authentic connections in the learning process.

As a consequence, the educational provision of Kahlo offers the opportunity to explore how learning for girls labelled with BESD is, or could be, enabled in one specialist provision. Key features in this learning process, evident from early observations, include creative approaches to learning and relationships. These characteristics offer vehicles to scaffold understanding amongst the girls and provide a focus for exploring their learning.
Kahlo: An Important Site for Inquiry

The opening vignette offers a flavour of interactions at Kahlo. Rather than reintroduce the issues addressed, the focus of this section is the aims and purposes of Kahlo, made explicit through the mission statement of the school alongside related information provided in the publicity materials available from Kahlo. In this section, I also explore the context in which the fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken – the KTP research project – and consider the impact of Kahlo as an educational provider in the broader educational and social context.

The narrative communicated by school managers is that students at Kahlo were provided with placements at this unusual provision as a final opportunity to access education in a school setting before being labelled ‘unteachable’ in a class with peers. Placements therefore typically represented a final chance to engage with a full-time, onsite, non-residential educational provision. Kahlo, an independent provision, developed as a result of the frustrations of an experienced teacher who was concerned with the inadequacies in available educational placements for this population. Her aims in setting up the school were to establish an appropriate day provision for teenage girls who were unable to remain in mainstream education or local authority specialist provision, and to develop and build strengths within the young person to support them in regular school attendance, and in achieving and making use of available learning opportunities.
Kahlo’s mission statement expresses the desire of Angie, its founder, owner and
director (hereafter referred to as owner director), to achieve Centre of Excellence status
in its work with this population. Kahlo had been open for educational placements for
only two years by the time of my arrival as KTP associate in 2008. It was rapidly
expanding and developing. During my two-year involvement as a research associate
there, the evolution of the staff team, number of students, and ways in which learning
activities were structured and presented changed significantly, evolving in a manner
that was fluid and indicated the benefits of development rather than finality, the context
and impact of which will be explored later in the thesis.

At the start of my involvement with Kahlo, the school was small, with seven students
and 12 members of staff (inclusive of academic, administrative, therapeutic and
managerial). At this time, the learning opportunities were structured around a
traditional subject-based curriculum, which was applied flexibly and which focused on
core subjects, including Science, English and Maths, alongside creative and applied
subjects, including Physical and Outdoor education, Food Technology, and Art and
Media Studies (see Nind et al. 2010). During my initial immersion in the school site,
there appeared something exciting in the provision at Kahlo. Students described feeling
proud to identify, and be identified, with the school, in contrast with many of their
previous educational placements. This was a quality in which the management of the
school expressed pride.
Kahlo publicity material communicated Angie’s vision to enable the provision of a ‘calm, safe and positive atmosphere which helps learning and social development’.

The material continued:

We believe that each one of our students is capable of success and strive to meet the needs of each and every one of them. We give our students high levels of support whenever it is needed, while also encouraging our students to take responsibility and be as independent as possible. (Kahlo publicity material 2010)

Among its aims, learning was high priority; that is, to ‘Support, promote and re-engage students in learning so that they may achieve their full academic and personal potential’.

This suggests a commitment to a strengths-based provision, considering the students capable of achievement given an appropriate context. Kahlo also recognised, and aligned itself with, the five key principles of the Every Child Matters (ECM) guidance, to support students to:

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4 The ECM agenda (Green and White Papers) from the Labour government (2003, 2004). This agenda represents a commitment by national government and local authorities to enabling education for all young people under 16 years old, regardless of learning requirements or motivation to engage. It outlines the aims of education to extend beyond attainment in standardised assessments, but represents a more holistic perspective, which accounts for both present and future achievements, and for individual and community aims and requirements.
• Stay Safe;
• Be Healthy;
• Enjoy and Achieve;
• Make a Positive Contribution; and
• Achieve Economic Wellbeing. (DCSF 2004)

The importance of this alignment with the ECM agenda in relation to the frequently overlooked and underserved group of girls with a label of BESD was significant. Kahlo proposed to offer something that previous provision could or did not: removing barriers to engagement, achievement and development for students across academic, social, emotional and behavioural domains.

The ECM agenda to which Angie expressed her commitment functioned as a branch of the broader political aims identified by the Labour Government to tackle social exclusion identified in the Social Exclusion Unit set up in 1997. In fact, broad agreement existed as to the requirement for a ‘learning society’ across political parties, as noted by Hodgson (1999), and establishing the connection between the individual and society. However, Hodgson (1999) discusses the priority of the Labour Government, and the subsequent responsibility accepted by them to provide interventions to support and establish connections, as well as the shift from a discourse of disaffection, indicating individual deviance and subsequent blame, to a discourse of social exclusion, with a shift in emphasis towards social organisation. This highlighted the social and relational nature emerging in the discourse. It was in this social and political context that investment in interventions was made that enabled Kahlo to access funding from local
authorities to secure placements for students, which significantly exceeded that available to mainstream educational provisions and local authority Pupil Referral Units (PRUs).

As previously mentioned, the research was inspired by, and developed as a result of, data that I generated and collected during the KTP, developing a transferable, robust and holistic curriculum model. The purpose of KTP projects more generally was to enable knowledge and information transfer between businesses and academic institutions (such as universities) through partnerships between the two, supported by government. Traditionally made use of by the disciplines of science, technology and engineering, recognition of such an alliance between business and academia, through KTP projects, had only recently been established in the social sciences and in education. Although the purpose of such projects had typically been to generate income or return on the financial investment made by both business partner and government, the challenge of presenting evidence of such a return was greater where the project was based on enabling access to education and learning, rather than the production of an object or programme for sales.

Assumptions and evidence surrounding the association between education, employment, and financial independence across the lifetime indicated that re-engaging teenage girls with education and learning would be a suitably cost-effective investment. This presents only financial considerations, and does not even begin to include or understand the lived experiences of these young people, or the possibilities,
opportunities and choices potentially available to them as a result of education.

Recognising the limited time available via the KTP research project to understand and analyse data and communicate findings, I was keen to undertake a more detailed piece of research than would be possible during the KTP project, with its dominant business focus, rather than research focus. I wished to have the opportunity to explore in depth the features that contributed to my initial observations of Kahlo as an educational establishment which achieved engagement with its students, many of whom had histories of resistance to learning with education and to attendance at school. The majority of students at Kahlo had experienced lengthy disruptions to their education, periods of home tuition, isolation from group activities within school settings, and had often directly been made to feel unwelcome on school sites. Yet the answers as to how and why this transformation in engagement had been enabled were not easily articulated by those involved.

In my first week based at the school there was no evidence of the often extreme acts of resistance indicated in the girls’ educational histories and no evidence of physical restraint to enable the staff to retain control, but instead a strong sense of student empowerment as the students were encouraged to make ‘good choices’ in social, emotional, behavioural and academic domains. I was interested in exploring in more detail the processes through which the school staff were able to promote learning in the school community, without the manifestation of behavioural patterns which had been attributed to the students, in previous educational placements, behaviours which discouraged engagement with learning opportunities. Kahlo was small but dynamic,
undergoing dramatic transformations as policies and practices were either becoming established and embedded, or identified as unhelpful and requiring adjustment. To this end, the timing of the project afforded an unusual opportunity to explore practice in relation to how learning was being facilitated among girls with BESD.

The KTP project also afforded the unique position of working between the school and the university, my role varying between participant-observer and observer-participant (Lareau 1996). Situated as I was within the school at the beginning of the project, the availability of opportunistic data collection was invaluable in contributing to understanding of practices and processes, alongside more formal and structured approaches to data gathering/generating. The combination of planned data generation and windows of opportunity developed a more coherent picture of how learning was promoted, and one which perhaps might not otherwise be available. It was possible to review the relationship between the students, the learning opportunities afforded by the school, and the ways in which these impacted the behaviours associated with BESD enacted by the students, even offering the opportunity for students to review this themselves, and offer feedback in a range of ways that were not limited to set times or structures.

**Positioning Myself**

As a researcher, my decisions shaped the direction of the project and my performance of identity (or presentation of self), as experienced by participants, influenced the data generated and also interpretations of that data through analysis. My voice is also the
tool used in communicating both methods and interpreting findings (Clough & Nutbrown 2002). With this in mind, it is prudent and necessary to include myself in the introductions made through this chapter.

The position of researcher is implicitly interwoven with the planning, organisation and practice of the research, providing ‘expression to the standpoint of its authors in a given context’ (Clough & Nutbrown 2002, p.10):

It is the context in which research is (first) conducted and (finally) reported which gives its real meaning... People drive research, they identify the emerging issues to be studied and they create – in context – the methods by which situations are further understood, and they communicate its outcomes to chosen audiences.

The above argument highlights the importance of reflection relating to both the context in which research is conducted and through the reporting in relation to the current research project. However, Clough et al. (2005, p.5) argue for the central importance of such, particularly to BESD, since ‘defining a position beyond that of dispassionate bystander’ is necessary, given the expectation of developing affiliations following time spent working alongside such populations. One’s understanding of the aetiology (or cause and manifestation of the difficulties) – such as level of assumed control over behaviours – would influence assumptions and value judgements relating to the
individual assigned the label, or the contextual and environmental factors identified to precipitate and maintain it.

My time at Kahlo represented my first research post, and my first post within an educational environment working with teenagers with the label BESD. Yin (2003) like other authors writing on methods differentiates between ‘etic issues’, those issues known prior to the research beginning and ‘emic issues’ those concerns raised or evolving during the research process. The latter are identified by Yin as ‘issues from the inside... departing in the field from the conventional views as to what is important, but ultimately relating the emic to the etic issues of their disciplines’ (Yin 2003, p.20). The relevance of emic issues to the research extends well beyond anything that I could have imagined, prior to the start of the project, based on my limited experience, but also resulting from the novel context at Kahlo. I had to challenge my expectations of a ‘tidy’ research project, and adapt the research in response to the ever-changing environment at Kahlo as the recently established school continued its development. I also had to learn from the issues emerging whilst I was in the field, in terms of who I was and how I presented myself.

I realised from that first day the importance of my appearance and performance on the students’ willingness to engage with me. I considered that I would need to learn quickly to reverse my initial impression of someone who was unrelatable. I also learnt that, in order to fit in with the post, the school, and the participants in the study, I would need to put to one side the things I believed that I knew or understood entering the field in
order to construct knowledge in interaction within the staff and students at Kahlo. I needed to adapt to the environment in which I found myself, rather than expecting that the skills and experiences that I had spent years developing would be sufficient. The importance of emic developments are evident throughout the research. However, before simply discounting my previous knowledge, I believe it is worth considering my understandings that had contributed to my position on entering the field.

The influence of positivist training in the pseudoscience of psychology was very much evident at the beginning of my research, where, like some others within the discipline of psychology, I found comfort in the ‘certainty’ of statistics. My work as a trainee clinical associate in applied psychology included both clinical experience and academic learning which had resulted in an interest in positive psychology, which represented a disruption in the traditional problem-saturated discourse of this environment and articulating the value of strengths-based approaches to mental health and emotional wellbeing. It provided an alternative lens through which to view presenting concerns.

In between undergraduate and postgraduate studies, I worked for 17 months as an applied behavioural analysis (ABA) tutor in a school for children with autistic spectrum conditions. My post as tutor involved one-to-one direct work with children, using highly personalised methods to enhance teaching. On being accepted to the role of KTP Research Associate, I brought with me this learning from my previous posts. While the role of researcher was very different to that of ABA tutor, my approach to data generation as KTP research associate was similarly defined by the requirement for
intrinsic interest in the task, and attention to media for both communication and data
generation. Further, the strengths-based approach which interested me during my
work as an applied psychologist similarly fitted with the ethos at Kahlo and would be
relevant during the course of the research.

of reflexivity, suggesting that it represents ‘an ongoing conversation about experience,
whilst simultaneously living in the moment’. The relevance of this relates to the copious
field notes made during the process of the research, together with my research journal
completed after fieldwork to track and shape my decision-making. Rather than limit
these reflexive accounts to my view, I occasionally include excerpts in the text to
illuminate my position more transparently and explicitly.

While trying to remain conscious of the impact of my ‘self’ on the research process, I
realised that my own understandings and reflections were limited. I recorded this in my
research journal as follows:

The importance of transparency is often cited by authors, and something I
recognise myself as central in the research process. Yet I wonder as to how
obtainable this goal actually is. As much as I am aware of (and invested in) the
concept of shared experience through communication, I am aware that self-
analysis without a dialogic partner is far more challenging than it might
otherwise be. Concerned about my own gaps in knowledge, awareness and
understanding of my own perceptual scaffolds, I worry I may miss key elements which drive, govern or boundary my own thinking in relationship to the research and its development (Research Journal 10/08/09)

For me, the importance of reflection then was the opportunity to identify explicitly that which bounds and/or scaffolds my thinking and decision-making in relation to the research. Through justifying and, when appropriate, challenging, shifting and exploring areas of decision-making, which may have otherwise gone unnoticed, unchallenged or un-investigated, I invite readers to evaluate and explore my perspective. I return to reflection on my own learning journey in the final chapter.
Chapter Two: Setting the Context

BESD: An Important Area for Investigation

Defining BESD for the purpose of the thesis was problematic, not because definitions of this label are unavailable or not in use, \(^5\) but because the label itself has varied over time and across locations, adapted as suitable in line with shifting social and political views (Clough et al. 2005). The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF 2007) highlighted both visible and less visible characteristics of BESDs, which include challenging behaviour and emotional disorders such as anxiety. Given the range of characteristics which may or may not be included under the label of BESD, Cooper (1999, p.9) comments that BESDs may best be described in terms of a ‘loose collection of characteristics’, with these characteristics located either within the student, within the environment or at the interface between the two.

An increased emphasis on the environment and on individual-environment interaction has sharpened the focus on the social factors associated with the label. While historically referring only to emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD), the inclusion of the social context in which the difficulties occur, or have developed, has resulted in the label extending to include an ‘S’ (typically the initial letter in the label in Scottish policy and practice, and embedded within the label in England). Within this thesis, I use

\(^5\) With 139,410 students labeled with a BESD as a ‘primary need’ in 2007, an increase of 4,600 students on the previous year – the majority of which, and the greatest increase of which is notable in secondary provision (DCSF 2007).
EBD, BESD and SEBD to represent the same population, adopting the variation used by the authors that I cite so as to highlight usage. Within my own writing, I will use the label BESD, as this is the label recognised by the staff and students at Kahlo.

The label of BESD is not one used uniformly across all the services available to children and young people. Neither is it formally recognised by adult services. It represents a label used in educational services to identify a barrier to learning and to recognise a ‘need’ in the student for additional support in behavioural, emotional and/or social domains where targeted interventions are necessary (Cooper 1999; Clough et al. 2005), with schools described as the ‘public site for the expression of EBDs’ (Cooper 1999, p.9). The lack of coherence of the label across services, environments, professionals and age categories has presented a challenge to the validity of the label, and highlights the nature of BESD as both constructed and contentious, leading Clough et al. (2005, p.3) to argue that:

few educational professionals, irrespective of ideological persuasion, location, training and current status, remain untroubled by the very term EBD, and the policies and practices that follow from such categorisation.

Difficulties associated with the label further arise from the diverse group of students to whom the label is attached, with loose categories representing the best fit for communicating the requirements of those individuals recognised within this constructed group. Such a range indicates difficulties in identifying causes and required
interventions, alongside more characteristic expressions of these difficulties, and in establishing what the ‘differential performances’ associated with the label communicate (Clough et al. 2005, p.4). As an overarching label for such a heterogeneous group of students:

It is notoriously difficult to arrive at a consensus of what particular behaviours delineate EBD (and the children and youth who wear the label), and how these often appear to be interchangeable with other (apparently) synonymous descriptors... ‘disruptive’, ‘at risk’, ‘disaffected’, ‘excluded’, ‘alienated’, ‘challenging’, ‘exceptional’, ‘troublesome’. (Clough et al. 2005, p.7)

Further, given concerns raised regarding the labelling process (Messiou 2012), where the synonyms outlined above may be associated with the group of students labelled with a BESD, it is easy to identify the potential for stigma to be associated for students so labelled in educational settings.

With regards to BESDs, descriptors and labels are assigned by those in positions of authority in educational settings. From the literature, the contribution of students to this process was notably absent. Acts of resistance or compliance in school settings influencing the labelling process did, however, seem to be within the power of the students.
Difficulties exist in attempts to identify an evidence base for guiding practice among this heterogeneous population. There is a need to gain a better understanding of what is included within the BESD category, what is excluded from it and the best way of supporting students thus labelled, as currently the gap in understanding puts students with this label at a significant disadvantage in relation to equitable access to education. Indeed, it has been noted that BESD represents the only SEN where the identified difficulty will result in increased likelihood of punitive discipline (Cooper 1993; Jull 2008). As a consequence, despite existing recognition that students with BESDs require interventions that support the development of positive attachments within educational settings (Cooper 1999), students are often punished in an area of identified need and required support, a practice akin to discrimination.

As a group, students with BESD are disproportionately represented in both temporary and permanent exclusions, further interfering with the development of attachments within educational settings (Cooper 1999, 2008). In addition, this discrimination is recognised as difficult to challenge, since the perceived benevolence of educational establishments has meant that the ‘protections’ available for adults in the form of rights and legislation are not equally accessible to children and young people (Thomas 2005). This has led Clough et al. (2005, pp.4,6) to comment:

we believe that of all school-age populations, that defined as EBD – however artificially the term is constructed – has been the most marginalised in terms of street level empowerment. These are students that are serially ‘done-to' by
professionals, or critiqued at some distance by career-researchers and theoreticians... interpretations of EBD, impacts and interventions are dramatically susceptible to professional stakeholdings, personal beliefs and social expediency.

Gaps in knowledge exist around what works for this population, and curriculum development often occurs in pockets of practice (O'Brien 2005). These developments frequently represent a response to the experiential learning of staff, grounded in practice within the specific organisations and schools. In an attempt to offer suitable provision, alternative placements in specialist establishments are often sought. While this typically relates to students with a history of exclusion and a label of BESD, it does not represent the whole range of students with BESD. I raise this as an issue, as authors in this area have repeatedly highlighted male dominance in accessing a label of BESD, and disproportionate access to placements at alternative educational provisions available to boys (Osler & Vincent 2003). Consequently, the educational experiences and requirements of girls with a label of BESD are under-represented in research, policy and practice (Osler & Vincent 2003).

Male-centric methods are identified to guide practices in these organisations, responding to the identified need as highlighted by demand for placements for boys, with the needs of girls remaining unknown or invisible. In the UK, very few girl-only alternative education sites (relating to BESD) exist without an additional focus, such as the student also being pregnant (Osler & Vincent 2003).
Girls, Learning and BESD

Kahlo’s position as a girl-only provision sets it apart from the majority of alternative education provisions, which are targeted at or accessed by boys only (Osler & Vincent 2003; Osler 2006). For owner-director Angie, this was an intentional and necessary decision. She spoke of a lack of suitable provision for girls who did not fit with mainstream education. Angie’s expressed concerns regarding the lack of access to full-time placements for girls who were unable to access education in mainstream settings resonated with commentaries in the literature (Osler 2006). I will now briefly consider the ways in which sex and gender are understood as relevant to education, and focus particularly on the experiences of girls who have been labelled with BESD, before considering the methods employed in undertaking research in gender in education and relevance to my research at Kahlo.

The dominant discourse in academic literature and national policy is of girls as an ‘emblem of educational success’ (McLeod & Allard 2001, p.1), with girls identified to be achieving greater levels of success than boys in relation to both attainment and access in mainstream education (Connell 2006). Osler (2006) borrows the concept of a ‘gender see-saw’ (coined first by Collins 2001), in which she describes the focus as being on understanding preferable access to education for either boys or girls, rather than considering the inter-relationship between the two. The utility of positioning of boys
and girls as opposite in educational discourse has been challenged over years of research in gender and education (see Francis & Paechter 2015).

For Butler (1990), the deterministic categorisation of males and females according to biological sex fails to account for the agency held by individuals in selecting and performing their own identities. Lund (2013, p.908) suggests that, through ‘the repetition of gender performances’, it is possible to create ‘an apparently seamless gendered performance’; thereby, repetition of gender performances is seen to result in a believable performance which can be accepted by others. Yet research in education has indicated that gender performances in the classroom are not necessarily consistent (Francis 2005). Even descriptions according to gender (as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’) have been identified as limited, based on the various ways that these can be performed, which are not static.

Francis and Paechter (2015) document how the terms ‘masculinities’ and ‘femininities’ have therefore come to be preferred in the literature in recognition of the ‘heteroglossic’, or variety of gendered performances possible, available and utilised in the classroom. Yet they consider how even gendered performances are understood and interpreted by an audience (including the performer), which is in turn interpreted in relation to the performer’s sex. For Francis and Paechter (2015) therefore, tensions in relation to agency and determinism, and gender deconstruction and analysis are not resolved, but continue to be problematic in the analysis of gender in education. These authors indicate the benefits of movement away from such a categorisation entirely.
However, they recognise that continuing inequalities necessitate the maintenance of such categories, and suggest the need for greater reflection and transparency in relation to the ways in which gendered performances are understood within the classroom and educational research (Francis 2005; Lund 2013; Francis & Paechter 2015).

Sex differences and differences in gendered performances in relation to student behaviours have been noted in the research. Reay (2001) identifies the ways in which girls enhance the power of boys within classrooms, irrespective of the femininities selected and performed by the girls. Francis (2005) observes that in mainstream classrooms, girls receive proportionally less teacher attention; they have less access to space within the classroom (which is monopolised by boys) and have fewer non-task focused interactions with teachers. The construction of achievement and underachievement was identified by Skelton (2006) to be highly gendered by both teachers and students, although similarities were noted in narratives of high-achieving students, irrespective of gender. Osler and Vincent (2003) highlight the limitations of access to identities for females' gendered performances, commenting: ‘[g]irls are greater victims of inconsistencies; there is a degree of intolerance but also a degree of shock and horror; they don’t have the ability to be lovable rogues’ (p.68). Skelton (2006, p.147) sees gendered performances as highly regulated within schools, particularly in relation to the 'social spaces of the playground and classroom'; bullying is associated with transgressing traditional gender positions potentially functioning to contribute to both social and educational exclusions (Davison & Frank 2006).
Dillabough (2006, p.53) critiques the ‘singular or binary notions of gender identity’ and therefore posits the importance of local identities over a single universal theory. Instead, the ‘messiness’ of recognising fragmentation in identities is more helpful – gender as performed and actively constructed – as such performances have social and educational effects (Davison & Frank 2006). The plurality of gendered performances has been noted in schools with different performances, resulting in differential social positioning (Reay 2001). Davison & Frank (2006) note the fluidity of gendered performances, expressing the unacceptability of some performances when they conflict with the institutional discourses of schooling. Brown (2003) suggests the challenges for girls in performing a singular identity relates to their varying needs: namely, for intimacy and safety through trusting relationships, and for ‘power and visibility’ through the ‘regulation of others’ (p.5).

Negotiating the balance of the two needs identified by Brown may challenge a singular identity performance, particularly for girls on the margins of education whose available identities may be limited. Researchers of gender and education have argued that the narrow range of acceptable gendered performances that have been inflicted on children by those in their environment make it ‘difficult for pupils to resist such identification within an education context’ (Francis 2006, p.15). For Francis (2006, p.15), there are costs involved in maintaining gendered performances, yet there are greater costs involved in failing to adhere to expected gendered performances, ‘to stand against the tide and display behaviours traditionally associated with the opposite sex’. For Davison and Frank (2006, p.155), those students who fail to adhere to dominant discourses of
gendered performance, are at risk of being ‘socially terrorised, ostracised, isolated, abused and alienated’.

The importance of engaging in dialogue those girls who have not conformed to the narratives of success in schools has been repeated in the literature (Lloyd 2005; Arnot 2006; Osler 2006; Allard 2007; te Riele 2007). This is important in order to establish the meaning attributed to decisions to engage or to resist education in the context of many possible interpretations. Allard (2007, p.144) asks ‘what stories do they [the students] tell of their decision to break away from conventional educational pathways?’, and highlights the importance of contextual ‘discursive practices’ in labelling students (Allard 2007, p.147). She argues that contexts matter in terms of choice and whether young people see themselves as ‘free to choose’ (p.147). She uses case examples to explain educational exclusion from the perspective of involved students, arguing that the limitations on the students’ ability to self-define limits their behavioural choices within their contexts:

[b]y choosing to present herself as ‘little Miss Attitude’, Louise can (again) claim the mantle of rebel, rather than accept the role of victim in the story of her schooling. She presents her behaviours as a choice on her part rather than a lack of knowing how to gain the help and acceptance she requires… Is it safer (or more socially acceptable) to say that she chose to exit school to please herself? (Allard 2007, p.151)
This limitation in the identity of girls as failed learners to either ‘victim’ or ‘aggressor’ was similarly noted by Brown (2003, p.2) as ‘a false dichotomy simply because the world doesn’t work that way; people are never so simple’. Instead, understanding the students’ position and interpretation of their circumstances may provide greater access to the nuance experienced in the identities of girls negotiating learning. With this conceptualisation, pupil voice gains additional import, as a ‘mechanism for school reform’ (Arnot 2006, p.407) through providing a better understanding of the functions of behaviours and range of identities (Lloyd 2005). However, Arnot (2006) critiques the lack of analysis of the gendered nature of voice in educational settings as problematic. Further, voice in school settings must be understood in terms of its evolution and development, as hooks (1994, p.11) argues, ‘[t]he engaged voice must never be fixed and absolute but always changing, always evolving in a dialogue with the world beyond itself’. Connell’s (2006) identification of masculinities, as multiple, collective, fluid, and subject to hierarchies and internal complexity, and active, is also a helpful lens from which to view femininities. Gender, he argues, is ‘a living system of social interactions’ (Connell 2006, p.19).

Gender, therefore, represents an important aspect of the research, as the girls’ learning opportunities are understood to be framed within expectations regarding their biological sex and gendered performances. The meaning attached to these experiences and performances are consequently significant to students, as well as those involved in interactions with them (within their learning environments). Developing an understanding of the choices available, and meanings attached to actions and reactions

As a result of the significantly higher proportion of permanent of exclusions identified among boys – a proportion of 77.7% of disciplinary permanent exclusions in the school year 2009/10 (DfE 2012) representing a consistent pattern in the UK – exclusions among girls have been seen as less of a problem (Osler 2006). Girls have also been identified to be consistently outperforming boys in relation to higher percentages of higher grade passes in GCSE examinations (Francis 2006; Osler 2006), resulting in expressed concerns regarding the ‘feminisation’ of education, focusing attention on issues of accessibility of mainstream educational provision for boys (Francis 2006; Skelton 2006). Such indicators have been fundamental in promoting the visibility and needs of boys. Osler (2006, p.577) argues that, as a result, the needs of boys are prioritised in relation to resources such as alternative education provisions. Access to such provision for girls is limited by comparison, based on male dominance of alternative provisions and subsequent lack of perceived suitability for girls. While I do not wish to minimise the barriers to engagement experienced by some boys in relation to mainstream education, I turn now to look consider the impact of these educational discourses on the engagement of those girls who do not achieve the expected levels of educational engagement.

‘Once the normal “girl” or “boy” was defined through educational discourses of achievement and success, it was essential to define its mirror opposite, that is, the
deviant “male” or “female” (or the underachieving) male or female’ (Dillabough 2006, p.53). As a result of this discourse of girls’ success in education, occurrences of educational disengagement position those girls not complying with this discourse as the ‘deviant female’ as ‘dangerous’; ‘in need’ (Allard 2007, p.144); and even ‘doubly dangerous (McLeod & Allard 2001), failing in relation to educational achievement as well as in relation to gendered expectations (Lloyd 2005; Rich & Evans 2009).

For Lloyd (2005, p.130), the experiences of those girls who do not fit the model of success are ‘ignored’, their ‘minority representation in statistics mean that their experiences are not included’. Despite minority representation, the number of girls experiencing disciplinary exclusions has been significant – including over 10,000 secondary age girls between 1995 and 1999 (Osler 2006). Exclusions are not limited to those disciplinary permanent exclusions, but also other forms of exclusion such as self-exclusions which have been associated with girls (Collins & Johnston-Wilder 2005; Osler 2006).

The value of schools as a site of intervention for girls who are experiencing challenges in relation to behavioural, emotional or social concerns has been noted by Lloyd (2005, p.2), who identifies schools as the ‘main source of support for girls and young women’. Yet, a lack of coherence and consistency is identified in relation to interventions, with ‘[d]ecisions about intervention with troubled or troublesome girls and young women vary[ing] according to professionals’ opinions, ideas they have come across from reading, from training and from their own working experience with young people and
with colleagues’ (Lloyd 2005, p.2). Therefore, the social contexts in which interventions may be understood, approached and practice may vary as a result of practitioner views regarding such (Lloyd 2005).

However, gender does not represent a singular characteristic influencing the performances of students and responses from others, but rather intersects with a range of other variables, including class, culture, ethnicity and age (Skelton 2006; Lumby 2014). Francis and Paechter (2015) question whether it is possible to isolate issues of gender performances and other dimensions of identity. For example, Francis (2005) notes that accepted and acceptable gender performances vary according to ethnicity.

Therefore, both access to and attainment in education would benefit from consideration in more nuanced terms than just their relation with gender, whereby ‘[g]ains for some, largely middle class, girls are [not simply] read as gains for all’ Lloyd (2005, p.2). Further, the label of a SEN is the strongest predictor of permanent exclusions, rather than gender, when other characteristics are controlled for, with those children and young people with a label of SEN being seven times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion (DfE 2012). This indicates that the gender seesaw of boys or girls is not sufficiently sensitive to understandings. Skelton (2006) notes that factors including age and class are also significant in relation to teacher expectations of the gendered performances of students. Thus, Skelton (2006, p.145) calls for teachers to recognise the ways in which interacting identity variables function to influence ‘their own, and their pupils’ attitudes, expectations and beliefs in order to adopt strategies that
critically engage with these’. Lloyd (2005) further challenges simplistic categorisation, arguing that, despite their distance from the discourses of success, ‘[p]roblem’ girls are not a separate category’ (p.1). Instead, she highlights that ‘all girls can experience problems or can be seen as creating problems for others’ (p.1).

Lloyd (2005) also encourages greater attention to the gender analysis of alternative educational provisions, identifying research practices which recognise ‘students’, but which fail to account for the absence of girls from within this category. Davison and Frank (2006, p.162) cite Spivak (1992, p.803), who comments ‘[o]ur lesson is to act in the fractures of identities in struggle’: girls with a label of BESD and experience of school exclusion provide that space for examination of the ways in which practices and gender assumptions function to influence the experience of these students.

Given the expressed limitations of current analysis of gender in education resulting from methodological limitations (see Oakley 1982), Allan and Tinkler (2015) comment on the ‘surprising’ lack of methodological attention in the area of gender and education research. Moreover, Marshall and Young (2006, p.72) maintain that there is a requirement for ‘creative and challenging methodologies’ in the area of gender and education research with a focus on collaboration. One common theme in the literature in relation to research designs for studying gender and education is the importance of student biographies and voices (Osler & Vincent 2003; Lloyd 2005; Thomson et al. 2005; Francis & Paechter 2015).
Lloyd (2005) asserts that, as a result of the complexity of the contexts of girls with a label of EBD, analysis of their positions must start with listening to the girls – and developing an understanding of the meaning of this label to them. Thinking ‘beyond labels, categories and value judgements, it is necessary to ask how young women who have left school early... what sense do they make’ of their situations (Allard 2007, p.144). Osler (2006, p.586) likewise highlights the unique position available to students in challenging current inequitable practices and addressing the lack of available information. For Allan and Tinkler (2015, p.791), visual accounts which could offer additional useful information have been marginalised and, despite the affordances of such, ‘the visual has become somewhat invisible in accounts of gender and education research’. Allan and Tinkler (2015) propose that gendered analysis in educational settings would be enhanced by information from visual methods.

The complexity of a gendered understanding of the practices in educational settings has been raised by Francis and Paechter (2015). They argue that understandings of methods should incorporate multidimensional and multiperspective accounts to enable more effective analysis. Francis and Paechter (2015) therefore argue that research which attempts gendered analysis in educational settings must incorporate three dimensions into data generation:

1) *A spectator view*: that of researchers and significant others in the network.

2) *The individual respondent’s view*: providing tools for respondents to categorise themselves
3) *Features of local and discursive and material collage*: informed by bodies, decorations, expressions, material objects and discourses.

I deemed it important in this research, then, that the voices of students and significant others, and the physical context in which the data is generated would all contribute to a rich analysis of the experiences of the girls and that which was supporting their learning. It is further hoped that the multivocal and multidimensional perspectives extend the arguments that focus only on the voices of students is ‘grieving for what is’ or identifying difficulties in current circumstances to promote changes or ‘action for what might be’ (Lumby 2014, after Oleksy 2011).

**Learning What?**

The purpose of educational provision in the UK has been specified as being ‘to provide an enriching social, emotional and academic experience to all students’ (Cooper 2008, p.21). Like Cooper (2008), Pring (2010, pp.60-63) highlights the requirement formal learning in schools to extend beyond a purely academic account of learning. However for students with a label of BESD, additional barriers are identified in the provision of such. The aims, delivery and outcomes of education take on additional significance for students with a label of BESD, as Cooper indicates. Identified ‘deficits’ in behavioural, emotional and/or social domains result in the formal process of labelling special educational needs, which has implications in terms of engagement and future outcomes and influences student access to ‘normative attainment’ (Benjamin 2002, p.282). Yet a lack of understanding exists in relation to the educational aims for students with a label of BESD (O’Connor et al. 2011).
Kahlo represented an alternative educational provision for students for whom the enriching educational experiences identified by Cooper were not available or accessible in mainstream schools. Hence, the students at Kahlo identified barriers to engagement with formal education in school settings, an example of which is included in the opening vignette relating to Keira’s attendance at her Science lesson. The staff at Kahlo communicated the resistance of students in relation to attending and engaging in planned learning activities. As identified previously, Kahlo was a dynamic school that changed significantly during the course of my field research. Some of these changes pertained to student engagement, independence and responsibility regarding their own learning. On arrival at Kahlo, there was some variation expressed within and across staff and students regarding the aims of learning at Kahlo and expected outcomes for students. However, what was evident was the common goal of establishing regular attendance, and among staff, of challenging the girls’ perceptions of themselves as unsuited to learning within a school context. In addition, the ECM agenda cited so regularly by Angie was identified as an important goal in relation to long-term outcomes for students: Being Healthy; Staying Safe, Enjoying and Achieving; Achieving Economic Wellbeing and Making a Positive Contribution. It was the development of the students in relation to these aims which differentiated the school from a ‘youth club’, in a comment by one member of staff (SI 05/11/08).

According to Cooper (2008), learning should be assessed in relation to progress from the individual’s unique starting position, rather than a fixed standard or attainment.
However, Benjamin (2002) highlights the importance of normative attainment on the experiences of students in schools, including the particular relevance of this for those students who have particular difficulty accessing it. It is therefore worth briefly introducing the expectations regarding attainment resulting from the standardisation of practices and the subsequent importance of assessment.

The introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales in 1989 was intended to improve the quality, consistency and equity in learning experiences across children, schools and regions (Sharp & Grace 2004; Garner & Forbes 2015). The implementation of the National Curriculum functioned to impose a common structure to support and standardise learning across schools and regions and to enhance the appropriateness of the ‘content, assessment and reporting processes in schools’ (Garner & Forbes 2015, p.225). Garner and Forbes (2015) report that this came from a desire to improve outcomes through measurable expectations and targets and the delivery of learning opportunities which are ‘inclusive, relevant, reliable and valid’ to the range of students in schools (p.225). While Sharp and Grace (2004) communicate this as successful in improving student access to some subjects, the implemented curriculum measures have been observed by others such as Smith (2010) to have narrowed definitions of education to measures of success and failure in standardised assessments, whereby failure to meet normalised standards is understood as problematic for students, staff and schools. Pring (2010, p.59) draws attention to the educational discourse that centred on ‘effectiveness and efficiency’ that has resulted from the standardisation of practices and the focus on standardised assessments, commenting
that the aims of education ‘are spelt out in terms of targets... Education, in its descriptive sense, becomes the package of activities (or inputs) which are largely determined by the government’.

Pring (2010, p.59) also highlights the influence of such dominant discourses on the content of learning and subsequent meaning making for students, commenting that the ‘intrinsic value of pursuing certain sorts of question, of trying to make sense of reality... of seeking understanding’ has become redundant. He observes the ways in which the role of the teacher varied according to the different educational aims, between ‘one which sees teachers as delivering knowledge and skills in order to meet targets; another as engagement between teacher and learners in order to help them to enter into a conversation and to appreciate the world of ideas’ (Pring 2010 p.60, original emphasis).

The role of learner was also seen to vary according to these positions in relation to perceived responsibility for and control over and construction in the learning process, as identified by Pollard (1994). Pollard (1994) highlights the importance of the students’ experience of these positions in terms of their relationships to learning and to themselves as learners, with Dwyfor Davies (2005) similarly observing how the expression of EBDs are influenced by the students’ position in relation to the subject matter and their experience of themselves as learners. For Barrow (2010) understanding learning experiences is not limited to a single domain, but rather must account for methods and outcomes. As well as methods and outcomes, in this section I consider the learning landscape for students with BESD in relation to accessibility
(including in relation to methods and the social context of learning) and learning outcomes.

In terms of accessibility, the lack of meaning attached to learning opportunities for primary-aged students with a label of BESD was stressed by Dwyfor Davies (2005), who describes the lack of relevance in educational content in formal learning in relation to ‘particular subject areas or that the curriculum is inaccessible to them’ expressed by children with a label of BESD. Hornby and Witte (2008) also relate motivation, meaning and accessibility to learning when reporting the views of young adults who have previously attended a residential PRU. In terms of the delivery of learning content, accessibility is also identified as associated with the pace of the delivery (Zhang 2008), which, when too fast, inhibits access to learning opportunities.

Accessibility of learning opportunities is also related to the social context in which learning opportunities are presented. Zhang (2008, p.190) reports on 53 female students in Singapore with histories of ‘significant behavioural, emotional, social and school-related problems’. Of the population interviewed, only 5% of students identified the delivery of lectures as an effective method of teaching (Zhang 2008); this didactic style was identified negatively with learning by students. The active participation of students with BESD as learners is found to support them in addressing their leaning difficulties and achieving academically (Hornby & Witte 2008, p.106). Students with a label of BESD describe negative interactions with teachers in mainstream school in
response to their inability to access normative attainment (te Riele 2007; Nind et al. 2012, Hajdukova et al. 2014).

The accessibility of learning is identified in terms of the inter-relationship between staff, students, and the content of planned learning opportunities was noted by Cooper (2008). In addressing the qualities of meaningful learning encounters for students with a label of BESD, Cooper (2008, pp.16-17) highlights the importance of local knowledge of the student and the role of the teacher, expressing a requirement of the teacher:

- to develop a relationship with the learner that is based on respect for the knowledge, interests and aptitudes of the student. It is from this relationship that the curriculum should emerge, with the teacher taking the role of facilitator, mentor and guide, rather than a one-dimensional transmitter of knowledge. Such an approach to teaching favours the teacher’s creativity and adaptability to the needs of the learner.

However, in the study by Zhang (2008, p.186), 52% of girls in a specialist educational provision identified teachers as responsive to their social needs, while only 28% identified teachers as ‘sensitive to their academic needs’. This lack of identified sensitivity in response to academic needs suggests barriers to effective learning opportunities for girls with a label of BESD.
Pring (2010) indicates that the outcomes of education should include development across intellectual, practical and reflective capacities; education should enhance the students’ engagement and participation within and beyond the learning community and should promote the pursuit of excellence and social justice. While I recognise this is only one perspective on the suggested outcomes of education, it captures that the outcomes of learning have both individual and societal implications (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll 2003). Miles (2007) outlines the relationship between personal development and inclusion into society as a result of learning, as is indicated in the ECM outcomes.

The lack of accessibility of education in terms of the content of learning opportunities or social context has significant implications in terms of progression. Dwyfor Davies (2005, p.304) outlines the ‘resentment and potential for misbehaviour’ which result from inaccessible and unsuitable learning opportunities for children with a label of BESD. He maintains that the strategies subsequently employed by these students as a means of avoidance of boredom or failure are deemed unacceptable by educational providers. As a result of the ensuing conflict, disciplinary or self-exclusions have been identified as a preferable choice for some students with a label of BESD (Osler & Vincent 2003; O’Connor et al. 2011; Lund 2014), again disrupting possible learning opportunities for students.

Understanding the current methods and outcomes in education for students with a label of BESD includes understanding the context in which these practices are situated. The importance of social context is identified as fundamental to ‘the formation of
meaning’ (Pollard 1994, p.22). Of note are the difficulties identified with achieving meaningful learning opportunities for students with a label of BESD in mainstream schools and of establishing their positions as valuable in this provision (O’Connor et al. 2011). For many students with a label of BESD, their experiences of meaningful learning opportunities occur outside of mainstream education (Cooper 2008; O’Connor et al. 2011; Nind et al. 2012).

hooks (1994) observes the requirement for learning to relate to the life world and experiences of students in order to acquire meaning and value. Hence, traditional boundaries and ‘forms of insulation established between subjects, teachers and learners’ may need to be re-evaluated in order to enhance the learning experiences for students (Scott 2008, p.139). For Hajdukova et al. (2014, p.145), ‘[t]here is no single solution to the multifaceted issue of effectively educating pupils with SEBD’. However, Cooper (1993) highlights the lack of historical research in the area of BESD, particularly in relation to alternative provision. Concerns have also been voiced in relation to the quality, validity and reliability of the evidence base for learning with students with a label of BESD (Clough et al. 2005; Al Hendawi 2012), not to mention the very limited presence of girls in relation to such (Lloyd 2005). Where interventions are presented to broader audiences, concerns exist regarding the limitation of the evidence base. For example, Fletcher-Campbell and Wilkins (2003, cited by Russell & McGuigan 2008), stress that, of 300 approaches or interventions for learners with a label of BESD (as reported in peer-reviewed journals), only 25 were supported by evidence. The more recent review of the literature by Al Hendawi (2012) identifies that when pockets of
practice have been researched, these fail to account for the social and relational (holistic) context fundamental to the learning encounters, including the meaning attributed to such by students.

An overemphasis on the voices of teachers, retrospective accounts of students or parent or sibling accounts has been identified in the literature (Farrell & Polat 2003; Hornby & Witte 2008; O'Connor et al. 2011). Various authors therefore petition for improving access to the ‘missing voices’ of students with a label of BESD (O'Connor et al. 2011), particularly in the case of girls (Lloyd 2005; Clarke et al. 2011). Al Hendawi (2012) stresses the particular importance of employing methods which are sensitive to the multiple dimensions of the students’ experience, capturing the cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects of the students’ learning experience. I have sought to respond to this in the research, as outlined in later chapters. I am also aware of concerns in the literature in relation to understandings of experiences, and I address the issue of voice in the section which follows, including a consideration of the voice of the researcher.

**Voice**

Given that the voices of different groups were raised in the research findings, it seems helpful to consider briefly my position in relation to voice. For Clough and Nutbrown (2002, p.79) ‘giving prominence to ‘voice’ in educational and social science research emphasises our view of social research as positional and political’. In this section, I highlight the importance of the voices of the participants, and how these have
influenced the communication of findings so that the inclusion of participants’ voices extends beyond the traditional boundaries of the results and conclusions chapters.

Clough and Nutbrown (2002, p.79) ask the social researcher to reflect on what they understand voice to be. Like qualitative researchers before me such as Mazzei (2009), I found this task challenging. I considered first what voice is not. For me, voice is not simply the words that an individual communicates verbally. This interpretation of voice is not only very limited, but lacks fidelity and suitability within the research project and fails to adhere to the international guidance outlined in Article 13 of the United Nation Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989), whereby children should be enabled access voice in whichever media is most suitable for them.

In reflecting on my understanding of voice, I considered the challenge, ‘[w]hat are we listening to/for in our effort to constitute voice?’ (Mazzei 2009, p.47), and I shifted to review the context of listening and, in particular, the audience. Clough and Nutbrown (2002, p.25) encourage researchers to consider what is being communicated in relation to ‘what this means within their particular framework’. With this in mind, in my understanding, as in hooks’ (1994), voice is not static, fixed, or objective. Rather, it is context specific, and constructed jointly by speaker and listener (Bakhtin 1981), and considered by the listener in relation to expectations, mode of communication, frame of reference (or shared understanding), expected response and response bias.
Spanbauer (1992, p.190, cited by Clandinin & Rosiek 2007, p.35) identifies ‘[t]he only thing that keeps us from floating off with the wind is our stories. They give us a name and put us in a place, allow us to keep on touching’. This highlights the importance both of narratives and relationships in defining and anchoring identity. This enables us to establish our position in relation to others, and either maintain or shift this, based on patterns of communication and/or interaction. Vignettes aim to use participants’ own words to encourage access into the situation, to ground the interpretations in context, to present the concrete examples from which the abstract concepts are linked and developed. The conception of voice of Lundy (2007), as including domains of audience, influence and space, seems particularly relevant in the context of this project.

In relation to my own voice, I have opted to use a written style that very obviously positions me within the research— not just for the purposes of this chapter alone, but throughout the thesis. It is my hope that by writing in the narrative mode, it is possible for readers to consider the findings and conclusions as a product of my time undertaking the research, and to review the impact of such. It is also my hope that, through the inclusion of vignettes and primary data, the reader may also have the opportunity to explore the meaning of the voices of participants, to consider interpretations, and review my interpretations based on alternative knowledge bases, assumptions and positionings.

Clough and Nutbrown (2002, p.79) highlight that ‘the informed researcher’s voice no longer provides an authoritarian monologue but contributes as part of a dialogue’. For
me, that dialogue is not just with other researchers and authors, but with participants in an ongoing and progressive attempt to develop understanding, similar to Bakhtin (1981). This point has greatly influenced the structure of the thesis and applying my reading of Bakhtin.
Chapter Three: Acquainting with Key Concepts

Journey In Search of a Research Question

According to Simons (2009, p.31), the function of a research question is to provide the ‘focus and shape to the study and facilitate choice of methods and analysis’. For Rugg and Petre (2004, p.146), a ‘good research question reduces the problem space in an area’. In the context of the rapid and continual changes throughout the KTP project and the challenges associated with investigating learning for girls with a label of BESD (Lloyd 2005), establishing a suitable research question became crucial; it needed to be sufficiently broad to capture the inherent complexity, while sufficiently focused to enable analysis.

We are reminded by Yin (1994, p.28) that ‘fieldwork regularly takes unexpected directions so too much commitment in advance is problematic’. In seeking the most effective research question, it became evident that ‘refining issues whilst in the field’ (Simons 2009, p.33) would enable the greatest sensitivity in ensuring the selection of a suitable research question. Partlett and Hamilton’s (1972) model of progressive focusing (cited by Cohen et al. 2007) was relevant for me in relation to balancing the breadth of the study, based on three stages of: Observation; Renewed Inquiry; and Explanation, yet it is outside the scope of the thesis to provide a detailed account of the extent of the progressive focusing undertaken in pursuing my research question.
Using the KTP educational model, the foundations and strategies offered tangible elements that had repeatedly been highlighted in interview and observation as crucial to the practices at Kahlo, and as representing vital cues for supporting learning among the girls at Kahlo. I felt that four of the themes emerging from the KTP model were particularly or sufficiently well placed for use as the focusing lenses described above. These were:

- Creative Learning
- Relationships
- Communication and
- Transitions

Representing two foundations and two strategies in the KTP model, these four themes aimed to support exploration in a focused way, while encouraging or enabling understanding across other identified themes in the educational model. However, the above topics represented four such substantial intermediate units that to include all four would make it impossible to explore and investigate any adequately in the required depth and detail. If no more than two of these themes should be used to allow sufficient depth of inquiry, the challenge became to decide which of the themes to focus on. Immersion in the field led me to choose creative learning and relationships, and my reading around these reinforced this decision.
Creative Learning

Miles (2007) comments that creativity in learning is a contested concept, but one which is worth pursuing, based on the affordances of the application of creative learning that may result in ‘new ways of thinking about learning’ (Miles 2007, p.275). For the purposes of this thesis, in thinking about creativity in relation to learning, I employ Craft’s (2001) operationalisation of little ‘c’ creativity (the everyday practice of creativity) as opposed to big ‘C’ Creativity (masterpieces of renowned artists). For Gauntlett (2007), this definition adopts a more inclusive approach to creativity, and one which incorporates a broader range of people. Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, p.7) outline the importance of explicating a clear position in relation to creative learning in terms of the implications for understanding, operationalising and researching creativity in educational settings, but express the challenges with doing so.

Like the broader conceptualisation of learning, the challenge of defining creative learning has been noted in academic literature, with understandings outlined variously in terms of the attributes (Gauntlett (2007); purposes (Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011); and measurement (McWilliam et al. 2011) of creative learning. Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, p.7) summarise the range of expressions of creativity as including a ‘type of learner, a mode of pedagogy, a form of institutional organisation, an ideological rallying cry or simply... an attempt to be different’. They continue by highlighting the importance that no single meaning is elevated at the cost of the alternatives. The range of meanings is explored further by Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, p.7) who comment on the different ways in which creative learning can both be ‘articulated and
enacted’ within relationships. The challenge of understanding such in contexts which ‘may not be consistent or congruent’ (Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011, p.7).

Difficulties in terms of the definition and measurement of creativity have proven problematic in relation to the promotion of its value in educational settings within the current educational landscape. Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011) bemoan the lack of understanding of the aims and anticipated outcomes of creative initiatives, and describe the continual ‘reinventing’ of practices that ensues. At a local level, the challenge of assessing creativity is observed by McWilliam et al. (2011, p.114 & 115), who comment that creativity is at risk of being ‘admired but never actually seen’ and identify the resistance of creative learning to ‘empirical scrutiny’.

