

The Outsider's Story

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Abstract

This thesis presents perspectives upon how inclusion is experienced from the point of view of the individual. It seeks to compliment contemporary discourse by interpreting the concept as a fundamental human activity. In this way acting as a counterpoint to narrower interpretations which are often characterised by a deficit discourse or exclusionary sentiment. The research is therefore underpinned by an emancipatory drive aligned to elements of critical pedagogy. The implication of this for practice is the acknowledgement that inclusion does not just apply to those children who stand out, who are labelled in some way, not an obvious minority or indeed marginalised, but to all children in the institutional space. In this study the concept of the Outsider is used as a motif for what is both universal and subjective. Such a literary device recognises the important subjective factors that underpin the existential nature of inclusion. The study views narrative and the stories people tell of their lives as a rich source of data. Ten individuals who are new to the teaching profession participated in the study and it is their stories that form the basis of the subsequent interpretation and analysis. The research was aligned to an interpretative paradigm seeking ideographic insight. The data generated was analysed both textually and aurally through a careful iterative and inductive process of analysis. The themes of the findings suggested the nature of inclusion to be underpinned by subjective and dynamic processes. Such processes linked to the notions of familiarity, application and adaptation that are used by the individual to facilitate aspects of their inclusion in dynamic and creative ways.

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To Bryce and my family, thank-you and love always.

Dedication

I dedicate this piece of work to my father who was a passionate artist and a true Outsider in the most wonderful sense. He has remained steadfastly in my thoughts every step of the way.



William John Jones

23rd May 1940 - 11th October 2014

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PART A: CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.01 Introduction

In this section I will give the reader my personal rationale for choosing this particular study and why I feel it to be important, present key aspects of my research and signpost how I am going to conceptualise them in order to frame the study. I will be clear about the research context and how I define the concepts that underpin this study including how key themes are constructed and are to be interpreted. In relation to the context I will identify the problem statements that arise and the distinct research question that provides focus.

This is a study concerned with the nature of inclusion and it seeks to contribute to the debates appertaining to the concept. It values inclusion as a shared human experience and recognises that as with all human endeavours, these experiences can shape how we interact with others and how we see ourselves. For this study inclusion is viewed as an event that is integral to the human condition and experienced by all (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot, 2011). It is also recognised that it is a term that has increasingly come to be applied to the experiences of pupils and young people in the context of their schooling and within the institution of the school. This application is however commonly seen or perceived as applying to only some young people through the filter of difference or marginalisation (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000; Wolfendale, 2000; O'Brien, 2001; Ainscow et al., 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al, 2012; Hodkinson, 2015). As such there is an emancipatory sentiment to this study that seeks to seek a more nuanced interpretation (Freire, 1997; Always, 1995; Crotty, 1998; Anyon, 2009; Giroux, 2011). This research recognises equally that humans can make sense of lived events or experiences through the stories they construct about them. This study is focused upon the unique stories of ten participants each new to the teaching profession and it is their subjectivity that is being investigated and interpreted. Such stories told internally as they frame them for themselves and externally as they are presented to an audience of others. In recognition of

this there will be a discussion of the nature of narrative and storytelling both as an important feature of human existence (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012) and as the chosen method of research for this study.

This research is clearly focused on this educational milieu, recognising that whilst inclusion is a universal human endeavour this specific study will view the concept through the specific lens of education. Such a focus will aim to develop an understanding of the particular subjective processes that underpin the nature of inclusion from the perspective of the individual (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). In recognition of this perspective, this study will adopt an interpretative perspective (Dewey, 1938; Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Barkley, 2005; Bhattacharjee, 2012). To explore this particular context the research will collect data as narratives from ten adults who as new members of the teaching profession are returning back to the school environment for a second time but with a new focus. In this regard they have experienced the school experience of inclusion into the same educational context but at different times in their lives and with renewed perspectives. This focus on those who have returned to the educational context is important as they have both the knowledge of what they have become and can reflect upon their childhood experiences with a degree of reflexivity and subjectivity (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Holloway and Valentine, 2005). In recognition of this subjectivity the thesis claims only to answer questions about the nature of inclusion for the participants not the nature of inclusion in a wider or more general sense. In schools and settings, inclusion is often seen in terms of practice or commitment (Allan, 2010; Slee, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012, Tomlinson, 2012), and whilst these are valid and important considerations this research hopes to contribute to the field by better understanding the emotional process of change and transformation that inclusion suggests for all pupils. To this end the research question signposts the nature and focus of the study.

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

1.02 Background and rationale

In this section I outline my rationale for the concept of the Outsider and why it is a relevant motif for a study of inclusion. My undergraduate dissertation was titled, *'The Theme of the Outsider in Modern European Literature'*. This was a piece of research that focused on the literary technique of employing a character deemed to be emotionally outside the perceived social norms in order to give a critique of society and its social mores, behaviours and expectations (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012). Key to this study was the fact that for these protagonists their outsider status was used to provide comment and critique of a social process or event and to illuminate aspects of the human condition. Paradoxically, despite such outsider status the reader recognises the plight of the Outsider who is in many regards a proxy for all of us and a truer and more honest representation of human existence. In this existential sense, the Outsider is employed to provide an insightful commentary upon the arbitrary and complex nature of human interaction and social intercourse and the richness, depth and even absurd nature of human society (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; McCulloch, 2012). It recognises that human existence is characterised by innumerable events and experiences that have to be navigated, piloted and steered and are integral to human existence (Le Bon, 1996; Freud, 1922; Grusec and Hastings, 2006; Stoda, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011). As such, the universal phenomenon of inclusion is one that every Outsider will have to negotiate at some time. What is common in the motif of the Outsider also is that the narrative arc of their depiction does not have a classic beginning, middle and end but is characterised by a more urgent sense of continual emotional struggle, effort or journey that again highlights the pressures that underpin our common humanity (Sartre, 1948; Hoebel, 1958; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Boylu, 2003; Magrini, 2012). In this regard and by this definition we are all Outsiders in a subjective and individual sense. The idea that the Outsider is a more honest representation of the human condition and that an understanding of the Outsider's perspective and insight can resonate with all of us is a powerful one (Biesta, 2009).

This concept of the Outsider as a more authentic representation of human experience has also developed as a trope within the field of art and design. In this usage 'Outsider Art' is seen as congruous with folk-art or amateur expressions of the creative oeuvre. Like the literary motif it has embedded with it a sense of a subjective commentary upon human experience.

'Outsider art is art created from personal viewpoints, reflecting a somewhat inner or psychological perspective...' (Alter-Muri, 1999, p.38)

It is misleading to assume that such art is the work of those who are deemed to be excluded or at the fringes of society however but rather seen as not compromised by more conventional expectations of artistic schools of thought, expectation or trends (Alter-Muri, 1999). It is this combination of authenticity and subjectivity that underpins the Outsider's perspective and makes it relevant for a study of the nature of inclusion.

In parallel with such artistic and literary interpretations, it should be made very clear that the use of the term Outsider for my study categorically does not apply to an individual who is seen to be outside the norm or even marginalised. This has to be stated, as this is the antithesis of the concept of the Outsider as a representative or personification of the nature of human lived experience. Equally the Outsider's perceived struggle or emotional journey might be internalised, deeply subjective and hidden so assumptions of marginalisation (or not) are not necessarily clear. The crux of the Outsider's predicament however is to try to make sense of the social world or environment that they find themselves located within and to manage how they fit-in so as to ameliorate their existence (Allport, 1927; Scheutz, 1944; Pring, 2004; Stoda, 2007; Kottak, 2015). The Outsider's struggle to achieve this will resonate with all of us although the manner and means will be clearly personalised and distinct for each individual. The Outsider is therefore experiencing life in a subjective and personal manner within the wider milieu of social experience. We are all Outsiders by this definition and this is a crucial aspect to acknowledge. The concept of the Outsider is being used to illustrate both the commonality of human existence and the subjective,

sometimes internalised experiences of every individual (Sartre, 1948; Rix et al., 2003; Magrini, 2012). The Outsider is therefore every one of us.

This interpretation of the Outsider has remained with me during my career as a teacher working with pupils with special educational needs and as a lecturer in education. It has led me to be cognisant of the subjective pressures and behaviours that characterise the human condition particularly for those making sense of their environments or the shared social contexts they find themselves within. This was particularly acute in my work with pupils with autism who might find themselves as cultural Outsiders in an external context but subjectively and emotionally are true to themselves and their human nature (Wing and Gould, 1979; Baron-Cohen, 1997; Martin, 2008; Nuernberger et al., 2012; Call and Shillingsburg, 2013). What is also powerful from the outsider motif is that the Outsider does not necessarily expect to change or be altered but an insight into their internalised experience helps to illuminate and enhance our understanding of their situation, circumstance or predicament (Atkinson, 1998; Niles, 1999; Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). This sentiment was explored in my Master's dissertation focused on an evaluation of an interaction programme for children with autism. The rationale for the programme was not to change or alter behaviour but for the practitioner to be mindful that as is true of all of us, our individual characteristics, motivators and behaviours are key to what makes us who we are. Each Outsider brings to every event a unique set of perspectives, expectations and behaviours. Knowledge of this can help to develop interaction between participants at a more meaningful level. In this sense all human interaction at whatever level and in whatever context is in essence a confluence or synthesis of Outsiders, each with their own subjective points of view and perspectives (Le Bon, 1896, Mead and Morris, 1934). This assumption, acknowledging as it does the centrality of the Outsider indicates clearly that this is not a study of marginalisation but of common human experience.

This coming together of individuals or Outsiders is in essence what underpins the concept of inclusion whereby we have expectations that human

participants will converge, interact and communicate in social or institutional collectives with mutual or shared characteristics (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008, Crosnoe, 2011). In this regard, inclusion can be seen to appertain to the environment that the Outsider is struggling to make sense of, to fit-into or indeed to fight against (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Crosnoe 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012; Kottak, 2015). Inclusion is therefore by its nature a coming together of Outsiders into a human collective with the suggestion that each individual must somehow change, negotiate or compromise in order to gain membership (Brown, 2006; Lawrence, 2008). Successful Inclusion, or such coming together of disparate human participants is a complex human endeavour however and one characterised by an interface between an individual's own version of knowledge and truth and that of the collective to which conformity is expected (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Kottak, 2015). This is by no means to suggest that inclusion is by its nature a negative event or state but rather a nuanced, dynamic, subjective and deeply held aspect and facet of the human condition.

As the debates concerning inclusion develop and as inclusive practice and values are promoted it is timely to revisit this essential human nature of being included and to recognise the importance of this human journey and the nature of the Outsider's experience. This thesis therefore seeks to present perspectives upon how inclusion is experienced from the point of view of the individual both being included and managing their own inclusion at whatever level. Philosophically, it seeks to compliment thinking about how inclusion is interpreted in schools by viewing the concept as a fundamental human activity and one that should underpin subsequent discussions about its nature or impact or indeed practice or rationale. It hopes to somehow fill the gaps in a field characterised by the dominance of institutional or practice based considerations that can be seen to focus on the destination for the included individual, rather than a recognition of an existential state of being or experience (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot, 2011). In other words to compliment the debate through a deeper understanding of inclusion as an emotional experience and

a transformative event or journey as a counterpoint to institutional notions of inclusion within schools.

1.03 Research context of this PhD study

The research context of this PhD study is therefore that of the nature of inclusion. Inclusion viewed and accepted as a vital lived phenomenon that we have all experienced as human participants in a range of contexts and social milieus. As outlined above, for this specific study the concept is located within the field of education. It thus takes as its point of reference the individual who lives through and experiences this inclusion as a vital life-event in the context of the school or educational establishment. This is the context of the Outsider's journey for the purposes of this study. Over the course of some decades the encompassing debates, thought and philosophy related to inclusion and inclusive practice in this educational context have developed and grown often in innovative and enriching ways. As such, inclusion as a theme has become an important and vital element of educational policy and practice with associated pedagogical considerations.

Historically, the debates related to the theme of inclusion sprang from the need to include those that because of specific needs, attributes or variables might find themselves excluded from or at odds with what might be seen as the mainstream (Slee, 2011, Polat, 2010, Cobigo et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2012). As these debates developed it was clear that the term was also aligned to associated values, attitudes and principles that are seen to assist and facilitate practice and to support pupils. Inclusion therefore can also be seen as a commitment or staunchness on the part of practitioners and the educational establishment to try to facilitate the opportunity for meaningful inclusion in their schools and classrooms and this is a strength of the concept (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000; Wolfendale, 2000; O'Brien, 2001; Ainscow et al, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat 2011; Hodkinson 2015). The historical provenance of the inclusion debates focused as they were on difference and the concentration on attitudes and practice have however created the potential for inclusion to be seen as an act that is somehow 'done' to certain

individuals and there is an element of social conformity aligned with the concept (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman 2009; Sainsbury 2010; Rieser 2014). In this regard the hegemony of the term rests with the institution or practitioner akin with many aspects of practice in the school environment and the pupil or child seen through a more passive lens as a recipient of such practice or attitudes. These institutional and policy considerations with a narrower focus on the nature of difference and marginalisation have left a gap in our understanding of what the concept of inclusion means for each individual and this is the gap that this study is attempting to fill.

1.04 Intellectual process of inquiry

In this section I outline the rationale for the direction of the research and the intellectual processes and underpinning. Firstly, for the purposes of clarifying the conceptual themes of this research and because of its interpretative nature I have drawn from Dewey's commentary appertaining to the pattern of inquiry (Dewey, 1938; Barkley, 2005). Dewey advocated the development of distinct '*problem statements*' as a means for the researcher to begin to determine the nature of such inquiry and set the context.

The way in which the problem is conceived decides what specific suggestions are entertained and which are dismissed; what data are selected and which rejected; it is the criterion for relevancy and irrelevancy of hypotheses and conceptual structures. (Dewey, 1938. P107).

The rationale for such problem identification served for Dewey as a means to begin to clarify future thematic and conceptual considerations and is seen as the antecedent nature of research (Dewey, 1938; Barkley, 2005). Prior to the development of problem statements the particular issue to be considered is deemed precognitive but through problem formulation develops cognitive status (Dewey, 1938) initiating the beginning stages of inquiry for the researcher.

The first result of evocation of inquiry is that the situation is taken, adjudged, to be problematic. To see that a situation requires inquiry is the initial step in inquiry. (Dewey, 1938 p107).

It is clear that for the researcher within the field of social sciences, such posing of problems is a legitimate endeavour for they are concerned with the particular issues that relate to research within the rich milieu of our pluralistic society (Bassey 1994; Robson, 1993; Gomme 2009; Cohen et al., 2011; Scott, 2000; Gray 2014). A context that we as researchers live within. This is particularly acute and relevant for research within the field of education and related notions of childhood (Reason and Bradbury, 2006) as this is an experience that each adult researcher has experienced in one form or another. As Holloway and Valentine make clear in the context of social research, '*...childhood is something which all adult beings have experienced rather than a difference which forever separates people.*' (2005, p.166)

Moving on from Dewey's perspective that the defining of perceived problems is the preliminary act, it follows that the nature of such problem articulation should be considered. Rittel and Webber contemplated the specific dilemmas of planning research appertaining to social problems whereby, 'Social problems are never solved, At best they are only re-solved over and over again' (Rittel and Webber, 1973 p160). Such sentiment was felt to be a consequence of the anti-positivist nature of such social research (Robson 1993; Cohen et al 2011; Bhattacharjee, 2012) as distinct from problems in the natural sciences, '*which are definable and separable and may have solutions that are findable...*' (Rittel and Webber, 1973 p160). Such problems appertaining to scientific enquiry were seen to be *benign* or *tame*, (Rittel and Webber, 1973; Conkin, 2005) for at the conclusion of the research it is clear if the problem has indeed been *solved*. Problem statements for social research however are seen at the opposing end of the scale and defined as *wicked* a way of conceptualising and acknowledging the distinct nature of social research.

'...not because these properties are themselves ethically deplorable. We use the term "wicked" in a meaning akin to that of "malignant" (in contrast to "benign") or "vicious" (like a circle) or "tricky" (like a leprechaun) or "aggressive" (like a lion, in contrast to the docility of a lamb). We do not mean to personify these properties of social systems by implying malicious intent. (Rittel and Webber, 1973 p161).

This notion of wicked, redefined as 'messy' by Ackerman (1994) and with parallels with Bassey's concept of the 'fuzzy-proposition' in relation to qualitative research in educational settings (Bassey, 1999, p.13) allows the social researcher to be creative and open in such problem formulation. It also recognises that for research appertaining to human existence there is the potential for diametrically opposed views and interpretations even antagonism concerning what is conceived as a problem or not. As Conklin asserts in relation to social research 'Problem wickedness is a force of fragmentation' and you will find that what '*the Problem*' is depends on who you ask – different stakeholders have different views about what the problem is and what constitutes an acceptable solution (Conklin, 2005 p.3 -7). What is important to recognise here is that such messy or wicked problem statements do not beg an obvious answer but serve to illustrate elements of tension or paradox (Zimmerman, 2000) or area of concern, conflict or controversy (Cohen et al, 2011, Robson 2002) and such sentiment cannot by it's nature be 'solved'. The social researcher therefore has to be 'cognizant of and comfortable with handling higher levels of ambiguity, uncertainty, and error that come with such sciences, which merely reflects the high variability of social objects.' (Bhattacharjee, 2012 p3). For my research, which is focused on the philosophical nature of inclusion as an existential event, this is an appropriate context to begin to consider the focus and problem formation. It also set up discussions about the nature of inclusion when engaging with the data and eventual conclusions for as Conkin emphasises,

'With wicked problems, the determination of solution quality is not objective and cannot be derived from following a formula. Solutions are assessed in a social context in which "many parties are equally equipped, interested, and/or entitled to judge [them]," and these judgements are likely to vary widely and depend on the stakeholder's independent values and goals.' (Conklin, 2005 p.7)

This underpins the notion that interpretative social research as distinct from the *benign* nature of natural scientific research has a role in expanding understanding of and developing new perspectives rather than being based solely on empirical, scientifically verified answers (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

In the context of the debates related to the nature of inclusion this is an appropriate perspective to consider. The ontological argument here is *'based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective, but is shaped by human experiences and social contexts'* (Bhattacharjee, 2012 p103). The starting point for a problem statement and how a problem is conceptualised within social research indeed often starts with questions considered by individuals who have reflected upon the issue as being a problem. As Metcalfe clarifies, *'Problem solving starts from someone feeling concerned about some situation'* (Metcalfe, 2007 p. 141). Such concepts are congruent with the theoretical perspectives of my research centred on elements of critical theory and action research to be discussed in more depth later in this thesis whereby the research stems from specific or applied problems or questions (Punch 2013). The key sentiment however is that the drivers to such research are those,

'...issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.' (Reason and Bradbury, 2006 p.1)

In simple terms the desire for the social researcher to feel a concern or problem exists and wishes to explore it for social good. Alongside this notion is the understanding that the role of the researcher in interpretative research is an intrinsic element (Punch, 2013 p.156) and for this reason will have some vested understanding and rationale for the problems posed and certain beliefs about the phenomenon to be studied.

1.05 Epistemological beliefs

Problem acknowledgement and recognition is rooted within the beliefs and perspective of the individual (Dewey, 1938). In order to clarify the provenance of such problem identification and formation I need firstly therefore to identify and present the key epistemological beliefs (Hammer and Elby, 2005) that underpin my assumptions. It needs to be acknowledged here that *'...social science is seen as being essentially a subjective rather than an objective enterprise'* (Burrell and Morgan, 1979 p.5). Beliefs resonate with an individual's lived experience and are therefore unique. They also suggest a

level of trust insofar as the belief will have an impact on perceived reality. In other words, '*Degrees of belief formally represent the strength with which we believe the truth of various propositions.*' (Huber, 2009 p.1). These beliefs as an intrinsic element (Punch, 2013 p.156) of my personal rationale have developed through engagement with the literature, my own experience and observation alongside my subjective standpoint aligned to my own philosophical perspective, (Barnard et al., 2008, Hofer, 2004).

As this is a piece of research that eschews the remoteness of positivist study from the perspective of the researcher, it accepts that in the area of critical social research the researcher should recognise their own subjective paradigm and set of beliefs about society and human existence (Roszak, 1970; Alway, 1995; Anyon, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011). This recognition should be undertaken prior to the formation of problems as they indicate some level of provenance, milieu or context. It was necessary therefore to begin by clearly defining a set of key statements or truths in order to frame the research and to provide points of reference that would shape both the formation of problem statements and thematic nature of my study. The rationale for the framing of epistemological beliefs here is to illustrate this personal underpinning of the research focus. Aspects of ontology and epistemology as they apply to social research will be articulated in the methodology chapter. These statements of personal epistemology however (Hofer and Pintrich 1997; Sandoval, 2005) are presented thus,

In the context of this research project, I believe:

1. All humans are unique in terms of their emotions, experiences and personality.
2. The school is an institution composed of many parts, including human, emotional and physical attributes.
3. Schools as institutions will have a culture which is not concrete or immovable, but complex and composed of numerous perspectives.
4. When children attend school they are enculturated into this institutional context. Enculturation seen as the process of moving from one state of being to another.

5. Inclusion is linked to enculturation seen as an emotional and existential construct experienced by all human individuals.
6. Adults are able to reflect upon their childhood experiences with the benefit of knowing their lives after school. These reflections will be shaped by factors such as memory, emotion and recall.
7. These reflections can be viewed as unique autobiographical accounts and hearing these stories helps to better understand the nature of inclusion.
8. Recognition of this will be useful to the practitioner as it allows for a deeper understanding or a new perspective.

In recognition of the subjective beliefs of the researcher such as my own above and because of the range of perspectives and experiences within the social context, Metcalfe (2007) recognises that initially problem statements might not be presented as a coherent whole but rather as pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. These pieces are however connected by thematic threads and beliefs (Dewey 1938). In line with Dewey's assertion, they can form the beginning steps of the subsequent thematic conceptualisation. In this way problem statements can lead to the formation of a research question or questions that emanate from this problematising action. In recognition of Reason and Bradbury's (2006) understanding that the researcher can begin to articulate what is a concern or a dilemma, and mindful of the epistemological beliefs above (Hofer and Pintrich 1997; Sandoval, 2005), I will set out the problem statements as I view them for this piece of research. These will be used as a means to identify a research question that encapsulates the sentiments therein.

From the problem statements, the key themes appertaining to this study also need to be identified in order to provide structure to the subsequent review of the literature, a concept defined by Punch as a providing an '*organising framework*' (Punch, 2013, p102). From this discussion will emerge the concepts of the study defined by Cohen et al, (2000, p.13) as a way for the researcher '*...to impose some sort of meaning on the world; through them reality is given sense, order and coherence. They are the means by which we*

are able to come to terms with our experience.' The concepts thus presented will give as Robson asserts, the opportunity for me to be both selective and explicit about such concepts as they pertain to my study and onwards to what data will be collected and analysed. Robson, 1993, p150). In the field of social research however we need to be mindful of the imprecise, multidimensional and *wicked* nature of such research (Rittel and Webber, 1973; Ackerman, 1994; Bassey 1994) and careful not to allow such concept formation to be *'reified such that it loses contact with the real world'* (Bryman, 1988:68). This concept of reification is an important one for a study of inclusion whereby inclusion as an idea has perhaps moved away from an abstract emotional concept to one seen as more concrete or material. The purpose of such an intellectual and thematic procedure therefore is to ensure that throughout my study there are clear internal linkages and a cohesive thread identified to drive both the research, to assist the reader and to allow for the conceptualising of key elements within the research (Burton and Steane, 2005). This process is signposted in the figure below as I want the conceptualising process to be clear and transparent (Bryman, 1988). The recognition of epistemological beliefs and the formation of problem statements is the initial stage. This stage in the process making the research cognitive (Dewey 1938), and providing the initial steer to the research trajectory.

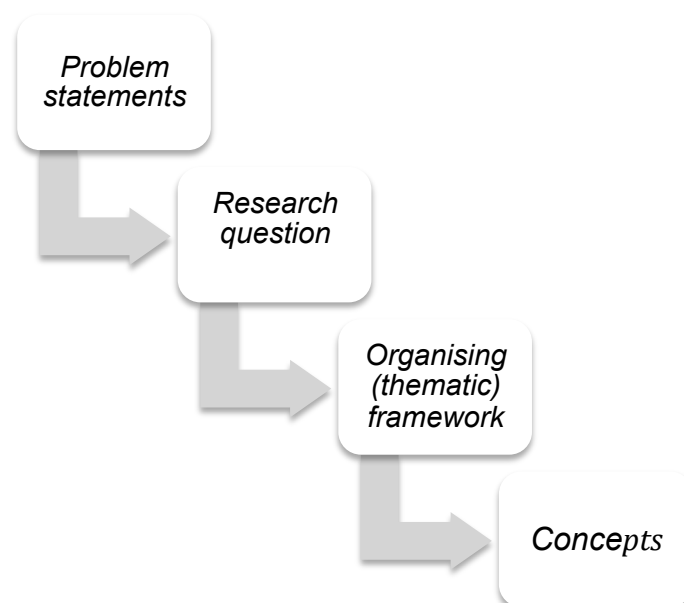


Figure 1.01- Conceptualising Process

1.06 Problem statements

In this section, I outline the problem statements as I see them and a degree of subjectivity here is recognised and acknowledged (Burton and Steane, 2005; Conkin, 2005). Due to the multidimensional nature of such social inquiry my interpretation might not be deemed as such by others (Conkin, 2005) but through subsequent positioning of the author I will alert the reader to the provenance of my problem formation and subsequent conceptualisation (Creswell et al., 2013; Rugut and Osman, 2013).

First problem statement

Inclusion can be seen as a rich, but complex and nebulous concept and as such is open to multiple or varied interpretations when it is identified as a theme or topic in a number of contexts, including that of the school. This can obscure what is actually meant by the term or open it up to numerous interpretations and might also shift the focus away from the individual. The discourses concerning inclusion have often however been focused on more narrow interpretations of the concept centred on disability and indeed '*inclusive practice*' has historically been seen as synonymous with or closely aligned to the specific inclusion of pupils with additional needs. Linked to this fact is the nature of how disability itself is also viewed and considered whereby the enduring character of the medical model (Sandow, 1994; Hassanein 2015) is still clearly present in contemporary thought and practice despite moves against this view. There is a danger here as Sharma et al (2012) recognise,

'Medical conceptualisation of disability has hindered the progress of inclusive education reform as the model is based on the belief that if a child does not learn, then something is wrong with the child and so the child should be separated and taught in a special environment.'
(Sharma et al, 2012. P13)

Such sentiments can contribute to a belief that inclusion is applied to *the other* and not an event that applies to each and every one of us in myriad ways and contexts as per the Outsider's perspective. Despite these difficulties of definition, inclusion can be seen nonetheless as a powerful and important

phenomenon as it touches upon the human journey from one state of being to another, a passage that for the individual is highly subjective, personal and dynamic in nature. It also recognises the social nature of the human endeavour and the fact that we as individuals come together by choice, by convention or by expectation and are constantly managing and navigating this social enterprise. In this regard it can be a difficult or imprecise experience to clearly define. Whilst this is a study focused on the nature of this phenomenon within a specifically educational milieu and intellectual frame, it is clear that it is also a complex interdisciplinary concept that touches upon a number of related disciplines and areas of thought. This richness also highlights the first of the problem statements namely that,

Inclusion is a broad and sometimes messy construct and in the context of schools and educational settings one that can be confusing or narrowly applied.

Second problem statement

One of the features of this research therefore will be to try to better understand the nature of inclusion from the perspective of the individual being included and to gather facts about the event. To understand that this is at the heart of the Outsider's journey from one state of being to another and from which point all definitions of inclusion should stem. This might help to provide a re-balanced perspective within the debates related to inclusion with a clear focus on the processes experienced by the individual rather than solely institutional values or attitudes. This recalibration will compliment and contribute to enriching current and contemporary thought within the discourse of inclusive practice through a clear recognition of the duality of the term. This duality recognising that inclusion includes institutional, philosophical and practice based implications on the one hand but simultaneously relates to a lived, shared and common aspect of human experience. Such understanding will help practitioners to be better prepared to recognise and be mindful of this experience or phenomenon in the pupils and young people they teach and support. This need to be open to the universal, complex and individual

construct of inclusion underpins the nature of the second problem statement namely that,

Inclusion is not a generalisable phenomenon but rather a complex and deeply personal experience that is uniquely felt, inherently subjective and individually experienced.

Third problem statement

Interpretation also depends upon the provenance of the individual engaging with the term and specific contextual considerations. That is to say not only related to their perception of the concept itself but their location or place, both emotionally and contextually within the process of their own inclusion.

Because of these subjective variables, each individual will experience the journey or event of their own inclusion into whichever context in unique ways despite the existence of common factors including environmental, emotional or behavioural considerations. This is particularly true of the school environment, which provides uniform levels of structure, interaction and expectation but where this encompassing event will be experienced in myriad unique and subjective ways. This experience of inclusion will be tempered, directed and navigated by the individual and will rely on past experiences and future anticipations. In this way, inclusion can be seen as a behavioural event from the perspective of the individual and the features of this inclusion will be as much a consequence of how the subject navigates his or her inclusion as the institutional practices or expectations. This is in part because the concept has become diluted, used as a political or ideological tool or applied narrowly to certain groups or individuals. As Soresi and Nota claim, *‘the determinants’ of the quality and quantity of inclusion must be sought ‘outside’ the individual with disabilities’* as if somehow it is applicable to only this narrow group (Soresi and Nota, 2000 p.126) In this way inclusion is concerned with the *‘business of being human’*. (Peck 2015, p.3). A third research problem can be drawn from this sentiment namely,

Inclusive practice and sentiment can be heavily focused on institutional concerns and priorities rather than seeing it as a dynamic experience that is navigated by an individual.

1.07 The research question

To draw from the problem statements, the process of inclusion is assumed therefore to be an integral element of the human condition and one of the essential events that all humans will encounter. From the perspective of the Outsider, an event that the human individual has to make sense of and navigate to the best of their abilities and such experiences are manifested in myriad subjective ways for every individual. As such, every person will be the central character in the journey of their own inclusion into whatever physical or emotional context and it is the recognition of the role and experience of the protagonist that I wish to explore. I suggest that Inclusive practice or principles which tend to originate from the institutional or professional milieu can be enhanced through a deeper recognition of this process or journey. This PhD study aims to contribute to the area of inclusive practice therefore by recognising the unbalanced calibration within the concept and to explore a specific and concise research question namely,

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

I have prefixed this question with '*The Outsider's Story*' as it allows me to see this individual journey as central and through the eyes of the protagonist – for if we are to be included, fit-in or become an insider in any given context then it is true to say that the starting point of the process is to be outside. This is the default beginning or basis of the inclusion process. In relation to the problem statements and research question, I will give some indication here of the value of the concept of the Outsider for this research and its inclusion in the research question as I move towards presenting the construction of the thematic '*organising framework*' (Punch, 2013, p102) and subsequent conceptual model.

1.08 The Outsider as storyteller

The literary motif of the Outsider is seen as an effective way of illuminating the human condition by giving the reader an insight into human behaviour from

the internal perspective of the protagonist. Weyenburgh reiterates this point in his critique of Camus who he claims is a writer still clearly relevant to the context of the 21st Century. Camus used here as illustration due to his status as an existential writer but the sentiment is generalisable to many other authors.

l'oeuvre de l'écrivain demeure pour l'essentiel en prise directe avec l'actualité ou au moins transposable dans les problématiques d'aujourd'hui. (The work of the writer remains essentially in tune with current events or at least transposed to the problems of today.)
(Weyenburgh, 2008 p.41)

Recognising the importance of stories to illuminate human experience can also have an impact upon thought and educational practice. To illustrate, commentators such as Sainsbury, Grandin and O'Neill in the area of autism for example have through their accounts and stories given us a sincere insight into their subjective perspectives and experiences. Akin to the motif of the Outsider they illuminate aspects of their lived experiences and emotional journeys by framing themselves as the key protagonists. Within the field of education, this has become more established, particularly through recognition of the importance of the voice of the individual. This was a point that Rose and Shevlin recognised in their research focused on the *Encouraging Voices* Project. Central to this specific project was, 'the belief that young people should have a voice in their own education...' (Rose and Shevlin, 2002 p.156). The key tenet of the research was that individual children's voices should be heard, recognised and valued. To this end the participants were seen as having an active role in evaluating aspects of school practice as they had experienced it (Rose and Shevlin, 2002). The authors assert that it is through the individual *stories* that the richness of the data is revealed and the specific utilisation of excerpts of text to illustrate key issues and perspectives is a powerful one (Beck 1993; Corden and Sainsbury, 2005). Clearly each of the individuals had elements of shared experience as each story appertained to the school environment, but it was the uniqueness and individuality of the stories and s that was most striking. This again links to the concept of the literary Outsider as through revealing the subjective nature of their stories, the children are providing an insightful critique and comment on their lived

experiences. These notions have led decisions about my research to focus on the concept of narrative as both a theme and method. A *theme* (Atkinson, 1998; Niles, 1999; Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013) insofar as it recognises the human ability to make sense of social experiences and personal events through the skill of storying experience and *method* (Fontana and Frey 2000; Gale 2006; Moen, 2006) as a tool to gather data related to an individual's perspective.

1.09 A subjective story

It is clear from this focus that this is not a positivist piece of research. Positivism for me, defined in this context as a belief that there exists a '*constant relationship between events*'. (Robson, 2011 p 21) Such consistency is inconceivable in the field of human social interaction and behaviour such are the number of variables and factors to consider. Of these the private, emotional and subjective features – often hidden or subconscious are necessary to recognise. Again, Robson makes clear this point.

'When people are the focus of the study, particularly when it is taking place in a social real world context, 'constant conjunctions' in a strict sense are so rare as to be virtually non-existent.' (Robson, 2011 p.21)

Added to this notion are numerous arguments as to why more qualitative views might better serve research that is focused on human social experiences. (Bassey, 1999, Wengraf, 2001, Creswell et al., 2013, Reason and Bradbury, 2006) For me however the key argument is the one articulated by Robson below.

...the positivist notion is that science becomes credible and possible because every scientist looking at the same bit of reality sees the same thing. However, it has been amply demonstrated that what observers 'see' is not determined simply by the characteristics of the thing observed; the characteristics and perspective of the observer also have an effect'. (Robson, 2011 p.21)

This notion that the reality of human experience and behaviour is not concrete and uniform is here being applied to the research itself and specifically the role of the researcher as human participant in particular. As Bassey recognises, 'Positivist researchers do not expect that *they themselves are*

significant variables in the research; thus, in testing an hypothesis, they expect other researchers handling similar data to come to the same conclusion they find' (Bassey, 1999 p.42). The epistemological assumption for my piece of work however is that as a researcher, I am researching what I myself have experienced, albeit through the subjective filter of my own existential point of view. This has to be the case as by asserting that the Outsider is a motif for all humans and as a way of understanding a distinct phenomenon then I cannot exempt myself from this characterisation. This is not dissimilar to the nature of ethnographical study (Creswell et al., 2013 p.18) whereby the researcher tries to obtain first-hand knowledge by trying to minimise the 'distance' or '*objective separateness*' (Guba and Lincoln, 1988 p.94) between researcher and subject. Such ethnographic research aims to understand the critical subject's perspective by consciously joining them in their own environments, cultures and milieus (Crotty, 1998 p.7). My research recognises the existence of a common shared experience in our collective past – our inclusion into the institution of school, and this indeed serves to lessen the objective separateness of researcher and participant. A true 'hands-on' ethnographic approach would pose a philosophical dilemma for my research however as I am suggesting that there will be deeply individual, subjective and emotional responses to this shared experience. In other words, to suggest that I can gain an insight into this unique, emotional response by sharing the experience would be false. It is also not congruent with my notion of the Outsider's experience being deeply personal and wholly owned by the individual and here resonant with the notion of emancipatory values. Recognising also that within this unique experience there is the potential for 'multiple interpretations of, and perspectives on, single events and situations.' (Cohen et al., 2011p.17). All of which might differ significantly and fundamentally from others experiencing the same context and experience.

As a piece of research this is a study that recognises the importance of gathering and reflecting upon these individual and personal accounts and recollections of lived experience. This includes both the act of bringing oneself back to a previous point in time and the way this is framed and storied for the audience. An audience that in this context might indeed be the individual

themselves or another with an external regard. This research accepts the naturalistic point of view therefore that humans have a, '*unique ability to interpret our experiences and represent them to ourselves*'. (Cohen et al., 2011p.15)

1.10 Subjectivity and thematic framework

Creswell stresses that for qualitative researchers, '*No longer is it acceptable to be the omniscient, distanced qualitative writer.*' (Creswell et al., 2013 p.178) Expanding on this is the notion that as researchers we are not divorced from the reality we are evaluating, observing or contesting. Indeed, 'How we write is a reflection of our own interpretation based on the cultural, social, gender, class, and personal politics that we bring to research.' (Creswell et al., 2013 p.179) To this end the researcher is 'positioned' and I should acknowledge this clearly in my writing and interpretation. Recognising equally that the nature of my understanding of qualitative data might differ from another faced with the same information. Linked to this is the notion that the researcher is not only close to the experience discussed but also on an equal footing with the participant and '*To enter into dialogue presupposes equality amongst participants.*' (Rugut and Osman, 2013 p.27). As a piece of research that is focused on the existential and personal impact of human experiences however, it is impossible for me to divorce myself from my own subjective position as outlined above. This position and my relationship with the topic should be stated because in many ways this is what has given the research momentum and focus and has shaped my epistemological perspective. In relation to the perceived dangers of a subjective voice within research, It is established that within the field of qualitative inquiry that this recognition of *reflexivity* and self-awareness is a necessary requirement (Creswell et al., 2013 p.11). There is a precedent for researchers to take this notion of self-awareness as the driver for their research, moving on from the formation of problems towards a more distinct thematic structure (Dewey 1938; Burton and Steane, 2005; Creswell et al., 2013; Rugut and Osman, 2013). The provenance of this drive in many cases being the context they are critically analysing as they themselves are embedded within it at some level or have experienced it. Nolan recognises that for the researcher focused on a specific

topic and viewed through a critical paradigm there can exist an, '*emotional weight of reality*' in relation to the research focus. (Nolan, 2009 p.53) To this end there exists a clear and dynamic interplay between the intellectual and the emotional spheres. Nolan recognises this tension and the fact that it is necessary to understand and qualify the existence of this emotional link from the perspective of the researcher *from the outset*. This needs to be mitigated however with a clear organising and thematic framework that allows the researcher to tackle the topic subsequently in a measured and systematic way (Punch, 2013) recognising that in interpretative study the researcher will have a vested role in the process. (Reason and Bradbury 2006; Punch, 2013). Firstly therefore it is necessary to be alert to the position of myself as author within this research (Johnson-Bailey 2012; Bourke 2014).

1.11 The position of the author

In regards to my own childhood, it would be erroneous not to recognise the impact my own experience has on my thoughts and values in an intellectual sense. Authors such as Scott who contest the nature of Educational Research recognise that the researcher's perspective and bias will find itself embedded at some level within the research itself. He speculates whether it is ever possible to 'step outside these belief systems and somehow see the world without reference to them?' (Scott, 2000 p.18). Such sentiment is enhanced by Griffith's assertion,

'Bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them. Not only does such acknowledgment help to unmask any bias that is implicit in those views, but it helps to provide a way of responding critically and sensitively to the research.'
(Griffith, 1998, p.133)

This recognition that belief systems, experience and the *position* of the author will impact the subsequent analysis and interpretation of data recognised by Creswell et al. (2013) who assert that the researcher should be transparent and open.

All researchers shape the writing that emerges, and qualitative researchers need to accept this interpretation and be open about it in their writing. (Creswell et al., 2013 p.179)

This sentiment in regard to issues of positionality is expanded by Martin and Van Gunten (2002) with a particular focus on the teacher or educational professional within the institutional context of the school. They are clear about the nature of educational research and the impact of their own experience and identity on both how research is shaped alongside wider issues of practice, philosophy and pedagogy. For the authors it is clear that there should be a clear understanding of, '*...who we are as educators, researchers and scholars*' (p.44)

We acknowledge that our positional and situated identities, educational and otherwise, have shaped and influenced the events in this work and the meanings we have derived of them. (Martin and Van Gunten, 2002, p.44)

Whilst it is not necessary to give too in-depth a discussion of my own subjective engagement, it is useful nonetheless to recount some notable reflections of my own personal story and to be clear about the nature of such positional and situational identity (Griffith, 1998; Scott, 2000; Martin and Van Gunten, 2002; Creswell et al. 2013)

The author's story

As a child I grew up in an English speaking family in South Wales. There was a growing trend for parents to send their children to Welsh medium schools and nurseries. This was partly in response to cultural identity but also because of the fact that these settings had good reputations locally. I attended a Welsh nursery and spoke that language in the setting. My parents however moved to London just before I started primary school and I began my statutory schooling in a different linguistic context. In a short time my parents were alerted to the fact that teachers were concerned that I had a speech and language difficulty, as my speech was incomprehensible. In actual fact I was merely speaking welsh in this context, a switch from English I was accustomed to making previously. It is important here to recognise that I was not able at that stage in my social development to realise that there is a game

to be played and that in order to *fit in* one has to understand exactly what the rules of engagement are. My response was simple and systematic and congruent with Bronfenbrenner's notion of a bio-ecological model of development. School = Welsh. Everything else = English. (Bronfenbrenner, 1981, Doherty and Hughes, 2009) Linking this to Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, (Erikson, 1995) I was developing as an autonomous individual but still driven by basic egotistical drives and behaviours. At around my tenth birthday, my parents moved again, from one of the London boroughs to Leicestershire. Many London state schools in the nineteen seventies were traditional and conservative in their ethos, with a conventional pedagogy and strictly enforced uniform policies. At that time in London, if you moved schools it was usual for pupils to wear their existing uniform until parents had purchased the required items that pertained to the new school. Attending school with no uniform was unthinkable. With this in mind I was despatched to my new junior school in full formal uniform including cap, blazer, shorts and tie. By coincidence our move to the Midlands occurred during the final phases of the '*Leicestershire Plan*' (Elliott, 1970). One of the features of this re-evaluation of the county's education policy was a much more egalitarian and open-plan vision of education and teaching. My new school had embraced this vision wholeheartedly and had proudly shunned the trappings and conformity of uniform in a Scandinavian style liberalisation of clothing policy some years before. The Head teacher accompanied me to the 'top juniors' and to this day I can remember the sense of horror and humiliation as my formally attired presence managed to silence 75 peers in the open-plan space. The subsequent attention I was afforded by these peers compounded this sense of exclusion and alienation enhanced by an intense degree of bullying and aggression.

Unlike my previous experience whereby I did not notice the linguistic differences between settings, it was clear that my sense of self had moved and developed a much more knowing and intellectual sense of identity and self-preservation. (Shaffer, 2012, Doherty and Hughes, 2009, Berk, 2013) I was clearly different and immediately seen as such by my peers, an individual other, in a context simultaneously familiar, (for there are institutional

commonalities within all schools) whilst at the same time at severe odds with my previous experience. An experience where a change in context however subtle can be at the same time both novel and disempowering. This is key to the inclusion debate seen through the filter of the Outsider, for what one believes about a child or indeed what the child believes to be true themselves is a movable and dynamic process. Shaffer (1996) recognises this compartmentalised emotional response in developing children. Through discussing children's self-perception and value of themselves in different contexts he asserts the following key observation namely,

'Knowing a child's feelings in one [domain] does not necessarily tell one anything about that child's feelings in any of the others.' (Schaffer, 1996 p.165)

This notion can be linked to Crosnoe's (2011) assertion that there are two distinct sets of processes at play within the school environment. On the one hand the '*formal processes*', which tend to stem from the adults and include staffing, curricula and teaching alongside the '*informal processes*' that relate to relationships and inter-personal considerations. He suggests a dichotomy between the two and what might seem to an adult a trivial or unfathomable situation can take on a magnitude that can be quite unbearable to a young child. Faced with such a crisis the individual has to make a conscious and internal decision about the way forward or suffer the consequences of a passive or resigned response. Munley, critiques Erikson's view and recognises that childhood is populated by many such crises whereby each one of them can be seen as '*a defining or critical turning point which is followed by either greater health or maturity or by increasing weakness.*' (Munley, 1977 p.262) In order to fit in therefore or indeed to feel included one has to take the initiative. Within his treatise of the *Eight Ages of Man*, Erikson (1995) recognises the development of this skill in the young child and asserts that, '*initiative is a necessary part of every act and man needs a sense of initiative for whatever he learns and does...*' (Erikson, 1995 p.229)

At around the age of six to eleven years old the development of this skill of initiative or the ability to take action takes on a more social dimension.

Children adapt and develop a more proactive and less reactive role in relation to their own development and relationship with others. (Doherty and Hughes, 2009 p.42) Erikson defines the subtext to this existential stage as one characterised by the sentiment, '*Can I make it in the world of people and things?*' (Erikson, 1965 p.229). 'Making it' in this sense being closely aligned with the notion of survival and acceptance. As a Neo-Freudian psychologist, Erikson asserts that the human child has an 'adaptive nature'. This skill relies on being cognisant of the social mores and expectations of the group you are joining and some sense of how you are viewed by this extant grouping. Such knowledge allows the individual to adapt to survive and such adaption can be protective in nature and can stimulate a response that is swift and dynamic. Crosnoe (2011) recognises this need for rapid change and transformation in order for pupils to *fit-in* but importantly asserts that,

‘...some children respond to the identity crises triggered by feelings of not flitting in socially at school in ways that are protective in the short term but harmful to long-term mental health and socioeconomic attainment, and other teenagers respond in ways that promote their future prospects. (p.174)

This is an interesting point to raise, suggesting that the pressures that the Outsider encounters to transform or change might have both positive and negative outcomes. For Crosnoe the key success criterion is that of resilience that effects how an individual will harness and use such change (Crosnoe, 2011). Needless to say my own adaption was quick and the drive for self-protection so acute that I myself had to consciously force change and adapt in order to try to fit in. So rapid was my drive to be included that even my accent changed from its usual South London variant, to one that clearly mimicked my Leicestershire peers. I had learned that it doesn't matter how open or inclusive a school or setting might profess to be, inclusion or feeling included is a deeply personal and emotional construct. Aligned to this was the intense realisation that I was the sole actor or protagonist enabled to ensure this sense of emotional inclusion (Erikson, 1965; Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2006; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015). This knowledge shaped many other aspects of my experience at school and had a long-term and profound impact on my interactions and behaviour henceforth. I had learned that to fit in to an

existing social group or context and to be enculturated into its mores, values and behaviours seemed to rely on a conscious and measured response. That one indeed embarks on a sole and individual journey despite the social context. I also was made aware that in relation to of the perspective of teachers, they could not ensure my inclusion despite assuming it or be aware of how I saw myself.

This sentiment and realisation continued and hardened as I came to terms with my own sexuality in an era defined by an amendment to section 28 of the Local Government Act, 1988 that stated

- 1) A local authority shall not -
 - (a) *intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality;*
 - (b) *promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship.*

As a pupil, I had come to realise first hand that inclusion was less about personal expression and freedom and more about a carefully choreographed game of knowing what expectations to meet, what role was required to be played and what aspects of personality and nature had to be obscured or hidden. In the case of this government policy those aspects that related to sexuality and identity. This was the knowledge and experience that to some degree helped underpin the themes of the theoretical frame of this study and recognise the positionality of the author.

It might be easy to dismiss this as only applying to the narrow group of pupils who experience an emotional response in respect of their sexuality however. Equally, this might seem to re-focus upon just the marginalised or minority groupings as opposed to a universal, all encompassing concept. It should be stressed therefore that these are just my own anecdotes, and the fact that they relate to sexuality are coincidental. To see them otherwise is to narrow and limit the interpretation of inclusion and as Talburt asserts, '...we must in some way move beyond rigid categories of gay, lesbian and bisexual because they tend to lock people into fixed prescriptions for living'. (Talburt 2000,

p.279) This again underpins my decision to frame a discussion of inclusion through the filter of the Outsider as this concept transcends narrower sub-groupings and avoids the danger of making assumptions whilst recognising the subjective and the personal. As Talburt cautions, adults in schools risk imposing, '...certain subject positions on LGBT youth by assuming their needs' (Talburt 2004, p.119). I concur and indeed this narrowing of the definition of inclusion not only in respect of LGBT but particularly related to disability is an issue that will be discussed. What the above anecdotes serve however is to give some sense of provenance to the themes of the study whilst making my own individual position clear to the reader (Griffith, 1998; Scott, 2000; Martin and Van Gunten, 2002; Creswell et al. 2013).

In this regard, Gadamer et al. make the claim that the researcher adopting a hermeneutic perspective must be mindful of this extant knowledge and experience that they bring to the interpretative process (Gadamer et al. 2004). Noting both their position and emotional link with the issue to be considered. Hermeneutics seen in this context as focused on both the textual and vocal and thus an important consideration for a piece of research with its focus on narrative, anecdote and the storying of experience.

Hermeneutics must start from the position that a person seeking to understand something has a bond to the subject matter... hermeneutical consciousness is aware that its bond to this subject matter does not consist in some self-evident, unquestioned unanimity...' (Gadamer et al., 2004 p.295)

Considering the above anecdote my personal reflexivity has in some ways shaped my view of the nature of inclusion and underpins the interpretation of the Outsider as existential participant. It resonates with Gadamer et al's notion of a clear bond to the subject matter. This idea also confirms Scott and Usher's view that in the intellectual arena of educational research *knowledge always has a pre-text*. (Scott, 2000, Usher, 1996) Usher recognises the need to acknowledge the existence of this pre-text and that in some areas of educational research less attention is given to this than perhaps is necessary. '*We focus on methods and outcomes and do not ask how [our] meanings are created and received.*' (Usher, 1996 p. 45) The obvious criticism of this is the

fact that this suggests that the researcher has an inherent, perhaps subconscious bias that should be viewed negatively. However from a realistic and pragmatic perspective to recognise this subjective position is truer to the nature of research focused on human life and experience. Gadamer et al's theory makes this point clearly in respect to the sensitivity required of the researcher.

But this kind of sensitivity involves neither 'neutrality' with respect to content nor the extinction of one's self, but the foregrounding and appropriation of one's own fore-meanings and prejudices. (Gadamer et al., 2004 p.272)

In Nolan's account of her research focused upon children in the Bronx, New York, she too reflects upon this interplay between the emotional and the intellectual from the perspective of the researcher. *'I begin to develop a more cohesive theoretical perspective (one that continued to resonate on an emotional level but which I ultimately became comfortable explaining intellectually.'* (Nolan, 2009 p.53) In a parallel process to Nolan's journey, I have consciously set out clear themes for my research whilst recognising that for some aspects of analysis there will be an inductive element to the data interpretation (Creswell, 2013, p. 403). These allow for the creation of a thematic model that on the one hand enables me to analyse the topic intellectually in light of the literature and to structure such discussion and on the other a means with which to view the data that is generated from the research participants.

1.12 Purposive statements and thematic framework

In order to codify the component elements of the thematic framework, I have considered purposive statements phrased as questions designed to give substance to its development and to move from problem to meaning. Purposive in this context defined as a phenomenon with a distinct role to play and one that has a clear function. Such a concept defined by Kaplan as a way to consider natural phenomena whilst avoiding their reduction to purely mechanical terms. (Kaplan,2009)

‘In a word, behavioural science, and to some extent biological science as well, make use of purposive explanations. In these explanations, acts are given (or found to have) a meaning...’ (Kaplan, 2009 p. 363)

This act of contemplating these purposive statements providing some epistemological justification (Thompson, 1984 p.54) for the subsequent thematic construction. Such a thematic framework (Punch, 2012) also serving to signpost the indicative intention of the subsequent data collection both in relation to the data to be gathered together with its interpretation. In this way the purposive statements indicate a conscious strategic direction to both help structure a discussion of the literature and to define the concepts of my research. The purposive statements are fourfold and have been considered in light of the problem statements, the research question and the pre-text to the study above. They are phrased as questions in part to enable me to consider a response through the review of the literature. They are not additional research questions but component themes of the research question and designed to provide the necessary, ‘*cohesive theoretical perspective*’ (Nolan, 2009 p.53).