Cowdroy and de Graff (2005, p.511) similarly note the lack of apparent ‘transparency’ and ‘objectivity’ of creative practices. As a result, the application of creative practices in educational settings has been identified as individual and localised initiatives which lack coherence and co-ordination (McWilliam et al. 2011), and which are not subject to the external scrutiny deemed important in relation to the measurement of progress in relation to the standardisation of practices. For Miles (2007, p.274), the ‘tightening of control around the curriculum’ has resulted in an environment where the opportunities for creative learning have significantly reduced. For Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, pp.8-9): ‘[t]he kinds of creative learning that a teacher might offer may well shift, depending on the situation in which they seek to apply it. It may also change over time in the light of experience, events or changed contexts.’ One of the challenges of applying
creative learning in schools then, relates to the absence measurements or a set of ‘facts’ relating to creative learning. An increasing emphasis is subsequently placed on the relationships in which creative learning occurs in relation to how knowledge is produced in the context of creative learning (Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011).

For both Miles (2007) and Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011), however, the value of creative learning relates to its relevance to improving motivation and engagement of young people in learning in the present time, and the potential for improving the social integration of students into society in the longer term. In theorising creative learning, Welle-Strand and Tjeldvoll (2003) similarly highlight benefits of creative learning in terms of four purposes or rationales of creative learning, namely: Organising Society; Improving Interactions; Reconstructing Society; and Individual Emancipation. Welle-Strand and Tjeldvoll (2003) therefore stress the potential relevance of creative learning according to both individual and societal gains, based on the interactive elements of creative learning.

In terms of how creative learning is associated with improving learning outcomes, the ‘creative triangle’ model of Gauntlett (2007) is a useful conceptualisation in relation to the personal and social dimensions of how learning is constructed. In the creative triangle model, attention is directed to the link between the three factors of the learner (as an individual), the content of learning (including learning opportunities) and others within the learning environment (Gauntlett 2007). While the interaction between these three features is not identified as unique to creative learning, it is the value attributed
to each and the way the different domains are seen to interact that promotes the possibilities in creative learning.

The person of the learner is identified to be centred in creative learning (Massey & Burnard 2006; Miles 2007; Troman & Jeffrey 2011). Miles (2007, p.279) comments that the learner’s ‘biography [is brought] closer to the centre of the learning environment’ through creative learning, with Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, p.1) similarly arguing that creative learning is about ‘putting young people’s voice at the heart of learning’. Troman and Jeffrey (2011, p.79) comment that the creative learning encounters are more motivating and meaningful as a result of the improved fit between learning encounters and the ‘life-worlds’ of the students. This feature of creative learning was similarly observed by Massey and Burnard (2006).

Through creative approaches, students’ relationships with lesson content have been seen to differ from traditional approaches and consequently as providing alternative possibilities (Massey & Burnard 2006; Miles 2007). A student cited by Hall and Thomson (2007, p.323) commented on this increased freedom, communicating that, ‘in art you can’t get anything wrong really’. Miles (2007) continues to highlight the reduced emphasis on an end product as a result of creative learning, which instead prioritises production. Massey and Burnard (2006, p.131) similarly comment that the space afforded by creative learning is valued by students in terms of its difference from the ‘scrutiny of examinations and tests’ that is so integral to the experience of schooling for young people.
The third feature in the creative triangle that Gauntlett outlines is individuals’ relationship with others. As a result of creative approaches to learning, the role of learner and teacher is adjusted significantly, with teachers in an assistive rather than instructive role (Massey & Burnard, Miles 2007). In this way, teacher and learner are both positioned as learners. In the study undertaken by Massey and Burnard (2006), creative learning was accompanied by a subsequent increase in the use of peers within the classroom to support and assist in the scaffolding of learning. A teacher in a study by Adams et al. (2008, p.28) commented on the greater independence evidenced in the students as a result of creative approaches to learning, explaining: ‘whereas normally they were doing things for us, and if they did it wrong we would tell them off. There is none of that now.’ Miles (2007, p.281) highlights the greater independence, responsibility and participation of students in the context of creative learning, labelling them as ‘agents of learning with creative authority’ as a result of the altered learning opportunities available as a result of creative teaching and learning practices.

O’Connor et al. (2011) identify the pressure of the standards agenda in schools as damaging to the learning of students with a label of BESD, describing the subsequent feelings of disaffection, displacement and devaluation expressed by these students (Dwyfor Davies 2005; O’Connor et al. 2011). In this context, the importance of alternative spaces for students with this label to experience success in learning has been raised (Massey & Burnard 2006; Nind et al. 2012). As I have argued elsewhere (Nind et al. 2012), educational experiences for girls with a label of BESD and repeated
exclusions from education has resulted in these students feeling that engagement in planned learning activities is irrelevant or unachievable for them. The employment of creative methods and learning content at Kahlo resulted in alternative spaces and possibilities that challenged the girls’ assumptions and conceptions of the outcomes of their engagement (Nind et al. 2012), by adjusting one or more elements of the creative triangle identified by Gauntlett (2007).

The importance of the shift from assessment-focused practice is understood to be an important benefit of creative learning for students in mainstream schools, as a result of reducing the risk of failure (Adams et al. 2008; Adams 2009). Given the assertion by Benjamin (2002) regarding the impact of failure to achieve normative attainment associated with barriers to learning, it is possible to suppose that removing the standardised or normative assessment measures associated with creative learning may similarly be an important benefit for girls with a label of BESD. Creative learning provides a different experience of education, whereby students who have previously felt themselves to be ‘packaged units to be assessed rather than as agents being prepared for active engagement with the world’ (Miles 2007, p.506).

Massey and Burnard (2006) note the importance of the alteration of roles available for staff and students as a result of creative learning approaches when applied in a residential primary school for children with a label of BESD. They describe the teacher inhabiting an assistive than instructional or knowledgeable role in this context, with the student taking greater responsibility for planning and leading their learning. As a result,
the children were afforded greater control in planning, organising and directing their learning, and where teachers could listen to and respond with sensitivity to the children’s expressed preferences and meanings. For example, the children outlined the resource that they required in order to complete their work, and teachers were responsible for making this available. The teacher was also described as a fellow learner in engagement with the students, who led the learning activity. As a result of the reduction in adult scaffolding of learning activities, there was observed to be a subsequent increase in peer scaffolding (Massey & Burnard 2006). However, it was also noted that this alternative approach was not readily available to all students from the outset of the project, but was recognised to develop for some students over time. The active and participative role demanded by this approach to learning was associated with the development and progression of ‘thinking skills, problem-solving skills, and creative and organisational skills’ (Massey & Burnard 2006, p. 121).

Educational research indicates the potential validity of creative learning approaches for students with a label of BESD. The relevance of aspects of the creative triangle are also indicated as helpful in understanding such, in relation to centring the students’ unique starting points, their motivation and interest in the content of learning activities, and the interaction between students and others in their learning environments. However, there are challenges in relation to reviewing creative learning in schools, based on exploration of the role of such learning within a discourse of targets and outcomes – recognised by Adams et al. (2008) as an uneasy pairing. Therefore a consideration of how creative learning may be understood in terms of the students’ learning goals would
offer valuable insight in this area. In addition, given the expressed importance of developing understanding of what learning is relevant and engaging for girls with identified difficulties and labels of BESD (Osler et al. 2002; Lloyd 2005), creative learning may offer an approach through which to study this. This is particularly relevant in the context of exploring creative learning approaches in relation to girls with a label of BESD when this remains an identified deficit for such students by some authors (Massey & Burnard 2006).

**Relationships and Learning**

The social dimension of learning is indicated in the identification of schools as the site of the performance of BESD by students in interaction with others (Cooper 1999). In focusing on the alternative interactions and relationships accorded to creative learning approaches, it becomes possible to explore the relevance of the relational dimension (one aspect of the creative triangle), also indicated by Osler et al. (2002) as a valuable site for further investigation. Building on the work of Reay (2001) and Arnot (2002), Francis (2005, p.9) highlights the centrality of the social aspects of learning to children’s experiences of education, with descriptions of such framed by children in terms of ‘social interactions rather than subject knowledge’. Central to students’ social experience of education is their relationships with their teachers, with particular importance attributed to this relationship in the context of education for students with a label of BESD (Cooper 2008; Hajdukova et al. 2014). Teacher–student relationships have been evidenced to influence outcomes in academic and social domains (Lloyd 2005; te Riele 2007; Wang et al. 2015; White 2016). Given the importance of student-
teacher relationships in educational settings, this will function as the primary vehicle through which to explore relationships at present. Further information on peer interactions within the classroom will follow.

The primacy of relationships to students’ daily school experience and emotional wellbeing is highlighted by Francis (2005), who comments on the immediacy of impact of such in contrast to standardised exam results, which are attributed to a more distant future. The ‘connectedness or belonging’ (White 2016, p.31) associated with positive relationships within educational settings links emotional wellbeing and relationships (Cooper 2008). te Riele (2007) also notes the importance of the relationship between teachers and student, citing Noddings (2003, p.244), who comments ‘[i]t matters to students whether or not they like and are liked by their teachers’. Positive teacher–student relationships are also associated with improved access and achievement among students (Cooper 2008), and a review of the literature by White (2016) outlines positive outcomes associated with good teacher-student relationships, including increased engagement and participation in lessons, greater enjoyment of school and evidence of more effective work patterns. Cooper (2008, pp.16-17) explains this in terms of the teacher–student relationship as fundamental to mediating the students’ access to learning, whereby when the teacher’s:

relationship with the learner... is based on respect for the knowledge, interests and aptitudes of the student. It is from this relationship that the curriculum should emerge, with the teacher taking the role of facilitator, mentor and guide,
rather than a one-dimensional transmitter of knowledge. Such an approach to teaching favours the teacher’s creativity and adaptability to the needs of the learner.

This highlights the importance of a personalised approach to learning, which starts from an understanding of the student, and the strengths, knowledge and motivations with which they present in educational settings. Like with creative approaches, learning is supported by strategies which draw on the students’ interest, motivation and existing knowledge, encouraging students to impart their knowledge and understanding in teaching others what they know, and in extending ‘their understandings by drawing on knowledge they already possess’ (Cooper 2008, p.19).

Teacher-student relationships are operationalised in the literature in terms of closeness and conflict (White 2016; Young Choi & Dobbs-Oates 2016). Teacher student closeness is defined as ‘positive interactions, open communication, and warm feelings between children and teachers’, while teacher student conflict is defined as and ‘negative interactions and negative affect’ (Mashburn & Pianta 2006, p.163, cited by Young Choi & Dobbs-Oates 2016, p.15). The research of Young Choi and Dobbs-Oates (2016, p.24) differentiates domains of closeness and conflict in teacher–student relationships as ‘distinct dimensions’. These authors found closeness and conflict to be associated with teacher and student characteristics, with greater closeness reported between teachers and girls. However, no gender difference was reported in relation to conflict (Young Choi & Dobbs-Oates 2016). Young Choi and Dobbs-Oates (2016) also observed no
relationship between similarities in ethnicity and teacher–student relationships. However, these authors identify the disparity between their findings and the broader literature in this area.

Cooper (2008) similarly argues the importance of teacher characteristics to teacher–student relationships. Further, te Riele (2007, p.128) outlines that closeness is promoted with girls with experiences of educational exclusions in relationships in which teachers who were characterised by the students as ‘kind, friendly, easy going, laid back and down-to-earth’. In research with boys with a label of BESD Pomeroy (1999, p.469) found greater conflict was associated with teacher-student relationships which were characterised by ‘humiliation... [teachers] shouting, telling students to ‘shut up’, responding sarcastically, putting young people down and name calling’. Difficulties were also associated with lower levels of attention than the students deemed necessary in accessing learning opportunities, lack of listening in terms of both undervaluing the students’ contribution and failure to observe and respond to the students’ needs in social and emotional domains (Pomeroy 1999).

Cooper (2008) found that positive teacher-student relationships were associated with teachers who valued the students’ existing knowledge and experience similarly. Efforts to present learning opportunities in engaging ways were also said to promote positive teacher-student relationships by the students interviewed by Pomeroy (1999). Pollard (1994, p.26) describes a facilitative relationship as one that highlights the importance of teachers’ willingness to engage in dialogue, stressing the importance of co-operation,
negotiation and liaison. Further, the emotional tone in which learning activities are enacted were identified to influence teacher-student relationships, as was recognition of the student as a person beyond simply the academic domain. For the students identified by Rich and Evans (2009, p.6), this was closely related with caring, with one student commenting, ‘the teachers in this school, they’re very cold and they never talk to you personally, like you’re a person, they’ll talk to you like you’re a number to them and that’s all is, basically’.

In a study of girls with experience of school exclusion, te Riele (2007) found that teaching staff in mainstream schools were perceived by students to care more about their own performance than the needs of their students. This again was equated with staff not caring. This concern was not unusual in student representations of mainstream education, where the students were identified to have an additional need (O’Connor et al. 2011). For Rich and Evans (2009), this was related to the performativity, productivity and the assessment agenda to which mainstream schools, teachers, and student were subject (McGinty 1999). Young Choi and Dobbs-Oates (2016) identify an association between positive teacher–student relationships and higher achieving students. Children who were more articulate were identified by White (2016) to be more likely to access effective support for learning in their relationships with teachers. In terms of other student characteristics which may influence the teacher-student relationship, White (2016) identifies age as of influence, with increasing age associated with decreasing closeness. In relation to the outcomes of teacher-student relationships, Wang et al. (2015) cite the longitudinal research of Troop-Gordon and Kopp (2011) that
observes an association between close teacher–student relationships and lower levels of physical aggression, as well as higher levels of physical aggression characterised by high-conflict teacher-student relationships.

Osler and Vincent (2003, p.3) highlight the relevance of relational aspects of education for girls on the margins of mainstream schools, commenting on the relational barriers to learning as a result of ‘feelings of isolation, disaffection, unresolved personal, family or emotional problems’. This is stressed to be occurring in the context of the invisibility of girls in schools as a result of the discourse of girl as succeeding (Lloyd 2005). However, the relational context in which support and assistance are enacted for girls is described by Osler and Vincent (2003), who report resistance and defensiveness in response to offers of assistance from staff.

In studying excluded students, Pomeroy (1999, p.466) highlights the centrality of the teacher-student relationships for this population, observing this to be the ‘most salient and consistently described’ by students in relation to educational experience. Pomeroy (1999) highlights the varied and nuanced understandings of teacher–student relationships among young people with experience of educational exclusion. Of note was the possibility of students holding both positive and negative views of their relationships with teachers simultaneously, with regards to different teachers, as well a particular teacher.
Teacher–student relationships were also central to student experiences of subject content, as identified by Dwyfor Davies (2005, p.305), and illustrated by a student ‘Stephen’ in relation to help-seeking behaviour: ‘If I get on well with the teacher, I get on with the work. If I get on with the teacher, I’ll ask for help – but not the others’.

Therefore, the relation to content of learning opportunities is associated with teacher–student relationships in terms of student response to barriers to learning. Further, reports from boys with a label of BESD indicate that the boys feel that their educational histories precede them, resulting in lesser willingness for teachers to hear and believe them, in turn influencing their trust in teachers (Hajdukova et al. 2014).

Treatment of students by teachers matters to the relationships that follow. A perception of unfair treatment described by boys with a label of BESD was seen not only to exacerbate the negativity in teacher–student relationships, but also to exacerbate the difficulties for students in relation to disciplinary procedures (Hajdukova et al. 2014; see also Jull 2008). Discipline was of central importance to the teacher–student relationship, as expressed by students with experience of school exclusion (Pomeroy 1999). Jull (2008) sees BESD as the ‘SEN justifying exclusion’ and highlights the barriers to continuity of relationships within school settings. Exclusions influence ongoing relationships not only in chronological terms, but also in relational ones. As te Riele (2007, p.127) notes, the practice of exclusion communicate to the students their position within the school, commenting that ‘the very possibility of expelling a student, for incidents that could be resolved in other ways, clearly demonstrates that in negative student–teacher relationships teachers ultimately have more power than students’. Yet
permanent exclusions are actually identified as being potentially positive and valuable within certain contexts where irreparable damage is identified in relationships, to the extent that a fresh start is identified as preferable to re-establishing damaged relationships (Cooper 2008).

Organisational flexibility is highlighted as significant in providing an environment in which students can achieve more positive teacher–student relationships (te Riele 2007). Specialist provisions have been identified by staff and students as enabling more positive relationships between teachers and students (te Riele 2007; Cooper 2008; Hajdukova et al. 2014). This was associated with greater experience among staff, greater flexibility in response to student requirements and smaller class sizes. However, Hajdukova et al. (2014) stress the importance of further investigation in relation to teacher student interaction within classrooms in alternative educational provisions, and whether any of the positive aspects of such are transferable to mainstream settings.

The teacher–student relationship does not exist in a vacuum, however, in that there is an important influence by students on one another (Osler et al. 2002; Osler 2006), with marginalisation and bullying influencing student experiences of education, including in relation to attendance and access among girls (Osler & Vincent 2003). The importance of the teacher–student relationships on peer relationships within classes has been emphasised by Cooper (2008) and Wang et al. (2015), with greater negativity in teacher–student relationships associated with more problematic peer relationships and higher incidence of bullying between students.
Teacher–student relationships as regulated and mediated by the relationships perceived between teachers and other students were noted by Wang et al. (2015), and students with a label of BESD reported feeling less valued than peers without the label (Dwyfor Davies 2005). Interventions for enhancing learning through dialogic practices between teacher and students were identified to facilitate the learning community among students (Crimmins et al. 2016). When additional interventions are available for students who have difficulties accessing learning activities, concerns have been raised by girls regarding the responses from peers to additional support (Osler & Vincent 2003). Studying relationships for the girls at Kahlo is therefore important in relation to this being the (social) site in which the practice of learning opportunities are enacted, and relevant in terms of understanding the impact of such to learning experiences and opportunities within this special educational provision.

**Applying a Bakhtinian Lens**

At the outset of this chapter, I commented that a variety of issues and areas would be introduced. In introducing the nature of BESD, including how this is experienced by girls, learning (with particular relevance for students with a label of BESD), creative learning and relationships within the learning context, the variability and contestation in relation to these concepts indicates their complexity. These issues may be experienced by individuals differently, for example the lack of common experience among students labelled with a BESD, the different lenses which may be available regarding learning, the different experiences and expectations for staff in mainstream
educational establishments in comparison with targeted alternative provision, as well as for a researcher seeking to develop an understanding of this area.

I have considered the challenges associated with the complexity and multiple voices in the areas outlined above, and I have seen the value of the application of a theory or set of theories that would be sufficiently sensitive to complexity, fluidity, and the multiple voices to support analysis. Francis (2012) highlights the importance of Bakhtin’s work in challenging ‘theoretical binaries’, allowing for greater nuance when considering complexity. For Kim (2006) there is particular value in considering Bakhtin in analysing alternative education, based on the importance of reducing the spaces between the multiple voices that co-exist within such a provision which result in conflict. This made applying this Bakhtinian theoretical lens in this study an attractive proposition.

Bakhtin’s theories and concepts have been applied widely across areas such as gender studies (Francis 2012); creative writing workshops (Lensmire 1994); organisational identity (Humphreys & Brown 2002); supervision in higher education (Dysthe et al. 2006); literacy learning and identity (Compton-Lilly 2006); mental health interventions (Arnkil & Seikkula 2015, Avdi et al. 2015, Libdom et al. 2015); poetics and folklore (Elliot 1999), and in analysing education and authority (Sullivan et al. 2009). While disparate at first reading, there is a commonality between these subjects that relates to the interaction or dialogue between individuals, or individuals and organisations, associated with reducing the space between each, utilising a constructivist approach. Being located within a constructivist epistemology, knowledge is identified as
constructed in interactions. As a consequence, interactions and voice are posited as important sites of inquiry (Goffman 1959).

Elliot (1999) highlights the lack of finality of Bakhtinian theories, commenting on their 'unique capacity for growth; their living, fluid quality [which] discourages systematisation'. In considering Bakhtinian and post-Bakhtinian theory, I have been conscious of the commentaries which caution against a reductionist application of such, and which account for the variability with which Bakhtin’s concepts have been operationalised and understood. The concepts are described as ‘messy’ in nature and as evolving in dialogue, and unfinalised (Hirschkop 1989, Wall & Thomson 1993). I therefore employ my understanding that ‘what one says about Bakhtin is never what Bakhtin himself says’ (Wall & Thomson 1993, p.48).

Like Elliot (1999, p.130), I recognise the need to articulate and to ‘fix these mobile terms enough to indicate the main elements’ so, before attempting to apply them, I begin by briefly outlining concepts of Dialogue; Novelness; Chronotope; Carnival and Polyphony. The selection of these concepts was made according to the relevance of their application within the context of the analysis at Kahlo, as opposed to a hierarchical organisation (Wall & Thomson 1993).

Dialogue is at the core of human experience and existence. For Bakhtin (1984, p.252), ‘[t]o be means to communicate dialogically. When dialogue ends, everything ends’. In exploring the characteristics of dialogue, it is contrasted with monologue, which ‘denies
the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities, another I with equal rights and equal responsibilities’ (Bakhtin 1984, p.292). Dialogue therefore recognises the subjectivities of others, and co-constructing means through negotiation and at times contestation (Humphreys & Brown 2002). Beyond acknowledging the existence of others, dialogue positions the dialogic partner as accessing equal rights to voice, expression, opinion and responsibilities. In dialogue therefore, relational interactions are expressed to be significant (Bakhtin 1981, 1984), including the non-verbal aspects of the utterance (Hirschkop 1989). In relational dialogue, the dialogic partner is highlighted as responsive in the mutuality of the encounter, with ‘the ebb and flow of a multitude of continuous and inherently responsive communicative acts… accompanied by the keen anticipation of another’s response’ (Gardiner 1992, p.28).

In practice, language and communication are recognised as inherently bound to power, as opposed to being value neutral (Bakhtin 1981), and access to dialogue is influenced by a person’s social position and access to voice (Humphreys & Brown 2002; Smith 2014; Arnkil & Seikkula 2015). Therefore, Compton-Lilly (2006, p.59) notes the fluidity of dialogue as ‘constantly subject to the influences of other people and institutions’, not just subject to the two communication partners engaging in dialogue at that moment. Dialogue therefore centres the interaction between individuals in an educational context, and this means that communicative opportunities provide a focus for the analysis of learning, with relationships acting as a significant vehicle for such.
Bakhtin (1984) argues that stories can be told differently, with either a single narrator or multiple subjectivities. For Bakhtin (1984), an ethical approach to storytelling recognises the multiple subjectivities included in such. The importance of the approach of the novel is related to the affordances of such in capturing the complexity of stories involving human interactions over a period of time (Kim 2006). In applying Bakhtin to multiagency contexts, Smith (2014, p.75) comments on the greater ‘creative capabilities of the novel’ affording alternative possibilities in thinking about and relating to problems. In the novel, there is no fixed start or ending, and as such, Gardiner (1992, p.30) comments that the novel recognises the nature of humanity as ‘essentially indeterminate and “eternally unfinalisable”’. Subjects continually strive to resist the constraints placed on them by externalising second-hand definitions’. The application of novelness recognises learning in terms of becoming. It recognises the complexity of social context in which interactions and stories are performed and enacted. It also accounts for the multiple possible understandings held by the range of performers involved in each story, rather than assuming a single authoritative voice has a privileged right to dominate understandings.

Carnival as a social situation represents the possibility of an alternative to the social relationships enacted in the formal structures of daily life. Bakhtin (1984) relates carnival to ‘the right to emerge from the routine of life, the right to be free from all that is official and consecrated’. Carnival is therefore associated with multiple possibilities and opportunities for challenge and change. It implies the ‘potentiality of an entirely different world, of another order, another way of life’ that increases the fluidity and
range of possibilities for performances, actions and utterances as well as reducing the
stability associated with fixed views and performances (Bakhtin 1968, p.48). Playful
interactions are therefore more available and possible as a result of carnival, due to the
‘strong antiofficial current’ (Lensmire 1994, p.375). Carnival is recognised to subvert
‘the authoritative version of language and values’ instead centring laughter and play
(Elliot 1999, p.129). Carnival is associated with the subversion the typical structures,
organisations and systemic influences which govern, direct and limit possible options
and interactions. This is particularly applicable in educational settings, where
governance and authority are made evident, and which limit alternatives and
possibilities according to distinct structures including lessons, curricula, and rules.

The Bakhtinian concept of chronotope reflects the ‘intrinsic connectedness of temporal
and spatial relationships’ (Bakhtin 1981, p.84). It highlights the importance of the
personal and environmental factors in which interactions are situated. In doing so,
chronotope has been described as the ‘vehicle that allows social contact to happen by
providing a concrete potential’ (Wall & Thomson 1993, p.57), with reference to
‘particular combinations of time and space... [that] contain and constrain anyone’s
meaning-making potential’ (Wall & Thomson 1993, p.48). The available ‘meaning-
making potentials’ are associated with the personal and environmental factors that can
chronotopic analysis therefore necessarily draws on ‘how particular groundings for
interaction are created as they draw on past, present, and future temporal relations to
explain and justify their ideas to one another’. For Leander (2001, p.642), a central
theme of chronotopic analysis applied within schools is to 'understand how discourses and identities thought distant to schooling are reinscribed within school spaces... how the identities of students and teachers are always "glocalised", hybridised through dynamic geographies and temporalities seemingly distant from places called school'.

Polyphony is described as a 'plurality of unmerged and independent voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices... with equal rights and each with its own world' (Bakhtin 1984, pp.6-7 original emphasis). As such, the polyphonic voices are recognised to be treated as subjects, rather than objects, and not to be 'completely subordinated' to other voices (Gardiner 1992, p.24). For Wall and Thomson (1993), import is given to 'voices within and around those voices'.

According to Bakhtin, and post-Bakhtinian theorists, intersubjectivity between actors represents an important site of analysis (Day 2010). Avdi et al. (2015, p.333) identify three specific elements –voice, positioning, and addressee – as crucial to analysis of polyphony – operationalizing each as follows:

Voice refers to the speaking consciousness that is rendered visible in an interchange; it can be the voice of someone present or absent, real or fictional...

Positioning refers to the perspective from which the world is perceived... The third analytic tool, used, the addressee, relies on a core premise of dialogism that every utterance is addressed to someone and is shaped by that person’s
anticipated response. Addressees are not always explicitly stated and may be mainly manifested through nonverbal means.

Lundy's (2007) notion of voice also appears particularly relevant, given the inclusion of multiple dimensions in relation to voice – that attention must be directed to the context in which voice is enacted: namely the audience – who is listening; the influence – what impact will voice have; and the space or location in which voice is enacted.

While acknowledging the body of critical literature which is concerned that just listening to and repeating marginalised voices is failing to address the systemic and organisational inequalities and fail to result in genuine action for change (Lumby 2014) or progress in relation to such, I could see that the application of a Bakhtinian lens could be useful with respect to working with the voices of individuals at risk of marginalisation who now attended Kahlo.

Theoretical applications of Bakhtinian and post-Bakhtinian theories abound in the literature, and I was interested in the ways that these had been applied in practice, and the subsequent impact of such on individuals and organisations. For Francis (2012), and Arnkil and Seikkula (2015), particular value is attributed to extending our understanding of social and relational situations. In the next section I consider application in social and relational domains of therapeutic and educational interventions
An explicitly Bakhtinian approach is employed in dialogical psychotherapeutic approach described by Seikkula (2012); Arnkil and Seikkula (2015); and Lidbom et al. (2015). Central to this approach is the voice, or story of the service user and the responsiveness of the therapist in uncovering the meaning attributed to things said by the service user, rather than in centring the therapist’s understanding (Anderson 2002). A carnivalesque element is indicated in this reduction of the authority of the therapist to set the agenda and prepare (Avdi et al. 2015); rather, conversations are guided by the service user, making it impossible to plan and prepare for novel interactions and unanticipated direction to therapeutic encounters. This aspect of the approach is articulated by Arnkil and Seikkula (2015, p.144), who recognise the challenge of ‘[t]olerating uncertainty and respecting otherness… [of] not jumping to interventions… powerful methods for change can also be powerful in closing alternative doors’. Therefore, the monoglossic approach of evidence-based wisdom is suspended, instead encouraging multiple voices and interpretations to exist. Case study and multiple case study examples are included (Seikkula 2012; Avdi et al. 2015; Lidbom et al. 2015) and are associated with ‘powerful’ outcomes as a result of approaches that apply Bakhtinian concepts (Seikkula 2012).

The interactions between therapist and service user are highlighted here as of importance to the outcome, associated with a form of ‘mutual inquiry or joint deliberation… which is inherently generative’ (Anderson 2002, p.280). The dialogic approach can hold the dual aims of ‘long-term outcome of the effects of the treatment and the here-and-now learning’ through polyphony (Anderson 2002, p.280). Further,
through the alternative approach, alternative spaces are opened up for clients to
generate new narratives and stories ‘thus new possibilities become available’ (Avdi et al.
2015, p.337). Further, as ‘clients... use their own resources... agency is regained’
(Seikkula 2012). While not explicitly Bakhtinian, the similarities with narrative
therapeutic approaches are evident, based on the importance of understanding the
service users’ understanding, and of building alternative and adaptive narratives for the
future, notably used with children with experiences of social exclusion (Ungar 2004,
2007). While my role as a researcher was not a therapeutic one, neither was it to
explore explicitly therapeutic interventions. The relevance of this approach relates to
the context of opening up narrative accounts and exploring meaning as experienced by
participants, notably enabling the space for multiple voices.

Like in therapeutic settings, an explicitly Bakhtinian approach has been employed in the
educational domain. Building on the work of other authors, Arnkil and Seikkula (2015,
p.149) consider a model of dialogic education to include the following characteristics:
‘(1) listening, sensitivity to the whole being of the child – not only the child’s intellectual
capacities; (2) becoming aware of the growing individual’s specific needs; and (3)
unconditionally accepting and respecting the unique life of the child’. Relationships
within the learning environment are therefore centred, and learning opportunities
described as mutual between students and teachers (Arnkil & Seikkula 2015).

For Kim (2006), the multiple voices within an alternative educational provision across
staff and students existed independently and without engaging in dialogue, resulting in
substantial conflict between staff and students. Kim (2006) asserts that the meaningful communication and learning opportunities were not actualised in this setting as a result of lack of dialogue and polyphony within the school. She concludes that greater utilisation of Bakhtinian concepts of novelness, carnival, polyphony and chronotope could enhance both understanding of and learning experiences in education. While not unified under a single ‘approach’, as is indicated in the therapeutic account, Bakhtinian concepts have been applied in educational settings, and I consider now their application to literacy learning, writing workshops and supervision.

Compton-Lilly (2006) employed case study methodology in exploring the implementation of a literacy intervention that drew upon Bakhtinian concepts to remove barriers to learning. The influence of the child’s lived and embodied experience is discussed, including in relation to aspects of their identity, and interventions sought to ‘merge students’ interests and ways of being with literacy learning’ (Compton-Lilly 2006, p.75). As such, the situational context of the child in terms of time and space (as indicated in the concept of chronotope), along with the meanings attributed by the child to the learning activity and associated media (achieved through dialogue), highlighted the alternative possibilities for literacy learning (Compton-Lilly 2006). For Compton-Lilly (2006, p.75), the importance of valuing the ‘cultural resources that children bring to classrooms’, which may be achieved via dialogue, can be instrumental in enhancing the learning opportunities afforded by educational provisions.
Lensmire (1994) applies a Bakhtinian lens to creative writing workshops for primary school, highlighting the centrality of ‘student voice and self-expression, the teacher’s role and responsibilities, and workshops as communities’ (Lensmire 1994, p.389). Lensmire (1994, p.379) describes the active participation of students, and the ‘transformed social relations’ in the classroom available as a result of the rejection of ‘traditional school based practices’ and greater choice available to students. This is explained in terms of the shift from the position of a critical teacher to one who supports students in finding their written voice. However, attention is drawn to the dilemma of this position, which ‘assumes that teachers will never have to take up a critical stance in relation to children’s work and, consequently drastically underestimates the sort of intellectual, moral/political, and aesthetic influence and leadership actually required’. Lensmire (1994, p.380), while highlighting the relevance of carnival to these creative writing workshops, explains that this is practised differently in a school setting from Bakhtin’s version of carnival, articulating instead an ‘orderly, individualistic carnival’.

The Bakhtinian concept of dialogue was employed with regards to supervision in higher education by Dysthe et al. (2006). Supervision was not limited to sessions between a single supervisor and single student, but also included dialogic group supervision. Dysthe et al. (2006) report findings of greater student participation, less authoritative teacher–student relationships and reduced dependency of students, and gains in self-confidence associated with the dialogic groups. This was attributed to developments resulting from the polyphony and challenge associated with group situations,
describing ‘tension between emerging voices that creates the potential for new understanding... This interaction of voices enabled students to critically reflect on the various perspectives and appropriate the discipline’s languages and practices’ (Dysthe et al. 2006, p.314). Extra time and workload were noted to be involved in this supervisory approach.

As identified above, a Bakhtinian lens has been applied across therapeutic and educational practice with some evidence to suggest the value of such in terms of its capacity to ‘bust open and transform traditional and closed discourses’ (Lensmire 1994, p.371). The appeal of this approach in relation to my research at Kahlo is in terms of understanding the range of meanings in learning for and in relation to the girls at Kahlo and the possibility of the emergence of analysis, which allows for ‘better proved statements, from being tested in discourse with others, and deeper grounded doubts to emerge out of and survive this examination’ (Sullivan et al. 2009, p.328). This functioned to reinforce my identification of, and intention to employ, Bakhtinian concepts as a useful lens through which to analyse creative learning and relationships in promoting learning for the students at Kahlo.

**Research Aims and Question: Final Destination**

This section of the chapter identifies the research question through first exploring the aims and boundaries of the project, including what I have been seeking to achieve and the constraints in which the research was conducted. In considering the research
opportunity available at Kahlo, Cohn’s words (1992, p.xv, cited by Buchanan 2000, p.230) were pertinent. Cohn argues:

Our challenge now is to be conscious of what we have learned, to monitor our expanding knowledge base and to continually pull in new insights, new experiences which contribute to our ability to understand.

The concern for me was not that there was no knowledge base or prior information available on girls with experience of exclusion from education, or of students with a label of BESD, but rather the intersection of female students with experience of educational exclusion, and the label of BESD and the possibilities of exploring such through creative learning, relationships and a Bakhtinian lens. Simons (2009, p.32) when discussing case studies, notes that:

questions that seek evidence for how or why something occurs provide a sharper focus that facilitate later analysis and understanding.

Through spending a substantial amount of time at Kahlo, I became increasingly aware of additional issues that would greatly influence the research question: the practical constraints on the research, and on myself as researcher. Below is an extract from my research journal, a retrospective account of this concern:
So I’ve been battling, back and forth, trying to put onto paper the purpose of the PhD. I’m concerned that such a fundamental and straightforward task is so challenging. Cohen et al. (2007) identify a planning stage for research. In it, they describe four stages in the research process. I think this staged model has been incredibly helpful in unpicking the jumble that is stopping me understanding how to address exactly what it is I’m trying to achieve through the research (Research Journal, 22/01/12)

I went on in my research journal to develop a table according to the planning stages identified by Cohen et al. (2007), and the narrative account that follows is based on that table, which leads to the research question.

The first stage, according to Cohen et al. (2007) was to ‘Identify the purpose of the research’. In response to this, I considered the purpose of the research to develop a better understanding of how learning is enabled via a review of the practices and processes in relation to creative learning and relationships at one specialist independent educational provision. The purpose of the research is to target specifically the above in relation to girls, with a label of BESD.

Cohen et al. (2007) identify the second stage as functioning to ‘Identify and give priority to the constraints under which the research will take place’. I identified the following as key constraints, which governed my thinking in response to the research:
• **Time scales:** The time scales relating to both the fieldwork and the completion of the PhD had a significant influence on the project. The field research phase was limited to just two years. While this sounds excessive in comparison with other research projects, in fact I was warned at the beginning of the project that in such a short timescale it would be difficult to establish the relationships with students that would be required for the research, due to difficulties in establishing trust. Further, this time was not spent entirely undertaking data generation, but was divided between the various tasks necessary for the KTP project, and opportunities for data generation were limited in a number of ways. Data was generated from a wide network of sources and media. It therefore did not map easily. For example, text transcripts, visual interviews and comic strip conversations were supplemented by substantial field notes, based on observations and documentary data from the school. Action research elements of the project, such as the art exhibition, were similarly time and labour intensive, and provided an additional challenge in synthesising research data. The project was also written up within the seven-year, part-time timescale. This period included a time of substantial personal and professional challenge, including a number of relocations, full-time job roles and additional study, all representing significant constraints on the time available for the research.

• **Powers of the researcher:** As mentioned previously, Kahlo was a busy school that had to maintain its function as a learning environment. It was my responsibility to tailor the research to fit in with the school, not the other way round. This
meant that I was very much limited in terms of the time available to access the opinions of participants. I was also limited in terms of my access within lessons, with one headteacher limiting lesson observations, identifying these as an intrusive practice for both staff and students. Changes occurred frequently, and most often without warning. It was necessary to adapt to accommodate these changes. During the time at the school, I was also responsible for moving office three times to fit in with the growth of the school, including a final move off the school site, as there was no longer desk space (for me) there. Further, I was conscious during my employment as researcher of my dependence on the willingness of participants to engage. I had to change plans with no notice, had to see students who were unable to fit in with classes, and agreed to support the school in undertaking reception duties in the absence of reception staff following the termination of contracts for a number of reasons. All of these factors functioned to influence the project and constrain the research. For example, in the latter example, to agree to function in the role of receptionist not only limited my time for research, but also positioned me as more of an insider both in the way that I perceived my own role and in terms of how I was positioned by staff, students and senior management.

- **Ownership:** As a result of the positioning and funding of the KTP, the research very much was required to fit in with the agenda of the school. Thankfully, the agenda of the school was clear about promoting agency and voice among students, and functioned on the basis of cohesion as opposed to control
(Hargreaves 1999, cited by McMurry 2005). However, there were times when I felt the scripts of belonging and loyalty identified by members of the senior management team made it very difficult to challenge decisions. This was a powerful dynamic. A further difficulty existed for related professionals who were not employed by Kahlo, in relation to the ownership of data and engagement in the data generation process. This was to influence the project, with one member of local authority (LA) staff being forbidden by the LA from engaging with the research by more senior managers within their organisation.

- **The focus of the research:** Linked to the previous issue of ownership, the focus of the research in undertaking the KTP was influenced by the business aims of generating or saving money. This was a way of working that was unfamiliar to me. I understand that it is a necessary concern for businesses such as independent educational organisations, but this presented a constraint for me as a junior social researcher, as it influenced what information was identified as valuable and profitable, as well as the information communicated, and the communicative style used. I was initially uncomfortable with the expressed mission of the school, which read to promote the achievement of the school, rather than the outcomes of the students (although this mission statement did not in fact reflect the practices of the school, which were observed to be highly student-centred). I began the project by being strongly led towards issues of significance to the senior management, rather than to the school staff and students more generally, particularly in relation to achieving ‘gold standard’
status, and therefore became familiar with Ofsted criteria, SIEFs and similar such school-based outcome measures. Yet, as I began talking with the participants more broadly, this seemed incongruous with the issues that they were communicating. Gradually, the research diverged from the agendas of the policy makers and governance organisations, and began to develop more clearly from the views expressed during data generation and resonate more clearly with relevant literature reviews. A single one-size-fits-all educational model seemed an increasingly poor fit with the views generated and observations made in the school setting, as the staff and students highlighted the requirement of a personalised response, and of an holistic educational model that included assessment of social circumstances.

- **Highlighting positive practices:** For the purposes of this thesis, the teething problems experienced by this new organisation, which functioned in challenging circumstances, have been written out. That is not to say that they did not exist (a factor which is challenged by a significant staff turnover), or that learning would not occur based on reporting these findings; but rather, for the purposes of this report, I (in discussion with my supervisors) deemed it prudent to focus on the learning which can be gained from the positive aspects of practice, which were substantial and extensive.

The third stage, as identified by Cohen et al. (2007), was to respond to such constraints. In response to this stage, I considered the opportunity to undertake research within
such a unique site of enquiry, which offered an insight into the ways in which the alternative policies, practices and decisions could promote and facilitate learning among students for whom barriers to learning were overwhelming in mainstream provision. I also considered my unusual role opportunity (to become involved as an observer-participant, and at times participant-observer), during a critical period of development for the school (within the first three years) afforded windows of opportunity which would otherwise not have been possible in other organisations and other environments. These windows of opportunity, which became available to explore the processes and practices of supporting learning, more than made up for the lack of systematic and controlled observations.

As a small, forward-looking school, it was possible to employ methods at Kahlo that might otherwise not have been possible, such as recreating a diary room. Further, the connections that the educational establishment had with the home environments meant that it was not only possible to consider the views of the participants within the school, but to also hear from significant individuals within the students’ support networks outside the school. Balancing the opportunities and constraints of the study, it was possible to employ bespoke data collection methods to generate data from and about the girls in an alternative education provision. Further, the Bakhtinian concepts afforded a lens through which it was possible to explore and understand the multiple voices and intersubjectivities within their specific educational contexts. Emerging from this purpose were the research question:
In what ways is learning supported for girls with a label of BESD by creative learning approaches and relationships within one special education provision?

As identified previously, the framing of the research question included a Bakhtinian lens, with the purpose of addressing the complexity and multivocality inherent in the context of learning among this population within the alternative education setting.
Part Two: Hearing and Understanding

Introduction

‘you’ve got a massive job…’

This is how the challenge of capturing the complexity of how practices at Kahlo support learning for girls with a label of BESD was sympathetically expressed by a staff member in a simple statement during an interview.

As communicated early in the Introducing and Acquainting chapter, visitors to Kahlo frequently noted Kahlo as supporting learning in ways not readily described. The ‘experts’ by experience (Burke 2008, p.23) – staff and students at Kahlo – who enacted, shaped and experienced learning practices variously identified challenges in capturing and articulating such practices. The difficulties of establishing adequate shared ‘conceptual vocabularies’ is similarly noted in the literature in relation to articulating both pedagogies and experience more generally (Sellar 2009, p.358). Al Hendawi (2012) notes the specific challenge of such in relation to students with a label of BESD, based on the lack of fixed understanding of what constitutes a good outcome.

Therefore, the challenges of adequately generating data, and capturing and articulating the complexity of the context, will be explored during this part. The existence of such a challenge highlights the importance of methodology, methods and strategies for analysis in establishing and supporting understanding (Clough & Nutbrown 2002;
Cohen et al. 2007). I therefore seek to address the decision-making processes involved in the selection of methods and tools for analysis. The importance of attention to such is evident in the relationship between research and methods (Cohen et al. 2007). As a consequence, I have made every effort throughout the research process to select the methods which best enable me to address my main research question. My decision making has been guided by the assumption that ‘research should be ‘faithful’ to the phenomena under investigation’ (Atkinson & Delamont 2008, p.289), and methods have been shaped and adapted in response to the research context.
Chapter Four: Methods

Methodological Issues and Situated Challenges

For Goodwin and Goodwin (1996, p.5 cited by Clough & Nutbrown 2002, pp.6), the consequence or accomplishment of research should be ‘finding out’. As the process through which ‘finding out’ is achieved, methods influence findings, with the range of methods affording or enabling ‘varying levels of detail, sophistication, and generalisability’ (Goodwin & Goodwin 1996, p.5 cited by Clough & Nutbrown 2002, pp.6-7). The methods used during investigation therefore influence both the data generated and the lens through which findings are received and understood.

Research is ‘informed and shaped by its context’ (Clough & Nutbrown 2002, p.11). Methods are therefore one of the features of the research context that shape data and findings. The influence of appropriate choice of method is therefore crucial to interpreting the data generated, findings identified and conclusions reached.

Expanding the work of Goodwin and Goodwin (1996), Clough and Nutbrown (2002) highlight the purpose of research as variously solving, answering, describing or understanding an issue. Although my research was based on the KTP project, this thesis makes original use of the data in developing an understanding of issues in greater detail, through the use of two conceptual scaffolds. The purpose of this extension reflects a belief that what was included in the data was of interest and would support a more nuanced understanding of this population in this context. Clough and Nutbrown (2002, p.6) describe research as ‘purposive enquiry’, with the purpose of enquiry
guided by expectations of ‘what [the] research should accomplish’ (p.7). I was clear at an early stage that the research would be exploratory; the practices at Kahlo were novel in an educational context and warranted further exploration.

The application of methods in a flexible way was central to the data collection process. I was required to adapt personally during the course of the study and so too did the methods used have to be adapted in response to the requirements of data generation and the participants. Flexibility supported engagement. Activities and opportunities for data generation varied from what I expected prior to entering the field, but also shifted mid-study, as a result of changes within Kahlo. To capture the changes in Kahlo required flexibility, as the many variables provided a challenge in generating data. Yet where methods were adaptable and flexible, these shifting circumstances functioned instead as opportunities in supporting understanding. Flexible methods allowed for this reframing. The fluidity of circumstances common to social research is highlighted by Pinnegar and Daynes (2007, p.10), who challenge the view that ‘the thing under study can be held still’. I was amazed at the speed of the changes at Kahlo. In the midst of the chaos frequently resulting from these changes, I found much reassurance in the words of Cronbach (1982, p.xii), who argued that to ‘arrange to collect the most helpful information requires a high degree of imagination, coupled with the flexibility to change plans in midstudy’.

I have described the setting of the research in Kahlo in the previous chapter. However, there are several factors that have been particularly relevant as I considered the
research aim and began navigating the research journey. I highlight these below, indicating how they have influenced decision making and practices within the research documented in this thesis.

Bassey (1998) notes the uncertainty with which generic statements about learning are applied. Bassey's (1998) consideration of the uncertainty associated with generic commentaries has real relevance to the practices applied within Kahlo. The limitations of the general represented a challenge among staff at Kahlo, in establishing and maintaining the most effective interactions with students. As previously described, those students with a label of BESD represent a heterogeneous group (Clough et al. 2005). Variation therefore represented perhaps the most certain characteristic within this group. Further, the two points identified for focus within this thesis – relationships and creative learning – represent complex areas. The students arrived at Kahlo with different histories, experiences, understandings, abilities and reasons for their placements. Understanding what was different about Kahlo, and what the girls required to support their learning, therefore involved employing methods which could move beyond generic statements to account for the complexity of individual circumstances within the broader context of Kahlo.

The catchall term of ‘access’ is particularly significant within my research, since it includes participants labelled vulnerable and hard to reach (see for example, Gallacher & Gallagher 2008). It also includes those individuals who proved hard to reach during the research process, including those within particular professions such as social work.
(as I have discussed in Nind et al. 2012). So prominent is this feature of the research that I have addressed two related issues (motivation to engage and competing demands) as separate points below. However, to begin, I introduce access as a generic concern relating to the research.

Bakhtin draws attention to the importance of hearing marginalised voices and positioning these in relation to other voices to understand the context better. Frequently, research into BESD attempts to describe challenges, barriers to access, and evaluation of interventions without incorporating the perspective of students with a label of BESD. Access to the students themselves is limited by concerns over engagement, potential unpredictability of behaviours, or even a perceived lack of insight or competence (Clough & Barton 1998; Cruddas & Haddock 2005; Lloyd 2005). Parents, carers, teachers, headteachers, youth workers, mentors, and even siblings, have been selected to give a voice, instead of the young people with this label.

Further, issues identified by Corbett (1998) regarding variable access communicative capital have been associated with limited interactions with the word- and text-centric academic community. This communication barrier may also be considered to extend to some of the families with children labelled BESD. Many factors contribute to the issue of access in relation to research among relevant populations: the lack of a common language between participants and research communities; a lack of a mutually accessed site for interaction, and potential distrust of members of the academic community (or other professionals; see Clough & Barton 1998); a subsequent lack of willingness to
engage in an open and honest exchange; and time constraints. Therefore, I considered it necessary to employ methods that encouraged accessibility. For me, accessibility included how these methods were communicated to participants, and the manner in which participants were able to participate and communicate in ways that recognised their own communicative preferences and strengths (Corbett 1998). I understood that an aspect of my role of researcher was to explore the barriers to access that have resulted in, at best, limited engagement, and at worst, an absence of relevant populations from research.

I considered the benefits of engagement for participants in terms of anticipated gains and costs (Homan 1992). For some participants, literacy-based tasks (frequently associated with or relevant to research methods and presentation of findings in academic communities) may be considered irrelevant, boring or even threatening (Hill 2005). Professionals may be considered likewise (Clough 1998). Therefore, it was important to employ research activities that did not distance the potential participant from participation and engagement with the researcher (Corbett 1998; Hill 2005). I therefore sought methods that were not disagreeable and, better still, enjoyable and relevant, to encourage motivation to engage in a meaningful way with the methods and with me as researcher.

My arrival at Kahlo was early in the life of the school, when it was barely two years old. Across the 24 months of the KTP research, many changes occurred. The headship of the school changed on three occasions. The staff team changed dramatically, as did the
body of students on roll. The focus of the school shifted from an attempt to engage students in learning to one which sought to bring students to access learning that would equip them both for real world experience beyond education, but also to undertake formal standardised assessments whilst still at school or college. These characteristics all provided reminders that I was in a functioning school. Staff and students were required in lessons, and so opportunities to work with the participants in the school community were limited and subject to school structures. Therefore, the methods needed to be sufficiently flexible to accommodate school structures, and my availability on the school site was necessary to make use of ad hoc or impromptu windows of opportunity for data generation.

Kahlo combined individuals from a range of circumstances and in a range of roles, all influencing interactions in terms of behaviours and perceptions. It was therefore important to ascertain individual, rather than group-based, views. Whether complementary or contradictory, the range of voices needed relevant spaces to be heard (Bakhtin 1981, Kim 2006). There was a need to present voices concurrently, irrespective of whether the content of communication aligned with that of the other voices. During the course of the research I needed to review the patterns which developed between voices. Therefore the research methods, analysis and presentation had to accommodate the plurality of voices and perspectives at Kahlo in order to represent the understanding which can emerge from multivocality.
Other factors emerged in addition to the concerns listed above. However, the above factors enable some understanding of the challenges requiring negotiation at the stage of selecting appropriate methods, and provide a structure for articulating what was required of methods, and how original plans were adapted in response to the circumstances and research question. These factors are included in the discussions which follow on methodology and methods. This is because the factors do not divide neatly within the methods, but rather exist across these categories.