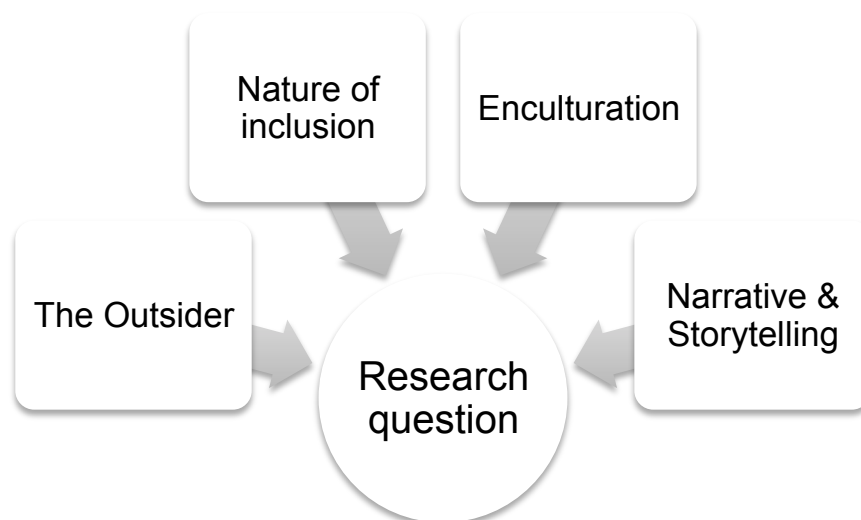


Figure 1.02 – Themes of Purposive Statements

- (i) **The Outsider** The Outsider has been chosen as a means to show both the individuality and universality of inclusion as a lived human event. This emphasis sees the Outsider as the key protagonist with recognition of the dynamic and transformational nature of the phenomenon. In respect of this concept the purposive statement seeks to focus on the following sentiment, *What is the nature of the Outsider's experience?*
- (ii) **The Nature of Inclusion** This is linked to the emotional and personal response to this experience and the role of the individual within their own inclusion journey. *What is the nature of inclusion as an existential and emotional construct?*
- (iii) **Enculturation** The process of movement from outside to inside characterised by the Outsider's journey is one of enculturation, fitting-in and a process of change and transformation. *What is the nature of this enculturation and how does the Outsider initiate and navigate it?*
- (iv) **Narrative and Storytelling** Narrative is seen as a tool to disseminate, interpret and frame lived events as human individuals story or frame their experiences. *What do subjective stories and accounts tell us about the nature of inclusion and enculturation?*

To reinforce the last statement as has been made clear, narrative is seen as both a theme and a method and these two aspects are intertwined. The dynamism of narrative or dialogue is characterised simultaneously by both reflection and a conscious action about how a story is presented. These are important considerations and must be considered equally as Freire asserts.

‘As we attempt to analyse dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: the word. But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed - even in part – the other immediately suffers.’ (Freire, 2000 p.75)

This duality of the concept concerning the act of both reflection and action is important. It is congruent with the Outsider's experience insofar as communication, like inclusion is itself a measured and dynamic experience

that has deep subjective roots but can be shaped and influenced by external influences (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006). For this reason a discussion of narrative as pertaining to this research will be located within the methodology chapter. The organisational (thematic) framework for this study (Punch 2012) can be presented thus,

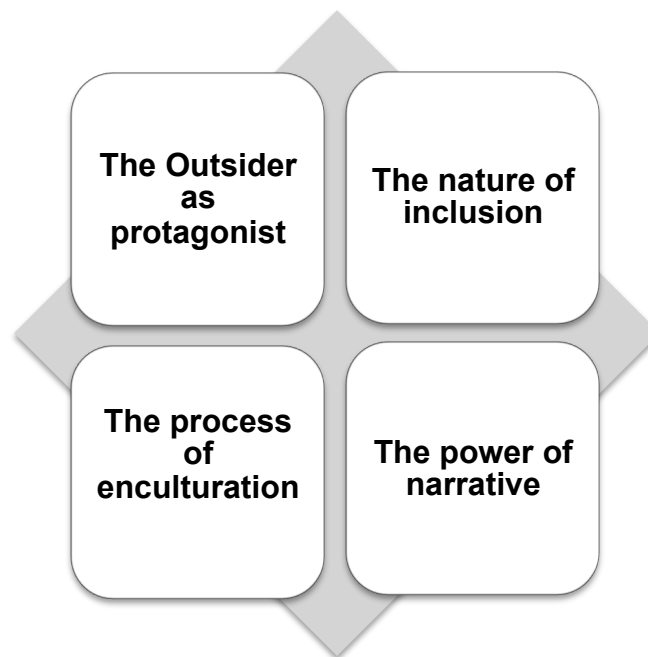


Figure 1.03 The Thematic framework

The model focuses upon four component domains within the thematic framework. The notion of the Outsider as Protagonist or character within an individual's own personal story or journey. The unique and individual process of inclusion and fitting-in within an institutional context. The subjective and emotional nature of inclusion and the power of narrative and an individual's storied experience.

1.13 Summary and organization of the thesis

Through this preliminary chapter I have outlined a number of factors that have both driven and formed this research as it has moved from the abstract and subjective to the concrete and systematic. I have presented to the reader the story of the research journey and the measured process of moving from precognitive to cognitive (Dewey, 1938; Barkley, 2005). I have sought to

outline the research question, the thematic processing and an indication of research design. It was necessary to be candid about issues of subjectivity in educational research and be cognisant of author positionality. A thematic framework has been identified that will provide a clear rationale for the structure and content of the review of the literature.

Chapter Two provides more substance to the themes introduced in the preceding chapter through engagement with the literature. Drawing from this theoretical discussion a conceptual framework is presented.

Chapter Three outlines methodological aspects including the conceptualising of narrative, process of research design and sample selection.

Chapter Four Presents the findings as excerpts from the narrative interviews that are linked to the conceptual framework and a discussion of the data.

Chapter Five provides a discussion of the data whereby a model of the subjective nature of inclusion is raised and articulated. In *Chapter Eight* the final conclusions, limitations of the research and future considerations are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of the literature

2.01 Introduction: Themes and structure of the chapter

This chapter has two distinct sections. In the first section, I present a review of literature that seeks to discuss and address the themes and sentiments of the research question above and to provide substance to the organisational (thematic) framework (Punch, 2012) identified in the preceding chapter. In the second section there is a discussion of theoretical perspectives pertinent to my research and its position within the field of study. This structure recognises that the reader first needs to be cognisant of how I have conceptualised key aspects of my research in order to see them in relation to theoretical underpinning.

2.02 Part A: Key themes and concepts

In this section I provide a holistic overview of the concepts in preparation for a more substantive discussion. As a study of the Outsider's experience of inclusion it is clear that these concepts have to be conceptualised in a way that articulates how the author is to define and engage with them and to provide structure and meaning for the subsequent research and discussion. In the problem statements I outlined the belief that the concept of inclusion appertains to a distinct and profound feature of the human condition and is an event that is universally encountered and thus should not be narrowly interpreted or applied. In this regard I am viewing the concept through a subjective and existential lens (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Sæverot, 2011; Magrini, 2012; McCombs, 2013). The concept of the Outsider drawn from the field of literary endeavour (Lester, 1981) helps to exemplify this notion by recognising the singular and deeply subjective nature of the Outsider's experience within a common and shared collective context (Giddens, 1984). The use of a literary motif allows for a transcendence of more narrow and ideological considerations and in this way has an emancipatory sentiment (Always, 1995; Anyon, 2009). The Outsider is a representation of the human condition that exemplifies the interrelation between individual and collective experience (Giroux, 2011). In this way the concept bridges the subjectivity of the individual agent with the structure of the institutional frame (Giddens, 1976; Hoebel, 1958; Kottak, 2015). Such a

representation also sees the Outsider as a storytelling individual and the key protagonist in their own subjective experiences and personal narratives (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Herman, 2007; Eagleman, 2011).

The research aims to enhance a discussion of inclusion that at times seems more focused on practice or procedural factors rather than this existential journey or experience (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Sæverot, 2011; Magrini, 2012). Equally as Cobigo asserts it is usually defined by its apparent semantic opposite through the filter of exclusion (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al. 2006; Loreman et al. 2010; Polat, 2010; Cobigo et al, 2012). Through recognising these gaps a more holistic, universal perspective might develop that transcends the narrower interpretations of the term, helping to view inclusion as an essential and subjective human endeavour. It is suggested that the individual pupil or child is a significant participant in the journey of their own inclusion and as such the phenomenon is not a passive state but a dynamic experience (Giddens, 1976, Bandura, 2015). The concept of the Outsider is therefore employed to show both the universality of the construct together with deeply subjective and internal manifestations (McCombs, 2013). This interpretation seeks to enhance and develop existing thinking regarding what inclusion means and to elevate the phenomenon akin with other skills or attributes whereby recognising that individually held competences and agency might be as important as institutional values (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Nussbaum, 2011; Bandura, 2015). This suggestion that inclusion is a lived and subjective phenomenon also intimates that it is by its nature a transformative concept that traces an individual's journey from one emotional state to another not only in a locational sense (Le Bon, 1896). In this regard a discussion of such human endeavour has an anthropological tone with links to the concept of enculturation from the perspective of the Outsider as human individual (Hoebel, 1958; Kottak 2015). This study is focused on the concept of inclusion as an existential event in the specific context of the school or educational setting so the individual

traversing the emotional and physical border from outside to inside is the pupil or young person (Giddens, 1984; Rutheiser, 1993; Brown, 2006).

The question driving this research whilst succinct allows for this thematic construction and brings together the four interrelated concepts within the thematic framework. It is centred on the experience of the pupil or child who is being included and the nature of this subjective experience. Such a concept will be central to the research design, as it will be revisited by adult participants reflecting back on their childhood. The purpose of this is to better acknowledge the subjective and transformational nature of inclusion and to broaden existing concepts of what inclusion means for young people at this subjective level (Malik and Akhter, 2013; Peters and Sæverot, 2013).

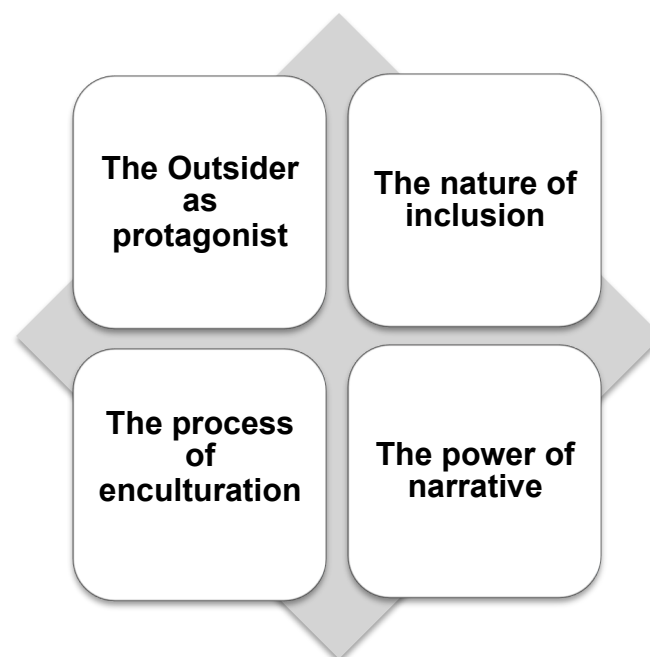


Figure 2.01: The thematic framework

The four constituent themes or components of the model are interlinked. They allow for a conceptualising of inclusion as this subjective event and an essential element of the human condition and a précis of each dimension can be presented thus:

1. *The Outsider as protagonist*, recognises that inclusion is a unique and transformative journey from one state of being to another for each individual human.
2. *The nature of inclusion*, recognises that inclusion is not solely a locational but an emotional construct that is subjectively encountered by each Outsider.
3. *The process of enculturation*, recognises that inclusion is a developmental journey that is varied and dynamic and suggests an interplay between individual and external factors.
4. *The power of narrative*, recognises that inclusion akin with other lived human events is an experience that can be presented and storied for both an internal or external audience.

Such thematic framing of these component features (Punch, 2013) provides a clear structure for this review and discussion of the literature (Hart, 2001).

Throughout each of the respective themes above there are points of relatedness and for the most part these are concerned with the role, impact or dominance of the institution and a discussion of this will thread throughout each of the components. The rationale for this being that firstly, the Outsider has such status in relation to the school. Secondly inclusion is about human endeavour but also an ideological and pedagogic consideration and lastly the process of enculturation is framed within the school context. Aligned to this, narratives and stories are considered in relation to such institutional experience forming both theme and primary method for the study.

Such a thematic construction begins by recognising that the concept of the Outsider (Scheutz, 1944) is at the heart of this research and is the primary protagonist. It is the Outsider that is chosen to allow the researcher to discuss the notion of inclusion from a subjective perspective within a wider more universal social context. Such conceptualising helps transcend more opaque definitions of the concept. The motif of the Outsider recognises the essential truth of true *in*clusion, namely that the starting point of the process is to find

oneself **outside** and inclusion suggests a journey from one physical or emotional place to another. By conceptualising thus, we are all seen as Outsiders not just subgroups of the so-called marginalised or excluded as to be outside is the natural starting point of the process (Scheutz, 1944). Such positioning suggests a philosophical regard examining the nature of experience within the educational field (Noddings, 2005).

The concept of inclusion and its nature is therefore deemed to be a negotiated and dynamic journey into a new state of being and experience into which the Outsider is enculturated (Hoebel, 1958; Kashima et al., 2007, Menary, 2013) and this is another phenomenon that needs to be discussed herein. The journey of enculturation can take place in infinite ways within myriad social groups and institutions within society and is a part of common human experience. As Sunier, (2000, p.308) claims it appertains to the '*...socializing, disciplining, and integrative mechanisms at work in any process of cultural change*' whilst recognising that the actual driver of such change is not solely the social context but the individual themselves (Bandura, 2001). The concept is therefore concerned with how the individual makes sense of the wider social context and the competences and mechanisms that are necessary for success or membership. This touches upon related factors such as individual drive, motivation and agency from the perspective of children and young people within the context of the school (Giddens, 1978; Skinner et al. 1988, Bandura, 2001).

The nature of this inclusion journey will be unique and individual and consist of a number of factors and variables. Such human experiences internalised, presented and *storied* (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). This need for humans to story their existence is important, framing experiences within a self defined narrative. This skill is particularly important to the child or young person and as Gottschall claims 'Story is so central to the lives of young children that it comes close to defining their existence'. (Gottschall, 2012 p.7) This personal narrative serves to both allow the individual to make sense of this journey

from a personal perspective and to stage it for the audience or listener from a peripheral regard. Gottschall maintains that it is the centrality of our own stories that distinguish us as humans. To this end we make sense of our endeavours through the narratives we tell ourselves and these stories serve to dominate human life (Rodriguez, 2002; Clandinin et al. 2007). This sentiment in turn acknowledges the literary motif of the Outsider who through stories is able to illuminate the nature of the human condition to the reader and audience (Schuetz, 1944). It also suggests that the Outsider as author of their own story and interpretation will have a different story to tell than others in the same context. This concept goes to the subjective nature of the individual and is resonant with an existential interpretation of education (Sæverot, 2011; Malik and Akhter, 2013; Peters and Sæverot, 2013).

This study will draw upon the perspective of adults reflecting back on their school experiences with the aim of illuminating their experiences of inclusion. This too helps to conceptualise inclusion as an Outsider's journey of change. Eagleman recognises the essentially human nature of reflection, narrative and storytelling particularly through a retrospective impulse in which we see our lives in a holistic sense.

'This idea of retrospective storytelling suggests that we come to know our own attitudes and emotions, at least partially, by inferring them from observations of our own behavior. (Eagleman, 2011 p130)

These adult reflections and perceptions from an autobiographical standpoint (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004) are central to my research and a rationale for a discussion of narrative as another thematic strand. As recognised above, the concept of narrative is both a *theme* and *method* as it relates to an integral component of human existence, the storying drive and is therefore not solely an instrument of research. Despite the duality of the concept, as narrative and the gathering of data from recalled experiences has been chosen to underpin the methodology for this study the primary discussion of this concept will be located in the methodology chapter. Some recognition must be given

however to the thematic elements of the concept in relation to the Outsider's experience for individual narratives serve not only to assist the researcher but as discussed above, at a subjective level are how humans can make sense of their lives and experiences as storying individuals. Herman provides a working definition of narratives seeing them indeed as stories that help to illuminate individual experiences and their resultant consequences and this is akin to my interpretation of the term.

'Stories are accounts of what happened to particular people – and of what it was like for them to experience what happened – in particular circumstances and with specific consequences.' (Herman, 2007 p.3)

Cullingford (2002) claims, schools are '*an introduction to the adult world*', and poses the question to those moving from school to adulthood, '*Do they feel fully equipped? Are they prepared?*' (Cullingford, 2002 p.155) This is an important consideration for this research, as adults will have passed from school and into this subsequent phase and will be reflecting back with knowledge of the significance of the experience. This reflexive regard is important for,

'Unlike most other social identities, childhood is something which all adult beings have experienced rather than a difference which forever separates people.' (Holloway and Valentine, 2005, p.166)

The differentiating factor however will be the nature of the childhood experience. The individual stories therefore will be coloured and contextualised by their reflexive nature and experience. This link between school and long-term consequences highlighted by Henry et al. (2012).

'Research on the long-term effects is minimal and inconsistent. Few studies have examined the long-term consequences of school disengagement on later adult problem behaviours and virtually all of these studies consider the culmination of the process...rather than earlier manifestations of school disengagement.' (Henry et al., 2012 p.158)

It should be stressed that my research is not focused on disengagement or problem behaviours but recognises a similar sentiment, that adults who reflect back upon their school experiences can do this with the knowledge of what they became. In other words they can reflect overtly or subjectively upon the consequences of their experience with a degree of maturity and hindsight. Elliot recognises the power of this retrospective method (Elliot, 2005) and for my study focused on a research question that seeks to better understand, *the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual*, a retrospective regard is a powerful one. In this introduction to the review of the literature I have presented the interlinked nature of the thematic elements.

2.03 The Outsider as protagonist

The concept of the Outsider is key for this study and why it needs to be presented first for the reader. The motif has been chosen because it enables a study focused on the unique and individual process of fitting into school to be considered. It recognises the distinct perspective of the individual within a collective environment, in this study that of the school or educational setting. The concept of the Outsider in parallel with that of inclusion has also been narrowly interpreted and applied (Scheutz, 1944, Sharma et al., 2012) but in essence both are universal concepts. In the same way as inclusion might be seen only to appertain to certain groups or individuals the same is true of the Outsider when in fact they are both integral features of the human condition. If the assumption is made that we are all included as humans into different social collectives and institutions then the complimentary assertion exists – that we are all Outsiders in a range of contexts also.

In many respects the concept might be seen as synonymous with ‘the individual’ but it recognises that the journey of inclusion suggests a process of enculturation and a developmental move from one state of being to another – from *without* to *within* (Grusec and Hastings, 2006). In other words to move from the outside to the inside physically and emotionally and to be shaped by the experience. This is an important interplay between the Outsider and the

forces of inclusion whereby without outsiders making the journey into an extant social context, then inclusion cannot truly exist. This notion of the journey or transformatory experience into a group or institution on the one hand is dynamic and individual whilst on the other intrinsically social and susceptible to control and compromise (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008, Crosnoe, 2011). What this means however is that this journey will be individual and distinguished from other members of the school community (Mead and Morris, 1934) and in order to fit in the starting point or default position for the Outsider is to be outside. The concept of what an institution is can be ambiguous to a degree, but as Urpelainen, asserts in relation to the nature of institutions, ‘...virtually all recent theoretical treatments emphasise the role of *rules and restraints on human behaviour*. (2011, p. 217). The reality therefore is that we are not born naturally into institutions but gain membership of them through a variety of means and for different reasons and they assert a degree of control over individual autonomy. This is an important issue to consider in the debates about inclusion, especially into the context of the school, an environment about which the pupil has little choice and where such choice as the pupil has is deeply regulated by societal rules and constraints which are manifested through power relationships (Urpelainen, 2011, p215). Such paucity of choice also links to the rationale for schools as social institutions that while conceived as benign entities are still an unnatural and relatively new human social construction (McCulloch, 2012). McCulloch reflecting on the words of Cubberley also notes the history of educational provision suggests a number of motives from the perspective of both the institution and wider national context in which the pupil is the distinct recipient of institutional expectations.

‘All pupils should be trained for *responsible citizenship in our democracy*...so filled with the spirit and ideals of our national life that they will be willing to dedicate their lives to the preservation and advance of our national welfare.’ (Cubberley, 1934, p. 761)

The school therefore by its nature is the dominant partner in the relationship and the hegemony lies with the institution rather than the Outsider, particularly

in respect of behaviours, expectations and purpose. Within the institutional context staff are also required to fit-in and display appropriate behaviours and methods and to abide by institutional regulations and expectations. As Tomlinson (2012, p.380) reminds us in her critique of the SEN industry,

From the 19th century professionals claimed to be using their expert knowledge in pursuit of the common good, but whereas originally the 'needs' of clients took precedence over the needs of the state, now many professionals are employed in the service of the state, whose 'needs' are the primary consideration. Entry to professions usually requires a lengthy training, overseen and regulated by professional associations and the creation of a 'professional mystique' is important, as professional powers and privileges depend on assertions of expert powers and use of an esoteric language.

This sentiment is raised from an opposite perspective by Loreman et al who assert that, 'Schools, after all, primarily exist to meet the educational needs of the students not the other way around.' (Loreman et al., 2010 p.3). Aligned to such institutional dominance, there is also the issue of compulsion in that education is a legislated and required activity where for most Outsiders membership is not negotiable (McCulloch, 2012). To this end, Lawrence asserts that '...the cornerstone of an institutional perspective is the idea that actors are subject to forms of power...' (Lawrence, 2006 p.176). There are some parallels between this perspective of the Outsider and the socially marginalised, such as those found in Crosnoe's study, marginalised precisely because of their disconnect with institutional expectations and locus of power (Crosnoe, 2011). It is the case however that by defining features of the marginalised, in actual fact we are most likely also defining features of so-called mainstream experience. This can be seen if the following classic definition is used to define the Outsider, namely an individual who is,

'... a stranger, an eccentric, a critic or at least someone who poses alternatives to the established or dominating circles within a culture. Moreover the outsider may be a member of an excluded group, a representative of a group with different values, beliefs and characteristics than mainstream society.' (Stoda, 2007)

The provenance and perspective of the Outsider or individual is however by its very nature different and alternative to the institution with characteristics and values that are not naturally congruent. The nature of institutional control is that it exists to assert influence over actors' beliefs and behaviour (Lawrence, 2006) and one is always a *stranger* before being included or enculturated into an institutional, social or group context (Hoebel, 1972). The hegemony of the school suggests it is indeed the established and dominant party and it is into this context that the Outsider, the pupil as subordinate or junior party is being placed. This is true for all participants as institutions by their nature are not necessarily natural environments, but constructed often by arbitrary factors. Indeed, often decisions about the nature of such a context are made by those far removed from the actual pupils themselves. This echoes what Wittig (1976) first argued in relation to school, that they naturally assert a degree of *organisational dominance*. Such dominance suggesting a compliance or adherence to institutional mores and expectations.

'Institutions exist to the extent that they are powerful - the extent to which they affect the behaviors, beliefs and opportunities of individuals, groups, organizations and societies.' (Lawrence, 2008 p.171)

Indeed the term *institutionalised* is one with negative connotations that is applied to individuals who are seen to have lost features of their individual or unique nature within this dominant context (Goffman, 1961). Such institutionalising, dominant forces seen to 'disindividualize' whereby power is seen to inhere within the institution at the expense of the individual agent (Foucault, 1961). It is into this dominating context that the Outsider steps as both protagonist and stranger and it is within this milieu that Foucault asserted that there will exist a degree of power dynamics between the institution and its component membership, the school and the Outsider who is expected to fit-in (Foucault, 1961).

'Power is that concrete power which every individual holds, and whose partial or total cession enables political power or sovereignty to be established. This theoretical construction is essentially based on the idea that the constitution of political power obeys the model of a legal

transaction involving a contractual type of exchange...' (Foucault, 1980, p89)

In the excerpt above, Foucault is referencing the transactionary nature of power from the perspective of the institution vis-à-vis the individual. This signposts the negotiated nature of the Outsider's experience within the institutional frame. The Outsider's journey therefore characterised by both compromise and a succumbing to external pressure. This notion of the nature of institutional power is an important one when considering the issue of inclusion into schools as we are expecting pupils and young people to be included into a context whereby the school as an institution serves to *'...organize, encourage and diminish particular forms of thought and action...'* (Lawrence, 2008 p.175). By this definition the successful inclusion of the Outsider is characterised by a degree of conformity and lack of autonomy.

In the field of literature the concept of the Outsider and power relationships or institutional or societal hegemony has been used by authors such as Camus in 'The Outsider (Camus and Laredo, 1981), Hesse in 'Steppenwolf' (Hesse et al., 1965), Fowles in 'The French Lieutenant's Woman (Fowles, 1971), and Heaney in 'North' (Heaney, 1975) in order to discuss and critique aspects of the human condition. The Outsider's viewpoint is chosen as it gives an individual perspective on established social mores and sensibilities and in some cases to critique the dominant culture. In others the Outsider is a commentator or protagonist akin to an *Everyman* character (Lester, 1981). However, it is very important to stress that in my interpretation of the term, the perspective of the Outsider is not necessarily synonymous with negative emotions or a sense of exclusion. Indeed I see the term as central to the debate regarding the inclusion of all pupils in school as it is aligned with notions of individuality, personalisation and uniqueness. It also recognises that we are all outsiders in some sense of the word so to be an outsider is a universal construct. As Suleiman asserts, 'All travellers are outsiders somewhere' (Suleiman, 1998 p3). It also widens the interpretation of the

debate about meaningful inclusion into a wider context and applying it to all members of the school community transcending narrower interpretations. It is interesting that the motif of the 'Outsider' is seen as an indicator of the human condition in literature. This literary device, linked to the concept of the 'Everyman' reinforces my assertion that the *Outsider is everyone*. This suggests that all social groupings are by their nature collectives of individual Outsiders brought together for common purpose.