**Capturing Complexity: Ethnographic Approaches**

For Delamont and Atkinson (1995, p.15 cited by Gordon et al. 2001), educational research involves ‘research on and in educational institutions based on participant observation and/or permanent recordings of everyday life in naturally occurring settings’. This suggests an association between educational research and ethnographic methods, which similarly explore research questions in the context of naturally occurring settings using participant observation. It was with some concern that, within the first few weeks of undertaking the research at Kahlo, I came to recognise ethnography as a necessary area for discussion and exploration with reference to my research. There appeared a distinct resonance between characteristics of ethnography and appropriate methods of data generation within the context of the complexity at Kahlo. Yet the many tensions associated with such an approach (Hammersley 2006; Walford 2009; Atkinson 2013) influenced my caution in approaching such a label in relation to the research undertaken at Kahlo.
I could see inescapable alignment with Hammersley and Atkinson’s (2007, p.3) methodologically focused definition, which outlines the characteristics of ethnography in terms of researcher participation:

in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts – in fact gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are emerging as a focus of inquiry.

I could also identify with O’Reilly’s (2005, p.3) recognition of ethnography as providing ‘a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges... the researcher’s own role’. This definition reflects the importance of the complexity of the context and the relational dynamics, including my own, at Kahlo.

The literature indicates that the term ethnography covers an increasingly broad spectrum of research (Walford 2009), with different aims and constraints (Walford 2009; Brockmann 2011; Craft et al. 2014), and subsequently differing applications and methods. The crisis of legitimation as outlined by Denzin (1996) has brought into question the evaluation of ethnography against the traditional, modernist tenets of validity, generalisability and reliability (see also Cohen et al. 2007). However, it is the value of ethnography with its ‘emphasis on specificity and experience’ (Pink 2007, p.10) that makes it particularly relevant for a constructivist methodology and a Bakhtinian lens. Ethnography is identified as well suited to exploration of ‘episodes of nuance, the
sequentiality of happenings in context, the wholeness of the individual’ (Stake 1995, p.xii). This seems particularly relevant in researching girls with a label of BESD, based on complex performances of femininities indicated in the literature (Francis 2006; Francis & Paechter 2015). Wolcott (nd, F4. III) similarly stresses the applicability of ethnography ‘to detailed description and enhancement of our understanding of an existing set of conditions’. I now explore the relevance of ethnography to my research further, using categories of relating and role, naturalistic settings, participant observation and multisensory ethnography.

A professional who regularly visited the school was aware of the challenges associated with the size and scope of the project and commented, ‘You'll be struggling to get the information you need within the time scales’. This warning related to the time that I would need to establish trusting relationships with the participants to allow meaningful engagement with the research. This message communicated the importance of the relationship between myself as researcher and the participants in terms of developing a meaningful dialogue. I have outlined my introduction as researcher. An ill-considered outfit led to subsequent mistrust from within the group of students. I assessed this level of detail to be necessary in attempting an explanation of the ways in which I, as researcher, shaped the research, as well as being shaped by the research environment.

I recall overhearing a discussion early in the research between student Nina (a student at Kahlo) and a member of staff at the school. In the discussion, Nina expressed her reluctance to engage in conversation with me. She justified her position in terms of the
distance between her experiences and her perception of my own, communicating that I would not understand her circumstances. In general, Nina appeared extremely aware of her self-presentation. I therefore wondered whether undertaking this conversation within my hearing was intentional, and implied an effort on her part to make me aware of my position as an outsider (Lareau 1996). While an important aspect of the research involved maintaining my position on the margins of the school, a necessary aspect of the role which took some time to communicate was my ‘interest in understanding rather than judging human behaviour’ (Wolcott, nd, F-9, original emphasis). I believe my ongoing presence at the school enhanced my belonging in the school community, and the continued experience of difference as a barrier to engagement was minimised as a result of the non-evaluative nature of my position as communicated to the staff and students.

Nina’s communication provided a useful reminder for me of the importance of the performance or ‘presentation of self’ in the dialogic research encounter (Goffman 1959; Walford 2009; Levinson 2010). For Dowse (2009), the relationship between the researcher and the researched is fundamental to the data generated. Implicit in this relationship are issues of power dynamics, which are central to engagement with youth, especially groups with experience of school exclusion (Gallagher 2009), and in the context of ‘done to’ groups, such as those labelled with BESD (Clough et al. 2005). This was of particular interest, as my identity and role within the school were a challenge to convey to students and staff. Elsewhere, the fluidity of research roles and the challenge
of communicating and understanding roles have been articulated (Brockmann 2011; Carlile 2013).

The difficulty in assuming an identity other than that of a teacher while in educational establishments has also been noted (Lareau 1996; Cairns 2013), especially in circumstances where the ‘embodied performance of authority’ exists (Cairns 2013, p.329). One such relevant embodiment was that I possessed the fob to open the doors within the school building that was not available to students or visitors. For Cairns (2013, p.329), moving beyond the teacher identity involved ‘building relationships over time’. Like Cairns (2013), I stressed to the students that my role within the school was one of a learner. However, I did not deem it appropriate to align myself with the students to the extent of other researchers, considering undertaking homework alongside the students (Holmes 1998), as this was something which I believed would be perceived as artificial and inauthentic in the context of my research role.

Denzin (1996, p.145) communicates a resonance between ethnographers and youth, labelling both ‘bricoloeurs’, and commenting that both groups are characterised by an ability to draw on multiple and varied tools in defining and expressing meaning. For Denzin (1996, p.145), the challenge of the ethnographer ‘is to find the tools that will allow us and our youth to better work together’. The unpredictability of the research encounter in ethnography is a product of relationship between researcher and participant, both of whom are afforded a degree of fluidity and flexibility. While challenges are inevitable, the flexibility associated with ethnography affords the
potential to engage with young people in a more effective, responsive and ethical manner (Gallagher 2009).

Levinson (2010, p.194) stresses the importance of interrelationships within the communities in which participants are embedded, commenting that ‘there cannot be a single relationship with a research community; any project is actually based on a complex mosaic of interactions’. It was Angie who repeatedly referenced this characteristic within Kahlo in relation to establishing relationships and engagement, both in terms of the staff at Kahlo and with regard to my own role as researcher. She alluded to social hierarchies and identified a ‘king pin’ among the students (Sam) who had the capacity to influence engagement with others. Angie stressed the importance of establishing a relationship with Sam in terms of managing interactions with other students. This view was reinforced by students’ preference to undertake paired interviews with Sam. The dynamic represented just one of the relational factors influencing the research and data generated; the ‘complex mosaic’ was influential in a variety of ways that I return to in the discussion section.

In summary, relationships enabled through proximity associated with ethnographic approaches provided a vehicle through which it was possible to establish myself in a position of interest and caring, rather than judgement and evaluation (as discussed by Rich & Evans 2009). This positioning is seen as important in the construction of knowledge in dialogue with others (Bakhtin 1981), as well as the willingness of
participants to be honest in their communication with me, and of particular relevance in the context of participants with a label of BESD (O'Connor et al. 2011).

One of the key characteristics of ethnographic research is its location within the naturalistic setting (Denzin 1996; Brewer 2000; Gordon et al. 2001). For the students and some members of staff, the benefits of undertaking the research in the school environment were that the school represented a place of belonging and support for them, where I was the outsider. I anticipated that the familiarity of this preferred environment for many of the students would result in greater comfort in response to the research, with support readily available from people with whom the girls had established a predictable relationship.

As a researcher based within the naturalistic setting, it was possible to observe the practices and processes within the school environment, as opposed to hearing of these indirectly. The benefits of this were multiple: not only was I able to have direct experience of the environment, a feature which enhanced my interpretation of additional data, but the time spent undertaking observations was in addition to more intrusive methods of data generation, and therefore could be undertaken more extensively, when agreed by participants.

Cohen et al. (2007, p.24) comment that time spent observing in the natural setting allows the researcher the space to ‘cast their view over a wide range of social activity and seek to understand the ways in which people negotiate the social contexts in which
they find themselves’, thereby enabling additional data to be gathered. The level of texture available because of the researcher’s presence in the naturalistic setting is therefore significant. Just as Nina and Sam (both students) spoke of their own identities as students and educational journeys as being beyond the two-dimensional reports provided by previous members of staff, so also is there a three-dimensional complexity involving the mutuality of influence between the environment and the student. The naturalistic setting, therefore, requires a method that can capture the ‘actions and statements’ as well as the relationship with ‘the social contexts producing them’ (Cohen et al. 2007, p.23).

In summary, my ongoing presence in the natural setting of the school was important in relation to my ability to observe the detail and texture of learning opportunities within the context of Kahlo. This provided detail regarding the experience for students with a label of BESD, outlined as necessary by Al Hendawi (2012), who stresses the importance of exploring emotional, behavioural and academic domains so frequently absent from the literature. In addition, my presence in the natural setting allowed for the flexible application of the ethnographic research, suited to ‘capture… social meanings and ordinary activities’ (Brewer 2000, p.56). This is particularly relevant in relation to concepts such as relationships and creative learning, which are enacted in daily practices.

As identified in Chapter One, it is the everyday encounters with the people, their relationships and creative learning that are the focus of my research. My location within
Kahlo enabled the space for me to observe how all this was negotiated by staff and students. Further, in being co-located alongside staff and students, it was possible to develop my understanding in dialogue with them, where I could ask questions regarding practices at the time, or in relation to why one option was selected over alternatives. Through its situation in the naturalistic setting, the ethnographic approach affords the possibility of accessing data on all three elements identified by Francis and Paechter (2015) as necessary in undertaking a sensitive analysis of gender in educational setting: the students’ perspective, spectators’ perspectives, and a collage from the environment, which will be explored further in discussion of analytic approaches and the analysis and interpretations.

For Perl (1983, p.11 cited by Bishop 1999, p.x), the benefits of ethnography relate to the opportunity to extend the understanding beyond ‘lesson plans or test scores... to bring to the surface what is intangible, hidden or overlooked in the unfolding of classroom dynamics’. Fundamental to understanding those features which underpin classroom dynamics is the method of ongoing participant observation (Walford 2009; Brockmann 2011), a method frequently employed in research to understand the experiences of children with a label of BESD in relation to their education (Al Hendawi 2012).

For Foster (1996, pp.12-13), the value of observation lies in its capacity: to ‘provide detailed information about aspects of school life which could not be produced by other methods’; to generate data beyond the ‘accounts’ and narratives of participants; to offer a greater opportunity to develop data beyond ‘crude outcome indicators’ (therefore
allowing a more holistic account); and to provide an additional lens for viewing interactions, processes and practices external to that of participants. The relevance of longer-term participant observation and interaction has been noted as of particular value in developing trust with young people (Cairns 2013), especially those with previous experience of exclusion (Clough 2002). For Clough (2002), the closeness to participants established via ongoing participant observation was sufficient to promote voice, and to move beyond the safe scripts or oppositional behaviours which may have been employed by students when working with other professionals.

The time-consuming nature of ongoing participant observation has been noted (Foster 1996), and would not have been available were it not for the KTP project, which required immersion in the school site. While participant observation was an important method for data generation, I undertook this with the understanding that behavioural observations alone are limited, and therefore such data was triangulated with other data that further illuminated ‘intentions, motives, [and] perspectives’ of participants in order to develop a more textured understanding (Foster 1996, p.14).

The data generated from participant observation took different forms, including video and audio data, field notes and scheduled observations, as advocated by Craft et al. (2014). Field notes provided a form of recording more evidently filtered through the lens of the observer (Foster 1996). Where such reflections are included in the data set, as in ethnography, the employment of a reflexive approach becomes ever more necessary.
Like the affordances of location within naturalistic settings, participant observations are valuable in relation to the research aims at Kahlo, providing the rich data in relation to the interactions within the school context. The repeated observations undertaken within the setting of Kahlo further enabled me to build up information relating to patterns of interactions, and those which ran contrary to any patterns from which to establish a more nuanced understanding of challenging and contested concepts (Lund 2013), such as creative learning, or the operationalization of relationships. Further, the spectator view of the researcher, necessary for gendered analysis in educational settings (Francis & Paechter 2015), is enabled via the participant observation so central to ethnography.

For Stake (1995, p.12), the purpose of methods is to reduce the distance between the understandings of the researcher(s) and the participant(s), to support the researcher to ‘understand how the actors, the people being studied, see things’. Approaches to ethnography frequently rely on visual methods, and observational data based on time spent undertaking participant observation (Dicks et al. 2006). Yet Pink (2007) argues that such an approach to ethnographic knowledge is too reductive. For Pink (2011, p.269) the ‘emphasis... on ethnography as an observational practice’ does not sufficiently develop an understanding of the participant’s position and, for Roswell (2011, p.331), ‘[t]here is a difference between living these senses, visiting these senses, and reading these senses’.
Therefore, different ways of understanding the senses are based on our interactions with them. Pink (2011, p.270) advocates an approach to ethnography which includes ‘learning in and as part of the world, and seeking routes through which to share or imaginatively empathise with’ the actions of the people in it’ (original emphasis). Here, the limitations of observation alone are uncovered in achieving the proximity identified by Stake. The participatory agenda is therefore promoted, as the researcher generates understanding and awareness in dialogue with participants – ‘it involves the production of meaning in participation with them through a shared activity in a shared place’ (Pink 2011, p.271).

In addition, the multimodal nature of the data generated through ethnographic methods is frequently identified as in opposition to such a position (Dicks et al. 2011), with the analysis of multimodal data fragmented for analysis in a manner which is not advocated by Pink (2007). I go on to discuss the challenges of the integration of multimodality and multisensorality, and of analysis which includes aspects of multisensorality. However, the participatory nature of developing understanding through collaboration with participants, which seemed essential in accessing the perspectives of participants, led me to recognise the importance of Pink’s (2011, p.7) approach to multisensory ethnography within the research:

This approach recognises the interwovenness of objects, texts, images and technologies in people’s everyday lives and identities. It aims not simply to study people’s social practices or to read cultural objects or performances as if they
were texts, but to explore how all types of material, intangible, spoken, performed narratives and discourses are interwoven with and made meaningful in relation to social relationships, practices and individual experiences.

In summary, multisensory ethnography is understood to promote access to student meaning, deemed so important in a gendered analysis of educational practices (Arnot 2006). Further, this approach seems to promote voice and reduce the dissonance between the meanings of different individuals, so important in research in alternative educational settings (Kim 2006).

One of the central benefits associated with ethnography in relation to the research at Kahlo is the flexibility afforded by the range of methods available, and the variation as to how and when these could be employed in adapting to the research question in the complexity of a school environment. For Denzin (1996, p.130), this is expressed in terms of the ‘choice of which tools to use, which research practices to employ’ unfolding during the project, and understood in terms of ‘unexpected twists and turns’ (Brewer 2000, p.57). While this has led Bishop (1999, p.6) to argue that researchers applying ethnographic methods need to ‘have a capacity for ambiguity’, it also indicates the value of this approach in adapting to the requirements of dynamic and changing circumstances, such as those I encountered at Kahlo. At the outset, I could not have anticipated the research culminating in an art exhibition. It was thanks to the enthusiasm of the staff, students and the leadership team at Kahlo that this was a possibility. It was also with the support of the Ethics Committee at the School of
Education, which had the confidence to provide ethical approval with the agreement that, as outlined in my ethics proposal, any new methods to be introduced (such as the art exhibition), could be reviewed as they arose.

Yet these unanticipated methods, such as the art exhibition, provided a range of rich data in relation to the students’ experiences of learning, as well as creative learning and relationships in educational settings. Like Gallagher (2009, p.61), I recognised the value and importance of the flexibility of methods in terms of engagement with participants in a ‘more finely differentiated way’. As with Gallagher’s (2009, p.61) description, my experience was of ‘individual, idiosyncratic relationships [which] emerged over the course of long-term work... I was able to make myself available for communication and interaction on the children’s terms’.

Walford (2009) notes the fragmentation of learning in terms of the spatial and cultural distance between home and school, relevant to educational ethnographies. Levinson (2010) likewise comments that failure to account for the impact of cultural factors on educational engagement challenges a meaningful understanding of such. Like others such as Walford (2009), Cairns (2013) and Carlile (2013), I recognise the importance of external factors in a project where I, as researcher, was predominantly located in the spaces that the girls and their networks associated with school. However, in an effort to understand the broader cultural interactions better, in-school interviews provided the spaces for the girls to discuss their circumstances outside of school, and the impact of such on their engagement with education. I also made efforts to visit the girls’ homes,
and to undertake interviews with predominant caregivers. This was an aspect of the research that the girls appeared to appreciate, and has likewise been a tool used in developing understanding among children at risk of educational exclusion (see for example, Levinson 2010; Cairns 2013).

**Particularity and Complexity**

The students at Kahlo indicated their resistance to attempts from educational providers to make them ‘fit’ with uniform expectations and generalised populations, rather than recognising and relating to them as individuals. Further, considering specifically the complexity of educational research for children with a label of SEN, Ainscow (1998, p.13) comments that ‘progress in the field will be more likely if the task is reformulated in order to pay attention to the uniqueness of contexts and encounters’. These words resonate with researchers who highlight the relevance of the singular and particularity (Simons 1982). Initial information as a result of immersion in the research site highlighted the benefits of focusing on ‘the particular’ (Thomas 2011, p.3). Like Cooper (2008), Angie repeatedly stressed the importance of detailed knowledge of the individual student as essential in supporting effective and meaningful student experiences of learning. Staff and students at Kahlo both spoke of the importance of knowing the students in holistic contexts.

While there is an association between quantitative methods and generalisability, von Ekartsberg (1986, p.2, cited by Danahar & Broid 2005, p.221) comments that ‘privileged access to meanings is not [found in] numbers, but rather perception, cognition and
language’. Situating research in the ‘life-world’ (Danahar & Broid 2005, p.221), or the context in which the focus of enquiry occurs, is understood to afford greater validity to exploring complexity. This was the position from which I began my research at Kahlo. Rather than considering research with a small number of students in a single institution as less valid, skewed, or insufficient to contribute to a broader understanding of such groups, I considered this an opportunity to undertake a detailed investigation of the factors, characteristics and issues raised within the context of Kahlo and the lives of the students attending this educational establishment. Importantly, this was an approach that fitted with the experience of students and their desire for their meaning to be known and understood. This was further stressed as necessary in understanding girls with experience of school exclusion by Allard (2007) and te Riele (2007). This failure to understand students within their holistic contexts had been experienced as a dismissal of them as people – a characteristic recognised more broadly in the BESD literature (Cooper 1999; O’Connor et al. 2011).

Clough and Nutbrown (2002) comment that researchers must position their research questions in terms of axes of general-specific and breadth-depth. The messages from initial immersion was that meaningful data generation and analysis would be reliant on subject-centred methodology (Cohen et al. 2007) and would be of a sufficiently specific and in-depth design to account for the multiple lenses, voices and perspectives through which knowledge was constructed and understandings established (Elliot 1999). Like the staff and students, I felt that attempting to reduce, condense or collapse voices, processes or issues using an approach that favoured a general- and breadth- focus may
result in an insufficiently informed account, which would subsequently limit its validity (Cohen et al. 2007; Thomas 2011). Like Stake (1995, p.33), I was very aware that ‘[i]ssues are not simple and clean, but intricately wired to political, social, historical, and especially personal context’ and the research design would need to reflect such. While various authors have questioned the reliability and value of case study and other small-scale research due to the lack of applicability to the broader population and absence of generalisability, the value relates to the affordance of such approaches to ‘expand upon the moment, help us to see the instance in a more historical light’ (Stake 1995, p.17).

To understand the processes through which learning is enabled for the girls with BESD within Kahlo, attention to the ‘uniqueness and complexity’ (Yin 2003, p.17) of practices within the school would therefore require a design that included experiences and narratives within their naturalistic contexts. Al Hendawi (2012, p.128) found that within a meta-analysis on academic engagement among students with a label of ‘EBD’ at risk of educational exclusion, case study or ‘single-subject design’ was utilised in 78% of studies. In case study contexts, Thomas (2011) stresses that sampling techniques essential to other approaches are rendered irrelevant, with justification of the selection of the case instead a priority.

For Thomas (2011), the selection of the case can be justified in terms of interest (which may be based on personal connection), the case as providing a positive example, and in terms of the case presenting as ‘different’. In respect to the sampling undertaken at Kahlo, and the interest as a result of my personal connection with Kahlo, there was
resonance with case study methodology. However, it was not an holistic account of the methods employed at the school that I was seeking through the analysis of all the features which contributed to such according to case study methodology. These were beyond the scope of the research. I now consider the ways in which case studies are operationalised, and the relevance, including the limitations of such in relation to Kahlo.

In operationalising case studies, Thomas (2011) comments that the features of such include the investigation of one case; the analysis of a large number of features of that single case; the focus on naturally occurring variables; the aim of looking at relationships and processes; and the employment of many methods and data sources. The possibility of an in-depth exploration that accounts for ‘the wholeness of the individual’ (Stake 1995, p.xii) is implied in the approach, the characteristics of which are represented by rich description, narrative, blending of description and analysis, the integral involvement of the researcher and the inclusion of the ‘richness of the case’ in the writing of it (Cohen et al. 2007 p.253). The subsequent affordances of ‘looking at our subject from many and varied angles… [so as to] get closer to the “why” and the “how”’ (Thomas 2011, p.4).

Several features described above are of particular relevance to the research, such as the importance of naturally occurring variables, and the importance of relationships and processes. However, in narrowing down the focus to creative learning and relationships, I am narrowing the features and focus of investigation rather than seeking an holistic account of all aspects of practice. I am therefore not attempting to
address the ‘wholeness’ of Kahlo, but am seeking to apply an exploratory design (Yin 2003) in relation to the issues, practices and processes in relation to creative learning and relationships. My emphasis was on the narratives from and about the girls and their learning in Kahlo, but my design stopped short of being a case study, in that I did not set out to create a descriptive, holistic account based on multiple perspectives as much as is indicated by Simons (2009).

In paying particular attention to specific, in-depth explorations of some of the learning practices of some of the girls at Kahlo, using subject-centred methodology which accounts for particularity, uniqueness and complexity, case study provides aspects of good fit for the research. The purposive sampling of Kahlo as a research site similarly positions the research in alignment with case study, as does the availability of multiple methods through which exploration is possible in relation to the research aims. However, I am not seeking to provide an holistic account of all the processes and practices at Kahlo which support learning within the bounded system of the school, as experienced by all students. Rather, I seek to investigate two specific areas, creative learning and relationships, in relation to two students who attend Kahlo. Therefore, I will be employing elements of case study in my research, rather than intending to present a case study account of Kahlo.

Data Generation: Methods Enabling Effective Communication

The importance of adapting communication as suitable for communication partners in the research context has been expressed by authors such as Corbett (1998) and Clark et
The value of adapting communication, plans and methods to enable effective communication was an important consideration in the research. Stuart (arts instructor at Kahlo) argued the importance of the methods, media, and programmes employed in teaching at Kahlo, and subsequent impact on the engagement of the students:

And I think that's just the way in. And when you start to delve a bit deeper into some of the programmes we use, it captures their imagination and you've got them, and then you can use it for so many different things...

I was going to give an example of a podcast which they can then load onto their iPods for their friends and pass around to their friends about anything really, or a small documentary they can make about the school and what they learn and software animation where they can tell a story, but the story can have like a deeper meaning and help them to get things out that they've been bottling up inside.

The significance of this resonated with me. I felt the responsibility for ensuring that the potential relevance of the research question to the participants was actualised by similarly supporting the effective communication of the project and establishing engaging methods for data generation. Through the use of methods enabling effective communication, I felt it was possible to increase my suitability as a communication partner for participants, and particularly in supporting the previously marginalised voices of students to be heard. In this section, I seek to review the purpose and validity of the non-traditional research methods employed within the project. This includes
those methods I anticipated prior to the outset of the project, as well as those emerging during the research process. This section looks particularly at the research methods I utilised with the students to promote ‘imaginative listening’ (Corbett 1998), so as to illuminate those areas of experience which might otherwise remain unknown (Noyes 2008). In doing so, I consider the broader research context and the specific context of Kahlo before introducing the specific research challenges within the project.

As I have argued elsewhere (Clarke et al. 2011; Nind et al. 2012), the importance of hearing the voices of children on the matters that affect them is important, yet frequently overlooked. The rights of children to voice their views, including in a mode which is preferable and suitable (UNCRC, 1989, Articles 12 &13), seem to be limited, in practice (Lundy 2007; Thomson 2008). This has been noted particularly among students with a label of SEN or BESD (Cooper 1993; Gillies & Robinson 2012; Atkins 2013). For this reason, there is a particular focus on engagement with children in the discussion, as follows.

The requirement to establish more meaningful engagement with the range of voices among children and young people has led to an emphasis on participatory methods and a turn towards visual methods. These in turn have been associated with, or understood to be more child-centred and suitable for those aged 18 and under (Clark et al. 2013; Gallacher & Gallagher 2008; Pimlott-Wilson 2012). This is in part due to concerns regarding the efficacy of talk-based practices and traditional methods, and the potentially exclusionary impact of such (Atkins 2013). For Hobday and Ollier (2005),
the novelty of new approaches can afford new ways for children to ‘open up’ and consider their position, particularly in communication with adults. For Noyes (2008), among others, the value of methods of communication which seek to enable effective communication through the use of visual media is in their capacity to elicit alternative information to that available through interview, and to engage participants who might feel distanced by or excluded from traditional methods (Thomson 2008; Gillies & Robinson 2012).

In an effort to increase choice for participants and reduce the dependence on standardised verbal practices alone, the adoption of a range of research techniques utilised with children and young people extends through Lego; role play; storyboards; videos; puppets; poetry; music; and radio broadcasts (Gallacher & Gallagher 2008; Gillies & Robinson 2008; Pimlott-Wilson 2012; Finlay et al. 2013). The availability of such a range of methods has been identified as valid in terms of opportunities for selection of ‘a means benefiting their [the participants] particular style of communication’ (Finlay et al. 2013), an identified right within the UNCRC (1989). The intention of such is not only to increase availability, but to attempt to address the power differential which is recognised to exist as a result of the construction of childhood (Gallacher & Gallagher 2008).

As identified above, the range of methods and application of techniques may vary considerably in research with children and young people. While the premise of undertaking ‘research with’ rather than ‘research on’ children (Atkins 2013) is
increasingly recognised as preferable (Thomson 2008), in practice this has resulted in varying levels of engagement and participation (Kellett 2009). Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) note the importance of differentiating between the design of the research project, and the methods employed, stressing that researcher identified accessible methods may, in fact, not enhance accessibility and participation, but that the flexibility to establish authentic choice among participants may be more challenging to achieve in practice. While this has been identified in relation to children specifically, the benefits of such could equally apply to those aged 18 years and over.

While different methods were employed within the study, they were not done so uniformly. Greater variability with respect to the range of methods was made available to the girls as a participant group, so as to explore better the range of voices that were included within the research context. This was comparatively limited when obtaining the views of their social networks, including family and friends. The reason for this was two-fold. First, within the time constraints, the girls’ direct experience of education is central to the research question, therefore benefits from such attention with regards to the meanings expressed by girls in relation to their learning encounters (Allard 2007). Secondly, previous efforts to listen to and engage with populations of young people with a label of SEN or BESD have been observed to lack efficacy (Cooper 1993). Kaplan (2008, p.175) likewise notes the ‘methodological challenges’ associated with accessing voice among this population, and raises concerns regarding a corresponding lack of voice with respect to their experiences of learning.
A number of issues influenced my methodological choices within the context of Kahlo. The issues were neither discrete nor limited to Kahlo, but had been identified in research with children and young people, including those marginalised within and excluded from educational settings.

I was mindful of the potential for variability in responses of individual participants within their specific contexts (Thomson 2008). This was an important consideration in my efforts to explore the multiple voices and perspectives that were co-located within Kahlo as with other educational establishments (Kim 2006). Methods therefore needed to be sufficiently sensitive to capture information from a range of individuals across a period of time. This highlighted the importance of the availability of a variety of methods from which students could access the most appropriate to generate information, and the necessity for methods with sufficient flexibility to meet the requirements of a range of participants (Finlay et al. 2013, p.132). It is important that methods are applied in a manner that is flexible enough to adapt to the young person (Clark et al. 2013; Finlay et al. 2013).

Darbyshire et al. (2005, p.424) likewise considered whether ‘[m]ethodologically, is more better, or simply more?’, and concluded that the variety of methods employed ‘increased children’s opportunity to choose and have at least partial control about how to contribute and what to say, and helped engage and interest them’. Pimlott-Wilson (2012, p.135) highlights the importance of the availability of a range of research methods for children and young people, suggesting that:
By developing a range of research methods which enable children to relate their experiences to the research questions at hand, they can be given the tools, environment and voice to effectively express their views, giving credence to their opinions and providing insight into their life worlds.

My concerns regarding the issues of ‘giving voice’ generally, as well as specifically within the context of this population, have been addressed in Clarke et al. (2011). In addition, the above assertion from Pimlott-Wilson (2012) raises a number of issues relevant to the research: first, the responsibility of the researcher for enabling the availability of a range of research methods, rather than simply having an available method; Secondly, the responsibility of the researcher for minimising the gap between the participants’ experiences and the research questions via the selection of methods employed; the availability of tools, environment and voice; and finally an understanding of children’s and young people’s opinions as valid, valuable, and capable of providing insight.

As I have argued elsewhere (Clarke et al. 2011), I am conscious that the students at Kahlo were (and had been) embedded within organisational systems, complete with expectations and specific modes for the expression of voice and boundaries regarding accepted and acceptable narratives (see also Kaplan 2008; Thomson 2008). For example, exclusions were experienced for the use of familiar language and communication patterns that were deemed aggressive or threatening, such as an idle threat expressed by Bella (a student at Kahlo) to burn down a previous headteacher’s
house, or an unwillingness to trust that incorrect answers would be met with encouragement and support, rather than result in shame.

For students with educational histories punctuated with exclusions, rejections and/or transgressions, the willingness – or perceived ability – to communicate their stories may function as a barrier to engagement. As identified by Atkins (2013), students’ lack of access in educational settings may influence their perceived ability to contribute to educational research, and risk their self-perception of continued engagement with educational professionals, as well as on reflecting on such experiences. Using tools and technologies that extended the boundaries of expected communication, which altered the expectations of the students and challenged preconceptions of communicative boundaries in educational settings, it was possible to offer an alternative to the possible expectations of failure.

For Tisdale et al. (2009, p.228), participatory methods are more readily ‘tailored to the skills and aptitudes of... people’. Greater flexibility is inherent in data generation in participatory methods ‘in ways that were authentic to them [participants]’ (Finlay et al. 2013, p.129), rather than imposed in traditional word-based practices. Further, as identified by Stuart in the earlier quote, the technologies and programmes available at Kahlo afforded the potential research products that the girls felt confident with. The connection between identity and product identified to afford positive gains for the student has been noted in relation to visual research among young people, in which ‘[s]eeing themselves on film gave them a sense of achievement’ (Finlay et al. 2013,
p.134) providing a media mirror through which they could review and assess themselves (Noyes 2008).

The difficulties in establishing relationships with the students at Kahlo has been indicated in Chapter One. The importance of developing rapport has been recognised both in terms of initial negotiation with participants (Homan 1992) and also any further access to participants and the subsequent data generated (Charmaz 2007; Powell & Smith 2009). This point is expressed neatly by Thomson (2008, p.2), who comments that ‘[b]eing able to say what you think, in the ways you want, is highly dependent on what you are asked, by whom, about what, and what is expected of you’. The context of the researcher–participant relationship is therefore of primary significance to the data generated (Wolcott, nd) in terms of the willingness and ability of participants to explore their experiences and share these with me. Nina’s communication with Sandra, distancing me from her experiences, similarly demonstrated to me the importance of developing relationships in which the students felt confident in speaking with me and aware of my aim to explore, as opposed to evaluate (Wolcott, nd).

The importance of windows of opportunity for building relationships became increasingly important during the early months of the research project (Ross et al. 2009). The relaxed atmosphere over unstructured break times, lunch times and while travelling between locations became important sites for developing relationships while at Kahlo, as has similarly been noted in other research settings with teenagers (Ross et al. 2009; Finlay et al. 2013). I believe that these moments were fundamental for
subsequent engagement – these also provided the foundations from which it was possible to negotiate with the girls their preferences regarding participation with the research and willingness to engage.

While, for Powell and Smith (2009, p.138), children’s access to participation is never a matter entirely within their control, but is rather associated with ‘social and political mechanisms that reduce children’s power, fail to take their agency into account, and disregard their rights’, participatory methods are claimed to promote inclusion, and reduce the power imbalance and role distinction between participants and researchers (Lomax 2012; Mand 2012). This is based on the assumption that participatory methods shift the ownership for data generation towards participants (Mand 2012).

However, as Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) argue, the extent to which participation is enabled is crucial to the balance of power and scope for participant decision making in the research design. For Pimlott-Wilson (2012, p.138), this is dependent ‘on the ability of the researcher to balance the research requirements against the desires of the respondent to express their views and opinions on their own terms’. In this latter definition, the data grounded in the research and generated by participants is required to be negotiated by the researcher in accordance with their data requirements. In the context of the KTP project, I was required to develop an understanding of a particular context with a particular outcome in mind. I was therefore responsible for shaping the data generation in response to answering the questions. Yet, like Davis (2009) and Finlay et al. (2013), I came to value the importance of outlining clear structures, and
ensuring that sufficient skills were available among participants. From this position, I was able to communicate the possibilities from which the students were able to adjust and gain ownership in response to the data that they were generating. While this did not eradicate the power imbalances relating to access to participation indicated by Powell and Smith (2009), the difficulties that I experienced regarding efforts to address some of the power imbalances were noticed by the girls. I think that these efforts to adapt and my willingness to change my plans indicated a willingness on my part to learn from the girls and, from this position, I believe I became a more preferred communication partner for them.

In the above section, the importance is suggested of a methodological approach that affords flexibility and choice (where possible), and that recognises participants’ identities as influential (and inclusive of organisational and systemic contexts in which they are embedded), understanding of relationships, power and participation. These factors are identified as important in the research with girls with a label of BESD. This relates to the importance of methods that are sufficiently flexible to capture the fluidity of gender performances that are performed in the ‘living system of social interactions’ identified by Connell (2006). Further, the level of regulation of gendered performances in educational contexts is stressed by Skelton (2006). Under such circumstances, promotion of ‘choice’ (Allard 2007) through the availability of alternative methods and possibilities was hoped to provide the space for a greater range of responses, and reduction of regulation. In giving the girls some choice over the methods, these were not simply imposed by me, therefore gave greater opportunity for the girls to select
methods which gave them the opportunity performing in ways which they felt were more relevant, or performing differently. Flexibility is also identified as important in exploring issues such as creative learning and relationships. This relates to the dynamic nature of these concepts that are performed in interactions, therefore lack a fixed embodiment or common experience across participants, and even within the experience of a participant. Further, the choice encouraged by the availability of a range of methods supports a movement towards motivating and meaningful methods, resonating with centring the biography of the learner as expressed in creative learning, and recognising the unique starting points relevant to creative learning and relationships.

The importance of the range of media included in the data generated is stressed by Dicks et al. (2006, p.77), who comment that ‘different media can be seen to afford different kinds of meaning’. A range of media was employed in generating the data at Kahlo: audio recordings, photograph, and video and the art exhibition as a multi-media expression. Different media were not necessarily limited to a single method or strategy, but rather were frequently adapted to include different aims and outcomes, and applied flexibly as identified within given situations. I opted to use media in an overlapping way, such as photographs accompanied by photo elicitation (and audio recording). Therefore, after addressing each of the media, I briefly introduce the issue of multi-media and multimodality.
Photographs: While photographs as a visual research method are identified as uncommon within educational settings (Prosser & Loxley 2007), for Croghan et al. (2008, p.346) ‘[p]hoto-elicitation methods appear to offer a way of gaining insight into the other’s perspective by asking the photographer for their interpretations of the visual and in the process of gaining greater access to their constructions of self’. Further, photo-elicitation is identified as an empowering method of data generation, with participants controlling what data is captured, and what is subsequently shared regarding the data (Pearson & Ralph 2007). Students were frequently provided with a camera, and the task or activity was explained to them (see Figures 2, 3, and 4 in Procedure Section). Photographs taken by students were then explained to me, with the explanation recorded using an audio recorder, field notes, notepaper or a prepared worksheet.

In addition to the photographs taken by students and staff at Kahlo, I took photographs during the course of the research project. They typically recorded the visual environment at Kahlo generally, including the inside and outside of the buildings at Kahlo, and the noticeboards within the school. In addition, photographs were taken in response to particular events and processes within the school, most notably in relation to the undertaking of specific events such as the art exhibition – the visual context of the processes were recorded through photographs and ‘image making… [became] a form of ethnographic note taking’ (Pink 2011, p.272).
**Audio Recordings:** Following the granting of ethical approval from the University Ethics Committee (see Procedure Section), I typically carried my audio recorder when in the field for the purposes of generating audio data, either during planned, semi-structured interviews, such as those undertaken with staff at Kahlo or parents/carers. I also used my audio recorder to capture conversations and meetings (when consent was provided by all participants), by way of a verbatim documentation of audio data that could capture more than would otherwise be available via written documentation, such as field notes.

**Video:** Video data was generated in a number of different contexts. Several episodes of data came from when the students took total control of the camera, filming structured activities such as horse riding and lessons. There are also several clips in which unstructured times (including break times) were recorded by the students, capturing the interactions between students during these times. There were also a number of examples when I, as researcher, attended lessons and events such as Numeracy Day, recording interactions during these times. Students were consulted as to their willingness for video recordings to be undertaken, and field notes were undertaken when consent was not provided for video recordings.

Video data was also generated from the semi-structured and unstructured interviews undertaken with students and with staff. These included informal discussions with the researcher during or following specific events or significant moments, such as in the context of challenging behaviours within the school, the students’ final days at school or
the planning ahead of the introduction of a new curriculum model. In addition to the interviews undertaken in familiar settings, a Big Brother Diary Room was set up at the school. This enabled students to attend a small diary room as an alternative space for an interview to be undertaken, one which resonated with the cultural patterns of familiar television shows such as *Big Brother*, and *I’m a Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here* (Noyes 2008). Students could request to participate, and those students who had consented to participate could become involved. Of interest, many students wished to review the interviews that were undertaken in the Diary Room, in contrast to those in the more familiar settings in the school. Frequently, field notes were undertaken in response to the students’ reactions when reviewing their video recordings.

*Art Exhibition:* The art exhibition undertaken at Kahlo at the end of the KTP project included multiple media variously expressing the theme of identity. The media used included but were not limited to: Plaster and ’Mudroc’, used as materials for sculpting masks and plaster cast arms; acrylic paints and canvas for paintings exploring cultural identities; video recordings for ‘floating heads’, when during unstructured interviews the girls considered their own identities; poetry, which was produced and communicated both in printed word and via audio recordings, later set to a musical rhythm; and photographs from the local environment to make up the letters of the student’s names.

Not all of the girls contributed to each of the available media, but rather were able to select the most appropriate media with which to express their views and experiences.
The exhibition represented the opportunity for the girls’ voices, experiences and perspectives to be represented to a broader audience – which extended beyond the walls of the school and into the wider community. Through the available media, the girls were able to express themselves in a way which challenged existing views and communicated their understanding. A placements officer with extensive experience in his field commented, ‘you suddenly realise what a huge insight they’ve [the girls] got into their own lives’. Information on the girls’ responses to seeing the range of media collected together can be found in Nind et al. (2012).

*Multi-Media and Multimodality:* As identified in relation to the arts exhibition, the cumulative effect of the various media elicited a strong response from the audience of students and their networks (Nind et al. 2012). The availability of a richer data as a result of combining different media and methods has been reported elsewhere (Darbyshire et al. 2005), affording the research audience a more nuanced understanding of the range of issues. For Dicks et al. (2006, p.82), an understanding of ‘how... various elements work together to produce a communicative environment’ is an important feature of the multimodal environment in which the research is undertaken and an valuable argument for the inclusion of multiple media in research. This was applicable at Kahlo in both the context of patterns of interaction that occurred as part of the school day (such as lessons) and the impact of media being co-located in the form of the art exhibition.
The utility of separating out different media and modalities was also challenged during the project. Jewitt (2009) calls for reflection on the nature and function of multimodality within the research context as a helpful starting point. For Lopes et al. (2014), approaches to research that reflect the multimodality of educational settings afford the greatest capacity to convey the complexity of such.

While the visual is increasingly being recognised as valid (Prosser & Loxley 2007) and even privileged in research (Pink 2011), without the information on the circumstances, culture and accompanying narratives, any understanding of the context of such images is limited. Pink (2007, p.21) comments that the distinction between different media and modes is unhelpful, arguing that: ‘[v]isual research methods’ are not purely visual. Rather, they pay particular attention to visual aspects of culture... they cannot be used independently of other methods.’ When considering the varied affordances of field notes and video data when capturing the same event, Dicks et al. (2006) identified that while video has the capacity to capture visual and auditory modes, including the automatic capture of expression, colour and intonation, writing through field notes provides more ordered and selective information. As such, Pink (2011) and Dicks et al. (2011) favour the value of connections between different modalities, as opposed to recognising such as in opposition.

Therefore, in the context of undertaking the research in the inherently multimodal setting of a school (Lopes et al. 2014), and with the applicability and value of multimedia, the different research methods typically employ more than one medium in
exploring the experiences of participants. However, for Dicks et al. (2011), even with multiple media and a multimodal approach, understandings of experience and data are limited. Instead, they argue that understanding the culture through contextualising data with ethnographic knowledge affords meaning that extends beyond multimodality alone (Dicks et al. 2011).
Chapter Five: Procedure

I have divided the following section into three distinct areas that relate to my physical location at Kahlo: the administrative office; upstairs office; and university office. (The decision regarding my location in each of these cases was made by Angie without consultation with me, but carried implications for how I could work with the school site.) I outline my introduction to each location and the application of the tasks undertaken in each, with a specific focus on the data generation tasks. I conclude with a brief consideration of the challenges of each of the tasks, as well as the impact of the location on how the task was undertaken.

Figure 2: GANTT Chart of the Development of the Project by Location

Location One: Administrative Office

On my first day at Kahlo as a researcher, I was introduced to my initial location at the school, which was one of three desks in the administrative office [February 2008 – January 2009]. The administrative office was on the ground floor at Kahlo, situated through the reception of the school and next to The Hub. I was to share this space with Alison, the Office Manager, and Sandra, the Home Link Co-Ordinator. The administrative office continued the colour schemes evident throughout Kahlo. It had a window that ran
the length of the back wall that overlooked the Kahlo playground, and a small diamond-shaped window on the door into the school. Both these windows were utilised by staff and students to communicate with those in the office. The administrative office provided an important space in the school. It contained the medicine cabinet, the key cupboard, the petty cash, and was the space where the majority of telephone calls were made and received. It was therefore utilised by students when taking daily medication, by staff entering and leaving on school trips, and by staff making calls on behalf of and with respect to the students. The staff also spoke of using the administrative office as a space for relief and support. It was a space within the school that was rarely utilised by the students and never without an invitation. What was also noticeable was the lively and humorous pattern of communication between Alison and Sandra, which extended to include others on entry to the office space.

During my time at this location, there were several aims and intended outcomes. These included introducing the project to intended participants, understanding the culture of the organisation, gaining ethical approval and beginning the data generation process.

*Arrival and Introductions:* The introductions were multiple. I had to introduce the project to the staff and students at Kahlo, to the network of gatekeepers to the students (external to the school), and to all other involved professionals. Preparation for introductions had begun prior to my arrival. I had met all the staff and students during my full-day interview, held three months earlier. To my surprise, very little had been shared regarding the nature of the project, despite the extensive interview process. On
arrival, I was informed that Angie would be available to see me later in the morning. I spent this initial period speaking to the staff who were based in the office with me, and establishing access to a range of the facilities in the school, including access to the range of rooms (via a key fob), and was informed that a school email account would be initiated for me. I later met with Angie on her arrival. She arrived into the room with great purpose and greeted me briefly but, busy with her daily tasks, was unable to undertake a meeting at this point.

During my first day on site, I met with various members of the school community. I greeted, and was greeted by, staff moving around the building and, when possible, introduced myself or was introduced by Alison. At break time and lunchtime, I sat with the students, responding to the guidance of staff as to where it would be best to sit. I had the opportunity at this time to listen to students, and to communicate regarding my role and the nature of the project. After the students had returned home, I attended the daily staff meeting and there was introduced by Angie, who made a brief mention of the purpose of the project and possible outcomes. The staff team was advised that I would be explaining the project in greater detail over the coming weeks and months.

However, the initial introduction stage did not end at the first week, but extended over a significant period in excess of three months, reflecting the ebb and flow in the school community and those indirectly related to it. Still, as the first weeks unfolded, opportunistic encounters occurred with those with connections with Kahlo. I began to develop a familiar pattern of description of the project that included my role, the nature
of the KTP project, the hoped for outcomes and the broader benefits. In addition to those gatekeepers and visitors to the school site, introductions to individuals external to the school took place over a longer time period. When possible, I was introduced to external parties face to face at planned meetings at the school and offsite by means of negotiating access and participation (Homan 1992). In a meeting with Angie in the first week, we discussed the gatekeepers for access to the students, including parents, carers and social workers, as important contacts for early introductions. Initial contact with parents and carers was provided via information letters and through Sandra, with whom I shared the office.

The challenges of this phase felt significant. I believed that the initial introduction would influence subsequent engagement. This was particularly the case with the students. Their reticence regarding my introduction – yet another professional – was noticeable and is discussed later in the chapter. Further, the extent of the networks of the students and the distances from Kahlo seemed of significance when planning interviews with stakeholders.

For the arrival and introductions phase, my location within the administrative office was useful. Being located within the busy office space meant that it was possible to make contact with many members of the staff team and visitors to the school. Further, the gregarious nature of the Alison and her positive relationships with many of the members of the staff team meant that it was possible to begin developing relationships with staff based on my association. The location of the medicine cabinet within the
office also meant that this space was a useful one for developing relationships with those students who arrived daily to take medication.

**Learning the Culture at Kahlo:** A significant aspect of the early phases of the project was to become accustomed to the communication and culture of the school. It was important for me to understand the ways in which the culture was different from that at other schools, and how my application of this understanding could support the development of the project. This took the form of an apprenticeship (Pink 2007). An important early tool for developing my understanding was to become familiar with the regular patterns of the school, many of which were understood by their uniform implementation, such as morning and afternoon briefings. Other patterns were indicated via generic timetables that were printed and provided to me directly, as well as being mounted at various locations at the school (such as lesson timetables) and communicated by the members of staff directly.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the visual communication within the school was important, and my efforts in making a good impression with my appearance were met with very limited success. An early conversation with staff indicated the importance of perceptions of belonging within the organisation, and the visual signifier of wearing clothing other than that of staff uniform would limit my inclusion within the school community. I therefore understood the importance of wearing staff uniform, and continued to do so for the duration of my location within the administrative office. The staff uniform at Kahlo included a sky blue shirt with a logo, navy blue trousers and zip-
up jackets with a black padded gilet. The uniforms were designed to be practical. Yet concerns were raised, particularly among the staff team, regarding the message of the uniforms. For one of the teachers, the uniforms resembled those worn by prison officers. Consequently, there was a change in the uniform to include warmer accent colours (bright blue rather than light blue).

My observations undertaken during this period exposed me to the extent to which capturing the complexity of the culture at Kahlo would be challenging. The creativity in interactions between staff and students, the relationships developed within the school setting and the transformation of the school during my two years there indicated the importance of developing a suitably flexible toolkit of methods. This toolkit should capture the complexity of the experience of the culture at Kahlo as much as possible with respect to the visual culture and multimedia/multimodal experience at Kahlo (Dicks et al. 2006; Prosser & Loxley 2007). The sensory experience of the ethos of Kahlo described by visitors would require methods that similarly captured the sensory experience of the school and practices (Pink 2007; Roswell 2011). I was therefore interested in methodological approaches and techniques that resonated with the culture of the school, capturing the multisensory environment and communicating the relationships in a manner extending beyond just the words spoken (Roswell 2011).

While attempting to develop my understanding of the culture within the school, relationships stood out as of primary importance: these were repeatedly raised by school staff, students and visitors, in addition to striking me during my early
introduction to Kahlo. The importance of relationships was also explicitly identified to me by an external professional who regularly visited the school with the purpose of providing supervision to members of the senior management team and functioning as a critical friend. The importance of developing relationships with the students was particularly noted by this professional, based on the importance of responding to them sensitively during the data generation process (Gallagher 2009). I came to realise its importance, not simply in terms of how I interacted with the students on a verbal level, but the messages that I employed on a non-verbal level, through my own body language, appearance and methods employed in engaging students with the project.

Ethical Approval and Informed Consent: An important activity undertaken within the first few months of the project was to establish ethical approval from the relevant University Ethics Committee. An Ethics Proposal (submitted 04/05/08) reviewed potentially problematic issues and identified how these would be addressed within the project (see Appendix 1). According to the Ethics Review Checklist (Form CH1 see Appendix 1,) some of the participants could be identified as ‘vulnerable’, based on typical assumptions associated with age and status within a specialist educational establishment. The nature of the study involved discussing sensitive issues and potential difficulties ensuring anonymity, and communicating the right to withdraw meant that these issues were specifically addressed within the proposal. The ethical importance of building relationships to ensure sensitivity to participants (Gallagher 2009), particularly those aged under 18 years, was addressed specifically (Ethics Proposal 04/05/18). This was an essential measure in supporting the wellbeing of
students throughout the project, but also for establishing an effective relationship for data generation. However, I was conscious that, for many, the ‘standard [of ethics] is more easily expressed than practiced’ (Homan 1992, p.321).