Freud recognises the fact that the journey into such groups, social collectives or communities can be difficult and contrived. For the Outsider or the individual there is a degree of transformation and moulding that is undertaken in order to gain membership of a group. He outlines that the nature of group psychology is in many respects,

‘...the influencing of an individual by a large number of people simultaneously, people with whom he is connected by something, though otherwise they may in many respects be strangers to him.’
(Freud, 1922 p4)

The notion of the 'stranger' in Freud's view is interesting, and the essays of Scheutz help to support this notion and underpin more precisely how I see the Outsider in the context of this study. In *'The Stranger: an Essay in Social Psychology'* (Scheutz, 1944), the central theme of the essay is the plight of the individual trying to interpret...

‘... the cultural pattern of a social group which he approaches and to orient himself within it. For our present purposes the term “stranger” shall mean an adult individual of our times and civilization who tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches.’ (Scheutz, 1944 p.499)

It should be noted that the term 'outsider' and 'stranger' are to all intents and purposes interchangeable in this context as in many languages such as German and French the words cannot be distinguished (Camus and Gilbert, 1961). This gives weight also to Stoda's allusion to the interchangeable nature

of the stranger and the outsider in the context of the school institution (2007). Scheutz gives tangible examples of these 'strangers' or outsiders in practical terms and the examples reinforce the notion of the dominant context (Wittig, 1976).

'The applicant for membership in a closed club, the prospective bridegroom who wants to be admitted to the girl's family, the farmer's son who enters college, the city-dweller who settles in a rural environment, the "selectee" who joins the Army, the family of the war worker who moves into a boom town-all are strangers according to the definition just given.' (Scheutz, 1944 p.499)

Scheutz is concerned with adult experience but I wish to apply this interpretation to a discussion of the pupil who is the Outsider in the context of this research. Pring (2004, p.97) also makes the connection between Scheutz's analysis and the experiences of those trying to fit into and be part of a social group and asserts that the individual '...needs to understand how the practices of everyday life are constituted by the subjective meanings of the members of the society he has entered. Otherwise he will not survive'. Pring (2004) adds to this interpretation affirming that the process of becoming part of the society in question is underpinned by constant redefining and negotiation. This is at the heart of the Outsider's experience whereby in order to fit-in there needs to be recognition of the constant, dynamic forces at play. This dynamic response will in recognition of the Outsider's unique perspective be unique and singular.

'Each person brings to those negotiations their own unique experiences and thus interpretations. Since no one can have had another person's life history, no one will share exactly the same interpretations and thus have had the same experience.' (Pring, 2004 p.97)

This aligns with Allport's assertion that '...the institution is not a substantive concept at all' (Allport, 1927 p168). This is a powerful recognition of the

Outsider's perspective insofar as an external agent cannot be fully sure of how the institution is interpreted or viewed by the individual. Such a concept also reinforces the highly individual journey of the Outsider within this milieu and the behaviours, emotions and habits that the Outsider displays in this context. As Allport reiterates,

‘These habits are plural and discrete (existing in individuals separately) and therefore devoid of the synthesis or unity implied by a single term such as ‘institution’.’ (Allport, 1927 p168)

There are clear implications here for inclusive practice as the institution might not be fully cognisant of the interpretations placed up the school by each individual participant and the danger of assumption or generalisation exists. It is only from the subjective point of view that such values or attitudes can be assured. To this end the concept of the Outsider was also chosen therefore to recognise that from an autobiographical standpoint, (King, 2000, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004) we are the sole protagonist or central character in our own stories which themselves are plural and discrete in this context. In the case of this research the story of how young people are included into school and the myriad ‘network of influences...which can limit, shape and direct the developing individual’ (Grusec and Hastings, 2006 p 547). The concept of the Outsider is a relevant filter for this research therefore as it recognises the unique process of moving from outside to fitting in and the process of change, transformation and enculturation that has to be undertaken. It acknowledges the importance of the pupil's exclusive story or narrative while allowing for a more nuanced and complex discussion of the institution of school and the process of inclusion. Importantly, it resonates with all pupils not solely the marginalised, the overlooked or the average and it explicitly respects the individual perspective of the pupil. This notion of the Outsider sets up a discussion of inclusion that is focused on this Outsider or stranger who is being included into the institution alongside other Outsiders each with a unique provenance and in this regard we are all ‘Outsiders-inside’ (García-Sánchez 2014, p. 297)

2.04 The nature of Inclusion

***I am all for inclusion in principle, but it doesn't always work
(Guardian, 2015)***

I begin this discussion of inclusion by signposting the above title of an article within the 'Secret Teacher' column in the Guardian newspaper. The rationale for the column is not to provide an academic critique but rather to illuminate the realities of the teaching professional from an *insider* perspective. The literary device of the 'Secret Teacher' suggesting a more honest, no-holds-barred critique of daily life in the classroom. The column is popular as professionals recognise in the anonymised accounts, aspects of their own experiences and the topics are chosen accordingly. One might argue that the concept of the Outsider is as applicable to this collective of professionals as it is to the pupils within the institutional context as it aims to promulgate the individual perspective of those within the wider institutional frame. The title of this particular article distinctly illuminates the gap in interpretation I wish to address however. Most will recognise the sentiment underpinning the assertion above that inclusion is deemed a 'principle' to be adhered to, a goal if you like, but that this goal or outcome is not always successful. To simplify, *Inclusion either works or it does not. There is either inclusion or there is not. Schools are either inclusive or they are not.* As Shakespeare asserts, there is disconnect, even friction between factors that are intrinsic to the individual alongside extrinsic factors that emanate from the social context (Shakespeare, 2006). This is compounded by a professional isolationism whereby the individual teacher has his or her own view, interpretation or even professional self-interest (Sandow, 1994; Farrell, 2010 pp.84-89). The subtext here is that inclusion is something that is done to either an individual or group and can be measured accordingly whereby the provenance of such inclusive sentiment or judgement stems from the institutional perspective or in this case the individual teacher (Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). There is an assumption implicit in the title that the teacher is making a comment about including those who are perceived to be different, impaired or marginalised. This is not overtly stated but subtly understood.

The gap that needs addressing here is that this interpretation and assumption whilst important, does not recognise that inclusion is akin to other essential aspects of human experience such as 'behaviour' or 'communication' for example so the concept is limited. Behaviour might be challenging or positive but it is still behaviour (Hewett, 1998; Cooper, 2000; Lines, 2003; Rogers, 2007; Emerson and Einfeld, 2011). Communication might be impaired, difficult or fluent but is still communication (Berman, 2004, Woolfolk et al., 2008). From this interpretation inclusion is conceptualised as lived event and whether the outcomes are successful or not as defined by the institution it is still experienced by the individual, the Outsider who is making sense of the collective environment (Scheutz, 1944). Akin to the other phenomena above, inclusion is conceptualised as an integral and important component of human experience and existence.

Within the field of education such concepts such as behaviour and communication are addressed through interventions that seek to enhance skills and abilities and encourage the individual to be more proficient and enabled in these respective areas. They are clearly recognised and as Owens et al. (2012) assert in relation to pupils' behaviour there can be 'mastery criteria' (Owens et al., 2012, p.850) that can be developed to mitigate the negative aspects of the individual's presentation. Through somehow understanding the lived experience and features of the phenomenon there is also the potential to support pupils to recognise inclusion as a skill and one which can be developed and enhanced in order to gain in aptitude and ability. In the same way as we are encouraged to consider 'our behaviour' and 'our communication' within a wider context of practice and intervention, perhaps also 'our inclusion' should be seen as an equal concept to consider. Where inclusion is successful there should be recognition of the transformative journey that the individual has experienced and acknowledge that successful inclusion is due in part to the degree of mastery of the skill that the individual is able to apply (Owens et al, 2012). The practitioner has a clear and important role but this sits alongside an acknowledgement of the subjective and dynamic experience from the pupil's perspective and this too needs to be nurtured and developed (Skinner et al., 1988). In many regards however the

practice and professional implications have more weight and influence due in part to the nature of the institution and the power it asserts (Cubberley, 1934; Foucault, 1961; Goffman, 1961; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; McCulloch, 2012). In this way the sentiment '*I am an inclusive teacher / school / setting...*' has the hegemony over '*I, the individual have some control over the success of my inclusion or not...*'

2.05 Historical background

This relationship between the nature of the institution on one hand and the Outsider on the other is important and highlights some of the forces of structure and restraint at an individual level (Bandura, 2001, Giddens 1984). From the perspective of the school such institutional structures existing as both enabling and restraining (Giddens, 1984 p.167). In order to conceptualise inclusion from the perspective of the Outsider this associated interplay between individual and institutional considerations should be considered. Original or historical interpretations concerning policy or legislation have changed and evolved over time (Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Farrell, 2010). It is important to consider an historical overview therefore in order to demonstrate some of the institutional, ideological and political factors that are embedded within the debates at the level of the institution and to recognise their historical provenance. The concept of inclusion historically was concerned primarily with the field of special educational needs and disability (Mittler, 2005) and a brief overview of the chronology of how this was addressed is an important consideration. From the perspective of special educational needs or disability in the United Kingdom, this began through the notion of categorisation and labelling identified within the so called 'Butler' 1944 Education Act (MoE, 1944) itself designed to somehow mitigate the social, economic and political upheavals in the recent post-war era. As Stakes and Hornby remind us, (1997, p.24)

Children with SEN were to be placed in one of eleven categories of handicap: blind, partially sighted, deaf, partially deaf, epileptic, educationally subnormal, maladjusted, physically handicapped, speech defective, delicate and diabetic. The 1944 Act required that LEAs had to ascertain the needs of children in their area for special educational treatment.

Such categorisation and stratification was still not fully or broadly applied and there were further subgroups where the severity of the child's presentation or perceived mental deficits saw them as '*ineducable*' (Runswick-Cole and Hodge, 2009). An evaluation of such language and sentiment sees such practice in terms of difference, exclusion and stigma (Richardson and Powell, 2011). This concept is clearly at odds with the concept of the Outsider as universal protagonist and highlights starkly the powerful hegemony of the institutional agent (Foucault, 1961; Goffman, 1961; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). The debate is therefore located within an historical context whereby the focus was on difference though the filter of disability or impairment. (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000; Wolfendale, 2000; O'Brien, 2001; Ainscow et al, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat 2011; Hodkinson 2015). There is a twofold rationale for this phenomenon and interpretation. Firstly the nature of what is deemed normal, accepted or customary, whether in terms of behaviour, physical attributes or intellectual functioning underpins a great deal of behaviour and activity in schools and settings (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman 2009; Sainsbury 2010; Rieser 2014). Clearly this is a contentious point of view as it distinguishes individuals by how far they are perceived to be from conventional expectations. From the Outsider's perspective it suggests a reversed reality, that where institutional life is 'normal' and default but where the *outside perspective* one of exclusion or difference. Secondly is the well-intentioned response to those deemed to be different though special or exclusive provision for these individuals often categorised in terms of deficit (Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sharma et al., 2012).

The chronology of inclusive education (inclusive here defined as that which is applied to all pupils without exclusion) suggests it to be a relatively recent phenomenon, which can be mapped back to the 1970 Education (Handicapped Children) Act. This legislation for the first time brought all young people into the education system, including those who were previously seen as ineducable under the provisions of the 1944 legislation.

An Act to make provision, as respects England and Wales, for discontinuing the classification of handicapped children as unsuitable for education at school, and for purposes connected therewith.
(DES,1970)

Within the English and Welsh context, legislation and policy towards addressing these values was further enhanced by the debates and conclusions of an educational committee chaired by Warnock, and published in 1978 (DES, 1978). This report helped confirm key aspects of terminology and semantic application in relation to the definition and conceptualisation of difference by ensuring 'Special Educational Needs' became the accepted designator. Interestingly, the term *inclusion* as applied to values, practice and sentiment does not feature once within the report (DES, 1978) with a focus on more *integrative* aspects of school experience. It should be stated however that the Warnock report suggested that the institutional goals of education should be applied equally to *all pupils without distinction* and these institutional goals were twofold.

'They are, first, to enlarge a child's knowledge, experience and imaginative understanding, and thus his awareness of moral values and capacity for enjoyment; and secondly, to enable him to enter the world after formal education is over as an active participant in society and a responsible contributor to it, capable of achieving as much independence as possible.' (DES, 1978, p.5)

The nature of such institutional goals is resonant with Lawrence's, critique of the institution (Lawrence, 2008) whereby it alone is the arbiter of decisions and direction in regard to the membership. Such institutional considerations highlighting the contextual conditions into which the Outsider is being accepted. The Report suggested there should be leeway for a degree of creativity in order to meet these universal goals and that for some 20% of individuals at any one time; certain barriers might need to be mitigated. (DES,1978; Runswick-Cole, 2009). The euphemism for this creativity evidenced in terms of interventions and practice being the word '*special*' which now took on certain semantic undertones (Tomlinson, 2012). Foucault, recognised the institutional necessity for the institution to be associated with a distinct vocabulary as part of the features of its power and dominance

(Foucault, 1973). This is a relevant point to raise from the perspective of the Outsider as the protagonist seeks to ascertain meaning from features of the institutional context. Understanding this increased power of language, terminology even esoteric jargon is important (Corbett, 1996; Tomlinson, 2012) and put simply, one of the legacies of the Warnock committee's report was to codify and set in stone a vocabulary of inclusive education that have proven enduring. It might also be said that the field of special education itself developed and exists as a distinct entity within the institutional framework and itself is resistant to change (Sandow, 1994, Cobigo et al., 2012, Polat, 2011). Added to this critique is that fact that the vocabulary can take either vague or conflicting interpretations. (E.g. the 'inclusion' unit in schools is often the place where 'excluded' pupils are sent as a sanction because of their behaviour or lack of attainment.) As Brown articulates, *'certain well-intentioned contemporary political projects and theoretical postures inadvertently redraw the very configurations and effects of power they seek to vanquish.'* (Brown, 1995 p.ix). Tomlinson views this concept as a growing and increasingly expansive '*SEN Industry*' whereby over the past few decades children have been subjected to the attentions of special educators, behavioural specialists, psychological, medical, therapeutic and other professionals and practitioners (Tomlinson, 2010). This view shared by other commentators who fear the enduring nature of such a perspective, (Allan, 2010; Slee, 2011).

Special educational needs policy on behalf of such stakeholders including the child, the school, the Local Education Authority and families were clarified in the 1981 Education Act that outlined for the first time duties, rights and expectations and the impetus towards sentiments of integration and intervention. Following on from the 1988 Education Reform Act (DfE, 1988) Subsequent incremental developments were enshrined within the Education Acts of 1993 and 1996 (DfEE), the Special Educational Needs (SEN) Code of Practice (DfE, 1994), the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act (DfES, 2001a) and the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (DfES, 2001b) outlining a statutory code of duties and expectations. This code of practice

superseded in 2014 by the Special Educational Needs and Disability Code of Practice: 0 to 25 years (DoE, DoH, 2014).

Throughout this policy timeframe, unlike in the Warnock Report (DES,1978) the sentiment of 'inclusion' is beginning to be more visible in an overt sense within the documentation. Within the 2001 Special educational needs code of practice (DfES, 2001b) whilst there are only four direct mentions of the concept there is still evident a subtle semantic turn, seeing inclusion as a distinct feature of experience rather than merely locational integration. Interestingly such inclusion is measured in some way against peers whereby the '*inclusion*' of the child must be compatible with the '*efficient education of other children*'. Such mentions highlighted in the table below. At this point it could be interpreted that the more expansive and universal interpretation of the concept of 'inclusion' defined simply by the Oxford Dictionary (2016) as '*the action or state of including or of being included within a group or structure*' has begun to narrow.

To fulfil their role effectively, LEA's' planning should provide for the ***inclusion*** of children with SEN in mainstream schools.

Inclusive Schooling – Children with Special Educational Needs” provides advice on the practical operation of the new framework. It gives examples of the reasonable steps that maintained schools and LEAs could consider taking to ensure that the ***inclusion*** of a child with a statement of special educational needs in a mainstream school is not incompatible with the efficient education of other children.

A parents' wish to have their child with a statement educated in the mainstream should only be refused in the small minority of cases where the child's ***inclusion*** would be incompatible with the efficient education of other children.

An LEA that believes that the education of a particular child in the mainstream would be incompatible with the efficient education of others must consider whether there are any reasonable steps they could take to prevent the child's ***inclusion*** from having that effect.

Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (DfES, 2001b)

Table 2.01 Excerpts from 2001 SEN code of practice (DfES 2001b)

A realisation of the need to mitigate the divisive and exclusionary nature of some policy decisions and interpretations developed throughout the legislation and policy (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al. 2006; Polat, 2010). These events appertaining to the English context can be seen in tandem with global factors such as the Salamanca statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (UNESCO, 1994), which also led the way in promoting the notion of inclusion in a wider societal context. This was initially through a continuum of integration and still firmly rooted with the distinct filter of Special Education (Hodkinson, 2015). Such integration took many forms including full immersion into a mainstream class, specialist provision in alternative accommodation or selective withdrawal with the underlying rationale that of education reform (UNESCO, 1994; Hunt, 2011; Tomlinson, 2012). In England the response was to put focus onto the ***inclusion*** of children with disabilities or specific special educational needs and there was a degree of debate between stakeholders about interpretation and policy (Hornby, 1999).

Historically therefore, changes in practice and policy related to a move from ***integrative*** aspects to those defined as being ***inclusive***. Despite the semantic similarities, the concept of integration, while aligned to inclusive sentiment is conceptually different insofar as it impacts the individual pupil and the role and sentiment of the institution. Mittler recognises that the terms integration and

inclusion are often and confusingly used interchangeably but there are substantial conceptual differences between them in terms of their values and practices. He suggests that a move from one concept to another should not be seen solely in terms of a *'fashionable change in politically correct semantics'* (Mittler, 2000 p.10), whereby terminology changes but underlying sentiment retains a degree of resistance and inertia a view echoed by Polat (2010). Integration is a distinctly locational concept therefore, characterised by the physical and tangible placement of pupils with special educational needs or disabilities into an extant context alongside able-bodied or non-disabled peers. As distinct from inclusion, integration is not an emotional or existential concept but rather one that is primarily descriptive and a statement of fact about an individual's place or location. If we allude to Scheutz's assertions about the nature of the Outsider's journey merely being physically present does not necessarily engender a sense of membership or belonging (Scheutz, 1944). On balance the nature of integration is weighted towards the setting as this is the constant into which the individual is integrated. The hegemony and supremacy of this setting is implicit within the definition and as such can contribute to a loss of autonomy or agency from the individual's perspective (Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011).

The wider more emotional concept of Inclusion therefore, differs from integration at the individual, subjective and emotional level as it is primarily concerned with issues of human consciousness and experience. As alluded to above, the move towards inclusion as a philosophy went some way to mitigate the nature of integration by focusing instead upon values, practice and specific policy and intervention in a school or setting (Mittler, 2005; Ainscow et al., 2006, Hodkinson, 2015; Sharma et al., 2012). This has had a positive role in moving on the debates concerning inclusion in relation to issues of special educational needs and disabilities towards a focus on more holistic and human principles and attitudes rather than institutional or practice based considerations. In a comparative and international context these considerations are also important to recognise and in the conclusions to the UNESCO Salamanca statement (1994) a plea was made to view global

approaches to special needs education in a wider more holistic frame and to broaden the definition.

Special needs education – an issue of equal concern to countries of the North and of the South – cannot advance in isolation. It has to form part of an overall educational strategy and, indeed, of new social and economic policies. It calls for major reform of the ordinary school’ (UNESCO, 1994)

In response from a European perspective specifically in regards to teacher education, the report *Key Principles for Promoting Quality in Inclusive Education* (EASEN, 2010). suggests seven principles which summarise the views of the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education and the notion of ‘*inclusion*’ is now seen as more prevalent notion.

- Widening participation to increase educational opportunity for all learners;
- Education and training in inclusive education for all teachers;
- Organisational culture and ethos that promotes inclusion;
- Support structures organised so as to promote inclusion;
- Flexible resourcing systems that promote inclusion;
- Policies that promote inclusion;
- Legislation that promotes inclusion.

If the narrow focus on *Special Needs Education* is put to one side, then akin with the Index for Inclusion (Booth et al, 2000) the locus of responsibility for inclusion is with the institution and the term ‘inclusion’ is again seen in an imprecise and nebulous manner. On the interchangeable nature of inclusion and special education also, Slee urges that ‘inclusive education needs to be decoupled from special education’ and restored as a ‘genuine platform’ in its own right (Slee, 2011 p.155). A caveat to this view however is that a discussion of values, practice, policy and culture still weight the debate towards the perspective of this institutional or professional milieu as distinct from the individual or the Outsider. It is true that the view that inclusion is wider than special educational needs and synonymous with diversity and equal opportunity has become prevalent, articulated here in the Curriculum requirements for state schools, (DfE, 2011) which stress that teachers should provide opportunities for all,

'Boys and girls, pupils with special educational needs, people from all social and cultural backgrounds, people from different ethnic groups including travellers, refugees and asylum seekers and those from diverse linguistic backgrounds.'

In this definition inclusion is seen in parallel with inclusivity, social diversity and the nature of a pluralistic society. Policy requirements suggest that it is incumbent on the institution to provide such opportunities and to recognise this diverse nature of society. (Charity Commission, 2001; Equality Act, 2010; DfE, 2011). This move towards a more holistic definition of *social inclusion* is a welcome one but in a similar vein to the narrow interpretation of inclusion in the area of special education there is the potential for the same tighter focus to be applied. As Sherwin suggests, social inclusion and social exclusion are often viewed in binary terms so if you are not *excluded* then the assumption is that you are *included* (Sherwin, 2010). Morgan et al. concur and suggest that despite no common accepted definition of social inclusion / exclusion there exists multiple meanings, but most emphasise a lack of participation in social activities as the core characteristic (Morgan et al., 2007). The issue here is that the tendency is again to view the concept in terms of excluded groups or individuals with a focus on the marginalised. Put simply the notion of inclusion as an expansive and universal concept has again been diminished (Cobigo et al., 2012). There are parallels here back to the debates concerning normalisation for pupils with special educational needs (Sainsbury, 2009; Rieser, 2014). In such a focus the further away one is felt to be from established norms the less socially included one is deemed to be. (Sherwin, 2010) Again as Pereira and Whiteford (2013) assert, social inclusion is becoming an inherently political construction and again it is the institution that has the hegemony of interpretation and control.

In relation to this hegemony, it is evident from the values and principles of the Index of Inclusion used here as a benchmark of how inclusion is viewed in English schools and settings (Booth and Ainscow, 2013), that the concept is clearly and legitimately focused on the requirement for the practitioner or institution to be active, committed and seek to address a number of key

factors and indicators. This in some way explains why inclusion is viewed in this way and why the dominant locus of action rests outside of the individual. The language is weighted in terms of such action and the statements include a desire to *value, restructure, recognise, and foster* amongst others. From this perspective or standpoint the onus is on the practitioner or institution and the sentiments therein are important to recognise as essential features of institutional or pedagogical practice or policy. It is also clear that this process of considering inclusive education from an institutional point of view has been prevalent for some years within the English context (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000; Wolfendale, 2000; O'Brien, 2001; Roffey, 2001; Tassoni, 2003; Jones, 2004; Ainscow et al, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Hodkinson 2015).

Such institutional perspectives are not necessarily negative or being criticised *per se*, for positive and effective practice should indeed be mindful of the needs of pupils and the wider community. As Nutbrown and Clough (2006) argue, inclusion should be seen to apply to all children regardless within any societal context and can be seen to have benefits to wider social cohesion within a diverse and plural society (Armstrong et al, 2010). It is clearly the role of the practitioner or institution therefore to assert a degree of influence and to implement such practice as this indeed is their *raison d'être*. These are important and valuable considerations and as Cardona asserts, the educational profession needs teachers, '...who will ensure the successful implementation of inclusive policies and practices.' (Cardona, 2009 p.35). A sentiment that is echoed by the European Agency in regard to teacher education (EASEN, 2010). Other commentators such as Rouse equally acknowledge the '...central role of teachers in promoting inclusion and reducing underachievement, particularly when dealing with children who are perceived as having difficulties in learning. (Rouse, 2007 p.1). To extend this to professional standards and expectations, the sentiment can equally be applied not only in relation to underachievement but also more generally to '...a profession which accepts individual and collective responsibility for improving the learning and participation of all children' (p. 596).

Here we recognise two institutional perspectives related to the concept of inclusion characterised by structure and control (Giddens, 1985). Firstly, in once sense the perspective is focused *externally* and towards the pupil seen to warrant an intervention and thus to be included (Lawrence, 2008). Secondly, and aligned to this is a profession or institution that looks *internally* (Allport, 1927; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011) in order to better provide the context and sentiment for inclusion to be successful and both recognise the pitfalls identified by the Secret Teacher who asserts that it '*doesn't always work...!*'. For the Outsider, the individual experiencing the phenomenon however it might not work in the way the institution would wish or expect but it is still experienced nonetheless (Scheutz, 1944).

What this highlights is the duality and complexity of the concept viewed by commentators such as Campbell (2002) as a balancing act between institutional considerations and those of the individual. (And my interpretation of the individual here is any participant or player, not solely the pupil or child.) Paliokosta and Blandford (2010) echo this more holistic, multidimensional and nebulous interpretation of inclusion as one that proposes a suggested or broad construct whereby the concept is '...subjected to complex and multilayered interactions among ideational and institutional aspects...' (p.179). This concept is one that Booth and Ainscow also recognised in their work, '*From them to us* (Booth and Ainscow, 1998). In this international study of inclusive education the development of the concept of inclusion in relation to national education policies is recognised but alongside such recognition an understanding of the diversity of views about the actual meaning of the concept. Here in the introduction they outline their thinking.

But what does it mean? Is it about including a special group of disabled learners or students seen to have special needs (them) or is it concerned with making educational institutions inclusive, responsive to the diversity of all their students (us)? (Booth and Ainscow, 1998)

This narrower view of inclusion above as appertaining to pupils with special needs and disability is one that will be discussed later in this chapter but if '*them*' is applied to all pupils irrespectively, then I posit that inclusion is indeed

both of these things. However there is a third element that speaks of the existential nature of inclusion which is the journey, process or crossing that the Outsider experiences (Freud, 1922; Scheutz, 1944; Suleiman, 1998). Inclusion thus is viewed as a transformational activity for the individual that is a lived and emotional experience and one that provides the interface between the two elements – the subjective and the institutional. This is an empowering notion that views the pupil, the Outsider in the context of the inclusion journey as a dynamic player and not a passive recipient.

Such a concept of inclusion views this behavioural event or journey as something that **all** humans will experience and which underpins our social interactions and associated feelings of belonging and identity (Freud, 1922; Scheutz 1944) and where research suggests such feelings develop throughout childhood (Brown et al., 2011). The concept is therefore multi-faceted and by its nature a social activity whereby the human individual has a role as both the *'includee'* and the *'includer'* in a range of human social activity simultaneously (Paliokosta and Blandford (2010). This is not just between the individual and institutional contexts (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010) but between individuals at all levels within the institutional frame. This notion recognises that for the human participants and in particular the child in the context of school, roles and experience change according to context or ecology and an individual will have multiple and concurrent experiences of inclusion but from unique or perhaps conflicting starting points and trajectories. Parallels here can be seen with some aspects of Developmental Systems Theory, which draws from Bronfenbrenner's discourse of an individual's complex ecological systems.

It views individuals as complex systems existing within other complex systems. Any part of the system whether it is internal or external to the individual can and does bring about change. (Vimont, 2012. P.502)

In other words the Outsider's holistic human experience of their inclusion is one that is multi-dimensional and characterised by both strangeness and familiarity (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010; García-Sánchez, 2015). In this regard one is minded of Hofstede's assertions regarding notions of a person's

subjective culture and the claim that each human individual is in essence a multicultural being, belonging as they do to numerous categories or systems within the scheme of their social relationships and each with a distinct role or set of expectations or behaviours within the institutional context (Erikson, 1965; Lawrence, 2006; Stoda, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015). However with the caveat that there will be variable degrees of success or difficulty within each domain (Hofstede, 1991, p10). Each individual might therefore be a member (or not) of formal or informal groupings and collectives with varying degrees of association or antipathy (Brown, 2011). In other words one might experience inclusion and exclusion simultaneously within the same social context. (Freud, 1922; Vimont, 2012). This distinct feature identified by García-Sánchez who recognised that pupils 'negotiate the boundaries of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion at different levels of socio-political life and across different quotidian contexts' (2016, p. 168) and there might exist flashpoints of *acculturative stress* for the included individual (Roche and Kuperminc, 2012).

What this concept recognises is that inclusion is not a unitary activity experienced by the individual but a complex and interlinked phenomenon that does not occur in isolation or exempt from the attitudes or behaviours of others (Stoda, 2007). The richness and complexity of the concept of inclusion is enhanced therefore and can be viewed as a highly intricate web or network characterised by varying degrees of choreography, antagonism and congruence depending on the interaction with other protagonists or individuals within the social sphere (Hofstede, 1991; Brown, 2011; Roche and Kuperminc, 2012; García-Sánchez, 2015). Koster et al., also recognised this phenomenon in their research and suggests that inclusion should be more accurately viewed in terms of social *participation* rather than social *integration* or *inclusion*, suggesting the interactive, social and conflicting elements of the concept (Koster et al, 2009, p.136).

This notion recognises that for the child in the context of school the existence and impact of the parent, teacher, peer or other individual and their own experiences of inclusion will overlap and intertwine. The child alongside the

other protagonists is a participant in the exchange or event alongside other agents (Hofstede, 1991; Stoda, 2007; Koster et al., 2009). Inclusion is therefore akin to a concept of wheels within wheels within wheels in a semiotic construct. We include and we are included and our respective inclusion 'spheres' and processes interact and compete, merge and antagonise (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016). Each individual developing an understanding of the social sphere that is related to his or her own experiences and interactions (Hofstede, 1991). As such, the lived experience of inclusion has the potential to increase understanding of both social mores and expectations alongside behavioural responses and causation. This feature of the inclusion process for the Outsider resonates in part with the Habitus (Bourdieu, 1989) the subjective, social context or emotional environment that surrounds an individual.

Davey (2009) recognised this concept and views the habitus as those layers of knowledge and experience that once developed provides the individual with the tools for change and understanding (p.277). Within this context an increased understanding or experience of inclusion can enhance an individual's social abilities, resources or capital in ways that Bourdieu recognises might be unconsciously acquired. It also recognises the point above that asserts that human interaction within an institutional frame is essentially a coming together of Outsiders, individuals or agents each bringing their own unique and subjective points of view, perspectives and knowledge of the world in harmonious or contradictory interplay. Bourdieu asserts that an individual's habitus is indeed, '...embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person...' (Bourdieu, 1896, p.243) and talks of the singularity and uniqueness of the *individual agent*. If inclusion is conceptualised as a transformative journey then Bourdieu's question, 'How can this capital, so closely linked to the person, be bought without buying the person...?' (Bourdieu, 1896, p.243) has a powerful resonance. What this suggests to me is that when this capital, so integral to the individual interacts with that of another individual, there is a danger that one might succumb or be influenced by another. Parallels here link to the concept of Stoda's dominating circles (Stoda, 2007) in which the institution serves to assert a degree of

pressure or change upon the individual and is cognisant of the power at play at the institutional level (Urpelainen, 2011; Lawrence, 2006). In other words inclusion is characterised by a degree of negotiation, compromise or conciliation and as Davey concurs, ‘...habitus includes scope for change or improvisation.’ (p.283). Put simply it relates to what an individual has to give up in order to be included.

This richness about how inclusion is viewed and constructed has the potential to also be characterised by a lack of consistency suggesting both a strength and difficulty with the concept (Farrell, 2010; Cobigo et al., 2012; Polat, 2011; Hodkinson, 2015). Firstly many people interpret inclusion in myriad ways (Booth, 1996; Ainscow et al., 2006), however this study takes as its starting point the fact that it is an existential human behaviour that stems from the essence of human interaction and therefore a universal and deeply human concept (Scheutz, 1944). The concept of Inclusion therefore needs to be recognised for its imprecise and nebulous nature. Slee sees this tension in light of the debates concerning inclusion and highlights the, ‘...*difficulties caused by the terminology we adopt to frame an idea*’ (Slee, 2012 p. 207). In this way, far from being an umbrella concept it is instead composed of numerous dimensions and perspectives both individual and institutional, some of which have been articulated above. This lack of clarity is evident in the literature (Sullivan, 2005; Polat, 2010; Sharma et al., 2012). With commentators such as Hodkinson and Vickerman (2009) declaring it a ‘*contested concept*’ (p.11). Such variety of interpretation is also a distinct feature of the international context and there exists a situation where ‘...there is no one model of inclusive education that suits every country’s circumstances’ (Mitchell, 2007 p.19). Such an imprecise construction leads to the potential for the concept to mean different things to different stakeholders and Ainscow et al. (2006) suggested a six-fold typology;

1. Inclusion as a concern with disabled students and others categorised as ‘having special educational needs’.
2. Inclusion as a response to disciplinary exclusion.
3. Inclusion in relation to all groups seen as being vulnerable to exclusion.
4. Inclusion as developing the school for all.

5. Inclusion as 'Education for All'.
6. Inclusion as a principled approach to education and society.
(Ainscow et al. 2006)

In the above categorisation it is notable that the terminology identifies vague concepts stemming from an institutional perspective and none specifically focus on the nature of the pupil's journey or Outsider being included.

Armstrong et al., articulate the lack of clarity thus and suggests that such institutional opaqueness is actually a convenience and can help mitigate opposition to the concept.

The meaning of inclusion is by no means clear and perhaps conveniently blurs the edges of social policy with a feel-good rhetoric that no one could be opposed to. What does it really mean to have an education system that is 'inclusive'? Who is thought to be in need of inclusion and why? If education should be inclusive, then what practices is it contesting, what common values is it advocating, and by what criteria should its successes be judged? (Armstrong et al, 2010 p.4)

Although suggesting in the above quote that inclusion does not have a clear and common definition it also highlights some other key issues about the interaction between the individual and the institutional. It alludes to an 'inclusive' system from the perspective of the school and those who are deemed to 'need' inclusion from the point of view of the individual. In this interpretation we are minded of the 'Them and Us' notion proposed by Booth and Ainscow (1998) with parallels to the individual agent, the Outsider making sense of the social or institutional collective as per Scheutz's critique (1944). Mitchell's assertion that there exists no common national or international definitions due to a range of cultural, political and historical variables (Mitchell, 2007) can also be applied more narrowly to a definition between schools and individual institutions. It is for this reason that defining the concept from the institutional perspective is difficult and to attempt to homogenise a definition might itself be seen to be limiting or constrictive. To this end, redefining the concept from the point of view of the Outsider serves as a device that helps to frame inclusion as a lived and interactive journey of transformation, change and negotiation within the institutional context. For the Outsider therefore, to

be included and to include are indeed simultaneous even symbiotic processes and in a constant and dynamic state of flux or movement and susceptible to a clash of egos, and individual characteristics and factors (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016). *(I include you, you feel included, I feel I have included you, you want to be included, you are unsure about the status of your inclusion, I'm not sure if I want to include you...and so on.)*

Professional interpretations and definitions of inclusion have also changed over time, characterised by numerous debates and movements that apply to both policy and practice within an ideological context (Ainscow et al., 2006; Cobigo et al., 2012). In the Index for inclusion, Booth et al. (2000) highlighted this more multifaceted nature of Inclusion in a move away from locational considerations (Hodkinson, 2015). These included recognition of barriers and obstacles that impact both participation and achievement. This is also echoed in the statement found within Curriculum 2000 that outlined factors related to a definition of inclusion seen in relation to learning opportunities. To this end three principles were identified and deemed in the document as essential to developing a more *inclusive curriculum*.

1. Setting suitable learning challenges
2. Responding to pupils' diverse learning needs
3. Overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils. (QCA, 2000)

But alongside this concept of the individual being seen as an integral component of the community or context they find themselves and to be an active participant, there is an increasing desire for inclusion to be a more universal notion that permeates all levels of practice and philosophy (Sharma et al., 2012; Hodkinson, 2015). This is not solely as a response to pupils or an erosion of barriers but a more cerebral and systemic concept. As Arnesen et al. (2009) asserts, 'inclusion may be understood not just as adding on to existing structures, but as a process of transforming societies, communities and institutions...' (p.46)

This is a change of emphasis from the origins of the inclusion debate which were characterised by issues of placement. Put simply, placing a child into an existing context and interpreting this as being included by attendance and assumed participation alone (DES, 1978; Booth, 1988; Booth, 1999 Boys, 2005; Ainscow et al., 2006; Polat, 2010). This was clearly a flawed and simplistic definition that suggests the context or environment alone is the key variable in the inclusion process. This locational concept however can be linked to more subjective and existential considerations that relate to *border psychology* (Brown, 2009) those internalised emotional responses occurring when humans cross from one context to another. In a locational sense the pupils crossing physical threshold between the school and outside context. Brown reinforces this notion by asserting that

‘Walls are consummately functional, and walls are potent organizers of human psychic landscapes generative of cultural and political identities’. (Brown, 2010 p.74)

Viewing schools as ‘psychic landscapes’ is important for a study focused on the Outsider’s subjective journey as this concept is more commonly applied to the creative sense of ‘place’ or environment for literature or poetry (Lindberg-Seyersted, 1990). For the included individual or young person however the school is an environment or place that will have a specific subjective meaning for the individual (Massey, 2004) and as Carter, Donald and Squires affirm, ‘Place is space to which meaning has been ascribed’ (Carter et al., 1993 p xii) Such meaning is multi-dimensional and for the pupil crossing a threshold of the school in a locational sense there might be associated psychological, emotional and temporal dimensions to consider (Rutheiser, 1993 p.114). To relate this point to a criticism of locational aspects of the inclusion debate, Sherwin suggests that a deficit of the model is that, ‘solutions are seen to lie with *‘getting people over the line’*’ (Sherwin, 2010, p. 85) whereby success is viewed in purely locational terms. Parallels here can be made to criticisms of the aftermath of the Warnock Report and subsequent 1981 Education Act with a focus on integrative practice (DES, 1978)

Such sentiment equally has overlaps with contested views of and social acceptance and control (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Tomlinson 2012; Rieser 2014; Hodkinson, 2015) insofar as it is the professional or institution acting upon societal pressure that makes this distinction and decides key parameters and criteria. Put simply the context that the Outsider is included into whence the physical or emotional border has been crossed (Rutheiser, 1993; Brown, 2010; Sherwin, 2010). It has been necessary to move away from this imbalanced view and see inclusion (or being included) as a more deeply held personal or existential state of being with clear parallels with social justice, equality and human rights and expectations (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002). In this regard this is where the human Outsider - the concept that sees humankind as deeply subjective but existing in a profound and complex social milieu is at its most acute (Freud, 1922; Scheutz, 1944). For it is in this interplay between the individual and the collective (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005) where the wider social context can have a considerable impact upon both the lived experience and future outcomes for the individual. In the case of this study the wider collective is that of the institution of school and it is into this environment that the Outsider is being included. This notion of social justice and equality is truer to the original sentiment of societal inclusion that is rooted in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent Education for All agenda. Article 26, which makes clear the right to education, is one of the longer and more expansive articles contained within the Universal Declaration. Naturally it asserts that 'Everyone has the right to education' (UN, 1948) although how education is defined or interpreted is not make clear. A subsequent component statement asserts however that Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality (UN, 1948). And it is in this statement that we see a direct segue with the concept of inclusion as an individual and subjective emotional phenomenon and one characterised by the Outsider's experience.

For commentators such as Sen and Nussbaum, this interface and relationship to social justice (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002). can be seen in light of central capabilities and the wider tenets of human development and equality (Sen,

1999; Nussbaum, 2011). These capabilities relate to the development of both welfare and quality of life and also the opportunities that might be afforded the individual whilst recognising the interrelatedness of disparate elements. This is an important factor within the inclusion debate, the idea that inclusion is a multifaceted, complex and dynamic concept with links to notions of wellbeing and social justice directly impacting the quality of life for the Outsider included into the institution. In such a concept, this individual is not a mere recipient to be pressured or moulded into normalisation but an integral and key factor in the inclusion process as agent and participant. Nussbaum recognises this plural aspect of human experience seen for her through the filter of social justice and the dangers of inequality.

I typically use the plural, “Capabilities,” in order to emphasize that the most important elements of people’s quality of life are plural and qualitatively distinct: health, bodily integrity, education, and other aspects of individual lives cannot be reduced to a single metric without distortion. (Nussbaum, 2011 p. 18)

This concept relates to the wider area of rights and social justice conferred but also a sense of self-determination or choice from the perspective of the individual. Such capabilities for the Outsider relate to what they are able to achieve or to be. There is an element of self-determination also in this interpretation that links to the Outsider’s perspective, that of the notion of choice. This is an interesting dimension to raise in a discussion of inclusion that is linked to issues of capabilities and social justice and serves to highlight the dual sentiments *‘Am I able and have the skills and opportunity and capability to be included?’* versus *‘Do I know what I’m being expected to be included into and do I want to be?’*

As Alkire asserts, one role of human capabilities is to

‘... draw attention to myriad complex factors which affect what a person is able to (and chooses to) do and be (Alkire, 2005).

As Armstrong et al, (2010) remind us, there are aspects of inclusive sentiment that we can be hard pressed to disagree with as they are associated with

opaque, vague and upbeat notions of what is right and wrong however and one must also be mindful of this danger in relation to the concept of social justice. This is particularly relevant to a discussion of inclusion as akin to many other nebulous concepts what 'social justice' exactly means is not always clear. The danger with such vague sentiment or definition suggests that terminology can assume political or ideological meaning. As Nicky Morgan then Education Secretary said in a 2015 speech '*Free schools are the modern engines of social justice helping break the cycle of disadvantage*' (DfE 2015). Such faith in the free school policy open for discussion however (Hatcher, 2011, Skelton, 2011; Higham 2014) and there is room for alternative interpretations particularly in relation to the governance and philosophy of the free school programme. Higham identified this notion in his research in the UK here quoting a free school proposer,

'50% of places will be filled on the faith-based criteria, the rest, it's going to be down to their locality, so it could be that we have non-Jewish children in the school . . . although in practice I don't know how many non-Jewish children [will] want to apply, because it's buying into an ideology . . . they might not feel that comfortable with.
(Higham, 2014 p.410)

This notion also seen as important by Cobigo et al., who suggest that there are certain pitfalls and considerations that have to be considered (Cobigo et al. 2012, p. 77).

1. Social inclusion is at risk of being an ideology and may lead to ineffective and potentially harmful strategies;
2. Social inclusion is still mainly defined as the acceptance and achievement of the dominant societal values and lifestyle which may lead to moralistic judgments;
3. Social inclusion is often narrowly defined and measured as productivity and independent living, which is inappropriate for people with more severe disabilities;
4. Social inclusion is often limited to the measure of one's participation in community based activities.

Notable in relation to such sentiment were the comments made by Warnock in relation to the legacy of the 1978 report, with the claim, '*possibly the most disastrous legacy of the 1978 report, was the concept of inclusion.*' (Warnock, 2005). This in part due to the ideological nature of the subsequent debate and the focus on special schools and integrative principles rather than a wider set of values concerned with individual needs.

In terms of these limitations away from the specific area of special needs or social exclusion, Roberts also identifies the phenomenon of the *ordinary* and therefore often *overlooked* pupil (Roberts, 2012) and this is an important consideration. Again, the concept of the Outsider, allows for balance in the debate by mitigating some of these limitations and focusing on the universal and subjective, particularly in relation to ideological considerations which originate from the institutional context (Foucault, 1961; Goffman, 1961; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). In relation to inclusion such ideological considerations suggesting a certain *reification* of the term, whereby its conceptualising has moved away from abstract to more concrete or dogmatic interpretations. In the published minutes of the 2005 House of Commons Education and Skills committee on Special Educational Needs it was suggested,

‘The increasing number of children who are being left behind are the innocent victims of an ideologically driven and dogmatic view with regard to ‘inclusion.’ (Stationary Office, 2006 p120)

This sentiment eroded somewhat however because the minutes show that the committee itself views ‘inclusion’ in a distinctly narrow and dogmatic manner as specifically appertaining to locational qualities.

‘There is much evidence to show that inclusion into mainstream school can meet the needs of many children for whom mainstream education is appropriate and desirable. However, an indiscriminate approach in implementing a policy of inclusion – irrespective of a child’s needs – fails those vulnerable children who need support the most’ (Stationary Office, 2006 p120)

In many regards, from the level of government policy down, this discrepancy and inconsistency of language to define inclusion exists. This has the potential of allowing each stakeholder to begin to define it themselves through individual filters or perspectives as Ainscow et al suggest.

‘Inclusion may be defined in a variety of ways. Often, however, explicit definitions of the term are omitted from publications, leaving readers to infer the meanings it is being given for themselves...’ (Ainscow et al., 2006)

To draw from this discussion, through considering historical and policy considerations there seems nonetheless to be a universal and subjective element that is missing in the midst of the nebulous nature of the concept, that of the wishes, desires and role of every individual as protagonist within the event of their inclusion. Such event being a transformative concept and an existential human experience and theorised and viewed as a journey that is deeply held by the person being included, the human Outsider (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot, 2011). Inclusion should not be solely viewed through the narrow filter of special needs or even social inclusion therefore as both paradoxically have the tendency to exclude by default. Through conceptualising inclusion from the perspective of the Outsider, I am able to transcend more opaque, ideological or political definitions (Slee, 2011, Polat, 2010, Cobigo et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2012). The implications of this from the perspective of schools is that that each should have a remit to include all members irrespective of background or provenance whilst recognising the universal nature of the concept. A move towards a more proactive construction that retreats from narrower notions of ideology and which abandon the ‘moralistic perspective’ of the institution or dominant group is key (Cobigo et al. 2012). Buckmaster and Thomas allude to this,

If we define exclusion as a thoroughly new, multidimensional phenomenon touching people at all levels of the social hierarchy in some respects or at some point in their lives, large, cross-class coalitions to combat it may become easier to build. (Buckmaster and Thomas, 2009)

Buckmaster and Thomas are arguing for a refreshed definition of exclusion, however if reversed and seen through the filter of *inclusion*, replacing combat with encourage, then the above quote has a clear resonance with the concept of the Outsider and the universal nature of inclusion.

2.06 The process of enculturation

This concept of the Outsider, suggesting as it does that the default natural state for each individual is to be outside the field of institutional dominance (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; McCulloch, 2012) also suggests that to gain membership comes with an associated emotional cost or effort (Le Bon, 1996; Freud, 1922; Grusec and Hastings, 2006; Stoda, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011). The interface between the Outsider's nature and the influence of the institutional domain is therefore the process of enculturation (Lahelma and Gordon, 1997; Barrow and Woods, 2006). The term relates to the process of acquiring values and behaviours 'deemed necessary' to fit in to a particular group or culture (Grusec and Hastings, 2006 p.547). Enculturation as a term is generally interchangeable with the concept of socialisation but for consistency I will use the former in part to acknowledge the existential nature of the study as a discussion of human behaviour and subjective response (Sartre, 1948; Hoebel, 1958; Propp, 1977; Magrini, 2012). Hoebel considered the concept of enculturation as a distinct and integral feature of human social experience and for the Outsider, Hoebel's original definition illustrates the implicit negotiation and adjustment required of the process or journey.

'The individual must learn to inhibit his impulse to act in prohibited ways and to habituate his behaviour to culturally indicated ways. The total process is called *enculturation*. It involved the adjustment of individual impulses to the standards of permissibility set in the culture. The well-adjusted personality is the one that successfully balances his personal urges to the allowable expectancies of his social environment.' (Hoebel, 1958 p.579)

This interpretation resonates with the concept of inclusion as it suggests the dynamic and subjective nature of the experience from both the individual and

institutional perspectives and the interplay between the two (Crosnoe, 2011; Rix et al., 2008). Hoebel also recognised that the concept relates to the process of understanding the surrounding and dominant culture of the individual and the process appertaining to how to be a member of this context.

‘Enculturation encompasses all the processes and by means of which the individual learns to internalise the norms of his culture. It requires selection and elimination and elimination of a multitude of kinds of behaviour that the individual has the urge to indulge in.’ (Hoebel, 1958 p.591)

From an anthropological perspective it also speaks to the existential nature of the experience whereby aspects of an individual’s holistic culture are not familiar from the outset or necessarily easy to maintain for each individual starts from a unique subjective perspective (Magrini, 2012; Sæverot, 2011; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). The field of anthropology being a relevant discipline to draw from in a debate about the nature of inclusion as a lived event for it seeks to advance knowledge of ‘*human life on the planet and how we live with each other*’ (Kottak, 2015 p.5). This notion is again congruent with the concept of the Outsider in this context experiencing inclusion into the school environment as a social entity. Put simply, the act of going to school is an expected and key feature of most individuals’ experience and within designated *mainstream culture* (Ryder et al., 2000). However the school as an institution is one that asserts a distinct dominance, (Lawrence, 2008) suggesting a degree of change or adjustment from the members (Hoebel, 1958). The natural state is to be outside however and the individual has to be made aware of, taught and experience the parameters of institutional membership through the enculturation process (Goffman 1968).

It is for this reason that *enculturation* is the most appropriate concept for this study as opposed to the tandem concept of *acculturation* although there are features in common (Kim, 2007). Acculturation viewed as a more distinct inter-cultural relationship (Berry, 2005) and one, ‘which refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between

cultures.’ (Sam and Berry, 2010 p. 472). The key distinguishing feature between the two being that the acculturated individual is moving from the culture within which they have been born and raised (Sam and Berry, 2010; Liebkind, 2001) whereas the enculturated individual is experiencing how to live within the expectations of the milieu in which they already live. In *unidimensional* concepts of acculturation (Ryder et al 2000; Miller, 2010; Tieu and Konnert, 2015) there is a clearer distinction between the two concepts whereby when an individual from one culture engages with a new culture she or he ‘concurrently loses ties with her or his culture of origin’ (Miller, 2010, p. 179). In a *bidimensional* interpretation (Ryder et al., 2000) individuals can internalize and maintain adherence to their culture of origin *enculturation* and to a second culture *acculturation* (Miller, 2010, p.179). It is here where the overlap might be most acute for the Outsider in the context of the school if one accepts the notion that each unique individual exists along multicultural dimensions within the institutional frame (Hofstede, 1991; Vimont, 2012).

Despite this interplay between the concepts, at its most elemental level the nature of enculturation is to develop an understanding of important shared aspects within the individual’s context and ‘children learn such traditions by growing up in a particular society, through a process called enculturation’ (Kottack, 2010, p.3) the provenance of which comes from significant others in the social arena (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). In the context of my study, the traditional expectation therefore is that the Outsider gains membership of the school and commits to the enterprise. It should be acknowledged here that schools themselves are also constrained by tradition and Hargreaves citing Cox suggests four grounds teachers use to justify their practices and these too will be highly individual and recognise that teachers are also enculturated individuals within the institutional context.

- *Tradition (how it has always been done)*
- *Prejudice (how I like it done)*
- *Dogma (this is the ‘right’ way to do it); and*
- *Ideology (as required by the current orthodoxy)*

(Hargreaves in Hammersley, 2007 p.12)

There is resonance here to the work of Barrow and Woods who highlight the human propensity to inertia as it pertains to enculturation. In other words the concept of 'this is how we do things' suggesting a certain conservatism within the concept (Barrow and Woods, 2006 p.15). Escobar also recognised the cyclical nature of such processes,

'From an anthropological perspective, it is important to highlight the emplacement of all cultural practices, which stems from the fact that culture is carried into places by bodies –bodies are encultured and conversely, enact cultural practices.' (Escobar, 2001 p143)

This cultural programming is inclined to replicate itself and is an important feature of enculturation to recognise (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005). Hofstede cites parents who have a tendency to reproduce the education that they received for their children, whether they want to or not. Livingston too recognises this inertia within the process of enculturation viewing institutions as entities with staying power because, early on, they have the power to condition people's preferences. (Livingston, 2010). The concept of *enculturation* is clearly semantically related to the notion of *culture* a concept defined by Hofstede as layers of 'Values, Rituals, Heroes and Symbols' with symbols being the most superficial and values the deepest manifestation (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005 p.7). Schools will have an institutional culture both as a ubiquitous shared *school culture* (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013) but also a more individual context specific manifestation (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005). Barth (2002 p.6) defines school culture as a '...complex pattern of norms, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, values, ceremonies and myths that are deeply ingrained in the very core of the organisation'. This culture will be 'situationally unique' (Beare et al., 1989 p177) resistant to change and characterised by a degree of inertia (Barth, 2002). This resistance perhaps related to ingrained behaviours displayed by both pupil and school and which might impact upon the process of enculturation and negotiation between them. Lahelma and Gordon claim,

‘Students do not come to secondary schools from nowhere; they come laden with experiences from primary schools - they have been learning to become pupils for six years.’ (Lahelma and Gordon, 1997 p.134)

This process of ‘*learning to become pupils*’ is at the heart of the enculturation process into the physical and emotional context of the school and that for some, acceptance of the prevailing culture (Scheutz, 1944; Stoda; 2007; Brown, 2011) might be taken for granted or passively acknowledged.