For Homan (1992), even in open research, informed consent represents a continuum rather than a dichotomy. I was also conscious of the importance of transparency and clarity in communication with participants regarding the study. Information letters and consent forms were produced and targeted specifically on the different stakeholder groups, including parents and carers, staff at Kahlo and other involved professionals (see Appendices 2 and 3). The importance of effective communication specifically with the girls as a participant group was addressed in the Ethics Proposal (04/05/08), where I outlined that information would be communicated in an accessible manner and developed in collaboration with students.

My time spent learning about the culture in Kahlo, and developing relationships with staff and students, had indicated the challenges of obtaining informed consent from the students as a stakeholder group. This concern resonates more generally with the literature in which ‘gaining a measure of informed consent is rarely, if ever, a straightforward process, and it is indeed questionable as to whether it can ever be genuinely achieved’ (Heath et al. 2007, p.414). My concerns were twofold: that several pages of a dry, text-only information letter would result in disengagement and subsequent self-exclusion (without information as to the aims, purposes and methods of the project); or alternatively agreeing to the project without being sufficiently
informed. In discussions with staff and students, the benefits of applying aspects of the visual culture at Kahlo to the information letters for students were raised. The visual information letter was developed utilising a comic strip software programme (utilised by the Arts instructor at Kahlo during lessons). A question and answer format was used to promote engagement. I used the time that the girls spent attending to the student information letter to speak with them about the project, providing a hard copy for the girls to review in their own time, should they wish to return to any aspects discussed.

The final student information letter extended across seven pages, and included photographs of staff and students, with their permissions (see Figure 3).
Figure 3: Student Information Letter
During my apprenticeship into the culture at Kahlo (Pink 2009), I was conscious that allowing space for the development of methods during the project would ensure that the best data would be available. The challenge of establishing informed consent in the context of an unspecified framework of the implementation prior to the project commencing has been identified (Levinson 2010). Therefore, in the absence of an explicit detailed framework for data generation, I provided the best information available to me at the point of writing the letters. In addition to information on the methods anticipated to be employed, the information letter indicated the flexibility for the development of methods in the field. While the wording varied in the student information letter, it was clarified that process consent would continue to be an ongoing negotiation throughout the project (Homan 1992) in discussion with the students.

*Data Generation:* Following receipt of ethics approval and while still located in the administrative office, I was able to begin undertaking planned data generation tasks. These were wide ranging, as outlined below.

*Field notes* were undertaken to support my developing understanding. I recorded my observations in the form of field notes with varying levels of description and evaluation. These were intended not only to serve as a record, but also to provide further data regarding the culture and practices at Kahlo, and the impact on learning. Field notes also identified and ordered my observations and thinking, highlighting sensitising concepts, organising concepts and key points for further review (Dicks et al. 2006).
Staff Perspectives on Kahlo and ECM involved an early exercise undertaken with staff to explore the practices employed by the school to support the outcomes of students, using the Every Child Matters (DCSF 2003) categories of: being healthy; staying safe; enjoying and achieving; achieving economic wellbeing; and making a contribution. In the team meeting after the students had gone home, the staff team of 11 was divided into groups of two or three and each group provided with five sheets of A3 sheets paper, each bearing an ECM outcomes. I then outlined the activity to discuss and record the ways in which the school functions to support the students achieving these outcomes, thinking particularly about the aspects of the provision at Kahlo.

Interviews with Staff, Professionals, Parents and Carers involved 23 members of the staff team at Kahlo, plus eight professionals and four parents/carers. While elsewhere I have identified the importance of hearing from the students directly, I have also argued for the value of hearing from connected individuals within the students’ networks. Therefore, invitations to participate in the research were also made to school staff, involved professionals and parents and carers. Information was provided to staff during and after school meetings, and invitations extended when discussing information letters and consent forms.

Individual semi-structured interviews were undertaken with school staff in the first instance, based on the proximity and pre-established relationships based on my location at Kahlo. However, as new staff began at the school it was possible in some cases to
undertake further interviews, making a total of 23. Interviews were undertaken off site. However, due to challenges with timetabling, this was not achievable in all cases.

Semi-structured interviews with staff members adhered to a general plan. The questions included consideration of: the role of the member of staff; their views as to requirements for teaching and learning at Kahlo; the differences between Kahlo and mainstream or other settings; their hopes for the students as a result of the placement at Kahlo; their understanding of education; the importance of ECM outcomes; and the long-term goals for the students. The flexibility of the semi-structured interviews gave the space for themes to develop and emerge in response to the participants’ responses.

Interviews with participants external to Kahlo (professionals, parents and carers) were more flexible in terms of timescale. As with staff, a semi-structured interview format was employed to enable flexibility and responsiveness to the interviewee. While the structure varied between groups, the key themes were available, namely the views on education, the importance of ECM outcomes, and the requirements for teaching and learning. In addition, the parents and carer schedule provided an opportunity for information about the young person’s educational journey to be explored.

*Photo Voices* was available to Kahlo staff and students and utilised by seven members of staff (in pairs or threes) and three students (individually). ‘Photo voice’ has been identified as a participatory method which is ‘empowering’, based on the learning which is seen to ‘develop in dialogue’ with and between participants (Pearson & Ralph 2007,
p.38). For Pearson and Ralph (2007), taking photographs provides a means of generating data that promotes ownership among participants and which provides alternative information than that which might be available from other methods (Prosser 2000; Pearson & Ralph 2007).

The staff and students were offered opportunities to take a selection of five photographs of the best bits of Kahlo and the aspects of the school that promote learning, as well as five photographs of the areas for improvement. Explanation and recording sheets for the photo voice activity were available for staff and students at Kahlo, and are included in Figures 4, 5 and 6 below.

Figure 4: Photo Voices Student Guidance
When this method was introduced at a staff meeting, there was concern raised that without the opportunity to plan initially, students may be guided by proximity rather than their thoughts. Therefore, planning sheets were provided to students (Figure 5). The students had the opportunity to undertake this activity during lunch and break times, and agreed lessons as per the timetable. In practice, students enjoyed undertaking this activity during agreed lessons, not only as an alternative to lesson content, but also as a result of increased staff availability by means of supporting this activity. The information sheet for staff is shown in Figure 6 below. Staff were provided with the opportunity to undertake this in pairs or in groups of three during an inset day. This was taken up by six members of staff.
This required participants to be equipped with a camera, and then they were able to download photos onto a computer (with my support, if required). This time also provided the opportunity to expand on the selection of the photos and generate further data.

*Journey through Education Diary* was a method available to two tutor groups and other students during unstructured times (the latter option was not taken up). The comic strip methods drew on the techniques of photo elicitation outlined in the Photo Voices section above, and included the affordances of students narrating their experiences. However, in this context, students were not limited to photos that they could take during the course.
of the activity. Instead, students needed to consider their educational journey, documenting this as they wished within a comic strip format using the tools at their disposal. The comic strip software programme ‘ComicLife Magiq’ was a tool that students were familiar with, having used this in lessons when considering the story of Romulus and Remus. A member of staff familiar with the programme or I was available when the girls started this activity, to offer support should any technical difficulties be experienced.

As explored in Nind et al. (2012), I observed this data generation activity in dialogue with the students to develop a better understanding of what was being included and why. I was interested to see the girls making use of images available online, as well as saved in their own documents on the school network (for example, photos of their current educational provision, including other students). Due to the practicalities of implementing this activity during lesson time, the girls were required to complete this activity during a single or double lesson. Any further developments had to be undertaken in the students’ own unstructured time. The ‘Journey through Education Diary Guidance’ is presented in Figure 7.
Data Generation: Windows of Opportunity: In addition to the planned data generation activities identified below, a significant portion of the data was gathered in an opportunistic manner, based on my availability. My location within the administrative office proved invaluable due to proximity to the Hub and the headteacher’s office. From this location, it was possible to build relationships with the staff and students in an informal manner, as referenced in my field notes:
Cassie was in with me trying to do voiceovers. Not keen to engage, but happy to laugh at me making a fool of myself. (field notes 22/01/09)

In addition, the flexibility afforded by this location and the equipment available provided tasks in which it was possible to discuss the research with the students:

remembering how much Daisy had reported enjoying shredding, I asked her if she would help me. She seemed to welcome this structure. As we were passing the laminating pouches through the machine, her comment ‘Why are you doing this, no one is interested’ seemed to halt my momentum. (field notes 20/01/09)

These conversational opportunities enabled me to develop my relationships with students, as well as my understanding of their views, experiences and positions.

**Location Two: Upstairs Office**

Following the appointment of a new headteacher at Kahlo, it was necessary for Angie to relocate to the desk in the administrative office at which I had been located. I was therefore relocated upstairs to what had been a small room providing a quiet space for the girls to be alone (February 2009 to June 2009). A desk was moved into the room and a shelf installed to ensure its suitability as an office. My initial concerns about this relocation representing a dislocation from the windows of opportunity that I had previously accessed were not unfounded. However, I had not anticipated how my positioning in this alternative space would result in a different type of opportunity.
While my location in the upstairs office distanced me from the journey of visitors in the school and the unstructured times that the girls spent in the Hub and playground, my proximity to the classrooms meant that, in this area, I was better able to connect with the classroom-based learning opportunities and the students’ form rooms – their educational bases. The passage of students between lessons also provided windows of opportunity in relation to data collection.

In addition, my continued presence in the school building meant that I continued to be included in regular structured activities, subsequent conversations and meetings, as indicated in my field notes:

I was reminded today of the ‘door handle disclosures’ as we sat there in the office following briefing. A really useful chat followed. (field notes 31/03/09)

The constraints that I experienced previously, relating to undertaking research within a functioning school, continued. Following the introduction of the new headteacher, Kath, these constraints actually increased due to the more formalised lesson structure being enforced under Kath’s leadership. Therefore, in my new position and this phase of the project, data generation was managed more carefully through the use of timetables. While the timetabling provided a helpful structure for planning, on more than one occasion I experienced the challenge associated with the flexibility necessary for application of data generation in educational settings. My frustrations were reflected in
more than one field note entry, although could be summarised in the communication below:

Further evidence for me today to not have a timetable. Difficult to manage the school’s agenda alongside my own. (field notes 24/03/09)

However, while located in the upstairs office, I felt myself to be closer to the girls’ learning and the teaching employed in Kahlo, affording a different perspective to enhance my understanding.

The Big Brother Diary Room was set up in December 2008 and was utilised by students between January 2009 and March 2009. Video interviews have been identified as a valuable research method when engaging with teenage girls and students in educational settings (Bloustein 1998; Noyes 2004, 2008). The value of video interviewing as a participatory method has been recognised to relate to its resonance with youth culture, the familiarity of the technology among young people, and the affordance of immediate review by participants and therefore greater control of data (Bloustein 1998; Noyes 2008). As I have argued previously, the Diary Room method afforded an alternative space inside the otherwise busy school environment in which the students could reflect on their identities as individuals and as learners (Clarke et al. 2011; Nind et al. 2012). As with photo elicitation, the visual images from the recorded interviews provided a springboard for discussions with students regarding the information that they had

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6 Although this falls within both Location One and Location Two, the majority of data generation occurred while I was located within Location Two, hence this is in Location Two within the Procedure.
shared. As with participants in the studies by Bloustein (1998) and Noyes (2008), for many of the students at Kahlo the ‘media mirror’ of video technologies provided a space for considering and playing with identity (Clarke et al. 2011; Nind et al. 2012).

The Diary Room was located next to the upstairs office, a convenient location from which to support students to access this method. A review of the how the Diary Room was introduced and applied in practice is included in Clarke et al. (2011) and Nind et al. (2012). The sense of excitement generated by the Diary Room (such as through posters like those in Figures 8, which were hung throughout the school) supported student engagement with individual or paired interviews (see Figure 9).

![Figure 8: Poster Advertising Big Brother Diary Room](image)
Student Interviewing (outside of the Diary Room context) was a method available December 2008 to January 2010. However, the majority of student interviews were undertaken following engagement with the Diary Room, when this method had greater familiarity with the students. Interviews with students varied greatly in terms of context. They were undertaken proactively in response to planned events, such as the student's final days or special events, as well as reactively when episodes of challenging behaviour had occurred. They varied in length and level of structure, depending on the circumstances in which they occurred and the level of engagement from the student or students. Interviews were typically video or audio recorded, but when neither was available, written recordings were made.

School Events became a data generation method that I utilised from December 2008 until January 2010. The majority of recordings occurred while I was located in the
upstairs office, but some took place in the other two stages. School events at Kahlo related to social celebrations such as birthdays, student final days, holidays and learning events, including Caribbean Day and Numeracy Day, when particular learning opportunities were targeted across the whole day or the whole school. I have also extended this category to include substantial restructuring of the curriculum at Kahlo through the planning and implementation of the integrated curriculum. (Excluded from this category is the art exhibition, which, due to its size and scope, is included as a separate category under Location Three below.) A range of audio, video and written recordings was used to capture data generated from school events including at planning, implementation and, when possible, debriefing stages. This included data generated from a range of participants, including staff and students, and in some cases parents and or carers.

**Location Three: University Office**

I was informed by Angie in June 2009 that, due to the expansion at Kahlo, the office space within the school in which I was located would no longer be available to me, and it would be necessary for me to move to the university office space that day, and for the remainder of the project (June 2009–February 2010). My previous concerns regarding my availability for data generation in windows of opportunity were magnified, as I no longer had a specific space for location on the school site. My initial experience was that, without a location at the school, spontaneous opportunities for accessing the school site no longer existed. In fact, all opportunities for data generation were increasingly limited.
In order to maintain the frequency of my contact with Kahlo (and in doing so, opportunities for data generation), there was a greater emphasis on planning. In contrast to the accessibility to planned and spontaneous opportunities for data generation, this represented an important and daunting relocation, as I experienced it. However, the new emphasis on planned encounters coincided with an accumulation of variety of high-quality work being undertaken by the students at Kahlo and an increasing awareness of the impact of student voice, including the audiences for such (Lundy 2007). This led to discussions with Angie and the senior management team at Kahlo about extending the audience for the girls’ work and the girls’ voices. The anticipated outcome of such was an art exhibition, as outlined below.

*Art Exhibition:* The art exhibition, named *iDentity: Don’t Label Me,* was a project that developed with the staff and students at Kahlo. The name reflects the labelling process that the girls communicated that they experienced in educational settings, and the capitalisation of the D reflects the Apple technology invested in by the school, and preferred by many of the students (who were familiar with iPods). The art exhibition involved students exploring identity through different lenses and media. I will now discuss the procedure for the preparation of the exhibition, and will focus on three categories of the exhibition: *Floating Heads; It’s All Personal;* and *Skin Deep.* While the exhibition and the work prepared by the students extended beyond these three themes, these have been included because of the richness of the data from these themes, and their role in supporting an understanding toward the research aims.
Preparation: Preparation for the project involved initial agreement and engagement from the staff and students at Kahlo. The idea of an exhibition emerged in discussion with the Arts instructor, and was developed in communication with Angi and Ella [deputy headteacher]. Ella went on to present the idea to the staff team at Kahlo, and it received a welcoming response. While some themes included within the exhibition were based on work already produced by the students, to ensure that the theme is explored from different angles and across different topics, the majority of work was produced after the exhibition was planned.
Recognising the coherence between the theme of identity and the taught curriculum, this was explored in a number of staff briefings after school, at which staff were encouraged to bring ideas relevant to their subject area. Hazel (English teacher) suggested that identity could be explored through the area of poetry during her classes. For Annie (Maths teacher), identity could be explored through considering perspectives and dimensions. Stuart (Arts instructor) was particularly interested in the variety of ways that identity could be represented across media, suggesting plaster cast arms, uses of photography and collage murals. In a 90-minute meeting led by Ella on an inset day in November, the timeframe for the products was agreed, including a project week in January when the focus across all lessons would be the iDentity exhibition. Lessons were then planned to enable the completion of final products. For example, two English lessons were set aside per class by Hazel to complete the identity poetry. Similar planning and timings were implemented by other members of staff, with Stuart incorporating other times for products to be finished, should they not be completed within the planned timeframe.

During this phase, I was responsible for reviewing possible venues as a space for the exhibition. I searched online and made use of local networks to understand available spaces. Selection criteria included spaces that would be of a sufficient size and provide the required equipment for all the media. Transport links were a consideration, as was cost. The ethos of the environment and possible associations also proved important. For example, one gallery space at a mainstream school site that was otherwise suitable was ruled out by Ella due to concerns regarding the previous experiences of the girls in such
settings, and subsequent potential affective responses. A site was eventually selected that was a dedicated community gallery space. This enabled not only a launch event, but ongoing accessibility to the materials for the following fortnight, thus increasing the audience for the exhibition.

*Floating Heads:* Floating heads represented an opportunity for the students to explore their identity through unstructured video interviews (paired or alone, see Figure 11). A black background, a black polo neck jumper worn by the students and a lamp as lighting were employed to reduce any visual distractions and focus the audience on the 'floating heads' as the students shared their perceptions. Interviews were undertaken with nine students for this purpose. The video was then edited down to a 27-minute account, in which the girls’ views are included in response to different themes, including: ‘about identity’; ‘about my identity’; ‘how others see my identity’; and ‘about changing identity’. These themes emerged during the course of editing, in response to the overlap in content and themes emerging from the students’ account. The editing of the floating heads was undertaken by me alone. While I would have preferred to have the students participating in this activity, time factors and ethical issues relating to the sensitivity of the information shared by some of the students’ (which it was not possible to anonymise) meant that undertaking this alone was both a pragmatic and ethical option. The editing was undertaken on Apple iMovie software, and the video was shown to the participants for their approval before it was shared more publically.
It’s All Personal: This was the title given by the staff at Kahlo to the identity poetry prepared by the students. As identified above, this activity was introduced during English lessons, and the students had two lessons allocated to this task. In the first lesson, as a class group, students were encouraged by the support of the teacher to think of as many adjectives as they could relating to identity. The students were then required to think of five adjectives that best described them (see Figures 12 and 13 for Lesson Objective and Word Lists).
Figure 12: Lesson Objective for Identity Poetry

To create a word list on 'Identity'
Having created their word lists, students were then encouraged to use the words as a trigger to explain their identity. This could include the words that the students had selected in relation to themselves, or could include other content that the students considered interesting or preferable to describe themselves.

The poems were then typed by the students and mounted onto paper or card, as preferred for display at the exhibition. In addition, a number of the students opted to
have their poetry set to beats or music by a contact who worked for a local council organisation promoting creativity among young people, and who had a special interest in this kind of recording technology. In the exhibition, the paper copies of the poetry were mounted beside a station that included two iPod shuffles, used to play the recorded poetry through headphones for the audience to access this exhibit.

*Figure 14: Example Identity Poem*
Skin Deep: This involved the girls using meaningful images or words, three in total, to represent an important moment from the past, something of significance from the present, and an aspiration or wish for the future. These three images or words were then painted on to a plaster-cast arm in the style of tattoos. The arms were cast on each of the girls’ arms during Art lessons and, when dry, were painted in a flesh colour by the girls before receiving the tattoos (see Figures 15 and 16 for development and products).

Figure 15: Preparation for Skin Deep

Further information from Skin Deep is outlined in the publication by Nind et al. (2012).
Data Analysis

The challenge of decision-making regarding qualitative data-analysis has been summarised by Maxwell and Miller (2008, p.461) in terms of the lack of ‘generally accepted theory that provides an underlying rationale for what qualitative researchers do when they analyse data’. The challenge of applying methods for analysis was therefore undertaken based on the guiding principle of ‘fitness for purpose’ (Cohen et al. 2007, original emphasis). Within educational settings, fitness for purpose has been associated with the capacity to preserve ‘the complex and holistic nature’ of contexts and circumstances (Lopes et al. 2014, p.415), as well as the importance of representing
the multiple voices present (Cohen et al. 2007). In this section, I seek to outline my position in relation to the selection of data and tools for analysis, as suggested by Atkinson and Delamont (2008).

In my field notes (01/07/10), I considered analysis in terms of the visibility of data and themes. Being mindful of visibility, I first identified the aim of analysis, expressed by Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p.3) as developing an ‘understanding of the subject matter’. Towards this end, Cohen et al. (2007, p.461) define the purpose of analysis as ‘organising, accounting for and explaining the data; in short, making sense of data in terms of the participants’ definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities’. Within this definition, Cohen et al. (2007) highlight the importance of explaining the data, or interpreting, of representing the voices of participants, and of considering patterns, details and themes within the broader data. In this section, I highlight some of the issues and tensions as I navigated the process of selecting a strategy for data analysis.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p.14) highlight the range of techniques available relating to research questions, as well as the ‘different versions of social reality that can be elaborated’ through analysis. Given the importance of being guided by the research context and question, I start by situating some of the choices and challenges specific to the research at Kahlo. In doing so, I look specifically at the three areas of complexity, multivocality and multimodality.
The level of complexity in relation to the practices observed in Kahlo highlights the requirement of a strategy of analysis that was sufficiently sensitive and flexible to capture such complexity; which Thomas (2011, 37) refers to as ‘preserving those forms that [exist]... rather than collapsing them into an undifferentiated plenum’. Cohen et al.’s (2007, p.467 original emphasis) argument of areas of analysis, which include ‘people’, and ‘issue’, were relevant in exploring analysis. While the demarcation according to person seemed particularly applicable to analysis based on the selection of two students (to avoid losing ‘the integrity and coherence of individual respondent [in]... a collective summary’ (Cohen et al. 2007, p.467), it was the issues of creative approaches to learning and relationships which functioned as the focus. Cohen et al. (2007), and Coffey and Atkinson (1996) argue that fragmentation of data can easily reduce an understanding of processes and interactions, and result in missing valuable insights as understood in their contexts. I was therefore very conscious of exercising caution in relation to structuring analysis, seeking scaffolds that were capable of capturing complexity.

Capturing multivocality in analysis was important in representing the polyphony, novelty and dialogue, as outlined by Bakhtin (1981) and visible in the multiple accounts at Kahlo. Like Cohen et al. (2007), I was aware of variability between participants, even those characterised within a common group or occupying a similar role. Further, as per the arguments of varied performances in relation to gender proposed by Francis (2012), I did not assume a fixed and singular performance or voice from individual participants, but sought to understand their different accounts through making available different media for communication. The challenge of analysing and
representing multiple voices and avoiding fragmenting and collapsing participants into
a single unit or category was relevant (Smith 2014), as was avoiding the ‘convenient

Kim (2006) highlights the multiple voices present within a single alternative educational
establishment, similar to Kahlo. Drawing on concepts articulated by Bakhtin
(1975/1981), Kim (2006) argues the importance of valuing multiple voices as per
Bakhtin’s concepts of polyphony and carnival, stressing the additional texture available
in the data as a result of such. In Kahlo, the communicative practices represented a
collage of experiences, communities and cultures, both educationally and socially. For
Cohen et al. (2007, p.461), the challenge of analysis of individual voices within the
broader data set is considered in terms of ‘whether to present data individual by
individual, and then, if desired, to amalgamate key issues emerging across the
individuals, or whether to proceed by working within a largely predetermined and
analytic frame of issues that crosses the individual's concern’. The solution suggested by
Kim (2006, p.6), which involves a process of testing ‘in relation to others’, seemed
particularly applicable in terms of representing the multivocality at Kahlo.

As outlined previously, multimodality refers to the importance of understanding how
the various modes combine in interactions (Dicks et al. 2006). For Lopes et al. (2014),
given the multimodal nature of educational settings, the strategies for analysis of such
must be sufficiently flexible to incorporate this range of modes. The affordances
associated with combining different modes and media in analysis, rather than allowing
these to co-exist in an *additive* manner (Coffey and Atkinson 1996), has been
demonstrated to enhance understanding in relation to young people’s perspectives
outside of educational settings (Darbyshire et al. 2005). As discussed, students and staff
at Kahlo did not operate across a single mode in their interactions. Analysis which could
incorporate this multimodality within a single data source, and across data sources,
would therefore be more sensitive to the texture in the data. To enable this
multimodality to be accessible, data was analysed and communicated as relevant to
interpretations relating to students rather than mode or media.

The challenges of synthesising data from a range of sources have been identified by
Smith (2014). Atkinson and Delamont (2008, p.287) argue the importance of developing
‘principled, systematic and disciplined ways of accounting for the social world and to the
social world’ (original emphasis). In considering how to approach this, Smith (2014,
p.127) discusses balancing ‘over-mechanical approaches and processes that appear to
be highly intuitive’. As I sought to apply strategies for analysis that could be both
systematic and sufficiently sensitive to the complexity, multivocality and multimodality
at Kahlo, I remained mindful of the appeal from Charmaz (2007) that strategies for
analysis should fit the research, not the reverse.

I was also conscious of the importance of employing inductive analytic strategies that
grounded analysis in the data (Corbin & Strauss 2008). Grounded theory is one method
of grounded analysis of data that is widely present in the literature, relating to its utility
in systematically exploring themes and concerns within the data (Smith 2014).
However, the decontextualisation of data according to this model is raised as a concern (Hood 2007). Dey (2007) similarly argues the dangers of grounded theory in relation to:

- the reduction of concepts to indicators, the focus on features (which are given) rather than attributes (which are identified),
- the assumption of clear rules for assignation, unambiguous membership and crisp category boundaries,
- the centrality of comparison, and the critical role of similarity.

This did not appear to fit well with the complex circumstances at Kahlo, or Bakhtinian understandings of polyphonic and novel accounts of different voices that may not fit easily into crisp category boundaries, but may incorporate a range of meanings and understandings.

However, strategies fundamental to grounded theory such as coding and constant comparison remained highly relevant to exploring understandings at Kahlo. Coding represents a form of ‘data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing’ (Coffey & Atkinson 1996). I was cautious of reducing data, based on the lost meanings that can result from such fragmentation. However, I was equally aware that the management of such a large data set would require the levels of organisation and management of data that are available through coding. I therefore considered the application of coding and structure of analysis as central to avoiding high levels of fragmentation, limiting understanding and interpretation. In selecting two students, I have sought to use codes as a means to break ‘the data apart in analytically relevant ways in order to lead to
further questions about the data’ (Coffey & Atkinson 1996, p.133) that enhance, rather than reduce, the understanding available from the data.

The process of constant comparison, as utilised in grounded theory, is also particularly relevant to my analysis. Again, by focusing on individual students, it has been possible to move between specific examples in data, and broader themes and patterns as relevant to the key processes under investigation (Stake 1995), namely relationships and creative approaches to learning in supporting learning for girls with a label of BESD. In focusing on particular students, I was able to return to ‘data again and again... comparing each element... with all the other elements’ (Thomas 2011).

In seeking an alternative in response to the concerns outlined above regarding the flexibility to include multiple voices, I looked at narrative that accounted for meaning making in a more contextual manner (Smith 2014). Atkinson and Delamont (2008, p.290) state that ‘[w]e should... be studying narrative in so far as it is a particular feature of a given cultural milieu’. Not only do narratives represent a familiar and ubiquitous model for communication generally, they held a particular importance in Kahlo. For example, Angie spoke specifically of the narrative of her childhood and adolescence, and how this related to that of the students; the students spoke of the dominant stories of educational success as different from their own experience; the students also indicated the limited access that they had to author their own stories in educational settings. For Kim (2006, p.4), narratives within alternative educational settings are immensely
powerful in enhancing understanding through contrasting students’ educational experiences with ‘dominant stories’.

The formal structure of narratives as outlined by Cortazzi (2007) is identified to include dimensions of abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, result and coda. The relevance of such is in understanding experience in the context of ‘meaning and motives’ (Coffey & Atkinson 1996). However, I did not seek to focus on individual narratives alone but, like Smith (2014, p.124), to achieve a sense of ‘processes of collective sensemaking’ in relation to how creative approaches to creative approaches to learning and relationships in Kahlo enhanced learning experiences for two students. I looked for an approach that sought to balance categorising and connecting strategies, rather than setting these in opposition (Maxwell & Miller 2008; Smith 2014).

In summary, Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggest that the flexible application of approaches affords the greatest relevance to the analysis of data in ensuring an application which is fit for purpose, rather than an approach which adheres to a rigid model of analysis. I have sought to achieve this by applying strategies that include a close reading of the data, undertaking multiple readings and grouping these with sufficient contextual information in relation to the individual students (as relevant to creative learning and relationships as applicable to these students). This has included comparison across the students’ own accounts and the accounts of spectators (including myself as researcher), in addition to information relating to the material and discursive collage. This fits with Francis and Paechter’s (2015) suggestion that analysis (and
gendered analysis in particular) in educational settings must account for all three of these aspects.

Having discussed the processes through which data analysis was approached, I consider now the selection of data for analysis, including how these complement each other in relation to understanding creative learning, relationships, and gender and BESD. As is indicated in Chapter Five, a range of methods was employed in hearing the voices of girls in a manner that was deemed suitable for them, and which sought to afford some degree of choice. These were selected both in relation to the methods that the students chose to engage with, and the relevance of the data generated in illuminating the girls’ positions and meanings in relation to learning at Kahlo, focusing specifically on creative learning and relationships.

The interview and video interview data generated were relevant to centring the girls’ positions and their meanings (Noyes 2008), identified as necessary in a gendered analysis in relation to learning for girls, including those with a label of BESD or experiences of school exclusion (Bloustein 1998; Allard 2007). Multiple interviews made it possible to generate accounts from the girls across situations and contexts, necessary in recognising the fluid nature of the range of positions that may be included. This also accounted for the varied positions that students with BESD may hold in relation to particular processes and relationships (Pomeroy 1999; Lloyd 2005). Further, interviews took place across a range of contexts, both in structured and unstructured circumstances. The relevance of such to capturing polyphonic accounts constructed in
formal and informal interactions was similarly noted by Smith (2014) to afford greater texture to the available accounts from students in expressing the range of meanings which may be available to them. As such, the meaning that the girls attribute to their learning experiences could be explored in a manner that accounts for different positioning in different contexts and across different times. This also accounts for the challenge identified in addressing the issue of creative learning in terms of the lack of fixed or identified measures (Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011), but rather in seeking the students’ understandings of meanings related to the creative learning opportunities at Kahlo.

The plaster-cast arms’ added value, including past, present and future, were relevant to understanding creative learning based on the importance present and future in analysis of learning – especially for students with an experience of exclusion from school (Miles 2007). Through foregrounding such using a visual approach, motivation was improved (Massey & Burnard 2006). Sam and Keira were also able to comment on the methods, an example of creative approaches to learning in practice, which centred their biography, and they learnt new techniques and practices (Miles 2007). The iDentity poetry similarly provided an opportunity for the girls to present an account of their meanings in which their biography is centred (Miles 2007), and which provided a rich source of data for the girls’ discussions of their relationships with others. Again, information available from the interviews undertaken with students during the process and following the completion of this task provided them an alternative space from which to express their meanings and experiences.
The range of approaches provided alternative ways for the girls to present their voice and their meanings within the specific contexts in which the interactions took place. As identified by Finlay et al. (2013) and Darbyshire et al. (2005), the range of available methods and modes afforded possibilities through which alternative positions were possible. This was identified as important in the context of research in gender in education, based on the variety of performances that may be enacted or inhibited and the importance of the environmental context (and different environments and audiences), as identified by Francis (2005) and Lloyd (2005). It held particular value in relation to topics in which multiple views can be held simultaneously, such as students’ relationships with teachers (Pomeroy 1999). It also resonated with one of the aims of creative approaches to learning identified by Welle-Strand and Tjeldvoll (2003), of ‘improving interactions’ with a focus on improving communication and dialogue. In addition, as I have argued elsewhere, the alternative spaces afforded by creative methods across different media enabled girls with a label of BESD to express themselves in ways that at times surprised themselves and others (Nind et al. 2012).

Relationships and creative approaches to learning are understood to be fluid, dynamic and nuanced (Pomeroy 1999; Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011). Having data from interviews with staff and students at Kahlo, as well as significant others from personal and professional networks, was important in exploring the range of voices, given the value of the antenarrative (Bakhtin 1968, 1981, Bojé 2001; Sullivan et al. 2009). The use of the polyphonic lens (subsequently enabled) is argued to better refine and test
interpretations (Sullivan et al. 2009). This is particularly notable in the case of creative approaches to learning, in which indicators of creative learning have been identified as resistant to identification and visibility (McWilliam et al. 2011), so that an understanding of how the range of participants attribute meaning to creativity is central to how it is, and the extent to which it is applied in promoting learning for girls at Kahlo. The use of participant observation (as employed in ethnography) has been identified to enhance the intangible concepts that do not fit neatly into distinct categories and outcomes indicators (Foster 1996; Bishop 1999), affording the kind of nuanced understanding (Lund 2013) required for concepts such as creative learning and relationships. The ethnographic approach employed enabled my immersion in the naturalistic context through which it was possible to shape and sharpen my spectator view through progressive focusing.

Further, the lack of visibility of creative approaches to learning as identified by McWilliam et al. (2011) implies the utility of visual methods in exploring the visibility. The display of the art exhibition and the video data recording lessons and learning opportunities that adhere to aspects of creative learning afford possibilities for developing an understanding of such in relation to learning for Sam and Keira, as well as better understanding these in relation to students at Kahlo. Further, aspects of teacher–student relationships can be explored from the position of staff as specific to individual students. In addition, understandings can be enhanced through not just through the voices of participants, but also the recording of data from participant observations in field notes and video data.
Finally, the third element suggested by Francis and Paechter (2015) is that of the environmental features, which function to provide a collage in which the views of the girls and the spectator views are situated. This is identified as important in terms of establishing the meaning of the above through better understanding the context. Data on the environmental features of Kahlo was captured through my own experience of such in field notes, as well as through visual media such as photographs and video data. The environments under consideration were not limited to the buildings and grounds at Kahlo, but extend to areas that were used routinely and occasionally to enhance the learning experiences for students. This is effective in supporting the understandings of meanings, contexts and experiences outlined in multisensory ethnography (Pink 2007).
Part 3. Analysing and Interpreting

Introduction

The quantity of data generated indicated that analysis and interpretation required structures to be developed for analysis, with a targeted focus to make analysis and interpretation both manageable and meaningful. The complexity of the contexts was a guiding factor in decision making. Therefore, in addition to the selected scaffolds of relationships and creative learning, data analysis became structured around two particular cases: Sam and Keira. Two students were selected for in-depth analysis in order to understand the data relating to these students. This narrowing down would allow me to explore the complexity and the particularity (Stake 1995) of their situations and experiences, while recognising the process might generate messages of relevance to the broader population (Hajdukova et al. 2014).

Outline of Analysis

Sam and Keira were selected as a scaffold for analysis for the phenomena of creative approaches to learning and relationships. The rationale was first that Sam was already settled in her placement at Kahlo prior to the commencement of the research, while Keira started at Kahlo nearly six months into the project. This variation was useful in terms of the substantial changes during the early months of the KTP research and for examining the processes and dynamics on negotiating entry into an educational community like Kahlo. By selecting students who experienced the developments through at least 18 months of the research, it would be possible to adopt an
ethnographic approach to understanding the students’ experiences of the changes at Kahlo during this time.

Secondly, I saw that Sam and Keira could each enhance understandings in relation to the research aims in contrasting ways. Due to the substantial differences within the label/category of BESD, I considered it necessary to select girls who could, in part, represent that variability in difficulties and requirements, and therefore enhance understandings of the range. I was also mindful of warnings against privileging only those voices that have a particular form of communication capital – those presenting as articulate in a conventional manner (Corbett 1998). Therefore, I selected for intensive focus two students who varied in their preferred forms of communication and in the extent to which they were willing to express and detail their experience. Their differences were evident in the data generation methods selected and utilised by the students (Table 1), with a preference for verbal and textual methods implied by Sam’s utilisation of the Diary Room and ‘floating heads’ interview-centred methods, while Keira’s preference was for the photographic methods, which could be printed to form a tangible product from which to establish conversation.

Thirdly, Sam and Keira offered differences in relation to input from the home and the extent to which different learning environments could be included and/or managed in data generation for analysis at the level of the spectator. The methods, media and data in each of the student case examples are summarised in Tables 1 and 2.
Table 1: Student-Generated Data for Analysis Structured by Student

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Methods/Media and Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td><strong>Art Exhibition:</strong> iDentity Poetry [IP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keira</td>
<td><strong>Photo Voices:</strong> Feedback accompanying photographs [PV/PV FN]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Spectator-Generated Data (From Other Participants) for Analysis Structured by Student

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Methods/Media and Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td><strong>Audio Recording:</strong> Senior Management Reflections [SMR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keira</td>
<td><strong>Audio Recording:</strong> Senior Management Reflections [SMR]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Process of Analysis and Code Development

The extent and variety of the data available from the KTP project led me to consider that it necessary, in the first instance, to begin with the conceptual scaffolds of creative approaches to learning and relationships as the central themes, and more particularly the impact of such on learning.

I was conscious of the affordances of computer programmes for undertaking data analysis, particularly programmes such as Transana, which have been developed specifically to support the management of visual data (Woods & Dempster 2011). I have employed such tools previously in data analysis (Clarke et al. 2011; Nind et al. 2012). However, like Gallagher (2007, cited by Saldana 2016), I considered the complexity of the research context and multiple data sources better served by manual analysis for the purposes of this thesis. In seeking to order and organise data, I therefore used spreadsheets such as Microsoft Excel in the form of a coding workbook, as suggested by Saldana (2016), and this is described further below.

In starting the process of developing a coding framework, it was desirable for Keira and Sam to be the starting points, and it proved possible to begin with Sam’s accounts with reference to relationships. However, I was concerned that, due to the varied nature of creative approaches to learning, it would be possible to misattribute, mislabel or altogether miss relevant data generated from students and other participants. Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011) highlight the importance of making explicit those areas of creative approaches to be targeted, based on the variability and fluidity with which this
has been operationalised previously. This highlighted to me the challenge of developing a robust coding framework for such. While there were some references in the accounts of students to the media employed and variety in delivery of lessons, I was considering the value of a flexible working framework for coding student responses that could be adapted during the course of the analysis process.

I had interviewed Freya as one of the professionals during the course of preparing and planning the art exhibition. Freya was a creative learning advocate and teacher at a further education college. A fundamental theme underpinning the interview with Freya was the manner in which applying creative approaches to learning were more accessible to those students for whom mainstream schools were ineffective in promoting learning. I therefore undertook a detailed analysis first of the interview with Freya, in which it was possible to identify and contextualise a range of codes that reflected on each as to the relevance to the students and/or practices at Kahlo. From the detailed analysis of the data generated with Freya, I developed an initial coding framework of creative learning that I subsequently adapted in response to student-generated data.

While undertaking initial coding of Freya’s interview transcripts, I developed a coding workbook (Saldana 2016) for creative learning. For ease of access, I developed separate coding workbooks for the scaffolds of a) creative approaches to learning, and b) relationships. These initial workbooks included numbers of codes with which it would be almost impossible to develop a coherent analysis and interpretation based on the large numbers (in the first instance 107 codes for creative learning alone). As advocated
by Saldana (2016) the coding workbooks included the code, the date, a brief summary definition and an example of the code. Where possible, at this initial coding phase, I opted to use in vivo codes (Saldana 2016) to support an understanding of the original phrasing.

Following this initial coding and subsequent reflections (see Appendix 4), a review of the codes led me to reduce their number through the process of merging related codes, as well as considering parent codes to which individual codes may belong. For example ‘Ways of Seeing’ (row 8) and ‘Changing the Way We Look at Things’ (row 10) were merged into ‘Positions/Perspectives’. I became increasingly aware of the possible overlaps between codes for relationships and codes for creative approaches to learning, increasingly identifying this division as arbitrary, and if anything adding an unnecessary and unhelpful layer to the analysis and coding process. I therefore opted to merge the coding of conceptual scaffolds onto a single coding framework or document. This secondary coding workbook did not seek to provide highly specific and localised codes, but rather to seek out the key codes of relevance therefore codes such as ‘Use of ICTs’, ‘Flexibility with Media’, ‘Using Environmental Resources’, ‘Sandcastle Competitions’, ‘It’s not sat with a piece of paper’, ‘Folders, scrapbooks and stuff’ were subsumed under the subsequent code of ‘Learning Activities’.

As a part of this process, I became increasingly conscious of the importance of precision in the meaning of the codes, particularly with reference to the variability of the message potentially available as a result. Concerns regarding the precision of the language in my
first coding cycle led me to compare my original codes against code synonyms using a thesaurus (Collins Shorter Dictionary and Thesaurus 1995) to consider the possibilities of alternative wording to ensure the selected codes provided the most precise representation of message. Therefore, on a separate Excel spreadsheet, I listed the codes alongside synonyms. When codes included multiple words or concepts, I reviewed synonyms for the range of words or concepts included in the first round of coding. I then returned to the original data and considered again the coding. During the second coding cycle, 28 primary codes remained (see Appendix 5). This more manageable number increased the coherence with which it was possible to work with the codes and concepts in the data. From this position, I was able to undertake coding first for Sam at Individual Respondent level (data generated by Sam regarding her experiences), before considering the data regarding Sam from that in her environment, including myself as an observer.
Chapter Six. Sam’s Story

Sam was 13-years-old at the commencement of the KTP project. She had been attending Kahlo for approximately six months prior to my arrival. She presented as a confident, established and vocal member of the school community, and appeared as comfortable in communication with staff or students at Kahlo.

During the course of my fieldwork, Sam gained increasing status and input into the decision making in the school, both formally through her role as democratically elected student rep and informally, as the students frequently asked to speak to her to request advice and support, and were also directed to her by Angie.

Sam had experience of disrupted home circumstances. She had a daily commute of over 60 minutes each way to attend Kahlo. She travelled into school using a taxi as transport with another student who lived locally to her.

Sam was understood among the staff team to be one of the students who was capable of achieving GCSEs, including in the core subject of English. Sam had clear preferences with regards to subject choices, and staff were left in no doubt regarding Sam’s preferred and less preferred subjects. However, Sam also was clear in her communication that environmental factors, such as the teacher delivering the lesson, impacted on her subsequent engagement.

Sam attended lessons at Kahlo, and also had a part-time college placement – one day per week – at a local college to study hairdressing. She was supported in her attendance at college by a learning support assistant from Kahlo. Sam’s future aspirations included working either at Kahlo, or the associated residential provision which emerged during the course of the project, indicating her desire to support children and young people who had experienced disadvantage, but also to retain links with the provision, which she communicated that she benefited from.

When Sam spoke of her educational journey, she described having attended over six previous schools by the age of 13. She commented that she had been excluded from many of her previous schools and expressed that she could not recall the names of all of her schools. She spoke of the challenges with remaining in mainstream school associated with the protective patterns of behaviour that she had developed in response to her lack of support from school staff, as well as the lack of relevance and interest in mainstream school. Sam’s autonomy in coping with situations outside of school was also identified within the school setting. Sam described making more progress at Kahlo than at any of her previous schools.

Sam communicated her reflections on her worth in mainstream school. She commented that she felt of limited value in a mainstream school setting, as she did not feel she had the capacity to achieve five or more higher grade passes at GCSE or to enhance the school’s reputation through representing the school in a sports team or dramatic performance.
Sam presented as a vocal member of the school community. She was articulate when expressing her views during the research process. She was clear regarding the methods and media that she wished to engage with and when, at times telling me 'Not today, Georgie'. Sam's selection as the first student for analysis seemed fitting to me, based on the influence that Sam had on the experiences of staff, students and visitors to Kahlo. She was a student representative at Kahlo and a mentor for new students and for students experiencing difficulties. Analysis therefore starts with Sam, before progressing through refocusing using analysis of subsequent students.

The following presents an initial analysis of the impact of relationships and creative approaches for Sam. I will consider this through the lenses of Individual Respondent, Spectator View (including significant others as well as the researcher), as well as the Local, Material and Discursive Collage (as outlined by Francis & Paechter 2015).

**Analysis of Sam: Individual Respondent Level**

Data generated and collected at the level of Individual Respondent, or Sam's direct contribution based on her own words and from her own experience, included four forms: a) a transcript of a paired video interview in the Big Brother Diary Room lasting approximately an hour; b) an individual interview as part of the Floating Heads project for the iDentity exhibition; c) Sam's iDentity poem (see Appendix 6); and d) Sam's Student Annual Review Contribution. The social dimension of Sam's educational experiences was frequently expressed in terms of relationships, relevant throughout her accounts.
‘When things are boring and you just keep rabbiting on... everybody stops listening’: Application of Learning Opportunities

Sam’s differentiation between educational establishments past and present was evident in her different expressions in relation to such. Exclusion was a strikingly common feature of Sam’s expressed experience of her educational career. When asked to describe her educational journey, Sam started with exclusion, commenting: ‘Well I first got kicked out of my first school... I can't remember how old I was’ (DR). Sam’s memory of her exclusion was retained, despite her memories of the details being limited. Sam identified how her original exclusion snowballed into further, more extensive exclusions, as she described: ‘I got excluded from there, and then, I didn’t go to school for a long time, I think it was three years or something like that’ (DR). Sam commented that this initial exclusion limited her future access to educational placements. Sam later went on to communicate the relational antecedents to those exclusions.

Sam identified her disengagement from mainstream school, commenting for example ‘Mainstream schools do my head in. Head right in’ (DR). She mentioned how her feelings for school and for particular teachers generalised more broadly, communicating an altercation with one teacher in a previous school, generalising her negative feeling regarding that teacher and her work to other teachers and to other lessons, when she commented, ‘If you’re not listening to me, then fuck you all’ (DR).
Sam highlighted the expectations of self-reliance from students in accessing learning opportunities in mainstream education, identifying such as problematic. Sam summarised the expectations thus: ‘they tell you what to do, and basically, you’ve got to get on with it. And that’s it—’ (DR). For Sam, this represented an inappropriate model for promoting learning, based on the requirement for additional facilitation by teachers for some students. Further, in Sam’s account there was no indication why ongoing teacher support is not available to students. Sam continued to explain how this subsequently impacted her participation, based on lack of access to learning opportunities:

And then you’re sat there with your hand up for about 20 minutes, and get fucked off with it, so then you go, and you start doing something different because you can’t do the work, and then they think you’re just doing it to be a pain in the arse. (DR)

Sam went on to attribute the challenging behaviour of students in school to the lack of responsiveness of teachers, commenting that ‘they [students] walk out, then ’cos they’ve got nothing better to do just start making trouble’ (DR). In the context of lack of access to participation, Sam described ‘boredom… [as] the main reason why kids these days get kicked out of school’ (DR).

During her paired interview, Sam spoke on a number of occasions of the experiences of her friends and peers on placements at mainstream schools. These school placements were typically positioned by Sam unfavourably in relation to learning opportunities.
Sam’s accounts of mainstream school frequently resulted in exclusion at some level, relating both to students with learning difficulties (specifically ADHD) as well as those without. Sam related this to a significant drop-out rate among students in Years 10 and 11, commenting that at this age, students ‘think fuck it, I’m old enough now, I don’t care’ (DR). In doing so, Sam highlighted the GCSE years as a time of exclusion among those students whom she stressed would not achieve higher grade passes at GCSE, ‘because they know they probably won’t get the help to get them through it’ (DR); or because they would not be able to participate effectively in learning opportunities as a result of the lack of effective support from teachers.

During her Diary Room interview, Sam highlighted that the rules, expectations and practices for students at mainstream schools were too effortful for students, commenting ‘there’s rules on every step you take’, to the extent that ‘they’re [students] gonna want to get excluded’ (both DR), because maintaining placements by adhering to all the rules was simply too problematic. Sam highlighted that this was occurring to the extent that the students ‘couldn’t handle it no more’ (DR) and were actually intentionally seeking out permanent exclusions.

Communication and explanation were identified by Sam as important factors relating to access to learning opportunities. Sam described her own progress in English in relation to the capacity of her teacher to explain things in a way that made sense. Sam highlighted the effectiveness of the explanation at Kahlo, commenting ‘they explain it
differently, so it is more interesting, and so we’re not just sat there like... “yeah, really, great” [Sam looked up appearing disinterested]’ (DR).

The types of learning activities employed within schools were repeatedly referenced by Sam in her paired interview. Sam identified herself as a ‘dancer’ and commented on the ‘bubbly feeling’ that she experienced when dancing (both IP). Dance was actually included on the curriculum at Kahlo during the course of my fieldwork. Sam also spoke of the importance of variability in terms of the learning tasks presented to students. She highlighted that varying presentation may support enhanced engagement, rather than teachers focusing only on a didactic approach, which she described as ‘rabbiting on... rabbiting on’ (DR), a feature of mainstream school that she associated with her own disengagement. Sam identified this variation, including the use of ‘pictures’ and ‘cutting and sticking’ (both DR) as preferable to listening to didactic instruction alone, or ‘writing, writing, writing’ (DR). Sam recognised the necessity of writing, but noted that when this was introduced alongside other forms, it was more effective in promoting learning. She commented that, at Kahlo, as a more effective model, ‘you’ve got to do the writing, [but] you get to do things’ (DR).

Sam also stressed the importance of interspersing learning activities with informal communication in the classroom in terms of the pacing and flow of lessons. She reflected on the issue of motivation in relation to learning activities, stressing that there was ‘nothing enjoyable about mainstream [school]’, and explaining this further in relation to the absence of ‘fun lessons’. Sam also made a plea to teaching staff to ‘make the lessons
interesting’, identifying PE as the only intrinsically motivating lesson in mainstream school. She described a lack of internal reinforcement or motivation from learning activities. For Sam, student attendance at lessons was framed in the interests of teachers, rather than understood to be in the interests of the students.

Classroom management was an important issue for Sam. During the paired interview, Sam highlighted that negative attention from the teacher is the most readily available form of attention for students. She went on to describe how reinforcement from the teacher was more available as a result of challenging behaviour and off-task activities than students’ attempts to engage in learning. In terms of the pacing of lessons and progression of learning, Sam was clear that the opportunities for informal communication off-topic, or when presenting the topic in a humorous way, could actually enhance student participation to learning activities across the course of the lesson, rather than the approach described by Sam as used in mainstream schools, of “argh, you smiled, go to detention” (DR).