‘Most people are socialized in the habit of being co-operative or polite long before they cultivate any views or arguments relating to the question or whether they *should be* or whether there is *good reason to be*.’ (Barrow and Woods, 2006 p.15)

Conceptualising it thus, this is the point where the Outsider, the nature of inclusion and the process of enculturation seem most congruent. The important factor however is that whilst the sentiment of enculturation might come from an external source akin with that of inclusion, the concept is actually a key feature of subjective and internalised experience (Ryder et al 2000). This is a paradoxical state for the Outsider, whereby the subjective reality, starting point or default is to be outside the institutional frame, but nonetheless within the expected and traditional dominant culture and context (Sartre, 1948; Hoebel, 1958; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Boylu, 2003; Magrini 2012). This is part of the existential tension characterised by the Outsider’s experience of enculturation, for the act of developing understanding or gaining membership comes with associated emotional dues, and can assert a degree of change or pressure at the subjective level (Freud, 1922; Brown, 2006). To illustrate this through an existential perspective these are the unique and subjective characteristics of the Outsider that are vulnerable in a social context (Sæverot, 2011; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). Biesta (2009) also suggests in an existential sense that the socialisation function of education works against notions of individualisation and can cause resultant pressures contributing to such tension. Drawing from the philosophy of Levinas (1978), Biesta highlights this existential uncertainty that characterises the Outsider’s

subjective experience through the filter of human uniqueness. 'In existential terms...I am I, and I cannot be replaced by anyone else. My uniqueness, therefore, is not a matter of my *being* but of my *being in question*. (Biesta, 2009 p.361)

Recognising both these existential pressures alongside the social and emotional features of enculturation it follows that the Outsider's journey is naturally characterised by connections with other people (Allport, 1927; Scheutz, 1944; Pring, 2004; Stoda, 2007; Kottak, 2015). These are human, social connections and interactions that begin at birth (Woolfolk et al., 2008; Berk, 2012) whence the origins of the enculturation process begin (Hoebel, 1958, Kottak, 2015). Some of these social connections are inherently biological, those genetic and hereditary links to parents, siblings and families and they have a direct impact on both cognitive and social development (Gauvain, 2001; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Berk, 2012). As humans we share these elemental connections and origins about which we have no choice with all living creatures and things (Kottak, 2015). We take our place as hominids within the taxonomy of biological classification (Pough et al., 2009; Zambeta, 2008; Moffett, 2013). In essence therefore this is the most basic foundation of human life and experience. It is also the origin of existential uniqueness and singularity for the Outsider (Levinas, 1978). Layered above these innate biological aspects of life are the connections about which we have more control, or are controlled by significant others or events in our lives and that touch and have an impact upon existence and identity (Berman, 2010 p.1). These are characterised by connections that are not solely biological but have a clear social aspect, many developing over time and generations to develop into societal mores, sensibilities and modes of interaction. It is from this context that the enculturation drive emanates recognising that, 'Human infants do not possess a culture at birth. They have no conception of the world, no language, nor a morality...They are uncultured, unsocialized persons' (1988, Grunian and Mayers, p.71) Humans therefore acquire aspects of their culture, behavioural norms, social mores and morality over time but start life with none of these things, as Noddings, articulates,

‘The human infant is almost wholly body. A self develops as the dependent body encounters other bodies— their feel, sight, sound, taste, and smell. Such encounters are inevitable and universal, but their interpretation is not. Caregivers help the child to evaluate these encounters, to recognize pleasure and pain as pleasure and pain, to expect reasons for necessary pain and consolation for suffering. Right from the start the response of the cared-for is central to the caregiver’s decisions and attitudes.’ (Noddings, 2002 p.132)

As these individual characteristics develop, nurtured by social interaction and as Noddings suggests through symbiotic and mutual relationships, humans akin to other living creatures combine into social groups that are designed to meet or respond to a common purpose (Jenkins, 2004; Moffett, 2013 p.219). Interestingly this behaviour in both humans and other primates recognise this process not solely as an aspect of genetic or ecological variation but as a consequence of social learning (Moore, 2013). What differentiates humans however is the nature, quality and depth of these social groupings and their cultural attributes and values.

‘Many animal species live in complex social groups; only humans live in cultures. Cultures are most clearly distinguished from other forms of social organization by the nature of their products - for example, material artefacts, social institutions, behavioural traditions, and languages.’ (Tomasello et al., 1993 p.495)

There are aspects and behaviours common to these groups that can only have been considered in a social context, including language and other specific cultural norms (Moore, 2013). A traditional view of culture therefore takes account of the propensity of human individuals to comprehend the value of the symbolic and as White’s definition suggests, ‘culture consists of those tools, implements, utensils, clothing, ornaments, customs, institutions, beliefs, rituals, games, works of art, language’ that surround the individual. (White 1959, p.3). However the underlying sentiment is that such tokens and attributes are shared and understood collectively (Kottak, 2010.) Aligned to this is the concept that the human individual is enculturated into certain ‘*control mechanisms*’ (Geertz 1973 p.44) that govern and shape behaviour

through a process of internalisation at conscious and unconscious levels. Pertinent to the Outsider's experience, he posits that culture should be seen less as concrete patterns of behaviour encompassing customs and traditions, but rather instructions and rules that govern behaviour, a view that is equally pertinent to the institutional culture of the school (Foucault, 1980; Pfeffer, 1998; Stoda, 2007). To this end, Geertz also recognised that some of what we call culture is actually a synthetic construct whereby the human seeks to make sense of the world by seeking 'systematic relationships among diverse phenomena' (Geertz, 1973 p.44) within specific ecological and environmental contexts (Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012). This point recognised by Nicolaidou and Ainscow (2005) in their 'perspectives from the inside' that recognise the importance of a school's '*internal conditions: their unique culture*'. (Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005 p. 236) Again we are reminded here of Le Bon's view of an organisation as a 'living body' composed of myriad subjective and unique elements (Le Bon, 1896) and this is the context that the included individual is gaining membership of.

For the Outsider as navigator of such phenomena, it is also clear the nature of culture is not one that is set in stone and there can be parallel and tangential experiences of enculturation in different environmental contexts and between different individuals (Miller, 2010; Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012) a phenomenon illustrated by Vandekerckhove et al.

'What is considered disgusting in one culture may be highly appreciated in another, what is considered embarrassing at work may be highly welcome in family life, and what evokes shame in one culture may elicit pride in another one.' (Vandekerckhove et al. 2009 p.3)

It is into this context that the role of the institution asserts an influence upon the nature of enculturation and inclusion (Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). Many of these institutional constructs serve to reassure, support, nurture, develop and succour their members although others might have a more sinister or dominating purpose (Foucault, 1980; Pfeffer, 1998; Stoda, 2007). Some are an affirmation for good or bad that other members of the human

race interpret a range of questions about life in a common way or with a common purpose or endeavour (Hoebel, 1972; Kottak, 2010). Some of these groups are also so established, institutionalised or monolithic that they are taken for granted (Moore, 2013) and this is where the links between enculturation and tradition are clear (Kottak, 2010). In some ways the discussion of the nature of inclusion particularly in relation to the existence of an *SEN industry* (Tomlinson, 2012) echo some of these sentiments suggesting an institutional dominance over the process and a certain institutional inertia (Sharma et al., 2012; Slee, 2012). From an existential viewpoint there are associated issues with the process of enculturation that relate to choice, worth and democratic principles as interpreted by the Outsider as protagonist. Gatto fears the nature of schools as compulsory institutions are lacking in such democratic credentials.

‘School, as it was built, is an essential support system for a model of social engineering that condemns most people to be subordinate stones in a pyramid that narrows as it ascends to a terminal of control. School is an artifice that makes such a pyramidal social order seem inevitable...’ (Gatto, 1992 p13)

For the Outsider, the existential dilemma is that of ‘what am I being included into and why?’ (Sartre, 1948; Rix et al., 2003; Magrini, 2012).

The process of enculturation in the institutional framework alongside what is traditional and expected is driven and manoeuvred by social connections (Jenkins, 2004). The potential for these connections are infinite and are equally characterised by inertia as by the potential for quick and *dramatic changes* (Nicolini and Cherubini, 2011 p.176). Aligned to this is the idea that humans have highly individualised interpretations of the groups and connections that are part of their personal existence and makeup (Jenkins 2004) and which they are navigating their enculturation into. These are often subtle, sometimes highly evident but at times hidden or occluded for explicit reasons. Crucially, enculturation into one group might be at the express non-membership of another (Crosnoe, 2011). In this regard our human propensity

to socialise and be included is where our proclivity to *exclude* is rooted and enculturation thus has a degree of exclusionary sentiment implicit within it. As Waytz and Epley assert,

‘Being socially connected has considerable benefits for oneself, but may have negative consequences for evaluations of others. In particular, being socially connected to close others satisfies the need for social connection, and creates disconnection from more distant others.’ (Waytz and Epley, 2012 p.70)

Perhaps the strongest rationale for this characteristic to seek the familiar is the human urge for self-preservation, the *conatus* or will to live proposed by philosophers such as Spinoza or Hobbes (Gabhart, 1999, Robert and Pringle, 1993). Such an innate characteristic might encourage the individual to take the path of least resistance, managing their subjective enculturation by seeking strategies to avoid conflict, visibility or the associated experiences of ridicule, exclusion or contempt (Miller, 2010; Crosnoe, 2011). In this way there are parallels between culture and emotion which need to be recognised and as Matsumoto and Hwang claim, ‘*Cultures regulate biological emotions to calibrate what we become emotional about and adapt the reactions that occur when elicited.*’ (Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012 p.92)

For the Outsider, behaviour aligned to this emotional component might include the desire to follow (or be seen to follow) the dominant mood, sensibility, fashion or technology (Vanden-Abee, 2016). In the context of the school such pressures and influences will come from both without and within as Rutheiser recognises,

‘...school boundaries are quite permeable; the outside world intrudes in numerous ways. Even the most prestigious schools are only partially successful in directing the behaviour of students within the classroom; they are even less effective when students are beyond the physical grounds of the institution.’ (Rutheiser, 1993 p.114)

In this regard it is notable that despite the wishes of parents or significant adults as the initial managers of enculturation processes (Hoebel, 1972; Miller 2010; Tieu and Konnert, 2015) it is increasingly peers who have a substantive effect upon this process. This concept Sáez-Martí and Sjögren identified in their study of *'Peers and Culture'* concluding that, '...although parental ambitions and incentives are indeed important, young individuals are not passive receivers of culture, and hence the processes of assimilation and stratification are not solely the responsibility of parents.' (Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008 p88). For the Outsider therefore again it is clear that this concept of not being a passive agent within the context of their enculturation and inclusion is an important one. What their research also shows is that some individuals actively strive to fit in, visibly conforming by meeting the expectations of the particular group or unit that holds most sway. For others their chosen path is to coast *'below the radar'*, seeking anonymity and insignificance. (Crosnoe, 2011) This is an action while seemingly passive, is still taken in a calculating and dynamic way. This process is therefore unique, difficult to ascertain from an external perspective and highly individual and subjective (Sæverot 2011; Peters and Sæverot; Biesta, 2009). This characterises the wholly distinctive nature of the Outsider's personal odyssey and experience (Scheutz, 1944) particularly in the context of their inclusion into the school or setting.

Taking this concept one step further, we can draw upon the theories of Freud proposed in his paper *'Group Psychology'* (Freud, 1922) which developed the work of Le Bon (1896) and McDougall (1920)

'Individual Psychology is concerned with the individual man and explores the paths by which he seeks to find satisfaction for his instincts; but only rarely and under certain exceptional conditions is Individual Psychology in a position to disregard the relations of this individual to others. In the individual's mental life someone else is invariably involved, as a model, as an object, as a helper, as an opponent, and so from the very first, Individual Psychology is at the same time Social Psychology as well.' (Freud, 1922 p.1)

Such an interpretation reinforces the concept that our highly individual, personal and subjective experiences of enculturation and inclusion are indeed inextricably linked to those of other humans. This supports the notion that the process of group membership is a negotiated state and further aligned to the concepts of accommodation and compromise (Davey, 2009). For Freud, membership of a group or collective (in the context of this study, the social collective of the school) is a more regressive state, less rational and more suggestive. Quoting Le Bon (1896) Freud asserts that ‘...*by the mere fact that he forms part of an organised group, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilisation.*’ He views such groups and social institutions as artificial (Freud, 1922 p.41) and illustrates this through the example of the Church and the Army by defining the concept thus.

‘...a certain external force is employed to prevent them from disintegrating and to check alterations in their structure. As a rule a person is not consulted or is given no choice, as to whether he wants to enter such a group; any attempt at leaving it is usually met with persecution or with severe punishment, or has quite definite conditions attached to it.

Brown qualifies this view with her claim that,

‘Freud masterfully articulates an ideology of the civilized, individuated subject and pathologizes groups and group identities.’ (Brown, 2006 p.163)

What Freud is suggesting is that for the individual to be enculturated into and included into a specific group each member has to undergo a ‘*profound alteration*’ (Vella, 1999) in order to enter the social and collective environment. It is into this context that Geertz also recognised the synthetic construct of culture as a way of enabling aspects of this alteration (Geertz, 1973 p.44). Such issues are at the heart of the Outsider’s inclusion into schools and Brown too recognises the, ‘...tension, if not the antinomy, between *freedom* and *institutionalisation*’ (Brown, 1995 p.8) suggesting that a degree of loss and compromise is implicit in the process. Gatto goes one step further and actively accuses schools of being institutions of social control that rob children of solitude and privacy and aspects of ideology (Gatto, 1992) in ways that are

resonant of Slee's critique of the nature of special education (Slee, 2012). This is exemplified by the existential tension between the individual and *the other* in social society as they mutually try to make sense of each other underpinned by notions of empathy and understanding. (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot, 2011).

When considering this existential interplay between subjective experience and the collective domain it is pertinent to illustrate this through the filter of autism for in Baron-Cohen's notion of *mindblindness* (Baron-Cohen, 1997) he alludes to the propensity for some autistic individuals to be, '...so tuned into their own viewpoints that they are largely insensitive to the viewpoints of others...' (Baron-Cohen 1997, p.135) From an existential viewpoint this is an interesting concept, for the autistic individual could be said to be truer to a purer manifestation of subjectivity (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Kangas 2007; Magrini, 2012). From the perspective of enculturation however the social elements are where the tension is most profound for the autistic individual (Wing and Gould, 1979; Nuernberger et al., 2012; Call and Shillingsburg, 2013). Martin makes this link between autism, empathy and existentialism in the social environment and in relation to others.

'I can see them, I can hear them, I can smell them and so on – but at the same time, I may not recognize them as conscious beings. I can't make sense of them. (Martin, 2008, p. 107)

The subjective tension exemplified by the filter of autism can be generalised out and seen as a feature of enculturation and inclusion for all individuals. Drawing from Kierkegaard's early commentary of the nature of subjectivity Kangas suggests that such processes '...both enables and destitutes subjectivity, what kills it and makes it alive. (Kangas, 2007, p.27). Such clearly subjective factors will have an impact upon enculturation and its outcome. Grusec observes that, 'the end result (*if enculturation is successful*) is a person who is competent in the culture, including its language, its rituals, its values and so on'. (2006 p.547). This might be on the one hand seen as

successful, but it should not necessarily suggest that the culture or values to be fitted into are congruent with the wishes of the pupil or even understood (Lahelma and Gordon, 1997; Barth, 2002; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005). Indeed it might be seen as sinister as it suggests a passive acceptance of the end result or an adherence to rote or mechanistic behaviour in the social milieu (Lawrence, 2008). As Ashworth suggests there are institutional expectations that are not necessarily optimum for some individuals.

‘But isn't it also true that there are plenty of adults (most, perhaps) who would not choose to spend their days locked into a series of rooms with 30 people dressed just like them; to be startled by a bell every 35 minutes; to queue for 40 minutes of a 50-minute lunch break in order to eat; to stand outside in the cold for 15 minutes twice a day; to be told to "shoo" when standing in the wrong place; to be forced to sit on a sports hall floor in rows and be lectured at for 20 minutes twice a week; and, most of all, to be bored, bored, bored out of your mind – bored to the point of depression, to the point of rage. (Ashworth, 2012)

Bringing together the concepts of the subjective perspective of the Outsider, the process of enculturation and inclusion into the school there is therefore an element of conformity and traditionalism implicit within the construct (Geertz 1973). Enculturation might suggest the need to or defer on behalf of the pupil and to follow expected norms of behaviour unquestioned and might thus be seen as an arrogant concept (Sainsbury, 2010).

From the perspective of my study it is not the purpose necessarily to develop this negative and critical view of the school as a social collective or institution, but to view it pragmatically from the Outsider's subjective perspective. This perspective managed and driven by the interplay between the individual and collective factors at play (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005). Also aligned to this is the notion that enculturation suggests a journey into a changed or altered state for both the individual and group context, the existential tension between the individual and the collective domains (Biesta 2009). To refer again to Le Bon,

‘There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a group. The psychological group is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly.’ (Le Bon, 1896 p.29)

2.07 Agency and the individual

Le Bon’s assertion that the collective is not simply the sum of disparate unique elements but collectively a different entity speaks to the subjective *multicultural* nature of the individual (Erikson, 1965; Lawrence, 2006; Stoda, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015). At an existential level it also recognises the unique and unitary nature of the true subjective individual (Camus and Laredo, 1981; Weyemburgh, 2008; Biesta, 2009; Sæverot, 2011; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). As individuals we are distinct from all other people and this distinctiveness will have an impact on our social interactions and behaviours. Mead and Morris assert this fact in relation to the self in the social situation.

‘He (the self) is a member of the community, but he is a particular part of the community, with a particular heredity and position which distinguishes him from anybody else.’ (Mead and Morris, 1934 p.200)

The Outsider as a concept is chosen in some way to illustrate these varied dimensions and perspectives. This discussion of the *existential tension* (Levinas, 1985) between the individual and the collective as a feature of enculturation and the dominating nature of institutions (Stoda, 2007; Loreman 2010; Tomlinson, 2015) needs to also be mindful of the concept of individual agency an element of the enculturation process (Tomasello et al., 1993). This is important, for the Outsider does not necessarily exist as a passive or inert being but one that acts from a position of uniqueness underpinned by individual identity (Meltzoff and Moore, 1992; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Berk, 2012.) whereby there should exist the opportunity for the individual to use their unique ‘inner freedom to create their own identities’ in relation to our

interaction with others (Noddings, 2005 p. 47). From the perspective of the Outsider the relationship between the concepts of enculturation and agency are clear for one speaks to the external phenomena that shape and individual's subjective identity (Grusec and Hastings, 2006; Hoebel, 1958; Kottak, 2015) and the other to an intrinsic force that emanates from the individual (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005). At this interface are found those subjective existential manoeuvrings (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Kangas 2007; Magrini 2012). Implicit in the notion of agency is that it some way speaks to an individual's self-knowledge and can thus be viewed in emancipatory terms for the individual (Giddens, 1991). From the perspective of a pupil's inclusion this sentiment has value, for greater self-knowledge might be an enabling phenomenon or success criterion.

Bandura recognises that akin with other concepts of human existence and interaction, the concept of agency is one that is hard to define but put simply, the concept is the '*...way in which people bring their influence to bear on events that affect how they live their lives*' (Bandura 2001, p. 13). The concept of agentic perspective sees individuals as agents rather than undergoers of experiences suggesting some degree of functional consciousness (Smith 2009). Such functional consciousness underpinned by the acts of *Intentionality, Forethought, Self-Reactiveness and Self-Reflectiveness* Bandura (2001, pp. 6-11). Closely related to this notion is the idea of the human agent as driving force and the impact of self-efficacy, a key feature whereby the individual has a degree of faith or belief that their actions can have an influencing effect (Bandura, 2015). This concept speaks to the nature of the Outsider, for in Scheutz' critique, the individual is aware of their role in the facilitation of their inclusion and there is an element of dynamic response (Scheutz, 1944). For the Outsider as protagonist in the event of their inclusion there exists a dimension of choice or preference also regarding the provenance of action as Bandura suggests,

‘People can designedly conceive unique events and different novel courses of action and choose to execute one of them.’
(Bandura, 2001, p.5)

From the perspective of the school the concept is also concerned with how children can ‘*influence and steer their lives*’ (Caiman and Lundegård, 2012 p.437) and over time this sentiment has become more prevalent in the institutional setting and particularly in the early years (Goulart and Roth, 2010; Carpendale & Lewis, 2006). In this regard consideration of agency has had some impact upon how society, policy and practice has developed to encompass and seek active and meaningful *participation* from the perspective of the pupil (Smith, 2009). The concept of agency can thus be seen alongside the rights agenda and enshrined within The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, United Nations, 1989) are the notions of childhood autonomy, the right to influence matters of concern to themselves, and to participate in such decision making (Tobin, 2005). Parallels regarding the interpretation of agency in this way can be made to the discussions in the previous section that allude to the nature of widening participation and social inclusion (Booth et al., 2000; Rouse, 2007; Koster et al., 2009; Sherwin, 2010).

From the perspective of the institution aiming to evaluate the concept of agency in a pupil however it is clear why *participation* is seen as a measurable variable (Smith, 2009). For the Outsider, this alludes in some way to the singular and existential nature of the concept for only the individual can be sure of how they think and feel, whereas participation might be seen as a more tangible if less accurate indicator (Koster et al., 2009). For Landsdown and O’Kane, this is mitigated by evaluating childrens’ participation in child centred programmes and they suggest, ‘The extent to which children are empowered to exercise agency within a programme will be influenced by their level of engagement’ (Landsdown and O’Kane, 2014,p.4). Aligned to some of these difficulties measuring levels of agency comes a certain degree of scepticism in wider society regarding how adept children are at self-reflection

or regulation however (Paris and Lung, 2008; Mashford-Scott and Church 2011).

‘Children are often not granted the power or autonomy to defend their moral integrity in instances of presumed ‘wilful irresponsibility’. The position of the child in public is often, by default, one of moral incompetence. (Such and Walker, 2005, p. 51)

There are parallels here with the concept of being included; another deeply felt experience that only the individual can be fully cognisant of at the subjective level despite external appraisal. The danger however is that lack of participation or engagement might be seen as lack of agency when this might be an erroneous or misplaced assumption. This is particularly true whereby social relations have come to be seen as indicators of agency in children. (Wyness, 1999). Related to such notions of agency, social connections and participation Waytz and Epley also stress that individual agency at one level might be to the detriment of others and there might exist a certain egocentric drive also.

‘What is good for oneself, however, may not be uniformly good for others. Feeling socially connected to one person or group may diminish the motivation to connect with a more distant person or group. (Waytz and Epley, (2012, p.71)

This suggests that the nature of the Outsider’s journey might be characterised as much by selfishness as empathy and there are issues that speak to the moral aspect of identity in an existential sense (Orme, 2013). One aspect of such individual agency is that through social interaction individuals with different drives and subjective realities will come in contact so there is the expectation for the child to meet their own needs whilst maintaining positive social relations with others, (Green & Cillessen, 2008 p.161). As such there are links between agency and the nature of social competence and compromise that again underpin the nature of inclusion in schools (Church, 2009). In respect of this moral dimension, there is also a political and ideological element to recognise within the concept, whereby future

generations should feel a sense of empowerment and positivity about their actions and interactions in a turbulent social context where the need for sustainability is key (Siraj-Blatchford 2014). In such a concept agency viewed as being able to be responsive to numerous external factors and phenomena. This idea that agency is both adaptive, dynamic and responsive is an important one and Kottak suggests that whilst agency can apply to the individual acting alone or with others it can lead to transformative acts that serve some purpose for the individual and can shape and transform cultural identities.' (Kottak, 2015 p.35)

Viewing the Outsider as both agent and actor with the ability to respond through choice, act or endeavour to the external or social domain is important for the child in the context of their inclusion. As discussed, the institution itself will assert it's own hegemony upon the individual agent (Goffman, 1961; Wittig, 1979; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; McCulloch, 2012). To link more clearly the concepts of agency and the school, Giddens suggested certain aspects of control that impact the individual at the subjective level through processes of structuration (Giddens, 1979; Goulart and Roth, 2010). What this presupposes is that the individual is not a completely free agent but has parameters put upon action due to certain limiting factors, rules and other constraining phenomena originating in the social arena (Caiman and Lundegård, 2012). These were identified by Geertz as those psychological structures that help the individual to guide behaviour (Geertz, 1973, p.11). For the Outsider being included into the school, these behaviour shaping and limiting phenomena are important to recognise, and again speak to the dominating nature of the institution from whence certain elements of structure originate. Allport's commentary on the nature of institutions predates more contemporary discussion of structuration but there are sentiments in common.

'From this standpoint institutions are entities having a kind of structure. They are also spoken of as forms of control which society places upon human life, or as the rational working out of social purposes...Human behaviour is of course implied within them but they have a reality of their own upon a societal plane, which is to be studied by an approach

not to individual behaviour, but to the institution per se.’ (Allport, 1927 p.167)

From the perspective of the Outsider there are important existential consequences from this interplay between agent and control that allude to the nature of individual identity. Giddens claims that ‘An agent who does not participate in the dialectic of control, in a minimal fashion, ceases to be an agent’ (Giddens 1979 p.149). This suggests both the duality of the relationship between agency and structure alongside its necessity in identity formation or *the production of self* (Scene et al., 2003 p.33). Whether such interplay or tension is benign or turbulent, structure and control seen as essential to the development of the individual as social actor (Wyness, 1999; Caiman and Lundegård, 2012) and as Giddens asserts has a certain duality.