Sam also highlighted the importance of attention to students’ previous educational experiences and educational chronologies, identifying: ‘it’s not easy to get straight... back into learning’ (DR) following a period of exclusion. However, she noted that knowledge of a student’s educational history could also be problematic, as Sam communicated: ‘They [the teachers] still judge you’, highlighting this as a problem (DR).
'They still judge you’: Learner Identity

Identity represented a theme that was threaded throughout the majority of Sam’s accounts (and across media) in relation to her experience of education and subsequent learning. Sam defined identity as follows: ‘The meaning of identity to me is, being yourself, your own person, not trying to be something you are not. And having your own stamp on things, your own ideas, your own point of view’ (FH). As Sam spoke of the influences on her learner identity, this seemed to be shaped in relation to the learning opportunities as well as to those in her learning environment. Sam communicated learning from all her experiences: ‘Life experiences has made me me... if I hadn’t gone through things that I’ve been through, I don’t think I’d be the person that I am today, and I wouldn’t know the things that I know... as you grow up, you learn new things, you have to go through different things. And it opens your mind a bit. So that could change you as a person’ (FH). She also spoke of her own identity in terms of her characteristics:

- This is me,
- cheeky, sense of humour, but always caring (IP)

She highlighted the importance of a young person’s appearance to the expression of their identities within school settings (FH). For Sam, her hair colour, as an aspect of her physical appearance, resulted in her becoming the subject of bullying from a peer at primary school (DR). This was subsequently described by Sam as the antecedent to her challenging behaviour that resulted in her first school exclusion, which in turn positioned her in a more powerful and preferable identity with peers. Sam differentiated
between the visible and less visible aspects of identity, commenting that the more visible aspects may hold a greater influence when individuals are less well known. She noted: ‘If someone’s looking at you who don’t know you, I think the outside is your identity most. And then when like... when you get to know someone a bit more, you get to know their identity in a deeper sort of depth–’ (FH).

Sam explained the challenge for students of selecting and expressing preferred identities in the context of restrictive school uniforms, sharing:

we all have the same uniform... so that part of our identity is kind of covered up... because in a place we’re – well we’re all individuals, but... at the same time we need to be the same. Because it’s a school community, so you’ve all got to work together. So I think that part of your identity is withdrawn – just a little bit – but obviously you put your own stamp on it with your accessories (FH)

Sam therefore highlighted the compromise involved in wearing a school uniform. However, she also recognised the benefits of school uniform in ensuring that students were not singled out based on a lack of access to preferred clothing and labels. Therefore, while minimising access to preferred identities, uniforms functioned to limit access to non-preferred identities for students as well.

With gender as an aspect of identity, I asked Sam about her learner identity in the context of mixed-sex as opposed to single-sex schools. Sam expressed the positive
aspects of the placement at a girls-only school, commenting ‘cos there are some boys that are like, if you ain’t the good looking... girl, a good-looking person or a pretty person, then most boys are like, arr, they’ll like walk past the corridor and they’ll be like “rah, rah, rah”’ (DR). She went on to stress that, as a result of attending a single-sex school, ‘you feel more relaxed’, attributing this to a reduction in appearance-based bullying.

For Sam, it was not just physical appearance that influenced access to learning. It was also expressions through behaviour, with Sam commenting, ‘it’s just your behaviours, like your body language and everything, it tells people everything. So if you’re just sat there, bored, not listening, basically, we’re doing the same to you as you’re doing to us’ (DR). This comment was levelled in relation to teaching staff.

Sam described a guardedness with regards to sharing her own identity with others in the school setting and she identified being ‘secretive’ and ‘dangerous’ (IP). Sam’s identity poetry highlighted multiple aspects of her identity including what she enjoys, and characteristics relating to her interest in others and desire for knowledge, as well as aspect of non-disclosure regarding certain characteristics.

For Sam, reputation, labels and narratives functioned as important mediators of her educational experience. She commented, ‘I’ve got learning difficulties and behavioural difficulties, but for years that didn’t get recognised, until I started, you know, getting really frustrated with my work because I couldn’t do it, and no one was taking the time
to come to me and explain it to me properly’ (DR). For Sam, the lack of adequate
assessment and subsequent support had had a significant influence on her identity as a
learner. Sam expresses the years during which her difficulties were overlooked, and the
resultant frustration. For Sam, the process of labelling had been a necessary one in
accessing the additional support that she required.

Sam’s accounts related the importance of introductions and initial impression to her
learning. She highlighted the possibility of forging a new and different learner identity
through attendance at an alternative school following a permanent exclusion. Yet she
stressed that, in practice, this was rarely her experience, as narratives from staff at her
previous school had gone ahead of her, limiting her potential for an alternative narrative
and different learner identity. Sam spoke of a lack of control as to what was shared
about her with other schools via her file.

‘My teacher is great at explaining things to me and she is very
patient’: Teacher Characteristics and Qualities

Sam indicated the importance of teacher characteristics on her experience of learning.
These were particularly noticeable in her account of progress in English (Student
Annual Review Contribution (SARC)), where her perception of progress was suffixed
with teacher characteristics as identified by Sam’s comment: ‘My teacher is great at
explaining things to me and she is very patient’ (SARC), the juxtaposition indicating a
link between the two. Similarly, she identified improved progress in Science, which she attributed to the qualities of her new teacher.

Sam saw flexibility and responsiveness as important in her access to learning opportunities, communicating the necessity of staff being open and responsive to student interactions. The absence of such responsivity presented as a barrier to learning, as well as representing a lack of adherence to the social codes of the school by staff, with Sam commenting: ‘You’re the one that didn’t come to me when I asked for help’, identifying ‘you’re sat there with your hand up for about 20 minutes, and get fucked off with it, so then you go and, you just start doing something different because you can’t do the work’ (both DR). In turn, the insufficiently flexible, open and responsive teacher was more closely associated with a barrier to learning, for her, than a facilitator.

Sam saw access to learning as about the willingness and effectiveness of the teacher in communicating with the student within the classroom. When teaching staff were effective communicators, she highlighted that this supported her learning. She said her progress was ‘because my teacher is great at explaining things to me’ (SARC). For Sam, this positive communication was evident in teachers who ‘took their time, they respected us, they understood that it’s... not easy to get straight... back to learning’ (DR). Further, while she indicated that such qualities were characteristics of staff at Kahlo, Sam also recognised the existence of positive characteristics among some teachers at mainstream schools, commenting, ‘I've had decent teachers at mainstream school’ (DR). However, this was not expressed as a uniform experience, and other teachers at mainstream school were referred to in very different terms: ‘but then there’s some that
just think they’re above everybody, and that they can think they can treat the pupils... without respect’ (DR). Sam spoke of her own progress, specifically in learning in English, noting the association between this and patience from her English teacher (SARC). In this brief comment from Sam, the patient response from her teacher had opened the possibility for learning to occur.

‘We have a laugh with teachers’: Relationships

Relationships with school staff were frequently identified by Sam as a site of possibility and potential for removing barriers to learning. She explained the association between relationships in school and identity in terms of safety, commenting, ‘if you haven’t got support around you and feel safe, you might turn to trying to be something that you’re not, to keep you – to make you feel safe in yourself’ (FH). However, she described challenges to the establishment of positive or safe relationships relational patterns in the context of problematic histories. For Sam, her relationships with staff at different schools had been predetermined by her reputation, which preceded her, based on previous behavioural responses in educational settings. Sam described the need and desire for a ‘fresh start’ at new schools. While she recognised that the levels of professionalism among teachers would prevent them from responding to her in an overtly negative and unpleasant way, she described a lack of respect from staff to some students, reporting ‘they don’t treat them with respect basically’ (DR). In fact, Sam continued to describe feeling disrespected by teachers, questioning what she was supposed to do when being shouted at by staff: ‘Just stand there and then go, yeah, you
can keep spitting in my face. No! If you’re gonna get in my face I’m gonna get in your face’.

Sam commented that relationships in school with both teachers and students influenced her access to learning. For example, her initial exclusion was identified by Sam to result from her behaviour in relating to a peer. She characterised her relationships with Angie, Kath and the other teachers at Kahlo differently from relationships in previous schools, based on the efforts of staff to understand students: ‘in mainstream schools, they get to know you from your file and not from you basically’ and ‘Yeah, I don’t, I don’t think Angie and Kath really read my file. I think they got to know me for me’ (both DR). The subsequent relationships that were formed were recognised by Sam as more authentic, as they failed to take into account her identity.

Sam talked of positive relationships with all the staff at Kahlo, regardless of her mood (SARC). An important element of an engaging teacher–student relationship as expressed by Sam was humour. Sam differentiated her experience at Kahlo from that of her previous schools by the shared laughter, sharing ‘we’re allowed – we have a laugh with teachers as well, that’s what’s different here’; and ‘we have a laugh with the teachers, we get on with the teachers, because we all respect the teachers’ (DR). Sam described the informality and humour as supporting her learning in terms of the pace of her lessons.
Analysis of Sam: Spectator View

The following presents an initial analysis of the impact of relationships and creative approaches for Sam at the level of Spectator View, which includes significant others in Sam’s environment, as well as myself as observer. The following section makes use of discrete data collected from the following sources: a) a video recording and transcript of an end of term awards event at Kahlo (AC) (see Appendix 7); b) an audio recording from three members of staff in relation to a Photo Voices activity (relating to the best bits, and bits requiring improvement at Kahlo) (PV); c) an audio recording of a senior management discussion following the ‘riot’ at Kahlo (SMR); d) video recording and transcript of a lesson observation (LO) (see Appendix 8). In addition to the discrete forms of data listed, I have included information from transcripts of staff interviews (SI), and my own field notes and observations undertaken across the two years of fieldwork at Kahlo. Sam was frequently used as a model for a number of members of staff when seeking to express or communicate a point, as illustrated in the teaching staff Photo Voices information.

Application of Learning Opportunities

When Sam’s progress was considered in relation to end of term awards, information regarding the perception of Sam’s identity by spectators (both staff and students) was

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8 A significant incident in which students resisted both the school rules in Kahlo and attempts to enforce such from staff at the school, including fighting between students, attempts to remove and damage school property, and resulted in several temporary exclusions – rare at Kahlo.
available. Kath was confident that Sam would be recognised when she asked the
students to label the winner, commenting ‘Actually I think there’s probably quite a clear
winner for Art’ (AC). Sasha reinforced Kath’s confidence, announcing Sam as the winner
of the award for the Art prize. This implied that Sam’s success and achievement in
relation to Art was known and understood within the school, among teachers and
students. At Kahlo there was an understanding and a narrative of Sam’s success in this
subject and achievement that extended beyond that of her peers.

Sam’s achievement in PE was also recognised during the awards ceremony (AC), and
Kath specified why Sam had won the award for PE. The specific area was differentiated
from the other award for PE, which related to effort and achievement across the range of
activities. In response to winning an award for Art, Sam appeared to almost dance up to
receive the award. Sam’s progress in English was reinforced by an award for English,
which was explained specifically in terms of a piece of work by Sam’s English teacher,
Hazel. In providing specific rather than generalised feedback, it is possible for Sam, as
well as the other students present, to be aware of where she demonstrated progress in
her learning.

The recognition of achievements within the community at Kahlo appeared to be
significant for Sam, who loudly labelled Sasha a ‘Boffin!!’ for her achievements on
winning a third award, yet she was highly vocal in her escalation following Sasha’s
identification of herself winning the most awards at the previous ceremony, when Sam
had been convinced that she had won the highest number (AC). This escalation indicated
the importance of the achievement of awards for Sam, in relation to her comparative status in relation to succeeding in learning with other students. In addition to the formal recognition of success, the informal recognition of Sam’s achievements were evident during my class observation of an English lesson, in which the content of Sam’s access to learning via her identity poetry was utilised as a scaffold for other classes. In this way, Sam’s progress in learning was not only a source of possibility for other students, but also celebrated in terms of her final output (in the form of the poem). The visibility of Sam’s work was noticeable in other areas of the school, including through her art displayed in the art room, as well as the reception area at Kahlo.

In addition to the learning opportunities at Kahlo, Sam was able to access a hair and beauty course in a college environment, which she initially attended (with the support of Julia) for one day per week, on the same day as other students from Kahlo. However, Sam’s college placement was ended within two weeks of its commencement as a result of her behaviour, which was in contravention of the rules of the college, to the extent that Kath, having spoken with the college link worker, commented that the ‘college staff were in a heap’ following the behaviour of Sam and others from Kahlo in attendance at college that day (FN 11/09/08). The feedback in the staff briefing was that Sam was ‘choosing’, in contrast to other students who were described as ‘not ready’ (both FN 11/09/08). In fact, in the dialogue established with Sam following the incident, it became evident that there was a lack of readiness (FN 12/09/08). This triggered an opportunity for reflection and learning for Sam, a recommitment to Kahlo, and her
challenging the behaviour of students who contravened the expectations of Kahlo in community settings (FN 12/09/08).

Identity

From my observation, Sam’s identity was uniquely positioned between staff and students, included as she sometimes was within the staff reflections and discussions, particularly towards the end of the KTP project. This was noticeable as she was involved by Angie in a discussion regarding the ‘riot’ within the school. The range of Sam’s different roles and identities within the school was implied in a comment addressed to her by Angie ‘Right, I’m asking you as a child, as a student in this school… And I want you to dig deep and be an adult’ (SMR 10/03/09). This level of inclusion had preceded Sam’s democratic election as student representative, a role Sam that seemed to inhabit before the availability of the label for such (SI 05/11/08). However, the acquisition of the label gave her an official position in which she was able to satisfy her self-confessed characteristic of curiosity.

In my observation of an English lesson (LO), Sam’s identity poetry was used as an exemplar by Hazel, who read the poem aloud to encourage the class to think about their own identities. In the discussion that followed Hazel’s recital of Sam’s poem, Scarlett immediately questioned Sam’s portrayal of an unfamiliar identity to her, asking ‘Is she?’ in response to Sam’s identification of herself as dangerous. Hazel responded by asking the class how they understood Sam’s identity in relation to the statement. Scarlett’s response was ‘No, she’s really kind’. Megan interjected, suggesting that identity is not
necessarily fixed and stable, but that Sam’s identity might have varied in response to her environment, expressing ‘you don’t know her outside of school, so you don’t know what she gets on outside of school’ (LO). Hazel continued (without directly answering the question with a yes or no) to reinforce Sam’s expression of her identity, identifying ‘I think actually she captured herself really well within that’. Scarlett’s response was to acknowledge the other aspects of the poem, while still challenging this aspect of Sam’s identity, agreeing ‘That does sound like her... except for the ‘I am dangerous’, that bit’. Here, Sam’s identity as fluid, and potentially variable in interaction with the environment, was stressed by Megan, and recognition of all the aspects of Sam’s identity as included in her poetry were reinforced. However, Scarlett’s understanding of Sam’s identity as fixed and inflexible meant that those aspects of her identity that were unfamiliar and inconsistent with her understanding of Sam were not integrated into Scarlett’s understanding of Sam’s identity.

The aspect of Sam’s identity as ‘dangerous’ was reinforced among staff in an afternoon briefing when Sam’s volatility was stressed by Angie, who commented ‘Please don’t take her on... leave it to me’, continuing to share confidence in only four members of staff when engaging in de-escalation with Sam: two teachers and two teaching assistants (FN 11/09/08). In fact, the aforementioned meeting preceded the indications of Sam’s volatility, with destruction of property within the school occurring within days of this meeting (FN 16/09/08). I recorded in my field notes:
Sam was shouting profanities so loud [within the school grounds] a member of the public overheard and told her to “shut up” and threatened to call the police. Sam later… commented ‘school is all I’ve got’….

Angie commented, ‘I don’t want to exclude, but to remove phone credit and STAR Time. Other girls get that for less’. Sam also commented she was missing Julia. (FN 16/09/08)

This aspect of responsibility was interesting, in relation to perceptions of Sam among staff. With the opportunity for reflection, staff felt that Sam was willing to take responsibility. For example, Angie commented ‘Sam has been in and tried to put things right’ (FN 11/09/08). At the time, I remarked in my field notes:

Sam arrived this morning without make-up, a smaller presence than the one that walked through making demands yesterday… evidenced in an apologetic letter written to the school and to Angie which outlines how she feels about the situation… What was commented by staff was that she has ‘faced the music’ and come in to school, reflected and wanted to change. This was contrasted with the attitude of another student, who maintained the defiant attitude and was spoken to by Sam. (FN 12/09/08)

Sam’s responses were considered by staff as authentic efforts to repair the damage caused as a result of angry outbursts.
In response to the language used by Sam in her outburst directed at Sasha, Stuart playfully commented that Sam might have Tourette’s syndrome (AC), by way of explaining by medicalised terminology the language used by Sam. Rather than resisting the label from Stuart, Sam actually embraced it, commenting, ‘I think I have got it actually’. In this interaction, both Sam and Stuart directed blame outside of Sam’s control, referencing a recognised disorder instead.

**Relationships**

As with the other students, the practice of celebrating Sam’s achievement took the form of a certificate, a chocolate prize (recognising the seasonality of Easter), and a round of applause from staff and students. In addition to these celebrations, Sam received a hug from Kath, a feature not uniformly applied to all students (AC). As such, the relationship between Kath and Sam included communication through physical contact, not necessarily typical of other schools or routinely applied to all students, yet was applied in a manner that seemed familiar to and comfortable for Sam.

However, Sam used derogatory language in relation to another student who won multiple awards. Her behaviour also escalated quickly and verbally violently in response to Sasha’s suggestion that she had won the most awards previously. I wondered about the impact of such on the other students, as spectators. Sam also communicated mixed messages on receipt of her award, sticking her fingers up in a gesture to Sasha while also smiling cheekily at her. When Sam’s language and behaviour escalated in relation to Sasha, with Sam shouting ‘Fuck off. I did!!! Fuck you! there was non-response from Kath,
who continued with the awards ceremony. A muted response was provided by Julia, who commented ‘Nowwww’, as well as from Laura, who mouthed ‘shhhh’ before Sam self-regulated (all AC).

When receiving awards, Sam was the only student who was able to access her chocolate directly from Kath. While she did not even attempt to eat the chocolate immediately (one of the reasons for most students not receiving chocolate straight away), there was no effort from Kath or any other member of staff to remove the chocolate from her. Sam drew attention to this, commenting ‘Are you going to take that off me then. No’. In fact, the practice of rule enforcement was particularly noticeable in relation to Sam. During a staff Photo Voices exercise, three members of staff in collaboration expressed the students’ response to Sam, commenting: ‘we feel that the only people the kids listen to are Kath, Angie and Sam, and that cannot be right. You ask them to do something, and they’ll tell you to go away in no uncertain terms. And then as soon as Angie comes into the room they’re angels. Same with Sam’ (PV), and, humorously: ‘we need to be able to make more decisions without having to go to Angie or Kath. Or Sam [shared laughter]’ (PV). Stuart continued, ‘you can ask Sam to come into the class to tell the kids... they’ll listen to her. They’ll listen to Sam more than us. Because they’re scared of her’ (PV).

Strong communication seemed to me to characterise the relationship between Sam and the staff at Kahlo. This was evident not just in the humour in the informal times spent together, or Sam’s readiness to attempt learning activities, but also in tackling
potentially sensitive and difficult discussions. For example, Angie commented on Sam’s challenging behaviour in front of her after the event:

Sam, come here. On a good day though, she’ll come up with all the right answers. On a bad day it looks quite bad. You can tell by the nostrils. She’s like a bull in a china shop (SMR).

Angie made a physical description of Sam when she was engaging in an episode of challenging behaviour in which she compared her to a dangerous animal. However, the manner in which Angie communicated the descriptions (including her physicality when describing such) made this communication humorous, and Sam and I laughed at her description rather than experienced it as harsh or judgemental. I felt at the time the importance of including Sam in this discussion, as opposed to conducting it in her absence. In this way, Sam was not only aware of what was being said about her, of the spectator view, but was also able to contribute, question and correct this as she deemed necessary, improving the visibility and transparency in discussions for Sam.

What was also noticeable was the transparency with which Angie related the episode of Sam’s challenging behaviour with relationships in the school. Angie remarked on this in Kahlo in Sam’s presence, including Sam in discussions of where teaching staff could have behaved differently so as to dissect Sam’s response and how this could have been improved from the perspective of the school:
Sam: ‘Cos she showed her emotions to all the other kids.

Angie: Who runs out the front door? Normally?... Who has a lot of crap at home?

Sam: All of us.

Angie: Yeah, but staff come in here, yeah, to hold you guys, and hold your crap, yeah, not the other way round. (SMR)

Here, Sam appeared to have been included in the discussion regarding the member of staff, because the relationship was fundamental to the sequence of events leading to the exclusion.

Rather than seeking first the account of that member of staff, Angie communicated the following to Sam and I:

I had a long chat with you when I excluded you Monday night, and actually she – her wordings summed it up. (SMR)

Therefore, despite her absence from school on the day of the riot day, Angie was ready to communicate with the students, to explain to them the consequences of their behaviour, directly, that evening, and to take the time to have a long conversation. The fact that Angie was able to share what Sam had said indicated that it was not only a case of her explaining, but that she also listened to Sam, to what she had to say and had remembered this sufficiently to report it back.
On the public stage of the awards event, although there was a limited immediate response to Sam’s labelling of Sasha as a boffin, Sam’s derogatory language was loudly applied back at her by Sandra in response to Sam winning another award, likening Sam to Sasha through the application of a common label. Sam’s interaction with her peers is framed both positively and negatively by staff, with Sandra describing Sam as a good peer mentor to new students (SI 01/12/09), by virtue of her confidence and good communication skills. However, in my field notes, I recorded that tutor groups had to be adjusted in response to the negative relational dynamic that had evolved between Sam and a less confident peer (FN 08/09/08).

The significance of Sam’s relationship with school staff was noticeable with regard to the goodbye for Julia (AC). Julia represented an important member of staff to Sam. Sam not only expressed her emotions through her tears on the ending of this relationship, but was also keen that Julia was made aware of the impact that she had had on the students. For example, in response to Kath’s comment ‘Julia, the girls absolutely love you to bits!’ Sam shouted ‘We do, we do, we do!’, repeating it three times to ensure that Julia was left in no doubt of the value and influence of her relationships on those around her. In fact, for Kath as headteacher, the importance of relationships between staff and students was noted, with Kath recognising the transformative effect of staff liking students. She highlighted this in relation to Sam: ‘Look at Sam, start to believe they can actually change their lives – “okay, I’m not such a bad person after all, if these people, the teachers think I’m all right”’ (SI 27/11/08).
Analysis of Sam: Features of the Local, Material and Discursive Collage

The local, material and discursive collage in which the above individual and spectator accounts were situated will now be discussed. It was not possible to label discrete data sources and forms for this section (as for the two previous sections), as there is a strong observational and interpretative element that drew on ethnographic methods.

For Sam, the environment at Kahlo provided opportunities that differed significantly from previous educational environments. I will first describe those features of Sam’s personal collage, before extending this understanding to include the environmental aspects (including broader discursive patterns and influences). While it would have been possible to say more regarding the physical manifestations in students, this is something I have chosen not to pursue extensively here, based on my desire to avoid presenting this as a focus that is more synonymous with the policing of femininities.

For the purposes of understanding the features of the local, discursive and material collage, in addition to the concepts of bodies, decorations, expressions, material objects and discursive elements identified by Francis and Paechter (2015), I have included a Bakhtinian lens of chronotope, through which the ‘spatiotemporal matrix... constituted through the interaction of past experience, ongoing involvement, and yet-to-be accomplished goals’ (Brown & Renshaw 2006, pp. 248 & 249). The benefit has been to
recognise those features of current and previous experience and identity which may influence understanding (Leander 2001).

In relation to the category of bodies and decorations, uniform was generally expressed as an area of importance by staff and students. Sam described the ways in which it was possible for students at Kahlo to express their identity while still maintain Kahlo’s expectations regarding uniform. Sam’s expressions of her identity included the use of make-up, piercings and highlights in her hair. These were all recognised as acceptable for the students attending Kahlo. Sam diverged from the position of her peer, Nina, during their paired interview regarding school uniform, identifying such as a positive to avoid discrimination between students, based on who is able to afford which brands, conditional on the possibility of maintaining space and scope for individual student expression of their identity. Sam described this in contrast to the expectations in her previous educational establishments, in which rules were strict and enforced regarding the absence of available flexibility of uniform. At Kahlo, the behaviour policy was sufficiently flexible for students such as Sam to be able to express themselves through decoration, rules which she was clear were applied less flexibly at previous educational establishments. For example, during the course of the research, I observed students with their hoods up on several occasions. Angie explained that this was at times associated with the girls’ state of mind and presented as a reason to begin conversations with students regarding their feelings.
The uniform at Kahlo represented an important aspect of the school experience for students. A part of the induction to Kahlo involved students accompanying staff on a shopping trip to select items for the school uniform (FN 21/09/09). In this way, Kahlo was seen to provide for the students. Students accompanied staff to have some input into the items purchased and ensure the suitability of their fit. Availability of washing facilities in Kahlo similarly enhanced the students’ experience. Kahlo did not expect anything from students that they were not supported to achieve by using the facilities and equipment available within the school. The uniform at Kahlo was an important part of the school community, not just for students but also for staff, who were also required to wear uniform. While there were differences between staff and student uniform, the requirement for all groups to maintain the uniformity was in evidence. Further, the introduction of staff uniforms was at the suggestion of a student, Sasha, who perceived it as more equitable for staff to wear uniforms when the students were expected to.

The importance of flexibility regarding hairstyles seemed particularly applicable to Sam, within her hairdressing college placement. This additional context highlights the importance of Sam’s presentation. For example, I observed a conversation regarding Angie and Sam in which the presentation of self was highlighted in a service role, such as hairdressing. On this occasion, the staining to hands that was possible from smoking was raised as a concern regarding ongoing smoking (FN 08/09/09).

Physical health was promoted at Kahlo in terms of the available facilities and lunch choices, and an emphasis on exercise, PE and outdoor education. In addition, physical
and emotional health were promoted as such important practices at Kahlo that time was taken out of the curriculum for the girls to attend weekly counselling and holistic therapy. The importance of holistic therapy was not just in terms of the self-care skills provided through a planned curriculum in which the girls completed modules (SI 05/11/08), but was also stressed in terms of emotional wellbeing, of being able to discuss concerns, and access support and advice (SI 05/11/08; FN 15/07/09).

There were multiple discourses in Kahlo, too many to mention in detail. However, a strong message across the school was one of family. This was repeated by stakeholders, for example Kath’s comment regarding ‘the family-orientated atmosphere’ at Kahlo (SI 27/11/08), or Olivia’s comment ‘you almost have a family telling you like you are good enough to do it’ (SI 05/11/08). This family discourse was similarly emphasised by Angie who, when breaking bad news in the school, stressed the importance of supporting one another: as she expressed it, ‘families pull together’ (FN) and, when identifying that a new headteacher would be starting, communicated ‘I’ve been too busy mothering you lot’ (FN). Bella similarly noted that Kahlo was less like a school and more ‘like a big deranged family’ (DR 13/02/09). In fact, not only were roles and relationships described like in a family, for example Stuart’s identification that he was like a ‘stupid older brother’, but that ‘other people have got that motherly, sisterly, auntie... caring nurture relationship’ (SI 16/12/09). The language common to parent–child relationships of ‘attachment’ was stressed as more relevant than other terminology by Tony, Angie’s husband (FN 19/08/09). The ‘almost maternal’ bond between Angie and Sam was similarly noted by Olivia (FN 09/09/09), and Sam’s desire to return to Kahlo to
work was identified as a consequence of her desire to return Angie’s investment in her
and to make her proud (FN 09/09/09).

Another key discourse within the school was that of choice and control for the students.
Olivia explained it thus: ‘It’s an understanding why you wouldn’t do something, not just
saying no all the time. Because no doesn’t work. It’s why you wouldn't do it. Why would
you do it? I would say to the girls “why would you do that?”, “why did you do that?”,
“What did that help you?”, “How did that help you?”, “Well it didn’t”, “Why don’t you go
about it a different way?”, “I don’t know”... There’s always a choice for them. I always
give them choices’ (SI 05/11/08). Olivia then linked choices with consequences,
stressing the importance of choices in relation to access. Hazel likewise expressed the
manner in which student choices were supported at Kahlo, commenting, ‘We don’t say
no to a reasonable request’ (SI 18/11/08). This seemed to be understood by Sam, who
had been able to communicate her love of dance and art, and observe the ways in which
these had been integrated into the curriculum.

Another aspect of communication, choice and control was the manner in which spaces
and media were provided to support the availability of authorship of their own stories
and narratives, or a commitment of staff to hearing the voices of students. With regards
to the work produced for the arts exhibition, Laura [instructor] stressed the importance
of the girls producing pieces for which they take ownership of their identities,
commenting, for example:
I do think they're really powerful, because it was their chance to show about
themselves, their future, their past, rather than seeing it from someone else’s
point of view, and being told what to think about it. They could do it themselves.
(SI 09/11/09)

Laura communicated the importance of providing the tools through which the girls
could communicate from their position, continuing ‘and maybe that's what it shows,
we're giving them a chance to show us what has happened in their lives rather than
reading a file and finding out’ (SI 09/11/09). Stuart communicated to me his surprise at
the extent to which the students selected positive aspects for communication (SI
09/11/09), a feature also stressed as important to me by Sasha (FN 09/11/09).

The discourses of power among the students, and the position of students in relation to
one another, were particularly relevant with regards to Sam. For example, after the
departure of Roxy, a powerful student during Summer Term in 2008, Angie marked out
Sam as most likely to succeed her in the power vacuum that subsequently opened up,
labelling her as 'king pin' (FN 21/07/08). In doing so, power was assigned to Sam by the
most influential person at Kahlo, in Angie. The discourse was subsequently reinforced
over time, as evidenced by Angie’s warnings for staff not to take Sam on, but to ‘leave it’
to her (FN 12/09/08). This was also observed among the students, with Olivia reporting
how Isla had commented that she was ‘going to be the next Sam’ (FN 09/09/09). The
explicit nature of this positioning was discussed openly with Sam, with Olivia
commenting that she had asked Sam directly, ‘Doesn't it take its toll on you? Isn't it tiring
always being that person?’ Olivia communicated that Sam had commented that it was ‘pretty good’, but she questioned what the alternatives were, identifying that ‘she had been maintaining this persona since she was six or seven’ (both FN 09/09/09). Olivia said her response was to identify the possibility for a ‘new start in her college placement’, where she could ‘just be Sam’ (FN 09/09/09).

‘Respect’ was a word frequently used within the school environment, which was integral to the relational discourses in Kahlo. For example, the students’ daily record books or STAR books at Kahlo included, as the ‘R’, ‘Respect’. Therefore, during each lesson, students were assessed on whether they conducted their relationships with respect. Further, respect was a feature of the material environment in Kahlo, with most classrooms containing a laminated sign that outlined relevant aspects of respect to staff and students (Figure 17).
Respect was a characteristic of positive relations for Sam, and appeared to be absent from those relationships that were framed negatively. Sam stressed mutual respect between herself and the staff at Kahlo. This was characteristic of respect that was identified more generally by staff and students. For example, Kath highlighted the importance of ‘ensuring you’ve got respect, trust with the different groups’ (SI 27/11/08); Kath highlighted the importance of such as a staff quality, establishing the need for staff to demonstrate ‘the ability to... form a relationship with young people, to
respect them, which is sometimes very hard’, and for the students to have ‘relationships with... teachers who listen to you [students] and respect what you've got to say’ (both SI 27/11/08).

The importance of informal communication, particularly of humour, was a noticeable characteristic and discourse at Kahlo. For example, the informality in the staff-student relationships resulted in Carl describing the relationships as more like those observed in a youth club (SI 05/11/08). Olivia similarly commented ‘They don’t mind who you are because they’ll take the mick out of anything, if you can take a joke’ (SI 05/11/08) – therefore, humour represented a site of contact for students with staff, irrespective of personality or particular relationship.

As identified in the opening vignette, care was taken to establish the visual tone of the environment of Kahlo, one that evidenced investment and caring, not one that looked tired and dated. The level of care and attention paid to material objects and environmental spaces signified the importance of such to Kahlo. In fact, I can recall many visitors commenting that they experienced the school as more like a home environment, on entry to the Hub and kitchen area, as attention had been paid to ensuring these did not present as institutional.

The importance of displaying the work of the students in the Kahlo community was identified by Hazel, who commented: ‘And they [students] enjoy seeing their work on the wall; not one of the girls have said “Don’t you put that [up]...”’. However, it was not
just students’ work that was displayed in the classrooms in Kahlo, but also their targets – a visual reminder in their environment of how they could make progress (see Figure 18). Rather than describe their photos next to their name, a visual image was included. Hazel highlighted the importance of reviewing and renewing the boards on a half-termly basis to maintain the interest and attention of students.

![Image of a display board with targets]

**Figure 18: Personalised Display Board Targets**

Sam’s visibility within the Hub was significant. Not just her physical presence, which was noticeable in terms of the sound of her voice when she was there, but also the photo-posters. Sam was included in the photo-posters of former students, as well as the visual records of the residential trip to Paris. Sam therefore was noticeable as an established member of the school community through her visible presence in the Hub, in the context of her physical absence. This visibility, even in her absence, could also be
identified in classrooms and the reception area, where Sam’s work could be seen displayed on the wall and on shelves.

**Reflecting on Sam’s Use of Methods**

Observing Sam’s use of video interviews gave me an impression of her confidence in her verbal capacity. My understanding was supported by Sam’s expression of her confidence in her own identity including in interaction with others, in the Floating Heads interview. Her ability to identify and explain her position seemed present in her comfort and familiarity with video technologies, and was noticeable during both individual as well as paired interviews. What was also evident in Sam’s presentation was that when she was not able to present perfectly, she was confident in the use of interactive repair strategies, using laughter and questioning me as interviewer as to whether she had answered the question, when she became lost in her answer, or requesting that the question was asked again.

What I also observed during Sam’s interviews was the passion and emotion demonstrated at times during her interviews and performance, when discussing emotive topics such as lack of timely interventions from teachers. The video medium therefore afforded Sam the opportunity to emote as well as describe. Unlike some of the other students, Sam did not express a desire to review her data, or to share this more widely following interview. I interpreted this in terms of Sam’s confidence in accessing the space and the audience of senior managers, so that if she had wished to communicate with them she could do so directly. I believed this also linked with her
confidence in being able to articulate verbally what she was experiencing without needing the indirect experience of doing so through the methods employed in the study. Instead, in my understanding, Sam had a developed sense of the benefits of dialogue at Kahlo, in terms of what could be achieved by such, and therefore valued the interactions as opposed to the media products created by the research.

**Sam Interpretation**

What struck me in Sam’s account (as well as the spectator accounts) was the difference between her experiences and reports of lack of value and achievement in mainstream schools, and the stories and evidence of her success and achievement at Kahlo. For example, Sam’s progress in English and Science was particularly indicative of the possibility of transformation in accessing learning and in relation to learner identity, and not just in preferred subjects. I noted the control that Sam attributed to teachers in the context of these challenging subjects, with teacher qualities being instrumental to accessing learning in these examples. However, in my understanding of the data, Sam was presented as a model of success and achievement at Kahlo that extended beyond that of a typical student. Her status as ‘king pin’ not only included her power in peer and student-teacher relations and a recognition of her volatility, but in relation to learning activities. I therefore wondered whether this narrative of transformation was equally available to all other students within Kahlo.

Exclusion was a theme that featured regularly in Sam’s accounts of her educational career, particularly in relation to mainstream schools. It seemed to represent influential
punctuations in her school career, resulting in multiple school placements, even
preventing her from attending school for three years on one occasion. Underpinning
accounts of Sam’s exclusions (by both Sam and Angie) was a common theme of
protection, as Sam framed her first exclusion in terms of her need to protect herself,
while Angie outlined her most recent exclusion in terms of her desire to protect those
whom she cared for within the school. I note here the difference between Sam’s
description of her relationships in previous and current educational placements and the
enhanced relationships with staff noted at Kahlo. In this context, I considered the extent
of the link between relationships that were experienced positively in school settings as
having the potential to present a vulnerability to challenging behaviours (and as a
barrier to learning) through potential exclusion.

The respect identified as a feature of the discursive and material collage in Kahlo
appeared to be influential in mediating the practices through which rules were set and
enforced. From the data, the rule enforcement practices at Kahlo employed a greater
reliance on student belonging, and a motivation to uphold the rules at Kahlo rather than
a dependence on teacher enforcement, indicated as typical in mainstream schools. This
was evident not only in Sam’s accounts of the lack of responsibility for her behaviour in
mainstream schools (attributing this instead to teachers), but also to her description of
positive informal relationships with teachers that encouraged respect for them and for
the rules at Kahlo. In addition, through Sam, there was an enforcer of the rules from
within the student population, rather than a dependence on staff for enforcement. Sam’s
recognition of the lives of the teachers outside of Kahlo and the potential for staff to
experience challenges is also interesting in the lack of communication of such with regards to staff in previous schools.

Sam also indicated the range of exclusions possible for students, including those occurring in spite of attendance at lessons. Sam described this in terms of a lack of appropriate pitching of the learning activity and any timely response from teachers, which denied students access to learning even in the context of help-seeking behaviours from students. I noticed in Sam’s accounts a mismatch with teachers’ expectations of levels of self-reliance in undertaking and/or completing learning activities, which extended beyond those that Sam felt were achievable for her. Sam also spoke of the requirement for autonomy and independence in managing relational challenges. She described managing bullying without the support of teachers in mainstream schools. What I noticed to be common across Sam’s accounts of staff in mainstream schools is the distance at which the teaching staff were portrayed in both social aspects of school and learning activities. This distance contrasted with the relationships described by Sam between students and teachers at Kahlo. This was also observed through the extent of physical contact and hugs between students and staff, and as evidenced in the emotion from Sam on the ending of Julia’s employment at the school.

The interaction of relationships, student identity, and labels and narratives seemed important to me in relation to their subsequent impact on Sam’s learning. She stressed her position as a student with identity labels within the educational setting, including labelling as a result of her school exclusions. The relationship with labels was, in my
opinion, subverted by Stuart in response to Sam’s aggressive verbal behaviour, jokingly labelling it Tourette’s Syndrome instead of a challenging behaviour. However, the desire to understand not just Sam’s behaviours in terms of labels but the antecedents to such was evident in Angie’s discussion following Sam’s exclusion. Rather than simply attribute this to Sam as a student with BESD and challenging behaviour, Angie sought to understand Sam’s behaviour in terms of her identity, including the characteristics of her social circumstances outside of education. Through doing so, it was possible to position Sam in a more heroic narrative, in which she functioned as a protector and defender rather than as ‘naughty’ or challenging. Angie’s understanding of Sam’s home environment and her willingness to see beyond Sam’s label and reputation were to seek to understand, so as to prevent further episodes. It is my view that this more positive reframing of Sam’s story by a trusted spectator (both for Sam and for Kahlo staff) enabled Sam to access an alternative narrative that enabled greater reflection, alternative identities and the possibility of the ‘fresh start’ that Sam described needing. Through relationships (both Sam with Angie, and then Angie with staff), Sam’s return following the exclusion was managed in a way that supported Sam to maintain a positive identity within Kahlo, enabling her to continue to access learning effectively. In doing so, Angie did not employ the medicalised labels such as Tourette’s, which might have functioned to remove blame yet could also have functioned to reduce Sam’s control.

I have explored teacher characteristics and qualities as separate to relationships in Sam’s accounts, despite the links between the two. This relates to the importance attached to the theme by Sam. Teacher characteristics and qualities provided the point
of contact through which relationships were enacted. While not wishing to quantise the qualitative analysis like Saldana (2016), the repetition employed by Sam in discussing the qualities of her teachers appeared significant. The importance of both partners in the communicative exchange was identified by Sam. The association was clearly made by Sam between teacher skills in explaining and her own progress with learning. This was therefore linked to Sam’s relationship to learning content. However, explanation was also a central theme with regard to social relationships in educational settings. Angie’s response to Sam’s behaviour following her exclusion likewise included an explanation from Angie. However, included in this interaction, Angie also listened to Sam’s views in response to her explanation. Sam’s identification of teachers who listened to students, rather than simply providing explanations, served to value the student and represent respect within the student–teacher relationship.

Creative approaches to learning were identified by Sam in relation to the delivery of learning activities. She communicated the importance of teachers demonstrating an awareness of and sensitivity to the requirements of students by providing interesting and varied delivery that responded to the students’ individual needs and personal circumstances. This did not necessarily result in a complete change to lessons, but rather to adjusting the pacing or introducing more varied activities. For me, Sam highlighted the link between creative learning and relationships in her description of the delivery of learning opportunities by teachers. The core message from Sam of staff who demonstrate an interest in her, and a willingness to identify and respond to her learning needs, was presented as teachers who care. Teachers were seen to express caring
through taking time to listen to students, to know students and to plan lessons that were varied, in an effort to support engagement. When this was understood, it seemed to me that Sam responded by reciprocating in an increased level of care toward teachers and to her own learning. This indicated to me that effort from teachers was being matched by Sam, as if in the context of staff who valued her learning, and by proxy her. She would take the risk of engagement and endure the aspects of boredom involved in learning. In this context, Sam seemed to me to be more willing to own her contribution. Creative approaches to learning and an effort on the part of staff to interest Sam in lessons were considered evidence of value and respect.
Chapter Seven. Keira’s Story

Keira was one of the first students to start her placement following the commencement of the KTP project. She was 14-years-old on her arrival at Kahlo, having moved closer to the school to avoid the negative influences in her previous environment. The relocation had been a significant one for Keira, who identified strongly with her previous area and her family ties to such. This was also noticeable in the language and expressions used by Keira, who soon became associated with ‘street slang’ – words unfamiliar at Kahlo that had to be learned by staff and students to support their understanding of her communication. Keira spoke frequently of maintaining contact with her previous locality, as had been evidenced by the frequent attempts to return to this area and regular episodes of running away.

Keira’s first direct contact with Kahlo had been a home visit from Angie and Sandra, which was soon followed by a visit from Keira to the school. During that visit, Keira spent time with two students, Sasha and Nina. Within weeks at her new school, Keira spoke of a sense of belonging to the school and the community at Kahlo. She emphasised the importance to her, of Angie having had a similar experiences communicating a strong sense of identification with her early in her placement. This identification to Angie was then transferred to other members of staff, starting with those employed in therapeutic roles, particularly the beauty therapist. However, Angie's importance to Keira continued throughout her placement.

Educationally, Keira had previously missed significant chunks of schooling, relating these to both exclusions and self-exclusions. When describing her educational journey, Keira struggled to recount the names of her previous schools or recall memories of the times she was there. While Keira had experienced multiple placement moves, she spoke of her anxiety at the start of school placements, and the difficulty of entering an established community. She later described the ease of the transition to Kahlo, thanks in part to her immediate friendship with Nina. Keira was able to communicate with staff verbally.

Soon after commencing her placement at Kahlo, Keira experienced an extremely significant and traumatic event in her care placement outside of school. The response from school staff was to visit Keira at home that day, taking a card and gifts, and providing the opportunity for Keira to be outside of the placement at this time of stress. The experience for Keira was one of feeling valued and supported by her school in a way that was not limited to her attendance or achievement at school. She contrasted the actions of Kahlo at this time with the anticipated actions of staff in previous schools. As a result, Keira’s sense of belonging to the community at Kahlo increased.

During the course of the project, tensions between Keira and the staff at her care placement increased to the point of placement breakdown. This occurred prior to the introduction of Kahlo’s separate but related residential unit, at which Keira was the first student to receive a placement. Due to the gap between required and available placement, Keira was supported by staff in Kahlo until facilities were available and personnel appointed for the residential arm of the provision.
Analysis of Keira: Individual Respondent Level

Keira's preferred modes for engaging with the research and generating data included those which employed visual technologies in ways which data could be considered, managed, prepared and printed. This is reflected in the data generated and used for analysis, including: a) field notes from the Photo Voices (PV) activity (Keira's explanation of her five ‘Best Bits’ of Kahlo and five ‘Areas for Improvement’ in the school, alongside the photos) (see Appendix 9); b) a printed copy of Educational Journey Comic Strip (EJCS), communicating her journey through education using words and images; c) a recording of discussion with myself and Keira while she undertook this activity; d) video footage from the Diary Room (in response to Keira's request to use such following an event within her care placement); and e) Keira's Student Annual Review Contribution (SARC).

'Staff make lessons fun, not boring': Application of Learning Opportunities

Keira's discussion of learning activities did not feature exclusion as extensively as Sam's data, but she did address exclusion. For example, in the Diary Room, Keira described her exclusion from learning, for example even when she was included in school placements, commenting:
I never used to go in to school. I used to bunk lessons, and go into the toilet and smoke, and run out of school and go into London and just have a laugh. (DR)

School was therefore described in terms of broken rules, with exclusion as preferable, and more enjoyable than attendance and engagement. Exclusion was also framed in terms of the levels of motivation and interest facilitated by teachers with relation to learning opportunities at Kahlo. For Keira, the issue of exclusion was particularly noticeable in her EJCS. For example, when describing one of her previous schools, Keira’s first comment was ‘I was excluded’. She went on to obtain a photographic image of the school building from the internet, and attached a label which read ‘My School’ followed by four symbols in the place of kisses ‘xxxx’. Adjacent to this image was another picture, a photograph of a member of staff who Keira deemed responsible for her exclusion. Keira verbally described the member of staff as ‘a bitch’. Keira selected a third photographic image from an internet search of the school for inclusion on this page, the face of another teacher who provoked a lesser reaction from Keira, and whom she described as “all right”. Keira therefore associated the teacher responsible for implementing her exclusion with the exclusion, in contrast to her expressed reaction to other teachers and to the school environment or buildings.
Other than the specific exclusion from a school described by Keira, there was striking lack of recall regarding her previous educational placements and school experiences prior to Kahlo (EJCS). Instead of communicating her stories, experiences or memories, Keira instead undertook a Google search with the name of the school and was able to provide images in relation to such. Regardless of Keira’s participation at the time of her placement, her lack of memory of participation may signal an additional form of exclusion when seeking to recall such.
Keira indicated her participation at Kahlo through her Student Annual Review Contribution (SARC), in which she described progress in her current educational placement. She repeatedly identified her ‘love’ for Kahlo and her perception of how well she is doing. Keira’s message of her participation at Kahlo was evident across the data. She commented, ‘And I come to school and I love my school and in London, I never used to go to school’ (DR). When asked to identify the difference in Kahlo from previous schools that enabled this participation, Keira was unclear, commenting: ‘Basically, I dunno. It’s just different’. However, the framing of this difference was identified as significant by Keira, who commented: ‘my attendance at my old schools in London were like 20 not even that and then like here its like 100 I think’ (DR). Keira’s awareness of her attendance statistics enabled her to quantify this difference, despite not being able to explain it.

With regards to her participation in learning activities at Kahlo, Keira signalled that she was best at the subjects of Maths, Art and PE – recording ‘I lve it’ three times after identifying these three subjects (SARC). However, Keira provided a generalised response to the subjects in which she had made the most progress, commenting “All”, suggesting that progress was not limited to just those subjects in which she experienced success. She indicated that the progress was as a result of the placement at Kahlo indicating, ‘Coz it’s [Kahlo] a good school. And I love it here’ (SARC). When asked about her access to learning, Keira communicated, ‘Since I’ve come to this school I’ve done so well and I love it here”. Keira continued to express her aspiration to achieve GCSEs, and her confidence in her ability to do so, commenting that she would like “To get a pass [in]
my GCSE. And with this school I will get it all. And I’ve caught up on my work a lots since I’ve been to this school. I love it’ (SARC). Here, Keira communicated an awareness of having missed out on previous learning activities and opportunities, and recognised that she is behind peers in relation to expected learning outcomes. However, this did not prevent her from considering access to normative attainment (Benjamin 2002) as being possible since commencing her placement at Kahlo.

Keira likewise communicated the learning activities available at Kahlo positively (PV), when she described the images that she had used to represent the Best Bits and Areas for Improvement at Kahlo. She highlighted both the length and content of lessons and learning activities as suitable at Kahlo, specifically noting ‘Not as long lessons’ as well as ‘Art – fun activities’ (both PV). Therefore, Keira expressed a motivation and interest established as a result of those approaches to learning that she considered to be ‘fun’. Like Sam, she stressed the role of teaching staff in promoting student interest, commenting, ‘Staff make lessons fun not boring’ (PV).

Keira highlighted the improved access to learning in the context of Kahlo with reference to the size of the school, describing Kahlo as ‘small/little’ (PV). As a result, Keira noted the reduced numbers of staff and students in attendance, and with whom she may be expected to interact on a daily basis. When explaining the Best Bits of Kahlo (accompanying her photographs), Keira contrasted Kahlo to previous educational environments, commenting it was ‘Not like mainstream’ (PV). She communicated that
the size of Kahlo functioned to support her learning and commented, ‘it is small, little: haven’t got far to walk’ (PV).

‘Since I’ve come to this school I’ve done so well and I love it here’: Learner Identity

Keira expressed her identity in relation to her education as different since commencing her placement at Kahlo. Keira communicated that her identity had transformed her into a regular school attender from one who was keen to avoid school and lessons (DR). Further, Keira’s identification with her school was expressed irrespective of the impact of this identity as perceived by her audience, communicating ‘I love this school and I don’t care what people say’ (DR). This comment was in the context of Keira’s highly managed self-presentation (as observed, but also indicated by her stylised presentation in the photograph selected and centred on the front page of Keira’s EJCS). As identified in the quote from Keira included in the heading, this identification with Kahlo is associated with experiences of achievement and success, for her. Keira described Kahlo as hers – she communicated feeling ‘really upset’ at hearing care staff ‘cuss’ the school, commenting ‘that’s my school, I'll do anything to come here’ (DR).
Keira’s sense of belonging was not just reserved for Kahlo, but also to the individuals within it. Keira included several photos of herself with Nina, who she described in the document as her ‘best friend’ in her EJCS. In the photographs, it was possible to see areas of similarity, difference and convergence between the appearances of Keira and Nina. In a set of four photobooth photos (when four pictures are taken in quick succession and juxtaposed to create a single image made up of the four smaller images), Keira and Nina pulled a range of poses, but in each, Keira’s arm was around Nina’s
shoulder and Nina was holding Keira's hand or wrist. In terms of the school uniform, personalised touches selected by Nina and Keira included a white pashmina worn as a scarf and similar earrings, signifying a commonality between the appearance of style of Keira and Nina. Therefore, Keira's identity within the school was not simply as a student, but also as a best friend to Nina, an identity clearly communicated through the EJCS.