‘Structure must not be conceptualised as simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling. This is what I call the duality of structure.’ (Giddens, 1976 p. 169)

For the pupil included into the school this duality suggesting that the impact of structure on the individual agent can be both constraining and enabling (Scene et al. 2003). It is clear therefore that such processes will be a prevalent feature within a holistic conceptualising of inclusion as a dynamic and universal event and underpin some of the Outsider’s experience of the phenomenon.

2.08 The nature of Narrative

This study seeks to understand the nature of inclusion as a universal phenomenon from the Outsider’s perspective. With this rationale, narrative interviews have been chosen as a method to gather individual stories and accounts from the participants. In many respects this choice is twofold as on the one hand narrative inquiry is a valid instrument of research (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004) and on the other the subjective phenomenon of telling one’s personal story sits alongside those of

enculturation, inclusion and the Outsider's journey as elements of the human condition (Atkinson, 1998; Niles, 1999; Clandinin, 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). It is for this reason that the power of narrative is seen as an important phenomenon in this research that seeks to extrapolate meaning from the stories, narratives and recollections of the participants. Such importance again interpreting it as both a *research method and a phenomenon* (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006; Clandinin, 2006b; Moen, 2006). It should be clear however that whilst the production of narratives is an element of human subjective experience with links to the concept of the Outsider, for this study a discussion of narrative will inform the methodology (Wengraf, 2001; Clandinin 2006b; Reissman, 2008) and a discussion of same will be located in the following chapter.

2.09 The conceptual framework

Maxwell identifies a conceptual framework as one that presents '*the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories that support and inform research*' (1996, p.25). In this review of the literature drawing from the organisational (thematic) framework (Punch, 2012) the interrelated concepts of Outsider as protagonist, the nature of inclusion and the process of enculturation have been presented and discussed and are at the heart of such a concept. Through such discussion I have tried to present both the author's position and thematic direction of study. Each concept has been viewed both as a distinct entity whilst recognising the presumed and implicit relationship between them (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The three key concepts come together at the centre of the conceptual framework as components that allow for a study focused on the research question stated here again,

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

Such a conceptual framework recognises the three interlinked components that will form the basis for subsequent data collection and discussion. The Outsider experiences inclusion through a process of enculturation

conceptualised as a process that is both internally driven and susceptible to external control particularly within an institutional context. Through the concept of the Outsider as subjective human agent, the universal nature of inclusion can be reaffirmed. Such conceptualising allows for the subsequent qualitative and interpretative elements of the research to be linked back to this framework with scope for inductive methods to investigate these themes (Bernard, 2011). The conceptual framework centres on the following assumptions and sentiments at the heart of the model,

The Outsider as protagonist, recognises that inclusion is a unique and transformative journey from one state of being to another for each individual human.

The nature of inclusion, recognises that inclusion is not solely a locational but an emotional construct that is subjectively encountered by each Outsider but directed by institutional factors

The process of enculturation, recognises that inclusion is a developmental journey that is varied and dynamic and suggests an interplay between individual and external factors.

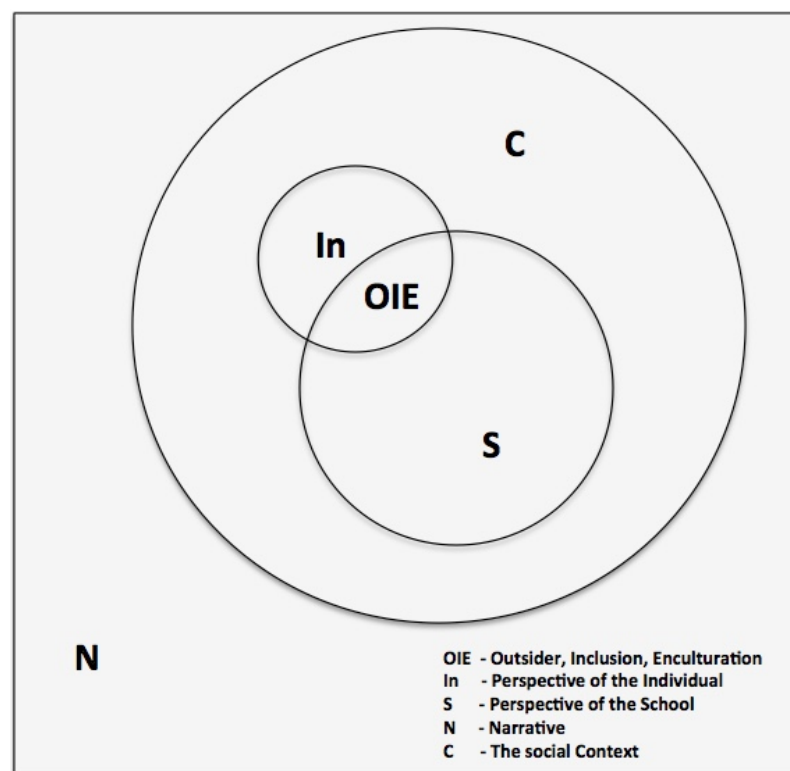


Figure 2.02 the Conceptual Framework

In recognition of the environmental or contextual milieu (Jabareen, 2009) are the associated domains of the *individual*, the *school* and the *social context*. These domains will inform the analytical processes (Richie and Lewis, 2003) to be discussed in the methodology chapter. Narrative as an encompassing phenomenon underpins all of the components.

Part B: Theoretical perspectives

2.10 Understanding and progressing

In this chapter the theoretical perspectives that underpin the study are signposted and identified. This section should be seen in light of the conceptualising of key themes presented previously. This is to provide the reader with an understanding of the theoretical assumptions that support and direct the research. The conceptual framework discussed in the preceding section recognises that this is a study of human lived experience through the filter of inclusion and experienced by the Outsider. Such a study seeks to better understand this event from the perspective of the individual and to mitigate the belief that this focus on lived experience and the notion of transformation is often missing from an inclusion debate which can often have a narrow focus (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; Loreman et al., 2010; Polat, 2010; Cobigo et al., 2012). The concept of the Outsider has been taken to be the central motif for this study and it is a desire to more clearly understand the features of the Outsider's journey that is central (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Sæverot, 2011; Magrini, 2012; McCombs, 2013).

A desire to *better understand* is a key element of sociological research and in particular in the field of education. As Delamont (2011, p.21) asserts, '*...the sociology of education contributes to the understanding and progression of the wider social world...*'. Such a claim is important to recognise and has profound implications due to the two interrelated concepts that recognise not only the desire to *understand* but also to *progress* (Sikes and Gale, 2006). Such progression suggesting an advance, an evolution or developmental movement and is therefore dynamic in nature both in its application and its understanding and interpretation (Delamont, 2011). Akin to the Outsider's

experience therefore, the concept of inclusion itself has undertaken a journey and as with most sociological concepts can be seen to be evolutionary, changing and open to being fine-tuned, honed or observed with a distinct filter (Polat, 2011; Tomlinson, 2012; Cobigo et al 2012). Better understanding the emotional and lived experience of inclusion can somehow help such progression and development.

In this piece of research it is the concept of inclusion that will be evaluated and problematised with a particular focus on what the process of inclusion means for the individual (Dewey, 1938; Bassey, 1999; Barkley, 2005). It is an understanding of this subjective experience that is key and central and it is hoped such understanding will progress the debate by focusing on this existential and emotional nature of the concept (Sæverot 2011). This is congruent with the research question that seeks to understand the factors and considerations that underpin the nature of the Outsider's journey and how inclusion as a universal phenomenon is viewed and understood. The nature of such problematisation needs to be clearly understood in this context and is aligned directly with Freire's view that '*Problematisation is at the same time a demythicisation of a particular existential situation*' (Freire, 1976 p.156, Crotty, 1998) This problem-posing approach allows for a new or more nuanced sense of reality in relation to our understanding of the existential situation of those involved (Crotty, 1998 p.156).

2.11 Critical theory

To this end the interpretation of the debates about school inclusion as an *existential* event encapsulated in the conceptual framework, allow for the pupil, the human subject and the Outsider in this particular context to be central and key (Scheutz, 1944; Sunier, 2000; Bandura 2001). By problematising the debate therefore, this allows for a more critical paradigm to be adopted, one that seeks not solely to understand but to engender some form of change and transformation and to add new perspectives to the inclusion debate and its interpretation. This view is congruent with the philosophical viewpoint of social theory - critical as it is of the '*objective*

consciousness' (Roszak, 1970) of social scientists that is seen as '*a form of alienation from our true selves and from nature*' (Cohen et al., 2011 p.14).

Anyon qualifies this view and through rejecting a positivist standpoint, reinforces the strength of critical theory to recognise the multifaceted nature of inter-dimensional social experiences.

'...critical social theory can be a powerful tool with which to make links between educational 'inside' and 'outside', between past, present and future, and between research design and larger social meanings.'
(Anyon, 2009 p.3)

Anyon further asserts that it is the role of critical social theories to '*...critique domination and subordination, promote emancipatory interests and combine social and cultural analysis with interpretation critique and social explanation*' (Anyon, 2009 p.2). It is therefore congruent at some level with the intellectual debates advocated by commentators such as Habermas and his contemporary theorists in the Frankfurt School in this regard. (Berry, 2012, Nealon & Caron, 2002) This is especially the case in relation to Habermas's theory of communicative action that espouses and recognises the interpersonal and powerful nature of communication between participants,

'...the concept of communicative action refers to the interaction of at least two subjects capable of speech and action who establish interpersonal relations (whether by verbal or by extra-verbal means). The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. The central concept of interpretation refers in the first instance to negotiating definitions of the situation which admit of consensus...language is given a prominent place in this model.'
(Habermas, 1984, p. 86)

The institution of school and the interplay and action between participants within this institutional context resonate closely and from a methodological standpoint, so does the focus of this piece of research on the personal accounts, responses and stories of the ten participants selected for the study. As Habermas again asserts, '*...for communicative action, discourses are of a fundamental significance.*' (Habermas, 1974, p.25) The rejection of more scientific and positivist aspects of understanding for a more nuanced, self-aware and interpretative view of communication highlights the resonance for

both player and audience in a communicative exchange. It highlights the storytelling nature of some aspects of human social behaviour and the need for humans to frame their experiences in ways that are meaningful to both themselves and an external audience. For me this resonates with the concept of the Outsider who as protagonist is framing, experiencing and *performing* a particular event or experience.

‘If we compare the third-person attitude of someone who simply says how things stand (this is the attitude of the scientist for example) with the performative attitude of someone who tries to understand what is said to him (this is the attitude of the interpreter, for example), the implications of the hermeneutic dimension of research for methodology become clear.’ (Habermas. 1990, p.26)

This view is embedded within the nature of critical theory and the fact that the researcher is not merely stating facts but seeking through interpretation some aspect of change, a revised point of view or indeed stronger emancipatory consequences (Alway, 1995). This emancipatory drive is evident in Habermas’s project as articulated here by Alway in her reflection of his work.

The ground and possibility of Critical Theory lie in the emancipatory interest. This is an interest in the reflective appropriation of human life; it is an interest in reason and is rooted in the capacity of human beings to be self-reflective and self-determining. (Alway, 1995 p.102)

The nature of emancipation is here viewed by Habermas as a term that relates not only to the human lived experience but also to human consciousness constrained by an empirical-analytical point of view. I have tried to mitigate such constraint by using the concept of the Outsider to frame the debate. The Outsider one who represents what is both deeply individual and personal, but within a common and universal context (Scheutz, 1944). It should be stated here however that whilst Habermas has a certain hegemonic power in this debate due to the sheer breadth of his writing, longevity and encyclopaedic output (Alway 1995) critical theory cannot be hermetically sealed and categorised simply in Habermasian terms. As Bernstein asserts, ‘Critical theory is not a theory of society or a wholly homogenous school of thinkers or a method.’ (Bernstein, 1995, p.11) For this reason Habermas is not a central but peripheral commentator within the debates herein. Indeed, there

are those who while supporting the wider tenets of critical theory take issue with some of Habermas's assertions concerning human reflexivity and rationality,

'Habermas's construction of communicative rationality rests upon an agent role that might only be filled in reality by a self-reflexive critical genius. Deliberative agents are assumed to be heroic in terms of informational breadth and calculative abilities, and heroic in their ability to identify, segregate and set-aside self-interest. This agent might be an individual of Habermasian proportions and Habermasian abilities, but they are no agent of modern actuality.' (Byron and Hook, 2006 p.314)

For my study, it is recognised that the nature of critical theory is a philosophical concept characterised by a desire to analyse and critique aspects of social behaviour and lived experience (Bernstein, 1995). This behaviour for my study relates to inclusion, specifically from the point of view of the pupil as protagonist, the human Outsider undertaking a specific journey and thus the specific critical subject (Hoebel, 1958; Kashima et al., 2007, Bandura 2001; Menary, 2013). It recognises that such a protagonist will be self-reflexive to some degree, though not to the *heroic or genius* degree alluded to in the criticism levelled above. In this regard it is closely aligned to a narrower sub-section of critical theory, namely *critical pedagogy* as a distinct philosophy of education. Giroux articulates a definition of critical pedagogy as being distinct from a narrower interpretation of pedagogy that is viewed simply as a set of '*strategies and skills to use in order to teach prespecified subject matter*' (Giroux, 2011 p.6). In the following quote underpinning the scope of such critical pedagogy, it is the notion of struggle as a striving to achieve in a specific context aligned with the interplay between the self and the larger society that I feel align with the Outsider's journey or predicament.

'It is the outcome of particular struggles and is always related to the specificity of particular contexts, students, communities, and available resources. It draws attention to the ways in which knowledge, power, desire and experience are produced under specific basic conditions of learning and illuminates the role that pedagogy plays as part of a struggle over assigned meanings, modes of expression, and directions of desire, particularly as these bear on the formation of the multiple and

ever-contradictory versions of the 'self' and its relationship to the larger society.' (Giroux, 2011 p.6)

Inclusion has come to exist as a state that is in many ways conferred onto numerous stakeholders (be they professionals or pupils) through claims of inclusive practices, pedagogy and systems (Sharma et al., 2012; Polat 2011; Tomlinson, 2012; Hodkinson 2015). The existential requirement to take the individual as the starting point however, requires that this human participant is recognised as distinctly individual but located within a wider societal context, namely the institution of the school. In light of an underpinning by critical theory, it is relevant to draw upon Freire's assertion that in the area of critical thinking there is an '*indivisible solidarity between the world and the people and no dichotomy between them.*' (Giroux, 2011 p.6) Such critical thinking sees a state of reality as a '*process of transformation, rather than as a static entity.*' (Freire, 1993 p.92) This notion has very clear parallels with the Outsider's journey of inclusion and affirms the non-static nature of inclusion as a lived endeavour. It also touches upon the direction of the journey undertaken by the individual into the social construction of the school environment as a distinct and particular milieu. A context recognised as one that is both constructed and distinct from other contexts or *forms of life*. As Giroux articulates,

'Schools are places that represent forms of knowledge, language, practice, social relations and values that are particular selections and exclusions from the wider culture. As such they serve to introduce and legitimate particular forms of life' (1988, p.126)

2.12 Action research

This affirmation of critical theory as a dynamic process for me dovetails into the received understanding of 'Action Research' defined by Reason and Bradbury as a specific theory of human enquiry that expressly seeks to,

'...bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.' (Reason and Bradbury, 2006 p.1)

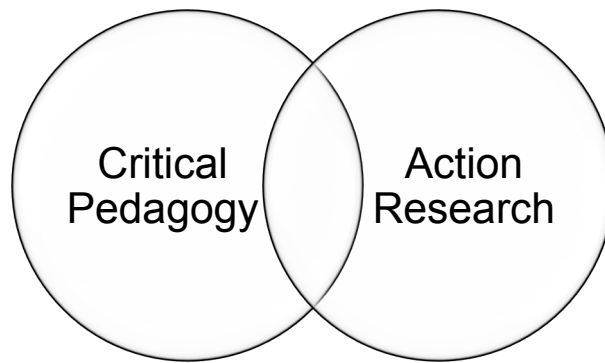


Figure 2.03 The intellectual approach

For the purposes of this research these two intellectual perspectives come together to frame the research and provide a basis within which to undertake the processes of problematisation and understanding in order to contribute to the inclusion debate. This problematising drive links to the emancipatory nature of critical theory by being freed from a 'set-way' or template for how things are, should be or must be interpreted (Anyon, 2009). The emancipatory concept is one which for me serves to promote the subjective and individual character of the Outsider's experience within the inclusion debate. It does this for if to emancipate means to be free or unencumbered; to be liberated or even unshackled then the focus moves from the homogenous to the heterogeneous. In this regard it mirrors the Outsider's experience whereby the unique and singular experience of the individual is located within the collective context (Freud, 1922; Giroux, 2011; Vimont, 2012). These collective, institutional and practice based interpretations of inclusion whilst important are not solely what defines the concept and such emancipation helps to shift the focus to those aspects which are unique, individual, deeply subjective and idiosyncratic. Such freedom or emancipation allows for a clearer recognition of the nature of the Outsider's unique journey at the heart of this study and enhances the struggle between the self and the wider context suggested by Giroux (2011 p.6).

To my mind, Reason and Bradbury's interpretation of action research equally confirms this existential and emancipatory underpinning of critical pedagogy. They make clear their assertion that for those involved within the school

environment there also exists a '*political dimension of participation*' and that people have 'a right and ability to have a say in decisions which affect them and which claim to generate knowledge about them' (Reason and Bradbury, 2006 p. 10). In this interpretation the Outsider as protagonist can be seen as the central critical subject for the purposes of my research and about whom knowledge is sought. Aligned to this, the emancipatory sentiment is one that not only seeks to liberate but also to engender some form of change, transformation or a renewed definition. Equally, within these two domains action research suggests a need to '*develop the capacity for enquiry*' (Reason and Bradbury, 2006 p.10) through a dynamic process focussed on constructing knowledge. Critical pedagogy complements this through a theoretical application. Ultimately this leads to Freire's notion of *conscientization*, which he views as not only a philosophical but a methodological tool. Through recognising men as '*conscious beings*' (Freire, 2000 p.99) he defines the concept whereby an individual develops a critical understanding of the reality of their social situation and representation. Freire values this existential dimension, recognising that, '....perception and comprehension of reality are rectified and acquire new depth'. For my research this interplay between the dynamism of action research and the demythologising and emancipatory drive of critical pedagogy are congruent at this point. It is here where the focus on the Outsider's experience is most acute.

Such intellectual underpinning has also led me to the choice of gathering stories, recollections and narratives as a way to gather data from the research participants reflecting back in time upon their school experiences (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006). A more detailed discussion of this rationale will be located in the subsequent methodology chapter. In brief however such rationale provides a more assured viewpoint as the adult is able to frame a more real and holistic perspective through measured reflection rather than being asked to comment specifically on the 'here and now' or the immediate (Holloway and Valentine. 2009; King, 2000). I would argue that in terms of the voracity and impact of data, this adult reflection affords a more critical understanding of the past. In this way the

experience is not seen as narrow or fragmented, but more complete and authentic, benefitting from an understanding of what came after through the perspective of the adult the child became.

‘When men lack a critical understanding of their reality, apprehending it in fragments which they do not perceive as interacting constituent elements of the whole, they cannot truly know that reality. To truly know it they would have to reverse their starting point: they would need to have a total vision of the context in order subsequently to separate and isolate its constituent elements and by means of this analysis achieve a clearer perception of the whole.’ (Freire, 2000 p.105)

Interestingly, Freire has been identified by commentators such as Giroux as a ‘*Border Intellectual*’ (Giroux, p.286) recognising the inherent human challenge of crossing from one state of being to another and navigating this journey. This resonates with the conceptualising of the nature of inclusion as this notion that the Outsider moves from without to within through the process of enculturation and directs how I view the participants within this study (Giddens, 1984; Rutheiser, 1993; Brown, 2006). Crossing borders is an apt analogy of inclusion in terms of not only the transformational nature of the actual event but also recognition of the cultural and emotional factors that are at play (Hoebel, 1958; Kashima et al., 2007; Menary, 2013). In this sense inclusion is not simply the journey as experienced but also the development and acquiring of cultural behaviours, values and mores through the process of enculturation (Hoebel, 1958; Kottak, 2015)

In relation to the current drive towards ‘inclusion’ within schools and settings in England it can be assumed that this has had a clear impact upon the experiences of many who have day-to-day contact with these institutions both as teachers and pupils. It is also true to say that this commitment to inclusion has changed for the better the way we engage with the diverse range of pupils through recognising the need to address specific and particular needs and perspectives (Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012; Hodkinson, 2015). The desire to problematise the inclusion debate and to adopt a more critical paradigm might be seen as a direct challenge to this process. I should

be clear however that this is not the case but rather, problematising allows me to create a conduit through which to understand the concept of inclusion unencumbered by established institutional definitions or perceptions and to focus more specifically on the transformational effects of inclusion on the subjective participant. Creswell makes this point in relation to qualitative enquiry by inferring that the notion of a '*problem*' in a research sense might be a misnomer claiming instead that it suggests why there is a particular 'need for a study'. (Creswell p.102) It is in this spirit that this study is conceived.

To conclude, the desire to problematise the notion of inclusion helps shift the focus clearly to the individual who is being included into the institutional context of the school (Freire, 1976). It also seeks to view inclusion as integral to every person's experience not the narrow definition of inclusion that has come to relate specifically to Special Education Needs or wider concepts of '*diversity*' or social justice within the school context that still have exclusionary elements (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; Polat, 2010; Cobigo et al., 2012; Waytz and Epley, 2012). This universality aligned with the choice of the motif of Outsider as authentic human participant. Again this aligns to critical pedagogy that sees the impact of teaching, schools and learning as an all-encompassing set of behaviours and values. To this end the view is such that educators must work with the lived experience that all students bring to the pedagogical encounter. (Cohen et al., 2011 p.37) As a piece of research therefore I aim to add to this specific educational milieu and my inquiry hopes to echo the view of Reason and Bradbury who call on the researcher to consider issues of, '...action and reflection, theory and practice, participation with others...and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.' (Reason and Bradbury, 2006 p.1)

CHAPTER THREE : Methodology and Research Design

3.01 Introduction

In this chapter I present the philosophical and methodological features of my study together with a discussion of research design. I have used the concept of the Outsider to illustrate the universal and subjective nature of inclusion and to broaden its interpretation. In such a concept there is recognition of the literary motif of the Outsider as storyteller. This speaks to the fact that humans are essentially storying individuals whereby narrative is an important feature of human existence (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006). To link this concept to the methodology and research design there is recognition of the usefulness of gathering stories, accounts and recollections that serve to illustrate aspects of human lived behaviour. There are numerous tools available to the researcher to gather such accounts (Robson, 2001; Cohen et al., 2007, Atkinson, 1998, David and Sutton, 2004; Flick, 2009; Bryman, 2012). For this study such accounts will gathered expressly through semi-structured interviews to explore aspects of human behaviour. In the case of this study those that appertain to the conceptual framework and research question that relate to the subjective nature of inclusion.

This chapter will be presented in three distinct sections that are nonetheless interlinked and related. The first sets out the philosophical dimensions of the study in relation to issues of ontology and epistemology. The second has a focus on the methodological rationale for the study with a discussion of the nature of narrative. The third presents issues of design and procedure including the choice of research method and limitations, selection of participants and ethical considerations. An indication of the analytic process will also be given (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

3.02 Philosophy, ontology and epistemology

A study of the nature of inclusion seen through the concept of the Outsider is based on the recognition that inclusion is a subjective and universal

phenomenon. It holds that contrary to the narrower definitions that persist it is an integral element of human existence. It seeks a more nuanced but universal interpretation in line with the emancipatory nature of critical pedagogy discussed in the previous chapter (Freire, 2000; Anyon, 2009; Berry, 2012). As such it sits within the area of qualitative research as social enquiry with a focus on the way people interpret their lived experience (Atkinson et al., 2001, Flick, 2009; Lichtman, 2013). With regard to ontology defined as 'The study of being concerned with the 'what is', the nature of existence and the structure of reality' (Crotty, 2003 p.10) this study assumes these universal and subjective features. It also recognises that humans as social beings make sense of such experiences through the stories they frame. The notion of storying, whereby individuals are '*active narrators*' (Elliott, 2005 p.129) is an important one and congruent with the concept of the Outsider, a literary motif employed to suggest the default position for experiences of inclusion is to be outside. Such beliefs allow for a discussion of inclusion as a wider, universal human phenomenon to be undertaken.