Keira's identity as expressed through her appearance was associated with an episode of exclusion at a previous school. When asked about the nature of this exclusion, Keira commented 'I was wearing a gangsta glove, she [the teacher] said I had to take it off, I said “what are you going to do about it?” She said “exclude you”. I said “go on then”' (PV). The exclusion here related to the rules and practices associated with school uniform, rather than Keira's behaviour in response to specific learning activities or opportunity. In this episode, Keira's presentation of self was challenged by teacher expectations. However, Keira elsewhere expressed that her presented identity in interaction with teachers (including at Kahlo) did not necessarily match what she was thinking and feeling, explaining ‘when teachers nag you and go – “well you need to do this otherwise your respect comes off you”, then you’re like “I don’t care”. But I really do [laughs]’ (DR). Therefore, in common with Sam’s account, Keira describes different levels of identity: including those visible and those less visible.
‘She's been through what we've been through’: Teacher Characteristics and Qualities

Keira noted the importance of teacher characteristics in her responses in the Photo Voices activity, commenting on the effort and ability of staff to facilitate student interest in learning activities and to ‘make lessons fun not boring’ (PV). Keira continued to highlight the way that staff pitched learning activities, ‘depending on [student] mood’. Here, Keira highlighted the sensitivity and flexibility employed by staff in assessing students’ capacity to engage with learning tasks, and the flexibility with which they adapted learning activities to the needs of the student.

Keira submitted a sixth Best Bit of Kahlo in addition to the requested five (PV), communicating this was ‘Angie’. She went on to comment, ‘She’s been through what we’ve been through’ (PV). For Keira, Angie’s life experience, resonating with that of her own, was significant in supporting her access to learning. In the Diary Room, this was explored further by Keira, who commented: ‘with Angie it’s completely different. Like she spends a lot of time with us, like, she respects us and we should respect her really’ (DR). When asked to clarify further how Angie demonstrated this respect for students, Keira responded first by commenting on Angie’s life experience, identifying she was ‘in care and everything’ before indicating the response from Angie in implementing the rules and boundaries at Kahlo: ‘at others schools, like if you go “fuck you” they go “well you’ve got detention now”, and with Angie she don’t do that... most of the time she goes “well don’t swear then” and you’re like “okay, sorry”’ (all DR). It is therefore as if Keira
associates Angie’s characteristics and experiences with alternative (and more effective) responses compared to those that she has experienced in other schools, and which do not distance her from learning.

‘I’m doing well. Got good relation with all of yp and staff’:

Relationships

Keira’s accounts repeatedly centred her relationships with staff and students as a positive aspect of her school experience at Kahlo. When asked ‘What sorts of things make you happy at school?’ Keira responded: ‘I don’t know. Seeing all my mates, and seeing my teachers’ (DR). None of the photographs that Keira included in her EJCS related to her work or the products of her learning activities. Rather, the majority of visual images included were photographs of people in connection with her schools, either alone or alongside Keira. This is significant in terms of the message implied – Keira’s school experience was communicated in terms of the people who shared her school environment. Further, Keira identified her peer relationships as particularly important at Kahlo, commenting ‘I’ve got good mates here as well’ (DR). When asked further about her friendships, Keira’s almost dismissal of the need to identify her best friend to me – ‘Well obviously Nina, you know’ (DR) – indicated that, as a regular attendee at Kahlo, I would be familiar with the importance of the value of this relationship. Keira communicated the benefits or the expression of her friendship with Nina in terms of, ‘you know like if I get upset or something, she’ll always come and check on me, and that she don’t scream at me and shout at me like some people do… I’m just
really good mates with her’ (DR). The relationship with Nina is therefore framed in terms of support, as opposed to the conflict she has experienced in other relationships.

As her second Best Bit in the Photo Voices activity, Keira noted there were ‘Less people [at Kahlo]’ and that she ‘Knows everyone’s names’ (both PV). The number of communication partners at Kahlo was therefore presented in two of Keira’s Best Bits of Kahlo. Keira listed a third Best Bit of Kahlo as ‘Not much teachers ’cos it is small’ (PV), highlighting that the reduced number of communication partners (particularly among teaching staff) at Kahlo was preferable for her, in school.

Relationships at Kahlo were contrasted by Keira to those at her care placement, commenting ‘sometimes like, they hold [physically restrain] me at home, and then, when I come to school everyone makes me happy’, continuing to describe ongoing memories, recollections and emotional responses as a result of a restraining hold (DR). Keira contrasted the relational practices and physical control (through holds) in her care placement with her experiences of relationships at school, which included efforts to make her happy, and the absence of restraints and physical control. In terms of the language in communication, throughout her EJCS, Keira included only one swear word in the text, and this is in the thought bubble emerging from Hazel’s [English teacher] mouth. This was interesting in its positioning, as Hazel would not use swear words in front of the girls.
Analysis of Keira: Spectator View

In considering the *Spectator View* in relation to Keira, I made use of data collected from:

a) a transcript of an interview with two members of staff at Keira’s residential placement (PCI 08/09/09); b) transcripts of interviews with Kahlo staff (SI); and c) a recording of Senior Manager’s Reflections (SMR), following a significant incident at Kahlo. As with Sam, in addition to feedback from significant others for Keira I have included information from my own observations and field notes, positioning myself as a spectator within Francis and Paechter’s (2015) model.

Application of Learning Opportunities

Keira's participation at Kahlo was identified positively by care staff who stressed her high attendance, commenting that ‘she goes to Kahlo everyday’ (PCI 08/09/09). Her care staff also noted Keira's engagement in terms of her adherence to the behavioural expectations at school, commenting, 'and at the moment she’s very good at school' (PCI 08/09/09). In practice, while Keira's initial attendance at Kahlo was high, within her first few weeks at Kahlo her participation in learning activities was framed less positively at afternoon briefings, with comments from staff including ‘Keira won’t engage with anything’ (FN 08/09/08); ‘Keira is trashing groups’ (FN 09/09/08); and describing Keira as ‘pushing boundaries’ (FN 19/09/08).

The staff at Keira’s care placement contrasted her experience of attendance and participation at Kahlo to her previous experience of exclusion from other schools. They
identified difficulties for Keira associated with both the social context and content of learning activities, commenting, ‘I think she had failed school placements before Kahlo, and she talks about finding school really difficult and being bullied and not understanding the work’ (PCI 08/09/09). More recent exclusions were framed by residential care staff in terms of inadequate communication from the school to both Keira and her caregivers, commenting: ‘they took her for like a couple of days and just said they couldn’t have her. Very little explanation and a very poor experience for Keira’ (PCI 08/09/09). The same member of staff went on to describe the emotional impact for Keira:

She was a bit of a mess. She wasn’t even there a week. Two or three days I think. But I actually don’t know what happened, and why she finished there. She says ‘I don’t know’. (PCI 08/09/09)

The significant number of placements experienced by Keira was indicated by care staff, who commented, ‘And she had to leave lots of placements before she came here’, suggesting repeated experiences of placement disruption and placement moves for Keira.

The importance of close communication between home and school was commonly stressed by both of Keira’s care staff, who noted the potential for Keira splitting the environments, in the absence of such communication. Keira’s care staff commented on her preference for the separation of different environments, with one member of
suggesting, 'she tends to keep it [school work] separate from here', continuing 'She
doesn’t really say oh I’ve done this or I’ve learnt that today' (PCI 08/09/09). However,
another member of staff questioned whether this was a result of Keira’s observation of
the lack of positive relationships between the environments, questioning ‘do you think
that’s because she’s picking up on the difficulties between the two units?’ (PCI
08/09/09).

The benefits of Keira’s school attendance generally was stressed by a member of care
staff, who commented that following a six-month care-led programme, ‘It’s nice that
she’s still in school’ (PCI 08/09/09). Despite the difficulties described, Kahlo was
identified as a positive learning environment for Keira by staff at her care placement, in
terms of the personalised support and high levels of attention provided by staff. This
was similarly noted with positive engagement in Maths, in which one-to-one support
was available from Annie (FN 19/09/08). The importance of a personalised approach to
learning was also stressed by Keira’s care staff as important to her educational
engagement, commenting ‘they’re very child focused, they seem to know each individual
child... she’s not one of a number’ (PCI 08/09/09). Meanwhile, the description of Keira’s
experience of mainstream school differed in terms of the levels of personalisation, with a
lack of timely intervention as a result of larger class sizes stressing the subsequent lack
of access by care staff, who commented, ‘She’d sit there for a week in mainstream school’
(PCI 08/09/09).
However, there was an additional feature that was identified as significant for Keira by her care staff - the importance of Kahlo as a single-sex school. For one member of staff at Keira’s care placement, ‘the fact there are no boys there’ (PCI 08/09/09) facilitated Keira’s access to learning opportunities. She went on to discuss Keira’s previous school exclusion, identifying as a feature ‘there was boys in that school that [the placement] broke down’ (PCI 08/09/09). There were also a significant number of other features to that previous educational environment, yet the presence of boys was singled out as significant for Keira by a member of the care staff.

The learning activities and content of learning were stressed as important to Keira’s participation and in establishing her ongoing motivation by her care staff. The staff described elements of the care-led programme in which Keira participated prior to her placement at Kahlo, including the introduction of activities in terms of functional skills rather than academic tasks, an approach which supported engagement with learning activities. A member of care staff noted: ‘it is incidental learning. So there’s things like Time for Me, which is about... beauty therapy... There’s arts and crafts, Lets Cook’ (PCI 08/09/09). She further explicated the importance of the phasing in of learning content following multiple exclusions, commenting, ‘I think the first thing is that it can’t be education based, because these kids can’t access the curriculum in any way, shape or form’ (PCI 08/09/09). Therefore for this member of care staff, the introduction and presentation of learning activities in the context of students who have experienced exclusion and disengagement is significant to securing their future access to learning. A member of Keira’s care staff commented on the link between Keira’s engagement with
learning activities and her motivation and interests, commenting, ‘Keira built up her living skills didn’t she really? ... She loved doing things like cooking, going shopping’ (PCI 08/09/09). In terms of Keira’s interests outside of school, her interest and skills in hair and beauty were identified as maintaining her interest at present as well as in future, ‘she really wants to do hairdressing and beauty, hair and beauty ... because she’s looking forward to going to college’ (PCI 08/09/09). Keira’s motivation to go to college was then expressed in terms of the educational pathways made by other students, ‘a lot of her friends have left... and they’ve gone to college’ (PCI 08/09/09), the model at Kahlo had therefore supported motivation in this domain, and inspired a sense of progress for Keira.

An interesting aspect of Keira’s motivation and interest was her willingness to undertake potentially challenging literacy-based activities during her evenings, sharing these with members of Kahlo staff during Start Right and break times the following day. For example, one morning Keira attended Start Right, and shared with Ella (headteacher) a poem that she identified summarised her current feelings (FN 01/12/09). Ella was able to recognise from within the text a number of song lyrics that had been appropriated by Keira in piecing together an expression of her emotions. This was a free-time activity with which Keira chose to engage, demonstrating her motivation and willingness to communicate her feelings, but also indicating her willingness to introduce activities from her home environment to her school one.
Keira's care staff enthusiastically praised and recognised her achievements at Kahlo, commenting, ‘she’s done some fantastic work at this school hasn’t she’ (PCI 08/09/09). These achievements were noted in terms of the products of her learning, with comments such as: ‘her art, it’s unbelievable... she really enthuses about her work there. That's really good. I was really surprised to see how good her art is’ (PCI 08/09/09). Moreover, it was not just the products or outputs of learning activities that were highlighted, but also the progress made by Keira with regards to her approach to learning activities, with comments including, ‘She’s got more confidence hasn’t she?’ and ‘She tries. She’ll write a letter’ (both PCI 08/09/09). Therefore, the achievements were not limited to outputs, but also the manner in which learning activities were approached by Keira.

**Identity**

Based on first impressions, in the staff afternoon briefing following Keira's initial visit to Kahlo, similarities were drawn with Sasha, based on familial and care circumstances; as well as Daisy, based on an interest in gang culture and exposure to illegal substances. A third student comparison was made to Roxy, although there was a lack of specificity as to why with this third comparison (FN 21/07/08). However, it interested me that explanations of Keira's identity were made relative to the identities of other students at Kahlo.

Keira's identity represented an important area regarding accessing learning, as identified by the staff in her care placement. For her care staff, Keira's experiences, including the lack of coherence across placements, had presented as a challenge to a
coherent identity as experienced by Keira, with staff commenting ‘I think she’d actually lost who she was hadn’t she?’ (PCI 08/09/09). The care staff went on to highlight the importance of therapeutic input preceding academic learning opportunities, in fact doubting the possibility of establishing positive learning experiences in school placements, or even maintaining a school placement without such. For the care staff, inclusion in learning activities required a stable core personality, stressing:

[a]t that time she was in individual therapy... and we made some giant strides in that. So what I think happened is she became more robust as a personality... And I think the therapeutic process and the process of nurturing here and the one-to-one she was getting through the SPLAT scheme built up her resilience enough to then be able to accept a referral on to Kahlo. (PCI 08/09/09)

In fact, therapeutic input was likewise identified by the staff at Kahlo as important for Keira’s access to learning opportunities. At an afternoon briefing (FN 19/09/08) it was noted by a teaching assistant that Keira had communicated that, despite benefiting from ‘My Time’ or therapeutic input at school, she felt that it was ‘too far to travel’ (a journey of approximately five minutes by car).

Keira’s care staff indicated that a single unified identity based on Keira’s chronological age was less available to her as a result of her previous experiences, describing her instead as oscillating between ‘being about six and twenty-six’ (PCI 08/09/09). Care staff therefore highlighted the importance of the spaces through which ‘exploring her
younger self was possible. This was similarly noted by staff at Kahlo, based on her initial visit, when she was described as looking older than her chronological age, while enjoying activities such as clapping games and games of chase with Nina on her preliminary visit to Kahlo, identified by Angie as more common among children aged seven or eight years of age (FN 21/07/08).

What was also noted by the member of care staff was that Keira was removed from her previous care placement and moved to another town with which she had no familiarity. Keira maintained her identity from her previous environment, for example through her use of language. However, this differed from that of her new environment, with staff describing having to learn the language (PCI 08/09/09) to engage with Keira in terms of her presenting identity, rather than requiring her to adapt this. This link between Keira and her environment was similarly noted by Annie (FN 01/04/09), who described Keira as becoming increasingly interested in maps, attributed to developing a sense of her new location following such a significant move.

Angie highlighted the manner in which Keira used her appearance (including school uniform) to communicate regarding her relationship with the school. Following the ‘riot’ at Kahlo, Angie commented that Keira, previously so proud to be associated with Kahlo, had discarded her school uniform. Angie communicated the symbolism of this in terms of the message to staff, Keira threw hers in the bin on the way out’, further:
they were clearly saying ‘fuck you. I don’t want to belong to this school’. That was an overspill of the day before. Why were they feeling that? Because the ethos of the school had gone. The safe space they love and cherish had gone. (SMR)

The manner in which Keira had elected to communicate aspects of her identity with others on her arrival at Kahlo had been raised by Sandra (home-link worker) during an afternoon briefing, I recorded in my field notes: ‘Sandra raises the issue of violence from Keira – a sheet of paper has arrived in school with all the offences and crimes she [Keira] had committed – did she bring this in? What was the purpose?’ (FN 05/09/08). It is my understanding that Sandra viewed this as a message from Keira, predominantly to the students, regarding how her behavioural repertoire included aggressive and dangerous actions.

**Teacher Characteristics and Qualities**

The importance of specific characteristics and qualities among staff supporting Keira’s learning were implied by staff from Keira’s care placement. For example, the educational intervention that provided a stepping stone back into formal education was noted, based on its characteristic ‘it’s not teacher-led. It’s care-led’ (PCI 08/09/09). This recognised the value of support for learning from persons other than teachers. Another characteristic noted by Keira’s care staff was that of being a ‘rescuer’ among staff at Kahlo (PCI 08/09/09). This was identified in terms of the desire to assist and support those in challenging circumstances.
The importance of teachers who were able to communicate positively and appropriately, and who valued this sufficiently to ensure effective communication between home and school environments, was identified as important and as necessary. Staff from Keira’s care placement commented, ‘we’re meeting with them [staff from Kahlo] on Thursday to talk about how we can manage it [home-school relations] more effectively... Work together more effectively’ and ‘I think it’s difficult, because geographically we’re quite far away’ (PCI 08/09/09). Therefore, the home–school relationship was identified as particularly important in relation to Keira.

The issue of common experiences was noted by care staff as important to Keira with regard to her access to learning opportunities. For example, a member of staff from her care placement commented that Keira would volunteer to undertake reading (a challenging learning activity for Keira) with her, as Keira was aware that this member of staff had also experienced difficulty in this area. She commented, ‘You know she always offers to read to me, because I was [behind in reading]’ (PCI 08/09/09). This shared experience encouraged Keira to access opportunities would have required initial self-disclosure from the member of staff, but had important implications for Keira, not just in terms of accessing but also initiating learning opportunities.

**Relationships**

Keira’s relationships with members of staff across environments were identified as close, with a member of her care team commenting, ‘she’s got very close relationships with some of the adults there [Kahlo], very close relationships with the adults here’ (PCI
It was identified by staff at Kahlo that trust was an important issue for Keira, and problematic to establishing effective working relationships in Kahlo during the first month of her placement (FN 24/09/08). In my field notes, I recorded an interaction between Keira and Kath in which Keira says ‘[you’re a] fucking liar, and I can’t take liars’ (FN 18/09/08). Keira’s initial behaviours at Kahlo when establishing relationships with staff were interpreted by staff to be pushing at and testing boundaries within the first month, and she was recorded to make rude comments such as ‘I hate you’ and ‘you’re fucking ugly’, followed by ‘only joking’ (all FN 17/09/08).

Keira’s care staff stressed the progress made by Keira in terms of her relationships at Kahlo, as opposed to her educational placement there, commenting:

> it’s not so much the school, it’s the people, the staff. She’s got a good friendship with all of them. Too friendly for my liking, but you know boundaries and that, and you know like if it were a mainstream school, it would be different, but with Keira… she seems to know a lot of their background, you know their backgrounds, family life (PCI 08/09/09)

The member of care staff noted how these differed from relationships mainstream schools. However, the relationships at Kahlo were described as insufficiently boundaried to be optimal for Keira (PCI 08/09/09). The member of care staff elsewhere highlighted the importance of relative positioning of staff and students, commenting, ‘I
think it was getting Keira to interact with adults in a way that she could be the child and they could be the adults’ (PCI 08/09/09).

Keira’s lack of confidence in establishing and maintaining peer relationships were identified by a member of Keira’s care staff to influence her access to activities and opportunities, and a member of staff commented, ‘She never even wanted to join any groups on her own, like dance evening, you know after school clubs. She would rather be here than do something with the other children and being seen as part of the group’ (PCI 08/09/09). Approximately one month into Keira’s placement at Kahlo, staff communicated some difficulties in terms of Keira’s management of her peer relationships at the school, including threatening that she would ‘call her boys and girls down from London’ in response to a disagreement with a peer. In fact, in the dispute, staff described Keira ‘mouthing off’ while being ‘close to tears’ (both FN 24/09/08). During a staff meeting later that day, Angie commented ‘why would she admit to her emotions?’, and continued to communicate that all the students ‘have the right to feel safe’, and this is the behaviour that makes ‘Keira feel safe’ (FN 24/09/08). Therefore, it was not simply the behaviour that was understood, but the meaning of such for Keira.

In terms of her relationships with peers at Kahlo, the importance of shared experiences of difficulties and mutuality of support was indicated by Keira’s care staff, who commented:
with Kahlo... there's problems with other girls, and they've all got problems in their lives. That's why they're there... And yeah, so sometimes relationships don’t go well, well anywhere they can go wrong. And she’ll, sometimes she’ll say oh such and such at school. There's one girl there who we thought would be a good role-model for Keira, we thought she could come here and Keira could go there.

(PCI 08/09/09)

Angie also commented on the importance of friendships to Keira at Kahlo, following the bond that had rapidly formed between Keira and Nina on her first visit to Kahlo. However, while the relationship between Keira and Nina was soon established, maintaining it seemed more challenging, with discussion of this relationship breakdown shared at afternoon briefing among staff. It was reported that Keira had said to Nina ‘What are you talking to Cassie for?’ dismissive of this relationship, and Nina's response, ‘I'll talk to who I like’, escalated existing problems between the two (FN 08/09/08). The importance of appearance in peer relationships was communicated by Keira. Despite being a less preferred peer, when Harriet requested that Keira show her around London, Keira agreed to do so, but this was conditional on Harriet altering her appearance, ‘yeah, but you can’t go looking like that!’ (FN 11/09/08).

Keira’s care staff highlighted the importance of small class sizes in supporting Keira’s access to learning, commenting on the benefits of having ‘very few [students] in each group’ at Kahlo (PCI 08/09/09). This seemed relevant in the context of the early feedback during staff meetings regarding Keira’s attempts to disrupt the groups, and
encouraging students to disregard teachers and to dance instead (FN 09/09/08). The importance of isolating and stabilising Keira was subsequently stressed (FN 09/09/08). Keira’s influence within a group of peers was also indicated by her care staff following her exclusion from a school prior to Kahlo. They stressed that they had known children with more challenging behaviours than Keira who had successfully attended this school, yet Keira was excluded from this environment within a few days. By way of an explanation, Keira’s care staff suggested, ‘There must have been something in her that caused chaos in a group’ (PCI 08/09/09). Therefore the impact of Keira’s behaviours to the learning of other students was identified by staff in education and care placements.

At Kahlo, the trust invested in Keira was noted by Hazel, who commented on the manner in which Keira’s relationships and interactions with staff in Kahlo had enabled her to access roles of responsibility within the school:

I think it goes along with a bit of pride, doesn’t it... I mean, it’s like Children in Need, isn’t it? I mean, Keira is carrying that money around and if that’s not making a positive contribution, not only to us as an establishment but to people that she’s never met... again it’s giving them a pride in themselves: I might not be the best in the bunch, but I’m doing something really good and worthwhile...

Someone trusted her enough to go around to staff and give... her money. And she was able to hold it, and she’s still holding it. And not one of us has said ‘you still got that money?’ or ‘How much you’ve got now?’ – she’s telling us, and we’re all going ‘Wow, that’s great’. We’re not saying ‘you won’t lose it, will you?’ – we’re
trusting her... I think that's why it's captured her.... I think we all need to have a place in life sometimes, and at this particular moment, that's her role; to look after the money. (SI 18/11/08)

Analysis of Keira: Features of the Local, Material and Discursive Collage

The analysis of Keira’s local, material and discursive collage follows the pattern of Sam’s, first discussing the collage as relevant specifically to Keira before broadening it to include those environmental elements of relevance to her particularly, such as discourses within Kahlo.

Self-presentation was identified as important to Keira. Angie described Keira as ‘attractive’ when briefing students on Keira’s arrival prior to her starting Kahlo (FN 21/07/08), not a description which was well received by Sam (FN 22/07/08). In the staff meeting, Keira’s identity in terms of the influence of her upbringing in London and gang affiliation was noted. A member of staff actually commented, ‘If you closed your eyes, she sounded black’ (FN 21/07/08).

The staff at Keira’s care placement described just how important her appearance was to her, while also communicating Keira’s readiness and willingness to evaluate the appearance of others. Keira’s hairstyles drew attention from staff and students at Kahlo, with a number of techniques included to create styles, indicating skill and awareness in
actualising a range of styles. In the category of bodies and decoration, for Keira, as for Sam, uniform represented a significant area for expression of identity, and has been outlined in the preceding sections. This had resulted in disciplinary actions of schools in relation to such. Keira accessorised the provided school uniform with jewellery, and in the Diary Room was keen to draw my attention to a chain which had been given to her by Angie following a traumatic event at her care placement. Keira expressed the importance of wearing this item of jewellery daily in terms of remembering a friend. It was my view that there was additional significance of the necklace, as an artefact of Angie's commitment to her, which extended beyond the confines of the school. However, the superficial aspects of appearance were identified as limited in the broader discourse of beauty and wellbeing as promoted by Olivia [holistic therapist], who commented:

> if you don't feel good on the inside... it shows on the outside, even if you can put a mask on put the make-up on and all that, it still comes through and you will not feel, you'll never feel whole. Holistic means whole.

This holistic approach to health was certainly raised as a discourse within the school. As part of holistic wellbeing, anxieties were understood to be problematic to attendance and concentration, with the expression of anxiety via challenging behaviours interrupting learning (SI 05/11/08).

Keira's awareness of her physical health, and of making healthy choices, was recognised by the staff at her care placement with regards to her diet (PCI 08/09/09). However,
over time, the staff at Kahlo expressed their concerns regarding Keira’s health in terms of her lack of ongoing engagement with physical activities, and their desire to find an activity that could be motivating and engaging for her. Keira’s willingness to engage with holistic therapies and counselling at school, as well as in her placement, were also noted, indicating a willingness to invest in her wellbeing.

Material objects were identified as significant to Keira by those who knew her. For example, Hazel spoke of the disdain shared by Keira in response to seeing a visiting professional’s aging car (SI 18/11/08). It was subsequently noted by Hazel that, when Keira was challenged by the professional, who communicated that she had had to save to purchase the car, Keira’s attitude subsequently softened with regards to such. However, this illustrated to me the link between material objects and Keira’s perceptions of others, as well as her own identity, a feature more broadly associated with students at Kahlo by Stuart (SI 14/11/08). The function of material objects was also important, as identified by staff at Kahlo. For example, those objects denoting and referencing the physical environment, such as maps, were identified as significant in the context of Keira’s relocations. Making such material resources available to Keira was therefore not only recognised as supporting learning, but also providing a useful resource for Keira in terms of her own self-awareness and personal location.

As a result of Keira’s placement at Kahlo commencing two years into the evolution of Kahlo, the walls of the Hub had already been populated with student photo posters. Therefore, Keira’s presence in the Hub was not as significant as Sam’s. However, Keira’s
interest in digital technologies and visual methods had resulted in numerous
photographs of her that were stored on Kahlo servers, and printed by her. The
equipment and technologies to which the students had access (such as the AppleMac
computers) were items that Stuart had identified the students would be happy, or even
proud to be associated with (SI 14/11/08). As identified by Keira and by those in her
network, there was significance in the material objects in Keira’s environment. While
Keira’s response to visual methods will be discussed later in the chapter, the importance
of the tangible product of outputs for the research indicated that tangible products
resulting from the learning activities may also be preferred by Keira.

For Keira, the physical environment at Kahlo was significant to her experience of
learning there. She highlighted specifically the small building as supportive of her
attendance and learning. An important feature relating to the size of Kahlo was the
social context of the limitation on the numbers of staff and students. While the size of the
building was identified by Keira as important, features within the building, such as
restricted access to the students of the school, were not noted.

It was interesting that Keira chose not to identify any areas for improvement for Kahlo,
instead commenting that there should be ‘Nothing different’, describing Kahlo as ‘Good
already’ (PV). I wondered whether this reflected Keira’s loyalty to the school; that
suggesting by improvements she would somehow have introduced a discourse of
inadequacy at Kahlo. This may have been an extension of the ‘buy in’ frequently
identified as necessary among students by Angie. I considered of relevance Keira’s
comment, ‘it’s all up to me and how I feel that day’ (SARC). I therefore wondered whether, instead of recognising any difficulties as improvements required within the school, Keira instead internalised any problems and barriers to learning as factors internal to her.

Keira was known across environments for her particular discourse and expressions, which were related variously to a London and gang influence. The ‘street speak’ was something which required teaching in Keira’s new environments at home and at Kahlo. In Keira’s care home, staff described learning this language. Keira would commonly use language including ‘Skeen’; ‘Blud’ and ‘Bruv’, which were unusual in the context of the environment at Kahlo prior to her arrival. However, increasingly, these terms were integrated into the fabric of the school discourse, being utilised particularly by staff when engaging playfully in dialogue with Keira. At Kahlo, it was frequently used in conversation with Keira, with staff mocking themselves as they did so, given the distance from their own identities and this discourse. The playful mix of identities provided an interesting model for students, and was employed more by some members of staff than others, for example it was noticeably used by Stuart. The playful use of this language by staff was humorous to the students, who recognised the discordance between such and the image of staff. However, its use by staff appeared to have a dual function. First, the adaptation seemed to signal Keira’s integration into and belonging to the school community, which recognised her unique expressions and adapted to such. Moreover, the play with this language sent a message regarding the flexibility of identity in relation to the use of language, and in doing so, the construction of appearances.
Like Sam, the discourse of family frequently employed at Kahlo also held particular relevance for Keira. She noted missing her mum (SARC), and her plaster-cast arm included a reference to her sibling (SD). In terms of reference to family discourse at Kahlo, Keira’s relationships with staff strengthened over time, and there was a noticeable disintegration with staff at her care placement, to the extent that this became untenable. Keira’s care needs were therefore met by Kahlo staff while awaiting the opening of the residential provision for girls (FN 25/11/09; FN 11/12/09). Therefore, while Keira did not specifically use the language of family, she was instrumental, through her behaviour, in accessing support from Kahlo for care activities and outside school hours that was more typical of family or care placements.

An important discourse for Keira and employed across Kahlo was one of trust – as indicated particularly in her first month at Kahlo. Kath expressed the following with regards to trust within a smaller school such as Kahlo: ‘perhaps because we’re small, we pick them up so many times and put them back together again, they learn to trust you, it’s that loving caring’ (SI 27/11/08). Olivia likewise described the importance of open and trusting relationships at Kahlo, established as a result of honesty. ‘You have to tell them “no, you’re not always right”’ (SI 05/11/08). Olivia also commented:

They [students] always say to me about trust... the word comes up so much... that’s what they look for in a person. You can tell them they’re wrong, you can tell
them that’s not what you like, just as long as you’re not telling them lies all the

time. (SI 05/11/08)

The absence of such trusting relationships were further understood as problematic to
the engagement of students by Olivia, who stressed that students were holding anxieties
‘without being able to ask anyone, [because they] don’t trust them... don’t trust anyone
that they won’t laugh at you’ (SI 05/11/08). This issue of trust was particularly
significant with regards to Keira, who commented on the importance of honesty with
regards to Kath (as identified above). Her willingness to share her true feelings, even
with staff she communicated trusting, was also questioned in her DR responses.

A further discourse that was noticeable in Kahlo and related to Keira was that of
learning styles, and the importance of experiential, or kinaesthetic, learning. For
example, Annie [maths teacher] spoke of discussions with Angie in which Angie shared
the high number of students at Kahlo with a kinaesthetic learning style (SI 01/04/09).
Annie herself cited a quote in which she communicated ‘we remember 10% of what we
read; 20% of what we hear; 30% of what we see’ 50% of what we see and hear; 80% of
what we experience’ (D, p.2). In fact, Annie had communicated that, in a previous
teaching environment, ‘It is very difficult for children to make connections to the real
world when problems are presented in an abstract or contrived manner, as they so often
are in the classroom’ (D, p.5).
Reflections on Keira’s Use of Media

As discussed by spectators in relation to Keira, self-presentation was something that was incredibly significant for her. This represented a site in which Keira achieved positive responses. The staff at Keira’s care home also highlighted her strengths in the area of the media and technologies available at Kahlo, commenting that she produced impressive-looking documents using the equipment available at Kahlo. Keira chose to make use of the multiple different media to prepare outputs that she could keep (PV; EJCS).

I gained an increasing awareness of the importance of visual media in research as a result of this exercise for Keira, and its relationship to the coherence of life-story work. Keira had either used the photographs available via the internet to recall or to create memories which otherwise appeared inaccessible in that moment. In such circumstances, the visual media gained additional importance in structuring recollections and forming ongoing narratives. This left me reflecting on the use of visual media in schools, and the value of such for students without the coherence of a limited number of home and/or educational placements, highlighting for me the value of life-story work, not only in care placements but also in educational placements.

Through the availability of the almost unlimited range of images on the internet, it was possible for Keira to communicate her intended message without relying on words. She had a range of available images through which it was possible to communicate her
friendships and her emotions among other things. What was also interesting was the possibility for misunderstanding of images. I wondered whether the message of violence implied in the image centred on Keira’s final page was intentional. I also received limited information with regard to my questions on the message’s intention through use of the gurning faces. Keira had selected a Comic Strip format with a pink background, including images of teddy bears, babies’ bottles and text that included “It’s a Girl’, indicating that its intended purpose was as a presentation device for text following the birth of a baby girl. I considered whether Keira had misread the intended purpose of this format, or had read it and decided that this was her preference, irrespective of intended purpose.

Keira’s ECJS highlighted the importance of available equipment and technologies to her experience and expression of her appearance and presentation. The photographs enabled Keira to select and edit her image instantly, with a ‘delete’ facility to remove the non-preferred images captured. What was also interesting was the photography of Keira with Nina – and how, in the second photograph, there was a closer resonance, with greater similarity in hairstyle and earrings.

During the undertaking of her EJCS, I observed Keira’s dependence on the support of staff at moments during this activity. Keira was able to make use of the available facilities and photographs that she had stored on computers to discuss her present. However, she was reliant on the support of staff to help her to consider and to scaffold her past, despite their absence during these historical moments. The availability of narratives within Kahlo seemed to assist Keira in scaffolding her current experiences.
through verbal and visual means, such as the many photos of Keira and Nina together indicating the importance of the friendships, as featured in Keira’s documents, and Kahlo’s motto of ‘RESPECT’ readily available in almost all the rooms in the school.

**Keira Interpretation**

I was left with a strong sense that, for Keira, navigating the boundaries of exclusion and participation was a largely relational practice. For Keira, as for Sam, exclusion represented an important theme in her educational experience. This was also one that was noted by significant others in Keira’s network in terms of the impact on Keira’s emotional wellbeing. In Keira’s accounts (in common with Sam), her exclusions had a relational element. In one case, a particular member of staff was identified with the exclusion, rather than the school or staff team more generally. Through the strong association of the teacher with the exclusion (rather than the staff or school building), I wondered about the extent to which the teacher who, for Keira, represented the embodiment of her exclusion, could influence Keira’s subsequent engagement. This reminded me of Sam’s account of the responsibility for her behaviour being in the locus of control of the teacher, rather than herself as student. It also highlighted the importance of Keira’s identification of Angie as respecting students and implementing rules in a more effective and less disciplinary manner. I considered the extent to which Keira understood teacher enforcement of rules as an interpretative process, rather than a practice that was applied, according to a cause and effect formula.
The number of placement moves experienced by Keira represented a consistent message of transition across both educational and care placements. The lack of information sharing with both Keira and with her care placement following the permanent exclusion from one school indicated a significant gap in understanding regarding the purpose or the necessity of the exclusion. With the potential to be framed either as a ‘fresh start’ or a rejection, the absence of any information regarding the exclusion may have presented a struggle to developing a coherent account of such. I wondered whether Keira’s own gaps in recall and recollection of educational placements, and subsequence lack of coherence across placements, fitted with the lack of importance attributed to the ending of placements modelled by those around her, such as the staff at the previous school. I was also left with the impression that the energy of investment in new learning environments may be considered wasted in the story in which no discussion accompanied exclusions, as well as the impact of the application of rules and boundaries by schools on Keira’s behaviours.

What was also evident to me in Keira’s accounts, in common with Sam’s, was the gaps in her educational experiences. Even when Keira could remember the names of her schools, she was unable to provide much information beyond this label and images that she acquired from a Google search. Further, Keira’s most recent educational experience, as identified by care staff (the care-led SPLAT programme), was not included at all by Keira. Given its recency, I would have expected Keira to recall and include it. This therefore led me to believe that it was not sufficiently significant for Keira to have included it, or that the characteristics of this programme, for example as care-led,
predominantly experiential/integrated into daily activities, or its features of not being undertaken within a separate school building and alongside peers, did not lead Keira to categorise it as part of her educational journey.

The importance of Keira’s return to a full-time school placement, stressed as ‘nice’ by her care staff, and a catalyst for many changes with regards to Keira’s learning experiences and care placement, caused me to consider this further. The full-time school placement provided Keira with a school experience and a peer group that, while it differed from the experiences of students in mainstream schools, was more reflective of normative experiences than care-led education, which limited the spaces that Keira would have inhabited, and communication partners. Further, the success that Keira experienced within this environment would have been fundamental to her ability to challenge previous failed placements as entirely her fault. In the context of Kahlo, she had demonstrated her ability to achieve high attendance levels, to build and to maintain relationships with staff and peers, and to develop a sense of belonging in a school environment.

I also noted that the care professionals working alongside Keira highlighted her readiness for access to a school placement, if she first accessed therapeutic input in a stepped- or phased- reintroduction. The emotional damage of rejection from a previous school placement, following her predicted exclusion, had been stressed by Keira’s care staff, yet her lack of readiness for this placement had also been identified by them. Given this lack of readiness had been observed by care staff, I wondered about the
information-sharing and decision-making processes regarding educational placements for Keira, and the extent to which the interpretations of care staff and educational staff were included in understanding Keira more holistically. The communication between learning environments through home–school communication was stressed by Keira’s care staff as particularly important to her. This was also a discourse that was regularly highlighted as an important and valuable strand of the provision at Kahlo. However, Keira’s progress at Kahlo seemed to occur even in the circumstance of significant difficulties across this relationship, which actually functioned to support Keira’s identification with Kahlo at the expense of her care placement.

The importance of the relational context of learning was also suggested by the extent to which Keira’s EJCS was largely populated by photographs of people, rather than relating to learning activities. While this may be associated with contextual cues of the availability of photographs, it is in fitting with the findings of other authors such as Francis (2005) on the prioritisation of daily social relationships in learning over summative assessments, framed as the purpose of learning, although Keira stressed this as an aspiration.

Despite concerns regarding barriers to learning such as extended gaps in educational attendance as a result of exclusions, and the possibility of information processing difficulties, Keira indicated her aspiration to attain GCSE passes. Her observations that this could be possible was undertaken in the context of her understanding the attunement of staff to her learning requirements; staff at Kahlo who could accurately
assess her ‘mood’ and respond to such when implementing learning activities to optimise her access to learning. In her placement at Kahlo, Keira accepted responsibility for the variability of her engagement, commenting ‘it’s all up to me and how I feel that day’ (SARC). Therefore in Kahlo, Keira recognised her participation as predominantly within her control. In recognising her responsibility with regard to participation and engagement at Kahlo, this alternative narrative positions Keira as in control.

An important aspect of the provision at Kahlo as identified by Keira and her care staff, as well as a significant discourse within the school was the size of Kahlo. The limited size of the school reduced the number of people Keira identified she was required to relate to. This had a key benefit identified by care staff to ensure extra support for Keira, by staff who identified her more holistically as a person, as opposed to a ‘number’. The higher proportion of adult support was identified to promote a more personalised approach to supporting Keira’s learning. However, I believe that there is an additional impact beyond this. For Keira, the number of communication partners with whom she was expected to relate across care and educational environment had been greater than that typical for a child of her age. Her experience of her own identity through relationships with such a range of people may have contributed to the challenge in maintaining the stable sense of identity described by care staff. In terms of understanding one’s own identity through relationships with others, the challenge of constant and regular changes to those relationships may be seen not only to impact their narratives and coherence, but also to influence their predictability. Therefore, the reduced number of communication partners at Kahlo who were identified as significant to her experience of Kahlo by Keira
could be seen to enhance the predictability of their responses, as well as the coherence through which Keira could understand her identity as a learner in relationship with staff and students.

Keira’s appearance was a feature that was identified as a priority for her by care staff (expressed in terms of the time spent preparing her hair, make-up and clothing, as well as comments regarding the presentation and appearance of others). Keira’s appearance was similarly a feature on which Angie commented when first describing Keira to the staff and students at Kahlo following an initial visit. It was a characteristic that influenced her subsequent social position within the school, with the description from Angie that was problematic for Sam, who could influence her welcome to Kahlo. Yet despite the importance of appearance to Keira when described by others, Keira communicated not caring who knew that she loved attending Kahlo. While I interpret this in the context of her difficulties at her care placement, and in response to the care staff denigrating the practices at Kahlo within Keira’s hearing, her identification with the school and disinterest in the impact of such on her subsequent presentation and positioning was a powerful message from Keira.

When utilising Sam’s understanding of the presence of identity across different levels of visibility, appearance functioned as a priority in the absence of a deeper understanding. This linked with Olivia’s comments regarding putting on a mask in the absence of wholeness. It was my view that, in her situation, Keira’s control and management of her appearance functioned to mask the lack of control experienced in other domains. For
example, this lack of control can be seen in the relational dimension, her lack of influence when instructing Nina not to speak with Cassie, the placement moves which had removed her from familiar environments and situations, and the number of school placements in which she has to make an initial impression. I therefore think that failure to recognise the influence of appearance, including (and perhaps particularly) school uniform for Keira significantly impacted on her access to learning, as evidenced by the link between her choosing not to remove a glove and her exclusion. It is my view, then, that the function of school uniform for Keira should be understood with her, and rules and boundaries applied with recognition to its importance. I believe the primacy of appearance for Keira should also be considered in terms of the description from staff that she had ‘lost who she was’. Without an awareness of the less visible aspects of identity, greater import may have been attached to appearance.
Part 4: Discussing and Concluding

Introduction

In commencing the Discussing and Concluding final part, I return first to consider the introductory vignette of an interaction between Keira and Hazel. The purpose of including this vignette is to provide an illustration of how interactions were enacted at Kahlo. The vignette details an interaction between Keira and Hazel. While not an exact replica of all the interactions occurring at Kahlo, the purpose of beginning with such a detailed description was to illustrate an example of how the interactions at Kahlo were located within a specific context, and subject to the environmental influences of, and within, the school. Further, I feel that the vignette began to touch on the central themes of this thesis – relationships as modelled in Hazel’s communication with Keira, and in creative approaches to learning as potentially indicated with reference to the ‘good show’ in Lucy’s science lesson and Hazel’s communicative style.

The description in the opening vignette also indicates my desire to bring the audience closer to the data, to enable readings of my analysis, interpretations and the below recommendations in the context of this model. In the analysis and interpretation I have attempted to foreground the views expressed by the participants, as well as developing understanding based on my own experience of two years in the field.

In the final chapters I consider the analysis and interpretations of the data generated by and in relation to Sam and Keira in relation to my research focus on the role of
relationships and creative learning approaches in supporting the learning of girls with a label of BESD at a single special education provision. I begin by discussing my decision to address the areas of creative learning approaches and relationships as integrated.

While I had initially attempted to divide the issues of creative approaches to learning and relationships when coding the data, the extent of the interconnectedness of these two areas led me to view such a division as arbitrary and unhelpful.
Chapter Eight: Discussing Sam and Keira

Introduction

Having previously considered Sam and Keira’s accounts individually, I turn now to considering the relationships between these, as well as the relationship between the girls’ accounts and those in the literature. In the two preceding chapters, I used categories of Learner Activities, Learner Identities, Teacher Characteristics and Relationships as scaffolds for the analysis and interpretations. In this chapter, due to the overlapping nature of these categories, I have not divided them, as the division had felt arbitrary.

Exploring Further: The Impact of Relationships and Creative Approaches to Learning at Kahlo

When returning to consider the influence of creative approaches to learning at Kahlo, I looked again to the challenges cited by understanding and operationalising the concept described by Miles (2007). The literature indicated the fluidity and variability in operationalisations of creative approaches to learning, as per the discussion by Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011, p.7) in which creative approaches to learning were seen to include the learner, pedagogies, organisations, even ‘an attempt to be different’. I recognised the challenge of defining a single operationalisation of creative approaches to learning within Kahlo.
What was noticeable to me was that the alternative activities identified by Sam to promote her access to learning at Kahlo were neither necessarily highly creative nor resource intensive, but included informal conversations, and even cutting and pasting activities. This is interesting, in the context of the relative unavailability of such non-task-specific interactions between teachers and girls in mainstream schools identified by Francis (2005). Given the surprisingly limited expectations of such from Sam, I was left considering what it was that such activities might have symbolised to the student in terms of the sensitivity of the teacher to student identity, rather than the preference or expectation of the student for a form of advanced multimedia entertainment. This indicated to me the importance of little ‘c’ creativity, as observed by Craft (2001), rather than the grand expressions of Creative approaches to learning. It is the small, everyday practices, embodied through interactions that sought to engage the person of the learner first before introducing the learning activity, and which repeatedly recognised the person of the learner during lessons and activities, adapting to the learner’s identity rather than being applied inflexibility in response to a curriculum schedule (Miles 2007).

Considering the content of off-topic communication particularly, I returned to Miles’ (2007, p.274) understanding of creative learning as contrasting with the broader zeitgeist of a ‘tightening of control around the curriculum’ experienced in mainstream schools in response to the focus on standardised assessments. I wondered whether the interactive elements identified by Sam were experienced as prioritising or centring learner identity (Miles 2007; Troman & Jeffrey 2011) above prescribed lesson plans, and
whether it was this characteristic, as opposed to specific interactive element, which supported learning. High levels of exclusion in Years 10 and 11 were associated by Sam with the prioritisation of the GCSE curriculum, despite the lack of engagement from students, through lack of access due to the expected high levels of self-reliance. Therefore, the impossibility of normative attainment (Benjamin 2002) in GCSEs was identified as a reason for high levels of disengagement and exclusion at this time.

I listened with interest to the aims, ambitions and aspirations of Sam and Keira, which included passing GCSEs and accessing future employment. These aspirations were reignited at Kahlo, despite Sam and Keira’s position in or approaching Years 10 and 11. It was notable that, in the context of reduced prioritisation of a curriculum for standardised assessments at Kahlo, the girls felt more able access learning activities to achieve such. Through removing high levels of teacher pressure to achieve in standardised assessments (alongside other practices at Kahlo, such as challenging failed learner identity and providing acceptable levels of teacher support), it would appear that the girls felt able to access alternative identities. Sam and Keira had the confidence that, even from their own unique starting point (Cooper 2008), they would be capable of achieving against standards of normative attainment.

This signalled to me the importance of direction and control over learning, indicated as an important feature of creative learning by Adams et al. (2008) and Massey and Burnard (2006). When teaching staff directed and instructed students with the aim of achievement in standardised assessments, the lack of responsibility for their behaviour
and engagement with learning was expressed by Sam and Keira. Yet when the teacher gave greater space for the student to take responsibility, not only was this seen to result in reduced conflict in the teacher–student relationship, but also an increased responsibility and control for the student. Learning activities under creative learning approaches were framed more in terms of activities that lead students to choose them (as described with the increased interest at Kahlo) and that the students had ownership and responsibility for choosing (Massey & Burnard 2006). The implication of such was reduced instruction from teachers.

This highlighted the relevance of roles in terms of choice and control. In the creative model of education in which teacher is the facilitator rather than instructor (Adams 2008; Massey & Burnard 2006), responsibility for directing learning, and choice and control were all features of the student role. In this model, teachers provide assistive rather than instructive support (as outlined by Massey and Burnard 2006). I return to consider Pring’s (2010) differentiation between teachers with the purpose of delivery of knowledge and those with the purpose of engaging students to ‘enter into a conversation’ (Pring 2010, p.60). This latter model seems to be more closely associated with both Sam’s requirements of a student–teacher relationship, and the importance of the construction of knowledge through dialogue. Thus, the value attributed to a student considered worthy of such a role indicated by Kath, and contrasted with the devaluing of students with a label of BESD (Clough et al. 2005).
The creative approaches to learning in Kahlo functioned as an important site for the expression of student narratives and student voice. This was evident through the modes and media available to students in lessons and during free time at Kahlo. Efforts to provide a sufficient range of media to support preferred student expression were an important feature of the learning environment at Kahlo, as communicated by Sam. This was stressed as important by Laura, who commented that the efforts made by staff to support access to voice is indicative of the desire of staff to hear the stories and narratives as told by the students. This resonates with Thomson and Sefton-Green’s (2011, p.1) characteristic of creative approaches to learning, as approaches that put ‘the young people’s voice at the heart of learning’. The affordances of the novel methods used at Kahlo opened up the possibility of novel narratives from students (Finlay et al. 2013).

Here again, I recognised the resonance of Bakhtinian concepts of dialogue and carnival, in which the plurality of voices and subjectivities is recognised and valued rather than regulated by a singular monoglossic account. Again, the space for alternative voices, expressions and subjectivities are stressed as necessary in the environment of a school in which monoglossic accounts are more typical, as outlined by Francis (2005), when the restrictions associated with such may function to distance the student from the learning activity and experience, as noted previously.

Brown (2003, p.2) cites Lamott, who comments, ‘It’s so much easier to embrace absolutes than to suffer reality’. Returning to the reality of the challenge of measurement caused by the lack of continuity and congruity associated with creative
approaches to learning, Cowdroy and de Graff (2005,) and McWilliam et al. (2011) express the lack of transparency and visibility of the operationalisation of this concept. Thomson and Sefton-Green (2011) particularly challenge the value of ‘reinventing’ practices, based on the localised application and lack of generalisation of such. However, considering the data on Sam and Keira, it was precisely this very localised and sensitive application of practice that supported the engagement and access to learning by centring them within the learning activity. The variability and lack of finality indicated in the Bakhtinian concept of the novel further highlights the need for flexibility in learning practices.

Therefore, rather than considering the variability of practices as problematic, this should instead be understood in terms of the validity associated with the lack of prescription and finality of creative approaches to learning. While this does not provide the type of uniformity and prescription that would enable greater comparison, as is indicated as beneficial to the research literature, it better captures the messiness of situations and the sensitivity required, which extends beyond an outcomes model, toward the more relationship-based encounters advocated in working with children and families (Rose 2012; Ruch 2010; Ward 2010).

Throughout the research, I found myself questioning why, in the context of literature which repeatedly stresses the need to centre the learner (Garner & Forbes 2015; Pring 2010), initiatives such as creative approaches to learning, and even the need (identified by the girls) for direct acts of resistance from students, were required as reminders. In
the context of the girls’ data, I took Ward’s (2010, p.186) suggestion that ‘a much higher premium is attached to]... attending to pragmatics, targets and achievement, rather than to less tangible elements’, as a warning that without attaching greater importance to these less tangible or visible aspects of learning, both teachers and students may be limited in their access to identity performances. The cost is limiting accessing learning opportunities for students on the margins. As indicated by Rose (2012), this has important implications for those students who require education in the context of nurture and attachment-centred practices.

As indicated above, the importance of relationships and roles is fundamental to creative approaches to learning. I recorded the extent to which my observations centred on relationships with students’ learning experiences, commenting:

It [relationships] is beyond a central theme, it really is the central theme recorded by the girls. So little time is spent discussing their engagement in education in comparison with their engagement with those within education – whether positive or negative. (FN 05/09/09)

The experience of relationships at Kahlo as extending beyond those typical of a school environment was stressed by both Sam and Keira. Both girls positively described the impact of the additional attention and care taken by the senior management and staff at Kahlo. While the discourse of family was applied with reference to both Keira and Sam in the Spectator View, it was not a discourse employed directly by the girls within the
analysed data. I therefore wondered about the meaning of this to the students in the
context of the narratives shared regarding them, rather than owned directly by them,
despite the frequent repetition of this discourse at Kahlo. For example, Sam’s
communication of her desire to return to work at Kahlo was an expression of her
ongoing desire for association with Kahlo. Here, Sam had identified a means to extend
her association with Kahlo beyond 16. For Keira, the extension of Kahlo from an
educational placement only, to include her residential placement at Kahlo’s related
provision, meant that her care needs both day and night were met by Kahlo, extending
beyond that of a typical school.

I do not assume a common experience or understanding of the discourse of family for
the students. As previously indicated, the daily home circumstances and experiences for
Sam and Keira differed. Rather, I draw attention to this discourse because it represented
a distancing from the professionalised discourse common to education, making the
personal contact indicated by Spanbauer (1992, in Clandinin & Rosiek 2007) possible,
and reducing the space between student and teacher; thereby enabling contact in the
context of educational environments previously associated with a lack of connectedness
(described by students in Rich & Evans 2009). Therefore, the identification of family at
Kahlo symbolised a shift from the professional to the personal and signified efforts to
promote connectedness on a more meaningful level within educational settings for the
girls.
The personal discourse in the professional sphere of the school was indicated in the need for caring communicated by Keira and Sam, and similarly stressed by the girls in the Riele's (2007) study. When caring was evidenced, the ‘transformed social relations’ associated with the shift from ‘traditional school-based practices’ identified by Lensmire (1994, p.379) seemed to be represented in the personalised contact in relationships between individuals within schools. It was in the context of caring relationships that the students were able to receive pressure and challenge from staff without necessarily resorting to avoidance or challenging behaviour, or repairing relationships when challenging behaviour did occur. The experience of caring in school therefore supported access to learning through reducing barriers that might otherwise have resulted in exclusion from learning (Osler & Vincent 2003). While not representing the full disruption indicated by the Bakhtinian concept of carnival, there appears a partial role disruption in describing relationships in a school with the personal discourse of family, rather than professional discourse of student and teacher roles. I believe this personal connection between the students and teachers at Kahlo bore the characteristics of recognising the consciousness of others as different to one’s own, and of attributing to such rights and importance, as outlined in Bakhtinian notions of dialogue. Again, the communication of such to students promoted an understanding of their worth and value within a school setting.

However, it is important to note the limitations to such personal relationships within school settings. For example, Lensmire (1994, p.379) highlights the limitations in terms of the critical stance required by teachers as part of their job role. Therefore, while
flexibility may be available with regard to rule enforcement (Becker 1963) and power may be more distributed than in a mainstream school structure, a power imbalance between staff and students was identified as necessary. In fact, at Kahlo the power imbalance was noted by staff to promote student empowerment at the expense of staff. Perhaps the lack of empowerment experienced by staff indicated the challenge of balancing the caring relationship within a role that demands a level of rule enforcement within the structures of Kahlo.

For Stuart and Laura, Kahlo’s senior management staff were significant in terms of their effective performance in the role of teacher. This drew my attention to the processes by which staff were supported in their practice and development. Rose (2012) notes the focus on subject-based processes in educating teachers, leaving teachers feeling ineffective in managing challenging behaviours. Ruch (2010) also stresses the importance of equipping practitioners with ‘appropriate professional understanding and ongoing support’ and recognising the ‘emotionally charged nature’ possible in interactions and encounters (both p.17). The novel nature of interactions and encounters at Kahlo is similarly alluded to in the literature by both Kourdourou (2012) and Ward (2010), who comment on the ongoing learning that occurs in relationships. As such, Rose (2012, p.114) highlights the importance of ‘protected spaces for thinking and reflection’ required by teachers working with students with a label of BESD. It is my view that the twice-daily staff briefings at Kahlo afforded the potential for reflection in understanding practices and considering alternative possibilities. However, the lack of attention to effective supervisory practices in supporting teachers in educational
settings such as Kahlo has been noted by Rose (2012), in supporting the processes of self-awareness, evaluation and confidence described by Koudourou (2012).

The importance of power in the positioning of students with BESD and teachers is recognised in the literature (Pollard 1994; Dwyfor Davies 2005). The issue of power and control as related to educational spaces is noted by Holloway and Valentine (2000, p.772), who comment that the ‘institutional spaces [of the school] become sites of control’ of students. Given Smith’s (2001, p.138) assertion that ‘our identities are wrapped up in the places we inhabit’, it is understandable that Sam and Keira highlighted exclusion as preferable, based on their marginal status within school spaces and desire to avoid the almost inevitable punishment described. In the context of exclusion, the ‘spatial disciplining’ within school spaces enforced through ‘formal and informal curricula’ provided a lesser threat to students who removed themselves from such institutions (Holloway & Valentine 2000, p.770). What interested me with regard to the students at Kahlo was the manner in which they described their agency to ‘both resist and ally themselves with adults’ in the different school settings (Holloway & Valentine 2000, p.773). In previous educational establishments, the extent of this resistance challenged ‘the hegemony of this adult controlled space’ (Holloway & Valentine 2000, p.777). However, by applying boundaries more flexibly at Kahlo, there was a lesser opportunity for conflict (Young Choi & Dobbs-Oates 2016) as a result of flexibility.
Post-Bakhtinian conceptualisations of chronotope identify the importance of developing awareness of the influence of spaces to enhance understandings of the meaning of experiences. As outlined in the introductory vignette, efforts had been made to make the environment at Kahlo a comfortable and safe space. Smith (2001, p.145) comments that attention to ‘things like lighting, seating arrangements, music, dress, we try to create physical environments which communicate warmth, friendliness, community’. This was particularly noticeable in the comfortable space of the Hub, and the subsequent interactions fostered here.

Smith (2000, p.140) highlights the manner in which spaces govern subsequent ‘rules and norms’. I also noted the use of the fobs that regulated and restricted student access within the building at Kahlo. This was a measure that was undertaken with the safety of staff and students in mind. While highlighting the power differences between students and teachers, the spatial restrictions associated with the use of fobs was identified at Kahlo to contribute to de-escalation of challenging behaviours in a manner that supported the commitment of Kahlo to avoiding the use of physical restraints and holds. As expressed by Keira, this was significant in terms of her emotional state and, consequently, relationships with teachers.

A further space that was only briefly mentioned during the course of analysis was that enabled through technologies, such as the internet, or cyberspace, for example in Keira’s Googling of images of her previous school. These contributed to her storytelling relating to the school. The importance of such technologies among young people has been noted
in the literature, with Smith (2001) stressing the particular relevance of the distance over which relationships are conducted and experienced. I highlight this in particular with regard to the relocation of Keira, and in the context of the physical contacts and hugs provided by staff at Kahlo. I wondered about the influence of the virtual ‘activity spaces’ on the behaviours of students, based on the alternate rules that may apply to them, but also with respect to the desire for connectedness in relationships that was expressed by the girls.

‘Respect’ was a word that was used regularly across participants at Kahlo and that underpinned a many of the positive communication practices at the school. Both Sam and Keira indicated feeling respected by Angie. Sam expressed that she felt respected because she felt heard and understood on her terms. Keira described respect in terms of the rules being implemented in a more sensitive way at Kahlo, employing flexibility when addressing and challenging without immediately seeking to exclude. The efforts to seek alternatives to exclusion at Kahlo communicated to the students the desire by staff to maintain the students’ presence within the school community. The converse of this a message is similarly communicated by te Riele (2007) to be damaging to girls on the margins of education.

Holloway and Valentine (2000) encourage an understanding not simply of the spaces inhabited by children, but the meaning attached to them. For students excluded from educational spaces, I wondered whether this necessarily translated to a message to the student, and broader society, of the young person as beyond control. Given Aitkens'
(1994, p.90) assertion that ‘[a] major purpose of school control is to socialise children with regards to their roles in life and their places in society’, practising extensive periods of exclusion as described by both Sam and Keira may reinforce the message of the student as beyond control, a label that may remain with students into adulthood; perhaps influencing the understanding of Keira’s residential care worker that it was good that she was back attending school. However, while Kahlo was a school, its positioning as non-mainstream may have altered the meaning attributed to it, not only by the students, but society more broadly.

Reducing the ‘space between’ was also an important issue in terms of the domains of identity, which included both those that were visible, which the girls presented and drew their communication partners’ attention to, and those that were more representative of students but less visible. Interpretations of the girls’ challenging behaviours were framed in terms of their safety, which was actually one of the five ECM outcomes. Therefore, there was recognition of the function of challenging behaviours for the girls: attempts to address challenging behaviour that were needed to provide the girls with alternatives that enabled the need for safety to be met. Angie’s consideration of students’ challenging behaviour in the systemic context communicated an important message to students. In the example of Angie’s response to Keira’s removing her uniform and throwing it in the bin, Angie did not seek first to blame Keira, but rather considered the events surrounding the behaviour, as per Brofenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model. In this way, Angie did not seek to retain power by avoiding and redirecting blame.
This openness to considering the students’ experience was identified as important to accessing their meaning. It also occurred is in a broader social context in which there is a preference for putting ‘all the blame and responsibility for change on girls’, based on the relative ease of ‘the psychologising of social problems’ rather than addressing the more challenging requirements of ‘institutional changes’ (both Tavris, cited by Brown 2003, p.3). Further, the two social contexts of school and home were identified as permeable or ‘porous’ membranes by Holloway and Valentine (2000), when influencing and interacting with student identity. At Kahlo, social factors were considered in relation to the function of student behaviours in relation to both Sam and Keira across home and school.

The less visible aspects of student identity seemed to be increasingly exposed to, shared with and/or recognised by staff and other students at Kahlo. These may be aspects or characteristics that were intentionally hidden, or that were incompatible with the dominant stories (Kim 2006) shared in the girls’ ‘files’. The importance of engaging students in dialogue was noted by McLeod and Wright (2009) not just in terms of the link between intimacy and happiness at present, but also with regards to the important role of ‘enhancing life planning via inter-subjectivity’ (p.123).

Elsewhere, issues of lack of the visibility of difficulties were similarly associated by Lloyd (2005) with emotional barriers to learning among girls. When the spaces were available for the polyphonic voices, as described by Bojé (1994), it was possible for them
to be seen beyond the label. As Messiou (2012) notes, the process of labelling can reduce students to a particular group, rather than recognising their membership across groups. This was similarly noted by Francis and Paechter (2015) with regard to the fluidity, as opposed to discrete group membership, of gendered performances. Lloyd (2005) specifically notes the misleading and distractionary label of ‘problem girls’, commenting that any girl could have a problem or be experienced as problematic, rather than ‘problem’ as a distinct label to be worn by or identified with girls with a label of BESD.

The importance of the labelling of girls in educational contexts must be considered to be not just in relation to their immediate experience of such, but also the longevity of labels of social exclusion into adulthood (Holloway & Valentine 2000).

For Sam and Keira, the possibility of misattribution of behaviour and attempts at voice as a result of a label of BESD and the contents of the ‘file’ meant that efforts to negotiate voice were not necessarily successful for those students so labelled. Further, students labelled with BESD are seen to lack conventional communication resources, as argued by Clough et al. (2005). For White (2016), more positive and sensitive responses from teaching staff were identified to be disproportionately available to students who were more verbally articulate. Therefore, the discrimination indicated by Jull (2008) as experienced by students with a label of BESD may relate to expectations of the behaviour of such students as a result of the label, but also associated with the lack of communication capital (Corbett 1998; Sage 2002) recognised within the school setting, resulting in less sensitive responses from teachers. In this context, the communication choices available to girls may be increasingly limited. Brown (2003, p.2) comments that,
in education, ‘[i]t’s a story about who gets taken seriously and listened to’. The challenging behaviours developed by Sam were listened to more readily than her attempts to access attention via requesting support from the teacher directly. However, these behaviours may have limited her access to other forms of voice and identity performances.

The injustice felt by girls in response to the rules and practices employed by a mainstream school system may be linked to an understanding of their needs as less likely to be met within this system, by the staff who they felt did not or could not understand them. It is important, then, to consider the utility of a label that is not functioning to support needs (Clough et al. 2005), and potentially distancing students further from having their needs met, with the potential of an understanding of characteristics attributed to the group detracting from a personalised understanding of the student (Messiou 2012). Understanding and responding to the preferred communication resources of the girls’ at Kahlō was therefore important in presenting an appropriate audience or addressee in whom the girls could experience voice, as operationalised by Lundy (2007).

Sam and Keira framed returning to education not simply as a matter of returning to learning, but also to relationships in which learning activities were enacted. There seemed a regular pattern of faltering starts, rather than the ‘fresh starts’ identified as necessary by Sam, particularly. Yet the selected narrative shared by school staff in ‘files’ seemed to have done nothing to have prevented further episodes of challenging
behaviour. If anything, the ‘file’ was identified to increase the likelihood of previous
challenging behaviours being practiced in the new environments through self-fulfilling
prophecy, resulting from stigmatised identities (Goffman 1963). This issue of beginnings
seemed particularly relevant in terms of reinforcing dominant identities; information
sharing through files was suggested to strengthen the identities of the girls as
challenging, rather than as effective learners. The efforts made by staff at Kahlo to
encourage students to voice their own identities gave them greater opportunities to
select such. The celebration of achievements created dissonance with unsuccessful
student identities. Students were encouraged to consider their presentation of identity
in response to new beginnings within Kahlo, and to persist with learning activities.

Despite the identification of the student–teacher relationship as a central source of
support and intervention for girls experiencing difficulties (Lloyd 2005), in Sam’s
accounts it was not resistance to support, but rather the ineffectiveness and
unresponsiveness of teachers, which presented as a barrier to her learning. This was an
important feature of engagement at Kahlo as described by Sam: a thorough assessment
was undertaken with the student at the start of their placement at Kahlo to understand
the students’ strengths, interests and motivations. Such an assessment recognises a
‘respect for the knowledge, interests and aptitudes of the student’ which frame the
relationship through which ‘the curriculum should emerge’ (both Cooper 2008, pp.16-
17). Here, Cooper acknowledges the primacy of the learner identity, the creativity of the
teacher and the centring of the student–teacher relationship. This personalised model
unites creative approaches, relationships and learner identity explicitly.
Therefore, while the ‘E’ in BESD is often targeted as missing and misunderstood, with invisibility particularly among girls with emotional difficulties (Lloyd 2005; Osler & Vincent 2005), the importance of the social circumstances under which students with BESD function is often ignored in preference for targeting within individual factors (Brown 2003; Lloyd 2005). The social and organisational factors in which learning was practised were centred and addressed, at Kahlo.

Given that labelling by gender and with BESD (as a SEN) is neither necessarily simple or helpful, its validity has been questioned. For Francis and Paechter (2015), despite the problems with labelling gender, the absence of grouping by label is a greater problem for groups who continue to be disadvantaged, with the availability of collective action helpful in combating such. Given the disadvantage and disempowerment experienced by students with a label of BESD (Clough et al. 2005; Cooper 2008) and for girls with this label (Lloyd 2005), I maintain that the benefits of maintaining labels as stressed by Francis and Paechter (2015) may also be relevant here, if supporting access to relevant support.

A feature of positive communication that was highlighted by Sam and Keira as well as staff was the shared humour within the classroom. The playful and humorous communication in Kahlo was actually employed in minimising conflict with students. For example, Stuart’s indication of Sam as having Tourette’s syndrome rather than directly addressing her challenging behaviour at the award ceremony was utilised in
avoiding conflict. Humour also signified a key component in the Bakhtinian concept of carnival, with the greater freedom of roles exercised in the practice of such in terms of a disregard for traditional power structures. Underpinning the humour at Kahlo was a connectedness between the participants in dialogue and a respect for otherness. When this respect was not present, for example when a nasty tone was identified in unpleasant messages from Keira, which were suffixed with ‘just joking’, this was challenged by staff to indicate the importance of policing the boundaries of humour. In using humour as an additional communication resource to prevent conflict (Young Choi & Dobbs-Oates 2016), the patterns of confrontation described by both Sam and Keira were subverted, and opportunities for alternative behavioural and emotional responses were possible, ones which promoted learning. Further, in seeking to communicate in a non-confrontational manner, a positive relationship could develop in which the student could feel liked. An additional feature of this informal or ‘casual’ structure was the interruption to the ‘narrative structure’ of ‘explanations, instructions, reports’ (all Sage 2002, p.85), which are recognised as particularly challenging among the population of students with a label of BESD, as identified by Sage.

Returning to consider choice and responsibility within the student role, Sam identified her responsibility and increasing control when avoiding negative interactions with peers, previously an antecedent to her exclusion. Both Sam and Keira also described more positive relationships with peers at Kahlo than in previous settings. Power in peer relationships was an issue discussed by staff and present in interactions with students, as well as being practised in interactions between students. The practices of power in
peer relations among girls was identified as important by Brown (2003, p.2), commenting that this is one of the few spaces in which it is possible for girls’ emotions to be ‘channelled through relationships and performed in the everyday spaces girls occupy’. The powerful positioning of Sam as recognised in Isla’s desire to inhabit a similar position at the school indicated the way in which the absence of boys did not eliminate powerful positions among students. Instead, such relationships were accessed by girls within the school, whose power was reinforced by teaching staff, resulting in me questioning the extent to which Sam inhabited the position more typically held by boys in terms of access to space and regulating the behaviour of other students, and the implications for students’ learning at Kahlo.

**Considering Findings in the Context of Girls, Learning and BESD**

In considering the impact of gender, the characteristic of Kahlo as a single-sex school was essential to Angie’s initial vision of a school that could promote and support learning for girls with a label of BESD. It was stressed by Sam, and on behalf of Keira, that the environment of Kahlo as a single-sex school supported learning, predominantly as a result of the social and relational context of the school. However, it was my understanding that negotiating learning and position within Kahlo was not a simple process, as a result of Kahlo being a single-sex school.⁹

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⁹ I note that the girl-only environment of Kahlo was not a feature upon which Sam and Keira independently commented.
The content of many of the learning activities at Kahlo could be identified as having appeal to more girl-focused gendered performances, including holistic therapies, hair and beauty college placements, and dance. However, these were not applied to the exclusion of alternatives, with activities such as boxing equally available to the students in response to their identified preferences, based on listening to the girls, as advocated by Brown (2003).

The possibility of the range of identity performances available to the students was highlighted in the discussion of Sam's identity poetry, in which 'dangerous' sat alongside 'caring', and was understood rather than regulated by Hazel. In fact, the dichotomous 'victim' or 'rebel' discourse among girls on the margins of education (Allard 2007; Brown 2003) was not so simply applied at Kahlo, but there was greater recognition of the inconsistency and variability of identity performances, as identified by Francis (2005) and Lund (2013).

The context of gendered performances was of interest to me in relation to what is communicated regarding the students at Kahlo. For example, Olivia recognised that Sam was performing this powerful identity of 'king pin', that this may be tiring, and that the alternative environment of college would provide an alternative space in which she could test out alternative identities that might be preferable or easier to maintain. This conversation reminded me of the power of dialogue, of identities as performed and differently performed, dependent on the audience and its responsivity. In Kahlo, the
alternative narratives enabled alternative performances from this were particularly relevant in relation to agency versus determinism, as identified by Francis and Paechter (2015).

When displays of volatility and aggression did occur at Kahlo, these were not then taken as the defining identity labels to be attached to students, and the intolerance of externalising behaviours from girls identified by Osler and Vincent (2003) in mainstream schools was not evident at Kahlo. The enforcement of rules in relation to identities was interesting at Kahlo, with alternatives to exclusions employed, even in response to aggressive behaviours, when possible and safe. The use of such alternatives could have mitigated against the barriers to effective relationships, resulting from exclusions identified among girls on the margins of education by Allard (2007) and among students with a label of BESD by Cooper (2008).

Sam's and Keira's accounts of insufficient attention and timely responses from teachers in mainstream schools, and Sam's accounts of insufficient balance between task- and non-task-focused activities for girls in mixed classrooms, were similarly observed by Reay (2001). Sam went on to describe learning needs associated with BESD and learning difficulties that were not responded to in a timely manner in her mainstream schools, and I wondered whether this related to the relative lack of visibility of girls in mixed classrooms that is described by Francis (2005) and Osler and Vincent (2003). Sam's access to attention was associated with the externalising behaviours more typically associated with the performance of boys (Osler & Vincent 2003).
For Sam, the benefits of attending a single-sex school related to the absence of appearance-based bullying that she associated with boys. She subsequently described feeling more relaxed at Kahlo. However, the regulation of behaviour between girls, identified as common by Brown (2003), was similarly observed at Kahlo. This included policing of appearances and identity performances, for example through Sam’s derogatory language toward Sasha during the awards ceremony and Keira’s attempts to regulate Nina’s communication with Cassie, as well as Keira’s attempts at policing Harriet’s appearance if she desired an association outside school. In fact, Keira’s policing of presented identities was also noticed in response to the female professionals with whom she interacted, both within and outside school. Therefore, the power indicated to be held by boys in Reay’s (2001) and Francis’ (2005) accounts did not simply disappear in the context of Kahlo as a single-sex school, but instead seemed to have been redistributed among the girls, with Sam identified as particularly powerful, as recognised by both staff and students.

Perhaps the policing and regulation of other girls is recognised as more acceptable to the students, based on the social expectation noted by Brown (2003, p.2), with the relationship between girls as ‘the safest and easiest outlet for girls’ outrage and frustration’ at their broader social conditions. Yet Brown (2003) also notes the necessity of relationships between girls in accessing support, as described by Keira regarding her relationship with Nina. In the context of potential emotional and social difficulties indicated by the BESD label, the availability of peer support and friendship would seem
particularly relevant and also potentially challenging. For Keira, her friendship with Nina provided much-needed comfort and support, in contrast to the relationships that she noted outside of school. At Kahlo, it was possible to observe the girls’ needs for ‘intimacy as well as their larger struggle for voice, power, safety and legitimacy’ (Brown 2003, p.5). Sam’s comments on alternative, less authentic identity performances presenting in the absence of safety highlight the importance of each of these needs being met in schools.

The use of labels for gender has been challenged, based on gendered performances as a constructed and highly fluid (Francis & Paechter 2015), therefore the fixed labels identified with schools fail to account for its flexibility. Labelling has also been challenged with students with additional learning needs such as BESD, based on the potential for stigma (Messiou 2012). The validity associated with maintaining these labels was stressed by Francis and Paechter (2015) in the context of the collective action available for disadvantaged groups, such as girls with a label of BESD (Lloyd 2005). However, the reminder from authors such as Brown (2003) and Messiou (2012) to listen to individuals within groups highlights the importance of not limiting identity performances to group membership.

**Considering the Utility of a Bakhtinian Lens**

As identified in Chapter Three, Rugg and Petre (2004, p.146) highlight the importance of reducing ‘the problem space’ in an area when undertaking research. For the purposes of this study, I came to associate the problem space not with the messiness of the project,
the range of data or the resistance to fixed or neat solutions and the context specificity, but rather with reductionist attempts at exploring and explaining such. In this respect, I believe the application of Bakhtinian concepts functioned to reduce the ‘problem space’ by highlighting the value of understandings which emerge from existing within the chaos of multiple voices with the potential for variation depending on the specific contexts inhabited. This has been similarly noted with reference to girls by Brown (2003), specifically to learners by Arnikil and Seikkula (2015) and to learners on the margins of education by Kim (2006). This thesis has not intended to argue that a Bakhtinian lens is the only one through which the accounts of learning at Kahlo could be viewed. Instead I argue the value in the application of the constructivist accounts of Bakhtin to role of relationships and creative approaches to learning in supporting the learning of girls with a label of BESD.

For Francis (2012) and Brown (2003), the application of Bakhtinian theories has an important role in challenging ‘theoretical binaries’ and accounting for the messy and unfinalised nature of human experience and interactions. In the context of social interactions which occurred within the practice of learning for the students at Kahlo, this model afforded flexibility. Rather than expecting tidy well-bound contexts, and singular, consistent voices, through Baktinian concepts, it is possible not only to recognise, but also to celebrate the messiness of complexity, to go beyond the concept of a single, pure voice within an establishment, or even from an individual (Brown 2003).
Dialogue was indicated to be important in the context of learning at Kahlo for a number of reasons. Primarily, the inclusion of the students in dialogic interactions with staff enabled them to support, develop or strengthen accounts with regard to what was said and understood about them. Dialogue was seen to increase the connection and reduce the space between individuals through exploring the meanings for students (Compton-Lilly 2006) within Kahlo. This was described as necessary for students, following previous negative educational experiences. This was specifically noted as important in challenging the fixed identities available to girls in schools, which inhibited access (Brown 2003; Francis 2005), and enabled the girls to express themselves better, so as to develop the supportive relationships required in accessing learning (White 2016). This further draws on Pring’s (2010) identification of engagement with learning as involvement in conversation and mutual inquiry (Anderson 2002) implicit in creative approaches to learning (Massey & Burnard 2006).

The necessity of understanding the students’ unique position and motivation as a starting point to learning was outlined by Cooper (2008). Underpinning this dialogue was the provision of space from which it is possible for students to access voice (Lundy 2007), and of recognising that the students have something valid to contribute. Given the link between voice and power (Bakhtin 1981) by supporting the students in accessing spaces for voice, students are ‘taken seriously and listened to’ (Brown 2003, p.2) without seeking alternative forms of power, such as resorting to violence or disappearing from a school system that was not sufficiently sensitive to them (Osler & Vincent 2003) and experienced as unjustly punitive. Further, in Hirschkop’s (1989)
recognition of dialogue as multisensory, the attunement of staff to the meaning of nonverbal practices of students highlighted the extent of dialogue as not only limited to verbal practices at Kahlo and the value of sensitivity to non-verbal dialogue in school. All of the above indicate the efforts to centre the students' story, as implied in creative approaches to learning (Thomson & Sefton-Green 2011).

The lack of finality and of a single monoglossic account indicated through novelness (as outlined by Elliot 1999) were also relevant features at Kahlo. Not only do the multiple subjectivities implied by the novel enable the presentation of the students' narratives and voices alongside that of 'the file', with its 'second-hand definitions', as communicated by Gardiner (1992, p.30), but also with respect to the 'creative capabilities of the novel' (Smith 2014, p.75), which affords alternative possibilities and where creativity is employed. Students were not limited to a particular trajectory or a particular identity (Allard 2007; Brown 2003), but were able to achieve alternative endings to those indicated for, or associated with, girls with a label of BESD. The lack of fixed outcomes associated with creative approaches where learning occurs within the relationship (Avdi et al. 2015) is also relevant to understanding the alternative positioning of teacher and student roles through the Bakhtinian lens of the novel.

The institutional structure of mainstream schools was communicated as a barrier to learning by the girls at Kahlo. The disempowerment among students with a label of BESD highlighted in the literature (Clough et al. 2005) was similarly noted by the girls within this context. At Kahlo, while not achieving the fully egalitarian social relations
indicated in carnival (Lensmire 1994), there appeared to be a greater distribution of power – a reduction in the authoritarian rule enforcement practices (Becker 1963; Dysthe et al. 2006) associated with control by teachers (Miles 2007). Importance was attributed to laughter and playful interactions, strengthening relationships. This, as part of the increased personalisation in relationships, seemed to fit with the Bakhtinian carnivalesque operating model. Further, as indicated by the girls, it was an effort to close the gap between staff and students, rather than equality between roles, which was sought.

An important aspect of chronotope is the combinations of time and space as constraining meaning-making potentials, drawing on the past in understanding the present and considering the future (Brown & Renshaw 2006). This was particularly relevant at the start of Keira’s placement at Kahlo, when boundaries were tested in seeking to understand the practices of rule enforcement and relationships at Kahlo, in the context of her previous exclusions from education. The space of the school has been attributed a unique meaning in terms of the identity of young people (Aitkens 1994), which can be seen to have long-term consequences when exclusion from such is associated with students who are labelled as out of control. Given the importance of school spaces on subsequent relational experiences and rule enforcement practices (Smith 2001), this represented an important aspect of the ways in which relationships were enacted at Kahlo.
I saw the Bakhtinian lens as adding value through its role in enabling a more nuanced understanding of students to emerge, including the plurality of identities, which can be enacted through creative approaches to learning and accessed through relationships. As such, like Lensmire (1994, p.371), I saw the capacity of Bakhtinian approaches in terms ‘bust[ing] open and transform[ing] traditional and closed discourses’ (Lensmire 1994, p.371).

**Reflecting Back to Look Forward: Methods**

I undertook this research in the context of arguments regarding a lack of attention to the methods employed in understanding educational research that applies a gendered lens, such as by Allen and Tinkler (2015). My intention for such was to represent best the complexity of learning encounters and experiences for girls with a label of BESD. In the context of the lack of voice attributed to these students in the literature, I desired methods that could capture the complexity of the girls’ experiences, rather than limiting such to theoretical binaries (Francis 2012) or problem labels (Lloyd 2005). Methods that supported an understanding of meaning beyond the internalised discourse of labelling among this population (Lloyd 2005) were of particular interest to me. I sought to address these issues in the context of calls for methods that consider student voice and the voices of others within the environment, as well as characteristics of the environmental milieu or collage stressed by Francis and Paechter (2015). I am aware that, within this model, the label of spectator identified by Francis and Paechter (2015)
is necessarily a misnomer in the context of my research, with those contributing to ‘spectator’ views functioning in a generative way as co-constructors of relationships.

Through my extensive time at Kahlo, and the combination of watching, listening and experiencing, of formal and informal intervals and conversations (all features of ethnography identified by Hammersley & Atkinson 2007), I felt it was possible to capture some of the ‘types of material, intangible, spoken and performed narratives’ (Pink 2007, p.7). The data thus generated was analysed together so as to account for students’ experience, which went ‘beyond isolated observations or descriptions’, as outlined by Woolner et al. (2010, p.3). Through making available a range of methods that could be triangulated to develop understanding across methods, I contend that it is possible to develop a more nuanced understanding, as indicated by Woolner et al. (2010). In returning to Darbyshire et al.’s (2005, p.424) question, ‘is more better, or simply more?’ I drew the similar conclusion to these authors that the choice resulting from a range of available methods was better at reducing the gap between participant experience and the research question, stressed as necessary by Pimlott-Wilson (2012).

Based on the importance of attending to the ‘uniqueness of contexts and encounters’, as communicated by Ainscow (1998, p.13), by focusing particularly on the perspectives of two selected participants, a specific, in-depth understanding was available that is associated with the particular case, as outlined by Thomas (2011). This followed the model of investigating Bakhtinian concepts through case study research (utilised by Compton-Lilly 2006). This meant that the range of students included in analysis was
necessarily limited, in preference for details on the students included. However, given the paucity of research as outlined above, I maintain that this decision was necessary to understand these students within their context, and a justification was provided for the selection of students, as stressed by Thomas (2011).

The enthusiasm with which the girls engaged with some of the visual methods suggested to me that efforts to facilitate engaging visual methods did add to the data in the relational context in which it was generated. I did not take for granted students’ willingness to engage with the research, but sought to employ methods that would promote inclusivity by centring participation and empowerment (as per Woolner et al. 2010). In this analysis and interpretation, while remaining conscious that visual methods were not a panacea for methodological concerns (Clark et al. 2013; Woolner et al. 2010), I was conscious of the value of developing methods in a way that suggested my flexibility and sensitivity to the needs of the students, and the subsequent influence of myself as a suitable communication partner for students. I feel that this was achieved in the research. For example, Keira’s description of engagement in data generation activities as ‘important work’ was surprising to me, and Sam’s identification of her ability to opt out of the research in her comment ‘not now, Georgie’. The students’ views on what they participated in, when and how, were therefore aspects that were within their control.

Throughout the process, I was also conscious of the use of the ‘media mirror’ resulting from the employment of visual methods (as described by authors such as Noyes 2008...
and Bloustein 1998). This was used differently by Sam and Keira. Keira stressed the importance of the limited duration of lessons, and of ‘Art – fun activities’. The media selected by Keira for engagement reflected this, with her preference for bounded, time-limited activities with a clear ending via the printing and production of an output. For Keira, the production for information sharing was important, representing more of a screenshot than a mirror, providing ongoing availability and access for audiences beyond those in her immediate environment when data was collected. This remained with me as important in the context of Keira’s difficulties, remembering previous educational experiences and consequently communicating them.

The activities with which Sam engaged were more open ended and did not result in an immediate output and tangible consequences. For Sam, the underlying messages regarding the importance of being known, being listened to and of recognising the different layers of her identity are better represented by a functional capacity to handle nuance make the selection of video as a tool for communication appropriate. For Sam, this ongoing access was less significant. I wondered about the relevance of Sam’s comment in her identity poetry about the control over information sharing regarding her identity, as part of her identity. Certainly, the methods were employed and understood variously by Sam and Keira, and were sufficiently flexible for the girls to use them differently.

As identified above regarding media, the equipment and technology available at Kahlo may acquire additional importance in terms of the construction of narratives, memories
and experiences for students. At Kahlo, the equipment available for use by students was technology that students could enjoy, appreciate and be happy to be associated with. It also afforded the possibility for taking photos and recording memories, making these available for students to return to at a later date.

In considering the methods employed in relation to their function in framing future research and use at Kahlo, as a school that invested in technologies, the Diary Room method was actually employed by Kahlo to support Keira in voicing her views in annual review meetings, which she would not attend and contribute to directly. Therefore, not only did the methods employed in the research function during the course of the research, but also provided additional spaces through which the girls could access voice, which extended beyond the research as a legacy at Kahlo. This was particularly significant for those students who felt less confident in sharing directly and presenting their views in front of audiences.

In this chapter, I have considered the data generated by, and with regards to, Sam and Keira, in areas of creative approaches to learning, relationships, gender, Bakhtinian conceptualisation and the methods applied in the data generation process. I contend that, through alternative relationships and creative approaches to learning, the practices at Kahlo provided an educational experience for students that supported their access to learning activities and alternative identity performances. In these, they could experience learning within the school space of Kahlo as not only a possible but preferable activity, despite past challenges in accessing learning activities in school contexts. I believe that
features of the study, including accepted performances of gender identities at Kahlo, and the methods and media utilised in generating data have influenced the identities it was possible for the students to present to me in the data generated – identities which were in part available through their placement at Kahlo.
Chapter Nine: Concluding

Introduction

In concluding this thesis, I consider my interpretations of the data analysed in response to my original aims of the study. I then review the research in terms of its contribution to the broader field before reflecting on my journey, with particular attention to the constraints or limitations under which the research was undertaken. A central feature of the research was its exploratory focus, based on the complexity of the area under study. Consequently, a number of areas emerged as valuable sites for further investigation, which are also considered.

Returning to Aims

There were multiple ways in which creative approaches to learning in Kahlo could be understood in practice. This fitted with Bakhtinian concepts that stress the diversity of meanings resisting a single or monoglossic expression. In interpreting Sam and Keira's accounts, it was exactly this flexibility that promoted the type of personalisation at Kahlo stressed by both the girls, and the literature, as supporting engagement by understanding and centring learner biography. In centring learner biography, it was possible to provide a personalised curriculum that maximised student access to learning activities. This approach considered learning in terms of dialogue in which learners were active participants.
Creative approaches to learning supported the practice of greater distribution of power and responsibility in teacher and student roles at Kahlo, as embodied in relationships and enacted through increased choice and control for students. In increasing student responsibility, teachers at Kahlo were repositioned in a more facilitative than instructive role position. In this dynamic, more positive student–teacher relationships were possible. Through interrupting the examination-focused discourse in schools, supporting sensitive and personalised teacher responses and enabling experiences of achievement in learning activities, the girls at Kahlo could re-engage with aspirations of achievement in standardised assessments.

The increased choice associated with the engaging media and digital technologies for students to express voice was not necessarily the priorities for all students. Instead, the girls’ understanding of the teachers’ willingness and desire to listen to them was prioritised as fundamental to the experience of respect, connection and belonging required by Sam and Keira in educational settings. These seemed missing in the accounts of school exclusion and educational placement breakdown prior to Kahlo. The girls required relationships with teachers at Kahlo, which were practised on a more personal level as a result of their previous educational experiences. They benefited from relationships that included informal communication and humour, as indicative of belonging and connection.

Relationships were fundamental to the learning experiences of students at Kahlo, as is evident in Sam’s and Keira’s accounts. The relationship with teachers at Kahlo provided
a space for Sam and Keira to practise and communicate alternative identity performances. This promoted the visibility of a greater range of identities than the limited expressions of identity typically available to girls on the margins of education. It also afforded sufficient space for identities that had otherwise remained hidden or invisible. In making such available, students could practise their identity performances at Kahlo in a safe space. This promoted an understanding of, and was seen to reduce the need for, challenging behaviours that may otherwise have interfered with or interrupted learning. Further, the reduced policing of less important rules and attempts to resolve challenging behaviours through means other than exclusion communicated to the students their worth and value within educational establishments. In the context of greater safety, worth and value, the availability of access to learning activities increased. Through the experience of feeling cared for in relationships in school, Sam and Keira were able to reciprocate caring for others, and to care about their own achievement in learning activities.

By bringing the experiences of Sam and Keira to the fore, I do not contend that this thesis has answered questions regarding the challenges of education for all girls with a label of BESD. Nor do I seek to suggest that a placement at Kahlo resulted in the elimination of challenging behaviours among girls with a label of BESD. Instead, it is my contention that there is importance in maintaining dialogue around this matter, proactively to enhance the engagement of girls with education, as well as reactively to respond to the difficulties experienced by such students, to avoid the number and length of placement breakdowns communicated in Sam and Keira's stories. While these
features relate specifically to Sam and Keira at Kahlo, given the resonance of such with the broader literature, I believe the above features may have relevance beyond Kahlo.

**Contributions to the Field**

In undertaking the research at Kahlo, I was able to explore the research aims within the unique environment of Kahlo and a small sample of girls with a label of BESD. Girls with such a label have been identified as, at best, under-researched and missing from literature, and at worst discriminated against, to the point that exclusion from school is a preferable choice to continued engagement. This study therefore opens up the importance of undertaking research with this population, increasing the visibility of girls so labelled, and promoting the need for dialogue and action regarding such. The literature further notes the lack of targeted provision among this population. The research therefore contributes to the field by exploring an under-researched participant group in a novel context.

Where efforts have been made to undertake research with gender in education, the literature outlines a lack of attention to the methodological features of such (Allen & Tinkler 2015). I have sought to respond to the critique in the methods literature regarding the under use of visual methods, as applied in gender in education. I have used a range of visual methods, including reflecting on how these were employed by the students. I also feel that I have contributed through my use of methods in my efforts to embrace the complexity of the social context of learning through including the multiple voices at Kahlo. In practice, I sought to achieve this by providing multiple media and
modes for the two students to communicate, as well as including many voices from within Kahlo, and the voices of those within the students’ networks. This was presented with reference to the material and discursive collage in which it was situated, as identified by Francis and Paechter (2015). Therefore, I feel that the research undertaken makes a methodological contribution to gaps in the existing literature, particularly with reference to the complexity held within the research focus.

In addition, I have sought to further develop understanding through the application of a Bakhtinian lens. Such a theoretical lens has been recommended in the literature in those contexts in which binary or dichotomous understandings are seen to limit exploration and interpretation. I certainly believe this to be the case with regard to this research. The Bakhtinian lens has been used to investigate the interaction between the girls and their environment. It highlights the plurality of voices and mosaics of relationships in existence of a form of carnivalesque interactions. It further highlights the value of dialogue in the construction of identity and learning. As such, I feel the Bakhtinian lens has contributed to the understanding of the complexity of the context under review by providing flexibility through which multiple voices and perspectives can be represented, enhancing the construction of a more nuanced understanding.

**Researcher Journey**

While practising as a newly qualified social worker in 2015, I received a compliment from my supervisor, who commented that despite having been in practice for over thirty years he had learned from me, an inexperienced team member. On observing an
interaction between myself and one of the young people with whom I worked, he noted a mutual respect that he attributed to in-depth listening. The importance of listening to young people and understanding the meaning that they attribute to their experiences, not just as a one-off message but an ongoing process, remained with me following the research undertaken at Kahlo. Clough and Nutbrown (2002) highlight the necessarily transformative role of research. I was certainly aware of personal and professional transformations resulting from my involvement in the research undertaken at Kahlo.

As identified in Chapter Three, I was surprised by the extent of the evolution of the research over the course of the project. I had to develop my own skills to support this. The project therefore replicated the lack of finality expressed in Bakhtinian theory in terms of my own journey.

The research was undertaken with students with a label BESD who have been identified as a ‘serially “done-to group”... critiqued at some distance by career-researcher and theoreticians’ (Clough et al. 2005). I was conscious that I did not become another distant researcher but was able to make connections with the students during the course of the research. I believe that the use of ethnography was an effective means of supporting the connection with students and staff at Kahlo. Therefore, despite my initial trepidation regarding the use of ethnographic methodology, I came really to value this approach, which enhanced connections with participants. However, during the course of the two years in the field, vast amounts of valuable and interesting data were generated that it has not been possible to report in this thesis. While this was necessitated by the
pragmatic constraints of the research, the exclusion of valuable data has been an uncomfortable process for me.

I previously outlined the research question journey. The distance travelled goes some way to indicate the challenge of negotiating how best to represent the practices at Kahlo and how to identify and communicate them effectively. The complexity inherent in the lives of Sam and Keira seemed to resist a single method of data generation for expressing how the processes at Kahlo helped to support them in accessing learning. Subsequently, ‘don’t know’ represented a common response to questions asking directly what works well at Kahlo from all participant groups. The implicit and intangible nature of the practices at Kahlo that supported learning evaded articulation, definition and description, even by the staff who practised them.

At the outset of the research, I had hoped to undertake the research in a way that encouraged participation at all levels, particularly from the students, based on the lack of visibility among this population in the literature. It is a limitation of the research that I have not had feedback from students at the level of analysis and interpretation. I am also conscious that the writing of a life can be problematic to the participants on whom it comments (Clough 2002), so the absence of feedback, particularly from Sam and Keira, to check and enhance meanings was a limitation of the study. I was also conscious of Plummer’s (2000) critique of the misappropriation of data from disadvantaged groups by academics who then write such up in forms that are inaccessible to participants. I had hoped to write this thesis in such a way as to make it accessible, at least in part, to
participants as well as the academic community. However, I feel that I have failed in this aim, in response to the requirements of a doctoral thesis. This is a feature that I hope to address following the completion of the thesis.

A further limitation of the research was the nature of data collection as embedded within an alternative research project. While this afforded an opportunity for extensive time spent in the field that would not otherwise have been possible, it significantly limited the focus of the data generated. It was therefore not possible to target relationships and creative approaches to learning to the extent that I should have liked. It also limited the possibility of undertaking data analysis alongside data generation, as recommended in the literature (Strauss & Corbin 2008).

Due to a demanding career change during the course of writing the thesis, it was necessary for me to suspend for a period of two years. This represented a barrier to the continuity of the project. I considered very carefully whether a return to complete the thesis would be possible, in this context. It was certainly challenging. However, I contend that to fail to communicate the data to the wider community would be unethical, having generated it. This was as a result not only of the time and effort invested by participants in the data generation process, but also the ways in which my previous publications had been included in the dialogue regarding student voice among students with a label of BESD.
Potential Areas for Further Research

Brown (2003, p.2 after Lamott) encourages her audience to appreciate that ‘reality is unforgivingly complex’. This is a feature of learning for students with a label of BESD and perhaps implicit in the challenge for Sam and Keira in identifying what works. Hajdukova et al. (2014, p.145) similarly explain that ‘[t]here is no single solution to the multifaceted issue of effectively educating pupils with SEBD’. I was therefore not anticipating a one-size-fits-all understanding in response to the research question of how relationships and creative approaches to learning for girls with a label of BESD within one special education provision, and had hoped that this exploration would open up areas for further research.

The importance of opposing the tightening control over learning by teachers, and the impact on alternative learner roles and identities, were stressed as important at Kahlo. I wondered about the specifics of loosening control as applicable beyond Kahlo, and how this might be performed in other schools under the influence of the pressures of the targets agenda less visible at Kahlo. I therefore see benefits in undertaking research in other schools, including mainstream schools, to understand how this might be negotiated and with what outcomes.

Given the extent of the invisible and intangible aspects of teaching and which supported access to learning for Sam and Keira, I found myself asking how individual teachers develop their skills in working with populations with a label of BESD. The ‘complex mosaic’ of relationships identified at Kahlo implied the interaction of reflection,
relationships between staff and staff empowerment. I would therefore suggest that an important area for further investigation is practice development for practitioners, looking specifically at how relationships between teachers influence teacher development and learning, and the potential value of formal supervision, as indicated by Rose (2012), particularly in response to learning among girls with a label of BESD.

The space of whose voice becomes heard seemed particularly influential in the context of the ‘file’. Given the limitations identified in current approaches to information sharing between schools, and the importance of the meaning attributed to learning, I considered alternative possibilities to enhance the commencement of placements for students, thereby enabling alternative identity performances. Given the available technologies for communication and voice, I believe that a valuable area for further research would be to review alternative practices for communicating student educational histories to new schools for students experiencing educational exclusion.

Given the importance of new beginnings, as observed by Sam, I also wondered about the possibility of ‘fresh starts’ for Sam and Keira post-Kahlo, in terms of the impact of Kahlo on long-term learner identity and broader personal relationships. A longitudinal follow-up to assess the meaning of the educational intervention at Kahlo to its former students would therefore be a priority in terms of the influence of such beyond the school.

By the nature of the research as exploratory, given the range of issues covered it was not possible to target particular issues at the level of detail that I would have liked. However,
I believe areas of connections and spaces are deserving of further investigation with regard to students with a label of BESD, based on my research at Kahlo. For example, specific spaces at Kahlo such as the Hub, and those enabled via digital technologies, functioned to afford alternatives to rules, norms and connections.

The importance of holding in view the experiences of girls with a label of BESD has been noted in the literature. Whether in the areas noted above or alternative areas, I would argue the importance of ongoing research that seeks to understand the experiences of students, and which encourages the reflexivity of practitioners working in relationship with them, to encourage dialogue and discussion regarding such.

**A Final Thought**

My time at Kahlo impressed on me the possibility of transformation and improved access to learning available for girls with a label of BESD. Through attending to the identity performances of individual students at Kahlo, it was possible to provide personalised support that used relationships and creative learning as vehicles for supporting access to learning. In doing so, alternative possibilities, beyond a problem label, were possible for Sam and Keira in education, and may possibly have value in their application to students more broadly. Given the role of schools in educating young people into roles and identity performances that inform their positions across a lifetime, continuing dialogue on this issue has important implications.
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arts methods to research the lives of disengaged young people. Research in Post-

Ltd.


Reforming the risky geographies of middle school girls at Clifttop College, pp. 172-189.


Appendix Section
Appendix 1: Ethics Proposal

Project Title:
The design and implementation of a transferable, robust, holistic educational model for girls with complex educational needs (related to behavioural, emotional and social difficulties).

Researcher(s): Georgie Boorman

Staff ID number: 11947168

Externally funded - YES ESRC

If yes: Bid number: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part One</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children with special difficulties)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Will the study require the co-operation of an advocate for initial access to the groups or individuals? (e.g. children with disabilities; adults with a dementia)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants (beyond the risks encountered in their normal life and activities)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Will deception of participants be necessary during the study? (e.g. covert observation of people)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Will the study involve discussion of topics which the participants would find sensitive (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing or physical testing? (e.g. long periods at VDU, use of sport equipment such as a treadmill) and will a health questionnaire be needed?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Will the research involve medical procedures? (e.g. are drugs, placebos or other substances to be administered to the participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses or compensation for time) be offered to participants?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Will you be involving children under sixteen for whom additional consent will be required? (Note CRB check may be required)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Will you have difficulties anonymising participants and/or ensuring the information they give is non-identifiable?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Will you have difficulty in explicitly communicating the right of participants to freely withdraw from the study at any time?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. If you are working in a cross-cultural setting will you need to gain additional knowledge about the setting to be able to be sensitive to particular issues in that culture (e.g. sexuality, gender role, language use)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Will you have difficulties complying with the Data Protection Act (e.g. not keeping unnecessary personal data and keeping any necessary data locked or password protected)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Are there potential risks to your own health and safety in conducting this research (e.g. lone interviewing other than in public space)?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you have answered yes to any of the above or your answers to these questions raise a 'difficult' issue, please indicate below how you plan to address it in the research.

Part Two Answers to problematic issues

1. The young people involved in this study could be considered vulnerable on the following grounds:
   
i. Age: the majority of the young people involved in the study will be under 16 years of age.
   
ii. Complex needs: all the young people involved in the study have a statement of behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD) which has previously interfered with relationships and educational progress, and resulted in permanent exclusion from mainstream schooling.
   
iii. Early experiences: some of the young people will have experienced trauma, neglect, and abuse. Some will be under child protection orders to ensure developmental and safety needs are met, and may be under the care of the local authorities.
   
iv. Communication and comprehension: some of the young people involved will have learning difficulties and communication difficulties.
   
v. Involvement with school: research procedure initiated and undertaken in collaboration with education providers.

The research project is proposed in spite of, and because of, the potential multiple vulnerabilities listed above. This is because the voices of the young people as a group are often not heard, having no influence on the decisions which impact them (Osler, Street et al, 2002); because the personalised learning environment needs to account for, and show greater awareness of the individual's needs (Lloyd, 2005); and because adults making the decisions on behalf of young people are frequently off target, and this is seen to increase over adolescence (Carr, 2006). It is therefore important to hear directly from the students because of the vulnerabilities.

To address the above issues:
   
i. Consent will be sought from the young person using their language – information sheets will be designed in collaboration with those involved in the study. Consent will also be sought from the individual or individuals with parental responsibility for the young person given the potential vulnerability.
   
ii. Time will be spent getting to know the young people involved in the study prior to beginning the research. The researcher has experience of working with children with mental health difficulties and complex needs within the educational setting, and qualification in psychology and is alert to the needs and potential distress of children and young people and respond appropriately, confining the research where necessary to ensure the well being of the young person is prioritised. The researcher is in possession of a valid enhanced CRB disclosure.
   
iii. The local authorities will be consulted throughout the study, and care will be taken to adhere to the protocols outlined in policies on data protection.
   
iv. Care will be taken to ensure that information is communicated in an accessible way to all participants, utilising visual modality in the form of an information sheet (including one created in collaboration with young people for the young people), which can be referenced throughout the study. Discussion will also be held with participants to ensure understanding of involvement, aims, processes and the use of the information following data collection.
   
v. Data collection will include information from and in collaboration with young people within the school setting. Care will be taken to ensure that young people, parents and carers are aware that the study is not part of compulsory education.
but additional to it, and withdrawal will not impact their rights within the school. To address the power imbalance created by association with the school, the right to withdraw will be clearly explained, that children can have an identified advocate to support their decision, and that discussions take place to ensure the children have a signal to use that enables them to feel comfortable to withdraw, and that this is practiced in advance.

2. Due to potential vulnerability among the participants, and in line with protocols, it will be necessary to contact multiple gatekeepers will be necessary to ensure research will be beneficial to, and will cause no harm to participants. In the first instance, the initial gatekeepers will be the school providing the base for research, with consent via the Head Teacher. The school provided initial indication of the aims of the research to students, parents, carers, local authorities, school staff and advocates – all of whom are responsible or involved in the care and well being of the child. Continuous communication with the above individuals and organisations will be maintained by the school and researcher to raise awareness of the project and its aims, and enable concerns and queries to be voiced. Ethical responsibility to both participants and gatekeepers will involve providing prior information on the aims and utility of suggested research methods, which may evolve in the development of the study in line with the research, and awareness of their right to withdraw consent at any point in the study.

Consent will be given all participants wishing to engage in the research, and on behalf of the young people, consent will be sought via the provision of information sheets and consent forms. These will be given by the researcher to participants, with concurrent discussions regarding the nature of the research, and the process of consent, to ensure consent is fully informed. During this discussion, the Home-School Link Worker with a prior working relationship with parents and carers will be present to act as an advocate for the parents and carers, and will remain so for the duration of the study. Participants will be discouraged from signing forms if they have any questions and will be reminded of their right to withdraw, or raise concerns, queries, or complaints, and how to do this. Individual students will suggest and agree an advocate or ‘key worker’ within the staff team with whom they can raise any queries or concerns, and who can monitor their progress in relation to the research. Gatekeepers within the school and the home will be consulted on a regular basis for the duration of the study to monitor the impact of the research on the behaviour and communication of the young persons involved.

3. Research is designed to benefit the participants, with anticipated short term benefits including greater enjoyment of school, and a more directed, supportive education, and the removal of barriers to learning. Longer term, cumulative benefits potentially include engagement with education and lifelong learning, and greater repertoire of skills and qualifications enabling social inclusion. In the process of identifying current and future needs, the aim of the research, may require reflection on past and recent experiences, for the young people and their families, and this process may elicit memories or concerns which may be distressing for the child and family.

The researcher has previous received training in sensitive interviewing skills and the ability to assess and manage emotional distress, and will enable provision of psychological support where appropriate. The researcher has experience of working with young people with complex needs and should there be any concerns, a clear pathway has been set up whereby participants can access appropriate support, which will include access to on site counsellor, access to a local health drop in centre, or referral to GP where appropriate. The monitoring, support and advocacy outlined in 2. will alert to changes or unusual behaviours and enable the welfare of participants to be paramount. Young people will also be encouraged to discuss the emotions associated with the research in regular meetings with the onsite counsellor.
5. As part of the study, young people and associated individuals may offer information of a sensitive nature. Information will be treated as confidential and anonymous unless it includes the disclosure of a risk of harm to the individual or to another person. This will be explained prior to the commencement of any data gathering processes, and will be a necessary part of the informed consent process. In cases where this is applicable, the information to be disclosed, and the relevant persons or organisations to whom the information must be disclosed will be discussed prior to any further action being taken. In data gathering procedures which record information in the absence of the researcher, this information will be explored on a regular basis to ensure sensitive information is managed in line with ethical protocols and guidelines.

9. As discussed in point 1. the majority of the young people involved in the study will be under 16 years of age. While it is recognised that individuals over 14 are able to provide consent in most contexts, given the potential vulnerability of the young people, it will also be deemed necessary to acquire informed consent from individuals with parental authority, and the local authorities responsible for the child’s placement, in conjunction with consent from the young people. The researcher will be in possession of a valid enhanced CRB disclosure.

10. Given the affiliation of the research project with the University of Southampton, the limited number of specialist independent schools for girls in the area, and the small number of pupils within the school, these factors may act as identifiable information limiting the assurance of anonymity. However, every effort will be made to ensure that research adheres to specific protocols relating to anonymity and confidentiality. Identifiable information will only be included where strictly necessary for the reporting of the research, therefore, names will be replaced with pseudonyms selected by the young people. Other identifiable information will similarly be substituted or excluded for the purposes of protecting identity.

With regards to confidentiality, participants will be consulted where appropriate before including comments and information in papers, reports or recommendations which will be distributed in the public domain. Digital video and audio recordings will only be accessed by the researcher, unless expressed permission is given by the young person and the individual or individuals with parental authority.

11. Given the nature of the study, the details of the aims, methods, and right to withdraw will be expressed to participants verbally in discussions with the young people, and others involved in the study, and will be accompanied by the provision of a jointly produced, written information sheet. As discussed in 1. barriers to withdrawal will be minimised by assigning a ‘key worker’ to advocate for the child, and by agreeing in collaboration with the child a signal by which they can withdraw from responding, should they feel uncomfortable proceeding without needing to give a reason. The participant’s right to withdraw will be regularly revisited throughout the duration of the study.

Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary

Signed:
Date:
To be completed by the Centre Head for unfunded research or Chair of Research Ethics Committee if funded or ethically complex. (PLEASE TICK ONE)

☐ Appropriate indication of maintaining ethical standards. This project now has preliminary ethical approval and the bid can be submitted.
☐ Appropriate action taken to maintain ethical standards - no further action necessary. This project now has full ethical approval.
☐ Certain issues require further attention. This project does not yet have ethical approval.

COMMENTS:

Signed (supervisor on behalf of SoE Research Ethics Committee):

Date:

Before beginning the research please complete a Risk Assessment form and IRGA form and send these with your Ethics forms, Consent form and Participant Information sheet to the Research Office who will forward to the RGO, keeping a copy.
Appendix 2: LA Information Letter

12th June 2008

Dear Colleague,

Re: Consent for Inclusion – Knowledge Transfer Partnership Research

This letter is to inform you of the purposes of the research project, and seek consent for the inclusion of Jade Dorkin in the research, as well as your own perspectives in proceeding with the project. Please find attached a consent form for you to indicate your permission.

The Project:

The project aims to provide a learning environment for its students which promotes challenge and enjoyment, progression, and an education tailored to the needs of the child or young person. The ESRC funded Knowledge Transfer Partnership between The Serendipity Centre and the University of Southampton seeks to develop an educational model and a girl-orientated curriculum framework that promotes access to learning, and helps remove the barriers preventing such access. In achieving these aims, The Serendipity Centre wishes to seek and better understand the opinions and perceptions of all those involved in education and care of the students at the Centre. This will include the students, their parents or carers, school staff, Social Services and the Local Authorities. We consider the research important in informing a girl-oriented approach to education which maximises learning and addresses the causes of social exclusion. This approach to education, or ‘educational model’, will improve engagement with learning with immediate benefits.

Research Associate:

A Research Associate has been appointed by The Serendipity Centre and the University of Southampton for the two year project. The Associate will gather together the views of those involved in promoting the best possible environment for learning, and report back the general findings through discussions, in a curriculum framework, and in academic papers. The appointee, Georgie Boorman will be interested in your thoughts relating to engagement of this population in education, and would like to meet with you, or communicate via phone or e-mail to discuss the project further within the next few weeks.

Methodology:

The project will use a range of methods, which will be discussed with the individual (and the individuals responsible for their care where appropriate) prior to the initiation of data collection. These methods may include individual or group interviews, written records, video or photo diaries, and drawings and visual representations.

Every care will be taken to ensure the highest standards of practice are adhered to throughout the project. All research will be in accordance with The Serendipity Centre Data Protection Procedures, and University of Southampton Ethical Protocols, all of which will be available on request.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

To protect the identities of those involved in the study, we will endeavour to the best of our ability to protect identities of the individuals’ involved and ensure the data is anonymised. This means that names and other information which may be identifiable will be altered or excluded unless necessary, but this will be discussed with you before any information is stored or enters the public domain. Every effort will also be made to ensure confidentiality.

Data Storage:

For the purposes of the study, it may be necessary to record information utilising digital voice and video recordings. Two copies will be made of these recordings, one to be stored on password protected files, then saved on a portable data storage device, for example a memory stick or CD ROM. These will then be held within a locked safe at The Serendipity Centre. A further copy will be stored on a password protected laptop, utilised by the Research Associate, and locked away when not in use. Data will be stored for in this manner for two years. Following this period, data on the laptop will be destroyed, with remaining data transferred to a secure location within the University.

Withdrawal:
It is important to ensure that everyone taking part does so willingly, and feels under no pressure to provide information at any time during the research, and is aware of their right to withdraw without needing to give a reason for withdrawal.

**Potential Benefits and Risks:**

Potential benefits will include increased enjoyment and educational attendance, improvements in individual numeracy and literacy, and greater access to qualifications. Longer term benefits will include a reduction in the consequences of social exclusion for students, namely reduced disaffection with learning and increased access to social resources, including employment. These benefits will impact the sample involved in the study, and are expected to have wider impact, with the dissemination of the results of the study, addressing social exclusion and the costs associated with such.

Potential risks to participants may include disclosure of identity and potential distress which may result from interviews and discussions. To address these factors, every effort will be made to protect identity by substituting identifiable information wherever possible, in discussion with participants, for example replacing participant’s names with pseudonyms. In addressing potential distress, the well being of the participant will be paramount throughout the study. The researcher is trained in interviewing vulnerable young people, and will be alert to signals of distress. Protocols will be put in place regarding the management of emotions, including opportunity for discussions with key workers, the school counsellor, and a health drop in centre where necessary. Protocol for managing sensitive information will be discussed with participants prior to data collection.

**Outcomes:**

Results of data collection may be communicated in the form of a DVD (accessible and preferable for the young people involved) exclusively for the young people and their parents or carers; an information booklet; and potentially via [ ] intranet. Results may also be used to inform staff training, and in an Educational Model for the target population. Results may also be presented in relevant discussions with professional and academic staff, presented at relevant conferences, and in academic papers. Results may also be utilised in the doctoral research project of the researcher.

We believe this research will offer valuable insights into providing the best possible learning experience for students at [ ], and across the UK. We are excited by the opportunity and are committed to achieving this goal.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact the school and ask to speak to either [ ] or Georgie Boorman via phone on [ ], or e-mail on [ ]. Any complaints regarding the research project should be directed to [ ].

We will contact you soon with further information regarding the project.

Kind regards,

Georgie Boorman
Research Associate
Appendix 3: Staff Information Letter

4th January 2009

Dear Colleague,

Re: Consent for Inclusion – Knowledge Transfer Partnership Research

This letter is to inform you of the purposes of the research project, and seek consent for your inclusion in the research. Please find attached a consent form for you to indicate your permission.

The Project:

The Serendipity Centre aims to provide a learning environment for its students which promotes challenge and enjoyment, progression, and an education tailored to the needs of the child or young person. The Economic and Social Research Council funded Knowledge Transfer Partnership between The Serendipity Centre and the University of Southampton seeks to develop an educational model and a girl-orientated curriculum framework that promotes access to learning, and helps remove the barriers preventing such access. In achieving these aims, The Serendipity Centre wishes to seek and better understand the opinions and perceptions of all those involved in education and care of the students at The Centre. This will include the students, their parents or carers, school staff, Social Services and the Local Authorities. We consider the research important in informing The Centre’s girl-oriented approach to education which maximises learning and addresses the causes of social exclusion. This approach to education, or ‘educational model’, will improve engagement with learning with immediate benefits.

Research Associate:

A Research Associate has been appointed by The Serendipity Centre and the University of Southampton for the two year project. The Associate will gather together the views of those involved in promoting the best possible environment for learning, and report back the general findings through discussions, in a curriculum framework, and in academic papers. The appointee, Georgie Boorman will be interested in your thoughts relating to engagement of this population in education, and would like to meet with you, or communicate via phone or e-mail to discuss the project further within the next few weeks.

Methodology:

The project will use a range of methods, which will be discussed with the individual (and the individuals responsible for their care where appropriate) prior to the initiation of data collection. These methods may include individual or group interviews, written records, video or photo diaries, and drawings and visual representations.

Every care will be taken to ensure the highest standards of practice are adhered to throughout the project. All research will be in accordance with Data Protection Procedures, Local Authority, and University of Southampton Ethical Protocols, all of which will be available on request.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

To protect the identities of those involved in the study, we will endeavour to the best of our ability to protect identities of the individuals’ involved and ensure the data is anonymised. This means that names and other information which may be identifiable will be altered or excluded unless necessary, but this will be discussed with you before any information is stored or enters the public domain. Every effort will also be made to ensure confidentiality.

Data Storage:

For the purposes of the study, it may be necessary to record information utilising digital voice and video recordings. Data will be stored in password protected zipped files on the University server, which adheres to stringent data protection policies (further details will be available on request) for the two year duration of the study. Following this period, data will be retained in line with University of Southampton policy.

Withdrawal:

It is important to and the study that everyone taking part does so willingly, and feels under no pressure to provide information at any time during the research, and is aware of their right to withdraw without needing to give a reason for withdrawal.

Potential Benefits and Risks:
Potential benefits will include increased enjoyment and educational attendance, improvements in individual numeracy and literacy, and greater access to qualifications. Longer term benefits will include a reduction in the consequences of social exclusion for students, namely reduced disaffection with learning and increased access to social resources, including employment. These benefits will impact the sample involved in the study, and are expected to have wider impact, with the dissemination of the results of the study, addressing social exclusion and the costs associated with such.

Potential risks to participants may include disclosure of identity and potential distress which may result from interviews and discussions. To address these factors, every effort will be made to protect identity by substituting identifiable information wherever possible, in discussion with participants, for example replacing participant’s names with pseudonyms. In addressing potential distress, the well being of the participant will be paramount throughout the study. The researcher is trained in interviewing vulnerable young people, and will be alert to signals of distress. Protocols will be put in place regarding the management of emotions, including opportunity for discussions with key workers, the school counsellor, and a health drop in centre where necessary. Protocol for managing sensitive information will be discussed with participants prior to data collection.

Outcomes:

Results of data collection may be communicated in the form of a DVD (accessible and preferable for the young people involved) exclusively for the young people and their parents or carers; an information booklet; and potentially via [intranet]. Results may also be used to inform staff training, and in an Educational Model for the target population. Results may also be presented in relevant discussions with professional and academic staff, presented at relevant conferences, and in academic papers. Results may also be utilised in the doctoral research project of the researcher.

We believe this research will offer valuable insights into providing the best possible learning experience for students at [The Serendipity Centre], and across the UK. We are excited by the opportunity and are committed to achieving this goal.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact the school and ask to speak to either [Sue Tinson] or Georgie Boorman via phone on [023 80422255], or e-mail on [ktp@serendipity education.com]. Any complaints regarding the research project should be directed to [Professor Mary Ratcliffe on 023 80593061, or by e-mailing on M.Ratcliffe@soton.ac.uk].

We will contact you soon with further information regarding the project.

Kind regards,

Sue Tinson
Director, The Serendipity Centre

Georgie Boorman
Research Associate
Appendix 4: Example Coding Reflections

29/07/16

- A note on the codes. I have found myself increasingly struggling to single out 'correct' or the most 'usable'/'suitable'/ 'effective' codes. Part of this is my awareness of the importance of what is being shared, which is not specifically attributable to the organising concepts of creativity or relationships, but none-the-less incredibly valuable to the model employed by staff. I'm left wondering whether this follows on from the broader aims of the KTP project, or rather (and more likely) my recognition that there is such an inter-relationship between the range of factors, that artificial divisions may function to distract from, rather than target what is going on. It was not at all tricky to find a relevant code to cover the issue which linked to a previous code I had already identified, and which provided a strong link to the specific organising concept. The challenge hasn't been finding that link, but rather justifying it as the strongest link in terms of the organising concepts.

- I don't think that this issue is unique to my project. However, the reason I draw attention to this is that I think I'm very strongly of the view that the reason effective practices are so difficult to identify and to articulate/learn relates to the holistic and integrated nature of these practices. I consider that even if I had selected one of the organising concepts as a primary concept for analysis, the second concept would be included in the analysis because they are not so separate as the rather artificial distinction implies. And there are a range of other concepts that similarly relate. So the balancing act for me is between the holistic pattern emerging from the rich data, and the trying to cover a more extensive data set.

31/07/16

- Laughter is raised here as an important tool. This was something which was repeatedly stressed in interviews by both staff at Kahlo, and students. It was also something that I noticed in observations and recorded in my fieldnotes. There is something significant and important about laughter in relationships. While sharing humour may be indicative of a trusting relationship(?) perhaps even signalling an informality, the Bakhtinian analysis provides a useful conceptual link to the value of humour and laughter in the power in relationships. I mention in the Introductory Chapter that through engaging in humour and jokes, the staff are engaging, and subsequently better able to direct the jokes – laughter is shared with staff, as opposed to conducted at the expense of them. This is important as staff are engaged with students (in dialogue) in boundary setting regarding the jokes. By extending the boundaries to include humour in relationships, power is seemingly shared with students, however, on closer inspection, greater power is actually retained by staff. There is an illusion of distributed power, rather than this being actually so.

- I also think there is something additionally important going on here with the employment of humour. Frequently the jokes are at the expense of staff, in a way that is managed by staff (for example, staff put on poor singing voices, then sing very loudly). As a result, staff are able to model responses to jokes being made at their expense. In an interview the Arts Instructor describes the girls having lower self-esteem than he had ever thought possible. The implications for this are a potentially damaging response to assaults like those from jokes. However, staff are able to model an appropriate response to such assaults. By indicating their comfort and familiarity with this approach to communication, they are able to indicate to students that they it is possible to survive these assaults without feeling threatened. It also indicates that staff identities are not threatened by assaults such as these. I'm left wondering
(particularly in the context of observations), whether the implied identity stability and security from staff able to absorb or deflect assaults are sufficiently safe for students to trust them as communication partners. In laughing at themselves, are staff signalling more than just a sense of humour – is it actually a signal that they are safe and suitable communication partners from which the students are able to explore their own identities?

• The issue of fairness is raised again, linking with the issue of justice. The repetition of this concept highlights the requirement to explore it further. Certainly, the girls signal concerns regarding the behaviour management strategies within the school. I found myself wondering about this. Presumably, as far as the school is concerned, if the students are breaking the rules, they are accepting the consequences. However, the consequences for students are not in fact ones they have agreed on or agreed to; they have no choice or voice with regards to the consequences for breach of rules, whereas perhaps acceptance is assumed on breaching rules.

• Uniform and expression of identity: This is something that I think will require some follow up. It’s interesting that uniform is raised as a problem. Uniform signals conformity and similarity, in the context of the girls wanting to be known as people, and stressing their individuality. The dual role of the uniform in both inhibiting the girls expression of their identity (negative), as well as protecting them from exposure to the limited access to preferred identities based on lack of access to expensive or nice clothing (positive) is interesting in the context of rules in general, and leaves me wondering about the dual roles of things/items.
Appendix 5: Coding Workbooks
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subhead</th>
<th>Operationalisation</th>
<th>Links</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They give you Adaptability and openness of the staff and practices in education enabling certain responsibilities.</td>
<td>Requirement: Understanding and participating in opportunities and activities supporting social as Evolution: Belonging; C: The social interdependence and interactions within and across learning environments. Presentation: The individual's experience of, account of, and presentations of and about self - increases Laughter: The playful sharing of humourous/fun interactions.</td>
<td>Students may consider test C hassle? Association: Students may be more resistant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6: Sam iDentity Poetry

This is me,
the dancer, the bubbly feeling when I do it.
This is me,
cheeky, sense of humour, but always caring.
This is me,
Bossy, wanna know what's going on.
Well I am student rep ain't I?
This is me,
secretive, but only with what concerns me.
This is me,
I'm dangerous.

[Themes and Codes]

*Engagement, motivation and learner identity:* Sam firstly expresses her learner identity in terms of a domain of motivation and interest. Sam communicates her identity in relation to dance. This is an area of creative expression/performance/communication for Sam and one which is preferred by her. It is one which is supported within Kahlo with access to dance classes via a private dance teacher. Therefore in the area of interest, engagement and motivation which is supported, and this aspect of identity developed within the school. In establishing motivation and supporting this area of her identity development, the school might not only be seen to be supporting her development in ways she enjoys (supporting positive feelings in school), but also embracing her as a person, worthy of flexibility in the curriculum.

*Networks and Exposure to Careers:* It also exposing Sam to a career, and networks Sam with a dance professional. Encouraging learning towards particular interests and careers?

*Teacher Student Relationships:* Interestingly, the dance teacher is a qualified dance teacher, rather than schoolteacher. Therefore, the information on creative professionals who are parachuted into schools may be relevant here. As a professional in the field of dance rather than a schoolteacher, is the relationship different – for example, how are behaviours managed, what are the ‘rules’?
Achievement: While not fully explored here, Sam was entered to participate in rock challenge. Sam therefore had the opportunity to represent the school in a public domain in common with peers from mainstream schools. What does this mean for Sam’s sense of achievement and identity as a learner? For me this is interesting in the context of Sam’s diary room interview in which she addresses the importance of representing schools to expression of achievement. It also leaves me wondering – if Sam is able to represent her school in this competition, would she have been able to at mainstream school? Presumably her absences from school were a barrier to such, but I wonder whether her interest in and passion for dance were recognised and understood in previous educational establishments.

Co-Existing Elements of Learner Identity: Sam expresses her identity as both cheeky and caring. For Sam, both represent important aspects of her identity, and presumably both are relevant to her social identity within school. Sam’s identity as cheeky may indicate the relevance of humour within the school – consideration in terms of Bakhtin and power. Sam’s expression of herself as caring indicates that one is not dismissed by the other: both are relevant. Is this in terms of variability in presentation on different days and times (I wonder what this means in terms of a required variation in response from school staff – does Sam equally require staff who are flexible in responding to the range of states as learner identity?)

Learner Identity, Power, Knowledge and Control: Issues of power and control seem to be implied by Sam in relation to interaction with others. She describes herself as bossy, interested in what is going on in her environment (which from observation relates to the lived experiences of the staff and students at Kahlo). In fact this was something which was supported both informally by Angie (who encouraged other girls to consult/speak with Sam in times of crisis) and later formally through democratically elected position as student rep. For me, Sam’s poem seems to link knowledge and power – power is acquired through knowledge. However, willingness of students to communicate with Sam is not reciprocated or mutual - Learner Identity and Lack of Information Sharing About Self: Is power maintained for Sam through receiving information from others while not sharing regarding herself? I consider this in relation to Bakhtin’s suggestions as to the importance of dialogue in feeling known, and in establishing a common understanding. If Sam is consistently withholding some parts of her identity, what does this mean for her ability to feel known, or to establish a common understanding and a common meaning with others? She is intentionally limiting the capacity of others to listen.

Purpose and Function of Words and Description: Sam ends the poem succinctly describing herself as dangerous. The brevity of this final line (relative to other lines), its placement as the final line of the poem, and its emotional strength functions to focus the audience on this descriptor. It also provides an interesting position in relation to Sam’s initial description of herself as caring. In presenting these two aspects of her identity within the boundary of a single poem, Sam indicates the possibility of their co-existence, and the variability with which she can or may present or experience her identity. What is not indicated in Sam’s account is to whom she considers herself dangerous – whether to herself, others, or both. In sharing this aspect of herself, I wonder whether Sam is sending her audience a warning to maintain distance, not to risk getting close, or whether the intention is a willingness to be understood – to encourage discourse regarding this aspect of Sam’s identity. Based on my training in psychology, I wonder about Sam’s concerns of being too risky for her communication partner. If she shares this aspect of herself, and it is not possible for adults to contain her, this is a vulnerable position. However, if the adult is able to broach this and manage it effectively, Sam’s identity, including that as a learner are influenced. Therefore, characteristics of communication partner are of interest.
**Presentation**

The performance or presentation of the poem involves a movement through various aspects of her identity. On reading the poem, I was struck by the flow through the descriptions. Sam initially introduces her identity in terms of motivation / preferred activity (familiar and safe to an audience). In the context of Kahlo, success in this activity resulted in maintaining or improving status among the student community. This description is then followed by other characteristics which are viewed positively in Kahlo – humour and caring. Further, in adjoining humour and caring, Sam communicates that the presence of humour is not at the expense of humour (the presence of one does not result in the absence of the other). The next descriptions signal a shift to aspects of identity that might receive a more ambivalent response. These are initially justified in terms of her role within the school community. The poem then ends with Sam’s description of herself as ‘dangerous’ - distinctly different in tone and social acceptance from the initial descriptors employed. The changes may indicate the importance of first impressions, and impression management. The identification of herself as dangerous may also be linked to Sam’s desire for secrecy regarding aspects of her self and her identity. In leaving the audience with the identity as ‘dangerous’ the final message is an emotive one. It is also an interesting contrast to Sam as caring. It leaves me considering the contexts in which each may present, and how Sam’s interactions with the environment function to

I wonder also about the relevance of Sam’s identity as interactive. The majority of Sam’s identity descriptions are ones which

**In Relation to Wider Narratives**

Consideration of the wider social context of dance in terms of communication – in relation to femininity – how does this link with the opposite end of the poem – of girls and danger? Certainly, one of the issues emerging was the challenge of engaging girls in something – Sam provides an answer for what engages her. Consideration of information on managing a spoiled identity (see Goffman).

**Issues Emerging as a Result of Media**

Sam’s poem is brief. The limited number of words leaves space for the consideration of gaps – for example the lack of expansion of Sam’s final description may be positioned in such a way as to encourage the audience to be left with this message, thinking about their response to such, or what meaning Sam may attribute to this (as is evidenced in the discussion of such by another class).

Yet despite the brevity, Sam expresses things she likes to do (and how these make her feel), things she
Staff and students make use of the space in the Hub. Some are seated, some standing. One student (Sam) and one member of staff (Cathy) are making use of the kitchen space. Kath stands between the kitchen and the tables, alone. She moves a carrier bag to the other side of the space. Meanwhile she is holding a piece of paper (which has the results of the student awards on it).

At 00:17, several teachers are sat with their forms. Hazel reaches to receive rubbish from a student in one hand while holding her mug of coffee in another. Laura looks up to Stuart. Sam walks across to sit down. The former TA, Julia, is dressed in her own clothes. She is sat at the table in a seat next to Sam.

Kath walks back across the space, meanwhile Hazel moves the length of the Hub to put the item retrieved from a student in the bin.

At 00:30 Carl walks across and mimics dancing in front of the camera, before asking if I’ve already started filming. Laura picks up a carrier bag. Angie’s son walks across the space. Carl reaches for his camera while doing more dancing. Carl busies himself sorting the camera. Kath busies herself arranging the eggs.

At 01:06, there is a mixture of students sitting quietly, students talking to one another, and students talking in a group with staff. The two tables to the left have two students per table. On the right, there are three students. In addition to Hazel (form tutor) there are Sandra and Julia at the table. Both men (Stuart and Carl) are standing up rather than sitting at the tables.

As Kath begins the introductions, there is a reduction in conversations (although this does not stop entirely) there is also a sound of chairs shuffling across the floor.

At 1:12 in the recording, order is finally called by Kath. Students continue to speak/interject, but this is to a far lesser extent. This is done with a clap of the hands and 5 ‘okay’s in a row. Kath had
previously been standing, watching the events on fold in front of her, hands on hips. All
students, and most members of staff are seated by this point. Carl
remains standing, photographing the ‘event’ Staff and students look
towards Kath. Game of Connect 4 in progress between Sasha and
Rosie.

Kath: Okay, okay, okay, okay, okay .... Because you’ve all been so
horrible, we’ve decided that it’s all a big con, you’re all going home and
we’re all going home and the teachers are going to stay and eat all the
chocolate, alright [brief chuckle, Julia points towards Sandra
communicating as she does] Lots of smiles from form 1 table. Julia
responds by jumping physically to attention (mockingly). Mara pulls
her hair back into a ponytail. Every single one [...] Kath points to all
the students around the room What is noticeable to me during this
exchange is the softness of Kath’s voice. She is not the loudest voice in
the room, but her message is heard (reminding me of an old maths
teacher who used to say to me, ‘if you want people to listen, whisper’)

Heidi: [...] 

Bella: [shouting] Heidi be quiet [Julia pretends to jump back in fear]

Kath: Every single one of you in this room has been fantastic at one
thing in particular, and looking round this room, there’s not one of you
that hasn’t come on in leaps and bounds over the last term. Kath
points round the room to the students individually to indicate the
inclusion of all. And I’m really really proud of you [...] and you all
deserve a massive round of applause [Kath starts applause which is
joined by staff and students] Laura returns to her seat.

This is extended by Carl, who gestures with his arm and fist more akin
to the cheers in a sports game, before returning quickly to
photographing the event]

So the very SECRET award [Kath holds the piece of paper close to her
chest as she says this. During the talk so far, Kath has moved back and
forth, and has now moved further from the students towards the
prizes, after having secured their engagement] and you’ve all been
trying to look at them.
The first one today is for ICT. And the ICT award this term, goes to—are we ready.. [Kath provides a build up to support engagement of the students, and perhaps gain herself some time in working out what is where] Sassshhhhaaaaa [last name]. [Clapping from staff and students. Sasha stands up and moves forward to receive her certificate and prize – a chocolate egg. Sasha looks slightly embarrassed or awkward in comparison to her usual posture, more of her eye gaze is on the chocolate than Kath. Kath hands Sasha her certificate, and moves the Easter Egg behind her back and away from Sasha’s grasp] What I’m going to do if get the chocolate you’re all going to be sick in the car so […]

Sasha: No [reaches for chocolate but not in a genuine effort]

Kath: [gives chocolate away to Stuart who is standing to the left] Laughter from students. [Sasha returns to her seat]

Sandra: [pretending to stand up, speaking to Hazel] I thought that was mine

Kath: Right.. next award is PE [The students are remain quiet while Kath continues presenting], and we’ve got two PE awards.

Julia: PE?

Kath: Yeah, the first one goes to Sam. [Sam looks towards Kath waiting for further information, Bella momentarily looks surprised? Then looks to Sam for her response. Heidi looks at an item she has made and is holding, Alyss and Sasha and Bella look towards Kath] Sam, you’ve done really well and it’s in particular for your dance […] So in particular for your dance Sam [Sam stands up and walks over to receive her award], well done. [Kath hands Sam her certificate, then gives her a side hug, and a kiss on the cheek. Again chocolate handed to Stuart]

Kath: Yeah, take the chocolate away…

Laura: […] to Sam

Sam: […] [to Laura. Shared laughter between Sam and Laura] [Sam looks at her certificate, and Julia leans forward to look at it too, then takes it from her to read it. Sam’s concentration returns to Kath’s presentation].
Kath: And the second prize for PE goes to somebody who, whatever has been thrown at her, she has had a go at it, and big respect [Looking towards Sasha] It’s you again. Whatever’s been thrown at you, you’ve had a good old go at it. [Sasha smiles to Kath as she approaches. Clapping from staff and students. Chocolate is again held up by Kath in front of Sasha, before being moved away, and handed to Stuart, laughter]

Laura: Stuart, you’re in the way.

[Sasha approaches to receive her certificate. Both Sasha and Kath have their backs to the community while they find the correct certificate]

Kath: Right, the next one is for PHSE, and again we decided it was a dead heat for this one. So there are two prizes for PSHE, one is for.... Sasha

Sam: Boffin!!

[Large smile/look of surprise from Sasha. Clapping started by Sandra, and joined by other staff and students]

Kath: and the other one is for Cassie.

Stuart: Sasha

Kath: Oh, Cassie’s not here, is she? [Sasha approaches to receive her certificate. Both Sasha and Kath have their backs to the community while they find the correct certificate]

Heidi: Where’s she gone?

[...] 

Kath: Hand certificate to Sasha. Kiss for Sasha on the cheek

Sasha: I’m not comfortable with this anymore [Loud hooray from Sandra, who jumps up and claps in response to this comment from Sasha]

Kath: Some- if Angie comes back before we leave, some of these we’ll be able to give out then. [Kath gestures with hands] The next prize is

[Visible reminders of Achievement] 
[Recognition within the school community] 
[Recognition within the school community] 
[Certainty of Success]

[Staff mirroring Student Response] 
[Back at Student] 
[Practice of Power] 
[Humour]

[Power as Expressed by Students]

[Mixed gestures/Body Language from Student] [Reading Body Language] 
[Observation and Understanding] 

[Specific Student Empowerment] 
[Lack of Response from Staff] 
[Behaviour Management] [Staff Expectations] 
[Student Humour]

[Novelty of Media] [Motivating and Fun Media] [Expectation of Engagement from all Students]
for ASDAN, and the prize for ASDAN has gone to Keira. So if Keira comes back, we’ll do that again, so well done Keira.

Sasha: Excuse me! [Laughter from students. Minimal response from Sasha’s form tutor, who picks up her mug and drinks]

Sasha: Yeah. [Carl is at Sasha’s shoulder photographing her certificates]

Kath: Right, art prize. Actually, I think there’s probably quite a clear winner for art. Who do you think has got the art prize?

Sasha: Sam has.

Kath: Of course she has. Come on Sam.

Sandra: Oh, boffin [clapping loudly] Here, Sandra repeats the comment Sam has levelled against another student who had received three certificates in response to Sam’s second certificate. In doing so, perhaps removing some of the power from the label in the manner in which Sam had used it, identifying Sam within the same group.

Sam: [As she walks up to collect prize, Sam’s hands are bent in the middle, and she gestures them from side to side, dropping her shoulders to the left and the right as she does so almost as if dancing up to receive her award. Sam then sticks two fingers up to Sasha, as a negative gesture, but done while Sam is smiling cheekily, minimising the negativity in this gesture] Interestingly, Sam’s gestures are in response to Sasha’s recognition of her success. Sasha is not in Sam’s classes, therefore would not have come in contact with her work directly, indicating her success is known within the school community. Also, Sasha and Sam are inputting into the proceedings more than any other students. Their voices are heard the most after Kath's.

Sam: Thanks. [Takes chocolate] Are you going to take that off me then [snatches chocolate and walks away] No [laughter. Particularly loud laughter from Julia] Sam is allowed to walk away to her table holding the chocolate, and is not stopped or prevented from doing so by Kath or any other member of staff. I wonder about the impact of such in terms of Sam’s positioning in relation to the other students who have not been able to do such.

Kath: Kath then ignores and continues. Erm, media. That’s something that’s quite new. And erm I know you all love to have fun on the Apple Macs, and again there’s one person that has stood out-
erm in media, and the prize for media goes to Heidi [clapping] [walks up, receives hug from Kath and kiss on the forehead, and returns a big hug] and again, now you see it, now you don’t [waves chocolate in front of Heidi, then removes it rapidly, handing the chocolate to Stuart]

Harriet: Well done Heidi [Laura watches closely smiling as Heidi returns to her seat]

Kath: Science... And I think she’s going to be gobsmacked when she gets this.

Sasha: It’s not me is it!

Kath: And the science prize, do you know who’s got it?

Sasha: Yeah.

Lucy: It was a bit tough to decide for Science, but it’s somebody who has made a real effort for me. It’s Bella. [Bella looks shocked opening her eyes and her mouth wide. Lots of clapping and cheering, particularly from Sam and Julia who are sat close to Bella. Hazel has a large smile too]

Bella: [...] [Jumps up waving her hands at her side and walks over to Kath. Big hug from Kath. Chocolate egg is handed to Bella, before being removed from her by Kath and handed to Stuart]

Sandra: Well done. [Laughing] At least you got one!

Sandra: [Has walked over to Bella, who it now sitting down. Putting both her hands on Bella’s shoulders] First one! For Science [Big hug, laughter]

Hazel: It’s amazing what you can achieve when you turn up!! [Laughing]

Annie: That should be the schools new strap line!

Kath: Next one is for Maths. [Sasha talks in the background while Kath is introducing the next award. David directs conversation to Harriet and Heidi] Or if you work here ‘maffs’. The one who won is
Morgan, so we’ll wait until she comes back after Easter, and the second one is for Sasha [Sasha walks to the front smiling, Carl is taking photos in the background of Bella’s certificate]. I’ve lost your certificate, but I’ll get it for later.

Sasha: It’s a rip off!

Kath: Either that or I missed it out. But you’ll get your certificate.

Sasha: I don’t want the rabbit [Lindt bunny. Kath continues looking on the surface where the certificates are]. Fine [walks off back to her seat] I wonder about the meanings of certificates in this exchange. More than bits of paper, the certificate seems more reinforcing than the tangible/edible reinforcer for Sasha. Possibly in relation to the others (providing a total number – more importance associated with the cumulative perhaps? Edible reinforcement from chocolate bunnies not as immediate?)

Kath: Don’t you want to get a rabbit [shaking the Lindt bunny] Oh., I’ve upset her now.

Julia: Ahh. Sasha, go and get your rabbit! [laughing] I think we should all mug Sasha on the way out. [Laughter]

Sasha: That’s because I’m a boffin and I go to all my lessons. Just cos you [...] 

[Sandra has gone to the front and is discussing an award with Kath quietly]

Sasha: [In response to a quietly asked question] Three. No four. I got most last year.

Sam: Fuck off. I did!! Fuck you.

Julia: Nowww.

Laura: [Silently seems to mouth ‘shhh’ while continuing to go through pictures on the camera]

Sam: Sorry, sorry David. Don’t repeat a word I said. I’m so sorry
Kath: Right, where have we got to? Maths. English.

Stuart: Tourettes syndrome.

Sam: I think I have got it you know.

Julia: [Laughter, looks around to Hazel]

Kath: Hazel. I’m so unorganised with my time. Hazel. Would you like to tell us who’s got the English prize? Can you remember?

Hazel: No [laughs]

Kath: I’ll give you a quick flash. Close your eyes Sam.

Julia: Flush or flash? [sips tea, knowingly]

Hazel: Yeah. [Directing it to Sam] This is for your work with the Roald Dahl stuff, it was absolutely top of the pile. [Sam returns the look from Hazel. Sam then stands up to receive her award from Kath]

Kath: So Sam

[Camera pans round. Harriet is aware the camera is directed at her and sticks her tongue out]

Julia: [Laughing] Okay you’ve got [...] now – you can’t get no more.

Kath: The next prize is for Cassie. And she’s not here. We’ll do it again whe- if she’s back in time, we’ll do it again.

Cassie actually is going to college, is doing very well in college in [location]. And is actually travelling back independently to and from.. erm [location] now. And that’s quite a big thing for Cassie. And you know how long it takes her to get in the taxi [laughter] She managed to rearrange the whole transport arrangements for [location] I think on one occasion. But she’s done really really well. So we’ll give her a pat on the back when she comes in. [Clapping led by Sandra]
Kath: Erm, there’s another independent skills... prize, erm Bella – you were the first one to manage to go to college all on your own.

Bella: Another one! [Again waving her hands to the sides. Jumps up. Readjusts belt and trousers]

Sandra: If only we had another year with her! [Clapping. Bella partly looks back while waiting for Kath to get ready]

Kath: We weren’t sure sometimes to start with [holding her at the wrist and looking at her while she speaks] but you pulled it out of the bag in the end darling, and you’ve done really well, so that one’s for you.

Hazel: It’s because you’re a vegetablarian! [Looks to Bella laughing] This represents a joke, with Bella having described herself as a vegetablarian in the past.

Kath: Have you had a chicken yet? A little bunny?

Bella: [...] Yeah I want that one. Yeah, can I have that one. Bella’s voice is very definitive in the first instance, softens to a high pitch later.

[Loud laughter from Sam, the laughter is shared with Bella. Annie speaks with the students in her form]

Kath: The next one is an important one because there’s nothing worse with you lot than when you arrive late to your lessons and the teachers have to start all over again, so the person who is consistently

Julia: Oh yeah [in response to Carl and Bella’s viewing of Bella’s certificates]

[Laura is reviewing photos on the camera]

Kath: on time for their lessons is Sasha.

Sam: Which one.

Sasha: Me? [Points to self by way of clarification as if surprised] Erm, and Sasha. [...] and Sasha
Sasha: Me. In my lessons on time?! You're having a laugh! [Sasha is smiling as she says this, and looks first at Kath, and then across the room to the table which Sam is on]

Kath: I think there must be something-

Sasha: [... unclear]

Kath: So Sasha [Kath holds aloft a chocolate award, and hands it to Stuart] Okay. And you have got a certificate. [Clapping within the room, particularly from the other student on Sasha's table]. Erm.. where are we up to now...erm... Going to lessons. Right, for college, there are a number of you

Sasha: [... unclear]
**Content:**

**Achievement / Celebrating Success:** Firstly, there’s something important to be said on the theme of achievement and celebrating success. Sam and Nina both spoke of the mainstream schools, where students were only recognised as successful when they represented the school in sports, drama or academic achievements. Here students are awarded/rewarded across many domains – subject specific academic progress, attendance, punctuality, social domains (including independent living skills, supporting peers). By increasing the range and scope of the awards, it is recognise to celebrate the successes of individual students. Further, there were many important messages included in the award received by Mara. The award for Mara was an important one in terms of recognition of student achievement across the term. In providing the award, it was progress rather than perfection which was recognised in Kath’s presentation. Mara’s challenging behaviours were not excluded from the narrative, in fact Kath explicitly stresses that the school is not about achieving perfection. This is interesting for me. The message is ‘failure’s not fatal’, that one mistake is not an ending, but rather an opportunity for another start.

**Context:**

**Distribution of Certificates:** This formed a really interesting issue for me. There was a student present during the awards who did not receive an award, Alyss. Alyss had recently started her attendance at the school, therefore, lack of award could be attributed to lack of sustained attendance, as opposed to lack of capacity or willingness to achieve. Otherwise all the students received a certificate for something. Does this suggest something about belonging into the school community – that an apprenticeship needs to be served? That celebrations of success are earned via community belonging? Further, Alyss was sat at a table with the student who achieved the highest number of certificates, perhaps a reminder of what is possible/available as a result of engagement? I wonder about the meaning of the certificates to students. There is evidently a certificate available for everyone. There is something present in every student worthy of celebration. In the case of the who is absent, it is actually not her academic progress which is celebrated, but her achievements in the social domain – her interactions and support for her peers is celebrated. And as referenced by Kath, this is not necessarily in the domain or area which would be anticipated by the student, but actually even in challenging circumstances, a new perspective and an alternative approach can recognise the positives available. A part of the distribution of certificates is the staff and student response to such. The initial certificate is received by Sasha, who takes the certificate and who’s grab for the chocolate is thwarted by Kath. The next student, Sam receives a side-hug and a kiss, greater levels of physical intimacy. This leaves me with questions regarding the differential responses to students. Is it just the angle that Sasha approaches from?

**Absences:** What is interesting for me is the context in which the awards presentation or celebration is taking place. Not everyone within the school community is present. Notable absences include several of the students (Cassie, Daisy, Keira, and Morgan). Is this a pragmatic decision, recognising that it is difficult, if not impossible for everyone to be in the same room together. It’s also interesting in the context of Angie being the primary attachment figure who many of the girls would wish to share their achievements with, instead Kath functions in that role.

**Meaning of Awards:** The meaning of awards for the students is an interesting one for me. I wondered if the absence of students might minimise the value of awards, or the availability of awards for nearly all of the students may function to reduce the value. Yet there is something in the heated exchange between Sam and Sasha which indicates the importance of the largest number of certificates. Sam’s speedy escalation indicates either a temper triggered rapidly, or the possibility of underlying emotions watching Sasha receive a number of awards which had not been expressed. I’m left wondering about the impact of such in terms of expectations of success, but also experiences of injustice – based on previous descriptions of injustice, perhaps Sam’s tolerance of perceived injustice have reduced.
Endings: The managed ending with Julia is evidenced here, stressing the importance of undertaking such despite Julia having already left the school. The data also references the endings for students with Sandra’s comment on needing another year with Bella. The potentially emotional nature of the ending of relationships between staff and students was evidenced in the interactions between Sam and Julia. This highlights the importance of the student-teacher relationships in Kahlo, which extend beyond those which might exist in mainstream schools.

College: Evidence of the students achievements beyond the community at Kahlo are indicated and celebrated in the awards ceremony. Particular stress is given to students who have managed ongoing participation at college in the absence of staff from Kahlo, perhaps stressing Kahlo as a stepping stone towards reintegration. This reminds me again to question the desired outcomes of Kahlo – vocational courses towards employment are celebrated particularly here. Therefore, college seems to suggest participation beyond Kahlo, but also perhaps an induction to the sphere of employment and expectation of professionalism.

Attendance: The importance of attendance at lessons is stressed here. Not only recognition of achievement in class, but of attendance and punctuality too. The possibilities as a result of attendance are also particularly highlighted by the staff, with Bella’s surprise award for science causing maths and English teachers to make comment on the possibilities for students in a light-hearted way, drawing student attention to such.

Communication: In-jokes between staff and students are used, and physical proximity such as Julia sitting near to Sam communicate connection and closeness. Humour is employed in both challenging students behaviour towards other students (such as Sandra’s challenge to Sam) and in identifying the cause for such behaviour (with Stuart’s labelling). It is noticeable that Kath does not raise her voice when addressing the room, and does not respond directly to Sam’s escalation to Sasha, but rather other staff quietly intervene in reminding Sam to self-regulate rather than seeking to punish her behaviour immediately.
Appendix 7: Except of Lesson Observation

Scarlett: ‘Is she?’ [with reference to Sam’s indication she is dangerous]

Hazel: ‘Do you think Sam can be dangerous?’

Scarlett: ‘No, she’s really kind’

Megan: ‘You don’t know her- you don’t know her outside of school, so you don’t know what she gets on outside of school’

Hazel: ‘I think actually she captured herself really well within that’
Scarlett: ‘That does sound like her... except for ‘I am dangerous’ that bit’
Appendix 8: Keira Photo Voices

Best Bits

‘Not like mainstream…’

1) Kahlo as ‘small/little: haven’t got far to walk’

2) ‘Less people’ ‘Know everyone’s names’

3) ‘Not much teachers ‘cos it is small’

4) ‘Not as long lessons’ ‘Art – fun activities’

5) ‘Staff make lessons fun not boring’ ‘depending on mood’ staff match

6) ‘Angie: She’s been through what we’ve been through’

Improvements

1) ‘Nothing different’ ‘Good already’: Photograph of the front of the school

[Difference from previous experience]

[School size as limited]

[School size as limited and Context of Relationships]

[School size as limited and context of relationships with staff]

[Curriculum content and application as a single point]

[Delivery of lessons motivating]

[Responsiveness of staff]

[Identification/ Common Experiences with Staff] [Shared Experience]
**Relationships:** The issue of relationships is a recurring one in the first three photographs. Kahlo is limited in size and this has significant implications for Keira in terms of the number of staff she has contact with on a daily basis, the environment she must negotiate in terms of buildings, and the number of people she has daily contact with, whom she is expected to address by name is also limited. I wonder about the meaning of a more limited number of relationships is to Keira? For example, does it increase predictability to have a small number of staff to answer to? Does it help to have a smaller number of teachers in terms of them understanding needs in an holistic manner, to build connections, to know and feel known.

**Motivating Lessons:** Keira identifies the lesson length as important to supporting engagement/learning – shorter lessons supporting learning. She also communicates the benefits of lessons which are enjoyable, describing Art as including fun activities. The activities in art are described as ‘fun’ and as motivating for Keira, again supporting her engagement, willingness to participate.

**Staff Flexibility and Responsiveness:** Keira talks about staff making an effort to make the activities fun for students. In demonstrating the interest in lessons being engaging for students, the staff are communicating their willingness to adjust plans and consider students interest. The message to students – their interest and engagement is important – they are important. Art is singled out in particular – why art? There is a particular exploration in art of different media/modes/materials for expression. This is additionally recognised by Keira, who has demonstrated a willingness to explore. What is also notable from the message, is that staff are responsive to students requirements during lessons. They observe and assess student engagement during lessons, and are able to respond appropriately adjusting expectations and activities in response to students. Staff therefore again make genuine efforts to match the learning activities and opportunities to the needs of students.

**Identification with Staff:** Keira adds an additional category to her Best Bits, one in which she expresses the importance of her identification with Angie as a Senior Manager.

**Lack of Improvements:** For Keira, there are no improvements necessary at Kahlo. This expression suggests that Keira feels her learning needs are being met entirely within the school, indicating feeling that she is having her needs met within the organisation. Keira’s learning needs on entry to the school included the safety and security of