Epistemology is concerned with the distinct formation of knowledge and theories of knowing and as Snape and Spencer make clear, 'how can we know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge?' (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p.13). In this regard this study adopts an interpretative paradigm, 'informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience' (Burrell and Morgan, 1979 p.28). Paradigm defined in this context as the, 'very basic meta-theoretical assumptions which underwrite the frame of reference, mode of theorising and modus operandi of the social theorists who operate within them' (Burrell and Morgan, 1979 p.23). For this study the meta-theoretical assumptions of the interpretative paradigm are located within the subjectivist approach to social science characterised in Figure 3.01 below,

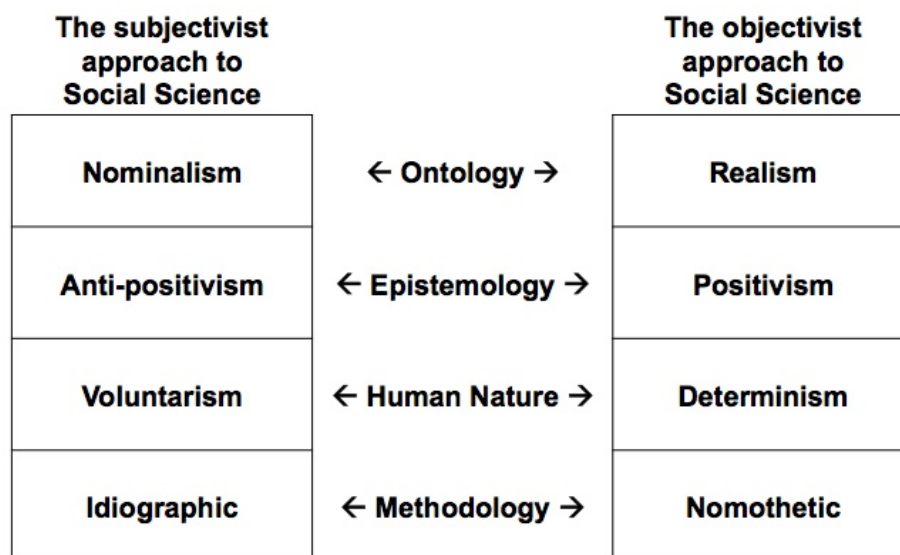


Figure 3.01: The subjective-objective dimension

With regard to methodology, Burrell and Morgan (1979 p.6) define idiographic as an, ‘approach to social science based on the view that one can only understand the social world by obtaining first hand knowledge of the subject under investigation.’ Widdershoven reinforces this perspective claiming, ‘like historians who tell stories about the past, people tell stories about their life. Stories are somehow important for our identity’ (Widdershoven, 1993 p.6) and as Wearmouth acknowledges, ‘much of past experience in schools is held in memory in story form’ (Wearmouth, 2003, p.257). As a study focused on the subjective experience of the Outsider and their recollections garnered through interview, this epistemological perspective is an important one to recognise (Runyan, 1983; Silva-Guimaraes, 2010). The interpretative paradigm brings together the elements of my study in a way that acknowledges the existential and subjective nature of the Outsider and their experiences. Such a paradigm seeks therefore,

‘...to understand the subjective world of human experience. To retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated, efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand them from within’ (p.21)

Implicit within an interpretative approach is that the individual and wider society are seen as inseparable units and mutually independent (O'Donoghue, 2010). For a study of the Outsider's experience of their inclusion into school this again is an important perspective to hold. Usher corroborates this view of the nature of the interpretative approach suggesting that human behaviour and action should be 'interpreted and understood within the context of social practices' (Usher, 1996, p18). It must be recognised here that as researcher and Outsider in my own right, the themes and perspectives of my own beliefs are also important in the context of this interpretative research. Bold (2012) asserts that the essential nature of objectivity cannot be applied to an approach that seeks to harness and interpret narrative but that the researcher must make their subjective position transparent. Whitehead too recognises the role of the researcher in schools to understand the role of educational influence in the process of their own learning and concept formation (Whitehead, 1998 and 2008). In section one my own subjective epistemological beliefs were discussed in light of the problem statements as a way to demonstrate the rationale for the research question and concepts. Through a discussion of positionality my own place and provenance was acknowledged for such a perspective shapes how I view the world and its social processes as a researcher. (Merriam et al., 2001; Takacs, 2003; Bourke, 2014). As England suggests, 'research represents a shared space, shaped by both researcher and participants. (England, 1994) Takacs develops this notion with the view that such positionality can be an important 'hook' that draws the researcher in and provides motivation to the drive for further understanding. This has clear resonances with Freire's notion of demythicisation the emancipatory nature of the 'emergence of consciousness' (Freire, 1997, 62) when applied to a particular social phenomenon, that of the nature of inclusion in the context of my study. As a teacher in my own right this is the point of congruence between action research and critical theory suggested in part two of the literature review that applies to my research (Habermas, 1984; Alway, 1995; Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Anyon, 2009; Giroux, 2011).

Aligned to this social dimension the interpretative perspective is underpinned by recognising, 'the world of human experience' (Cohen and Mannion, 1994 p.36) and the importance of *everyday* activity (Blackledge and Hunt, 1985). The concept of the Outsider has been employed in some way to acknowledge the subjective tensions experienced by the individual in the context of everyday or familiar experiences. Orlikowski and Baroudis see interpretative research as a philosophical stance that implicitly recognises this phenomenon. For them the essence of an interpretative approach is that is the assumption,

'... that people create their own subjective and inter-subjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings participants assign them.'
(Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991 p.5)

In this way such an approach resonates with a number of disciplines including human sciences, history, philosophy and anthropology (Flick, 2009). For this study focused on the existential nature of the Outsider's experience within the social context of the school this is an appropriate theoretical perspective. A perspective that implicitly acknowledges the subjective and unique nature of the individual, the drive and position of the researcher and the interplay between story as a force for both meaning and insight (Wearmouth, 2003).

3.03 The nature of narrative

This study seeks to better understand the subjective experience of inclusion from the perspective of the Outsider. In recognition of this concept, an understanding of the nature of narrative is important, as the gathering of stories, narratives and recollections is an essential element of my research design. This is in acknowledgment of the importance I ascribe to the human propensity to story experience from a subjective point of view (Wittgenstein, 1953) and as Fyfe asserts, '*story is a universal phenomenon*' (Fyfe, 2013 p.94). It also speaks to the concept of the Outsider that I have used as a motif

for what is both universal and subjective. For a study that seeks the stories, accounts and recollections of ten adults reflecting back upon their school experiences this discussion of the nature of narrative is an important methodological consideration. As Lewis makes clear

Narrative imagining—story—is a deeply human activity possessed with both ontological and epistemological implications in human experience and existence. Humans have a symbiotic relationship with story in that we are both informed by story and formed by story. (Lewis, 2010)

This recognises the assertion threaded through this study, that gathering of stories is both a research method and phenomenon (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006). Such ontological and epistemological implications suggest that there is a range of interpretation about how narrative might be defined however (Michell and Egido, 2003; Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004). In other words, *‘all of what we call “narrative” does not appear to be the same’* (Fenstermacher, 1997 p.122). This breadth of interpretation is a dynamic feature of the phenomenon, but one that needs to be better understood due to the multiple interpretations and elucidations of the term (Denzin, 1989, Fenstermacher, 1997). Bold urges the researcher to, *‘...develop and justify their own conceptual understanding of narrative in relation to their own work.’* (Bold, 2012 p.17) and in this section I give some indication of my interpretation of the nature of the phenomenon. Denzin (1989) warns however that to try to define narrative in too concrete a manner represents a logocentric and scientific bias that needs to be recognised. Narrative approaches therefore by their nature eschew positivistic principles, (Cohen et al., 2011, Scott, 2000) and recognise that humans as storying individuals are able to,

‘...inhabit mental worlds that pertain to times that are not present and places that are the stuff of dreams. It is through such symbolic mental activities that people have gained the ability to create themselves as human beings...’(Niles, 1999 p.3).

This storying behaviour (Clandinin, 2006a p.477) is therefore seen as a fundamental expression of human communication whereby the process of

reflecting and putting into oral expression personal stories and narratives allow for increased knowledge of oneself (Atkinson, 1998). What such commentary exemplifies is that narratives, stories, accounts and subjective imagining are related and interchangeable features of the concept. (Michell and Egido, 2003; Lewis, 2010). In this regard the gathering of stories and accounts is relativistic, viewing individuals as subjective and purposive - people who have ideas about the world and attach their own meaning to it (Scott, 2000 p.164). The individual or the Outsider in the frame of this study is therefore seen as a social actor whereby their narratives and stories *'give meaning to the expression of self... are truly social and therefore embedded in time'* (Scott, 2000 p.100). Fenstermacher elaborates that, 'Through narrative we begin to understand the actor's reasons for action and are thereby encouraged to *make sense of* these actions...' (1997 p.123).

As it is difficult to define narrative precisely (Denzin, 1989, Fenstermacher, 1997), it is therefore important that the action or behaviour that the researcher is trying to *'make sense of'* is very clear as this serves to frame the research and put the narratives into a clear and focused context (Josselson and Lieblich, 1993). For this study the purpose of the stories is to view them in relation to the conceptual framework in order to better understand subjective experience. This clear focus is important and Clough cautions that *'narrative is useful only to the extent that it opens up (to its audiences) a deeper view of life in familiar contexts'* (Clough, 2002 p.8). The frame for my research is therefore the familiar context of the school whereby inclusion into this context is the process about which a deeper view is sought. This is being discussed from the pupil's future trajectory into adult life however and another particular feature of narrative that needs to be recognised is that for the teller it is reflective and contextual.

'Social actors accounts' of their agency at particular moments of time are retrospective and delivered in terms of different contexts from which they were originally enacted.' (Scott, 2000 p.99)

Whilst the literature identifies the difficulty with defining narrative in scientific terms, (Robson, 2011) it recognises the value and wealth of the rich data it affords the researcher (Fenstermacher, 1997, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). The gathering of narratives therefore allows for the individual reflections of participants to be seen as data that is valid and worthwhile and why it has been chosen for my study. This sense of validity chimes with the notion of 'empirical sociology' (Bulmer, 1984) characterised by the, 'shift in sociology away from abstract theory and library research toward a more intimate acquaintance with the empirical world' (Bulmer, 1984 p.45). For me this 'intimate acquaintance' (Bulmer, 1984) is again reinforced by the, *'use and interpretation of narratives and in particular the acceptance of stories as valuable sources of data'* (Bell, 2006 p.16). Stories in this context are seen as social constructions located within a particular social milieu, namely that of the school (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). From this institutional perspective Gabriel (2000) suggests that stories and narratives can have an important role in understanding organisations and institutions as by their nature they are *closely linked to the members' experiences* (Gabriel, 2000 p.2). Such attributes of stories, narratives and recollections are confirmed by Miller (2000) who sees them as an important means to illustrate and better understand human social connections. Whilst it is the individual who is recounting their story Miller asserts that for all humans these narratives are shaped by social experience and can provide insight upon it.

'Furthermore, the maintenance of the fiction of the atomized individual becomes untenable with adoption of a biographical perspective. Lives are lived within social networks from early socialization on.' (Miller, 2000 p.2)

Atomised in this context characterised as, *'people who lack any meaningful or morally coherent relationships with each other'* (Strinati, 2004 p.5). Such a conceptualisation of the individual positioned within a social collective has clear links to the underpinning of an interpretative paradigm outlined in the previous section (Flick, 2009; Bryman, 2012; Lichtman, 2013). Czarniawska-Joerges (2004) also recognises this social aspect of narrative and storytelling but sees a distinction between 'narratives as purely chronological accounts

and stories as emplotted narratives' (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004 p.17).

Emplotment here defined by Luchsinger,

'Creating a plot for something inevitably means leaving some things out and emphasizing others. Emplotment is not primarily about reporting what has happened – it is about explaining why.' (Luchsinger, 2009)

What such emplotment suggests it that the teller of the story is in somehow mindful of the audience and the stories are framed assuming an external regard. From the perspective of social research the researcher in the first instance is the 'audience' or listener in an active sense and I will need to be mindful of this relationship in the context of research design. This recognises certain symbiotic features of storytelling those of *speaking* and *hearing*. (Ricoeur, 1976; Lewis, 2010) which suggests an interpretative frisson, forcing the researcher into an active space as the act of interpretation relies on effort, attention and careful concentration (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Ricoeur articulates the nature of such a relationship between participant and researcher suggesting an exchange between engaged participants,

'Something passes from me to you...This something is not the experience as experienced, but its meaning. Here is the miracle. The experience as experienced, as lived, remains private, but its sense, its meaning, becomes public.' (Ricoeur, 1976 p.16)

By making the private, public in the storytelling, a key driver is that of the *aesthetic appeal* of the narrative (Josselson and Lieblich, 1993) which links back to the notion of emplotment (Luchsinger, 2009). The story has to make sense to the teller but will be given through a number of filters that might include emotional, literal or political factors. Each of which might have an impact on the quality of the data generated (Hammack and Pilecki, 2012). Conceptually, this links to the issue of memory and recall and the fallibility of this has to be acknowledged as some stories might be mythologised, embellished, distorted or hidden (Thompson, 1997; King, 2000, Gottschall 2012). Aligned to this notion is that fact that in my research participants will be asked to reflect back on their school experience from the perspective of

knowing their subsequent trajectory and *remembering the self* (King, 2000). This suggests a dynamic relationship between narrative, identity and the act of remembering that suggests that 'much human experience or action takes place under the mark of *what wasn't known then*: what we remember are events which took place in a kind of innocence.' (King, 2000 p.2) In other words, '*to relive the past with the foreknowledge we then lacked*' (King, 2000). Despite the reflexive regard, stories and narratives are presented in a contemporary context and this is relevant to how the participant frames and plots their recollections with the nature of their telling taking account of both thematic and temporal considerations (Rosenthal, 1993 p.63). For a study that has adopted the literary motif of the Outsider as a way to conceptualise subjective experience this notion of temporality is an important feature of narrative. Cortazzi suggests three essential elements for true narrative to be acknowledged, namely the existence of, '*Temporality, Causation and Human Interest*' (Cortazzi, 1993)

'Temporality is a first necessary condition for a narrative. The notion of plot involves a sequence of events in time. This chronological feature has been stressed since the Aristotelian formulation of plot requiring a beginning, a middle and an end.' (Cortazzi, 1993 p.85)

For my research that asks adults to reflect back upon their childhood the notion of time or temporality is an important one, recognising that events have 'a past a present and a potential future which narrative inquiry accepts' (Bold, 2012 p.19). This is a particularly relevant point to accept in the case of the autobiographical narrator and one who acutely knows '*...what happens next, how the plot turned out and is engaged in a similar process of reconstruction and interpretation.*' (King, 2000 p.22). Cortazzi's second necessary condition for narrative, the concept of *causation* is equally important and relates to the idea that events, actions and experiences are themselves drivers for other events, actions and experiences. In other words human experience is shaped and driven by 'causal forces and mechanisms' (Solum, 2010 p.3) What this can lead to is a view of narrative as a 'verbal sequence' or 'narrative as *chronology*' (Elliott, 2005 p.7) For a study of inclusion into the institution of

school, it might be easy to imagine that such a linear concept is welcome such that school is divided clearly into segments of time, age and stage. This for me is too simplistic a notion however as Cortazzi suggests,

‘...the consensus is that narrative is not simply a succession of recounted events, but an interesting intelligible whole where events are connected by time and causation.’ (Cortazzi, 1993 p.86)

Importantly, Cortazzi reiterates that whilst these causal forces might not necessarily be self-evident or even recognised by the narrator, it is the audience who is left to ‘refigure what led to the outcome’ (Cortazzi, 1993). A point confirmed by Elliott who stresses that

‘...an audience will routinely assume causal links between the events in a narrative even if these are not made explicit.’ (Elliott, 2005 p.8)

Such sentiments reaffirm the interpretative nature of gathering stories and narratives as method and the position of the researcher as both audience and interpreter (Elliott, 2005). Notably it also identifies that the subject is ‘acting’ in a given social experience. This to me reinforces the notion of the Outsider as protagonist through the storying of their lived social experiences. The final feature of narrative as defined by Cortazzi is the concept of *Human Interest*. In basic terms, that the story is relevant and meaningful to the audience and can be interpreted as such. This is an important feature but by its nature more externally subjective than the two previous dimensions, for as Cortazzi asserts, ‘*What interests one person may not interest another.*’ (Cortazzi, 1993 p.86) Elliott brings these concepts together and recognises this social and human dimension of the storying process.

‘...it has a temporal dimension, it is meaningful and it is inherently social in that stories are produced for specific audiences. However these three facets cannot be understood as wholly independent or as straightforwardly separable.’ (Elliott, 2005 p.11)

To link this to gathering stories and narratives as a method of inquiry the following observation should be made, that of the difference between the nature of 'story' and 'discourse'. This concept is defined by Chatman as the notion of the '*what*' and the '*way*', 'The *what* of narrative I call its '*story*'; the *way* I call its '*discourse*' (Chatman, 1978 p.9). Cortazzi highlights Chatman's distinction in his critique of narrative.

'“*Story*’ means the content or chain of events (actions, happenings), plus what may be called the existents (characters, items of setting), while ‘discourse’ is the expression, the means by which the content is communicated’ (Cortazzi, 1993 p.88)

In this section I have outlined my own conceptualising of the nature of narrative (Bold, 2012). For me this is not simply seen as a 'story' but allows for a more holistic understanding or interpretation of the participant's experience and journey recognising emotional and temporal features. (Cortazzi, 1993; Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004 p. xi; Elliott, 2005). Such conceptualising also values the interplay between the participant and the researcher and the importance of interpretation at the ideographic level within an interpretative paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This interpretive process can be linked to wider philosophical perspectives and is close to the nature of hermeneutics (Gardner, 2011; Cohen et al., 2011) defined here as '*the study of understanding, interpretation and meaning*' (Kerdeman, 1998 p.241). Whilst hermeneutics can be seen as traditionally associated with text based sources and artefacts with origins in biblical exegesis (Bauman, 1978; Ricoeur, 1981; Mitchell and Eguido, 2003; Gardner, 2011), I feel that its association with wider notions of oral stories and narratives can be justified. Indeed it is recognised that researchers are increasingly introducing a '*literary consciousness to ethnographic practice*' (Marcus, 1986 p.268) 'assuming standpoints and employing techniques once distinctly associated with literary analysis and criticism.' (Sandelowski, 1991 p.161). This literary consciousness also speaks to the concept of the Outsider as literary motif.

I should be clear that whilst narrative is seen as a vital manifestation of human experience and one that can afford the researcher a rich seam of data this is not a study that can necessarily be categorised as *narrative analysis* however. For akin to the difficulties in interpreting narrative as a phenomenon (Denzin, 1989; Josselson and Lieblich, 1993; Fenstermacher, 1997), the same is true of definitions of such an approach. As Daiute and Lighfoot claim, *'Narrative analysis assumes a multitude of theoretical forms, unfolds in a variety of specific analytic practices and is grounded in diverse disciplines'* (2004, p. vii). For clarity therefore this is a study that values stories, narratives and recollections for the data they afford. It recognises they give the researcher the opportunity to gather, interpret and analyse in relation to the conceptual framework (Wengraf, 2001). In the next section I outline my choice of interview as method and the steps undertaken through the process of research design.

3.04 The research interview

As conceptualised in the previous section, stories can be seen as a rich source of data that speaks to both individual and social contexts. An interview as an interactive construct, suggests that value is placed upon personal language and context (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). For this interpretative study the interactive nature of presenting and interpreting narratives, stories and recollections therefore suggested that an interview would be the most appropriate research method (Cohen et al., 2007, Atkinson, 1998, David and Sutton, 2004; Flick, 2009; Bryman, 2012). Such a method used as a tool to gather the stories, accounts and recollections of the participants considering their earlier experiences at school. The choice of interview as method of inquiry therefore has the potential to gather rich data that can be applied to social constructs and to facilitate understanding (Hyvärinen, 2010, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). The interpretative dimension to my research also recognises that this is a study that is about perception and not objectivity and as such the face-to-face nature of interviews was an important dimension to recognise (David and Sutton, 2004). In relation to research design, such

participant – researcher interviews provided a means to create both story and discourse that could subsequently be interpreted. (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; De-Medeiros and Rubinstein 2015). In such a construct the researcher-interviewer is simultaneously, '*questioner, listener and coparticipant*' (Mishler, 1986 p.82). Considering the conceptualising of the importance and nature of narrative in the previous section the interview was seen to be a key way to develop this symbiotic and interactive exchange between myself and the participant (Lewis, 2010). Aligned to this notion, Elliott reminds the researcher that the face-to-face interview is not solely a means to collect data, but itself a site for the *production* of data (Elliott, 2005 p.17) a sentiment that speaks to the storying nature of existence and the existential qualities of the Outsider (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; Niles, 1999; Clandinin, 2006b; Moen, 2006; McCulloch, 2012).

Burgess suggested that the nature of the interview is that of 'a conversation with a purpose' (Burgess 1984 p.102). And this sentiment again underpinned the choice of method at its broadest level in acknowledgement that I had a clear rationale driving the event. In the area of qualitative research it is recognised that individual interviews are likely the most widely adopted method (Weiss, 1994; Seidman 1998; Richie and Lewis, 2003) due to their 'undiluted focus on the individual and links to the chosen research concepts or phenomena' (Richie and Lewis, 2003 p.36). From the perspective of my study I concur but agree that such enduring popularity speaks to the benefits of the method as a bridge between the interpretative researcher and subjective experience (Wengraf, 2001). Interviews have many forms however and a basic typology sees interviews as having broadly three distinct manifestations, unstructured, structured or semi-structured (Wengraf, 2001; Robson, 2002; Dickey-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Flick, 2009). Such categorisation suggests a continuum from concrete to more flexible interpretation and usage. In such a typology the fully structured format has clear fixed questions and order, whereby the unstructured has a general focus but can lean towards the informal or conversational. (Robson, 2002; Kumar, 2011). Added to this typology is the narrative interview (Wengraf 2001; Flick, 2011) that seeks

longer, coherent accounts from the participants. For this study the primary research method is the semi-structured interview but with some features of the more expansive narrative interview (Wengraf, 2001). Narrative interviews and unstructured interviews were ruled out however as they had the potential to generate interesting stories, but it could not be assured that these would be congruent with the conceptual framework. As Hermanns articulates, their scope is expansive and holistic whereby 'the interviewer's task is to make the informant tell the story of all relevant events from its beginning to its end.' (Hermanns, 1995, p.183). My research despite its focus on individual and social phenomena is not a life history approach (Cary, 1999) and as such Hermanns' description was pertinent to ruling out more unstructured methods. Flick, 2009, adds the following caveat that is important to consider in regards to the appropriateness of such narrative interviews for this study,

'before choosing this method you should decide beforehand whether it is really the course (of a life, a patient's career, a professional career) that is central to your research question. If it is not, the purposive topical steering allowed by a semi-structured interview may be the more effective way to achieve the desired data

The conceptual framework and research question focus on the nature of inclusion as experienced through the concept of the Outsider.

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

Through conceptualising in this way I have tried to identify a means to turn the focus away from narrower interpretations of the phenomena. I have to be clear however that these concepts might not be recognised as such or interpreted in the same manner by the interviewee and in fact the terms 'Outsider' and 'Inclusion' might generate preconceptions or come with certain values on behalf of the participant. The choice of semi-structured interview was deliberate therefore to allow me to pose predetermined questions with a distinct focus but with more leeway and flexibility throughout the face-to-face

exchange (Wengraf, 2001; Robson, 2002; Kumar, 2011. Flick, 2011). Whilst not adopting the more expansive unstructured or narrative interview technique, there was scope nonetheless in the semi-structured context to allow for more depth allowing space for the participant if necessary (Robson 2002).

Aligned to the choice of semi-structured interview was the desire to produce data manifested both aurally and textually through recordings and transcripts (Moen, 2006). These were seen as legitimate sources of data. The textual artefact of the transcript of the semi-structured interview has value in its own way and carries its own weight and this was an important consideration (Clandinin, 2006). It allowed for a literary engagement and by complementing the orally produced data allowed for a degree of triangulation from this textual perspective (Malturud, 2001). Fairclough qualifies this with his claim that, everyday lives can indeed be *textually mediated*, an important consideration for the researcher (Fairclough, 1999). This interpretation of textual is distinct from a simple questionnaire approach however because of the mutual interaction implicit in the semi-structured interview approach (Griffiths, 1998, Robson, 2001; Flick, 2011). In such an approach the 'artefact' that is produced is not a textual transcript of a mutually constructed exchange but rather a one-sided set of data, often as a closed response (Robson, 2011, Cohen et al., 2011). Explicitly because of this factor, the use of questionnaires was never a consideration for this study.

3.05 Limitations and weaknesses

The choice of semi-structured interviews was an important consideration for this research. However it was also recognised that interviews are nonetheless institutionalised or engineered methods of gathering stories, accounts and insight into individual perspectives (Edwards and Holland, 2013). Because of this nature, it is important to be alert to the limitations and weaknesses of the method. The interview is for many an artificial concept, a verbal interaction that is managed with a distinct rationale (Ritchie and Lewis,

2003). Interviews are also imbued with a certain negative connotation and as Jordan et al. suggest, they have a propensity to be 'formal or staid' (Jordan et al., 1994, p.56). In order to gain a greater understanding of the Outsider's experience I am asking the ten participants in my study to make public what is in essence private (Josselson and Lieblich, 1993) and this subjective phenomena needs to be clearly recognised and acknowledged for this might not be an easy process for every participant. This is the point in the interpretativist paradigm where subjective worlds are revealed to the researcher (Cohen et al., 2011) and as such relies on an acknowledgement of trust and interviewer skill. If these qualities are not addressed then the quality of data might be limited or uncertain (Opie, 2004).

Denscome (2007) is mindful of these links between the artificial construction of the interview and the position of the researcher in the 'interviewer effect' whereby in such a phenomenon the participant's judgement of the interviewer might colour their responses. I had to be mindful that I am a lecturer and some of the participants are students so needed to be clear about the nature of my research when identifying participants to be interviewed. Clark and McCann (2005) discuss this issue and the ethical implications of researching students and to mitigate this it was decided that none of the participants would be those that I teach. This interplay between the researcher and participant is also in some way characterised by degrees of *ritual respect* that might be offputting if they are seen as insincere or formulaic (Jordan et al., 1994, p.57). Linked to this is the fact that interviews are fallible tools whereby the researcher can not be completely assured of the veracity of the verbal response as per more positivistic methods of enquiry. For my research I had to assume truth but be mindful that this is not necessarily assured (Edwards and Holland p.16). Aligned to the issue of veracity is the issue of power whereby it is assumed that the researcher is in a powerful position relative to the participant (Flick, 2011) As Given reiterates however participants are not without power; participants too have the power and right to withhold information from the researcher (Given, 2008, p.334).

My research makes the assumption that humans are naturally storytelling individuals (Fontana and Frey 2000; Gale 2006; Moen, 2006). Linked to such a concept is the need to recognise the aesthetic appeal of the performer and consider those issues of emplotment discussed in the previous section, whereby the story as told is essentially true, but through the telling has assumed features or interpretation that were not fully congruent with the act as lived (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Luchsinger, 2009). Hammersley sees this limitation as being related to the performative nature of interviews and cautions against 'treating the informants as witnesses, as self- analysts, and as indirect sources of evidence about perspectives' (Hammersley, 2003, p.124). Within my research I also recognise that I have a dynamic role as both audience and facilitator (Elliott, 2005; Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; De-Medeiros and Rubinstein, 2015). In many regards there should be also be recognition of the *aesthetic appeal* of the questioner in order to facilitate an effective exchange. Being mindful of this there is the potential for the researcher to pose questions that might be seen as leading (Kvale, 1996). In my study subsequent data analysis including triangulation of the aural and textual data from transcripts and recordings and direct links with the conceptual framework will address this issue (Fairclough 1999; Malturud, 2001). The concept of the Outsider was chosen to illustrate those subjective features of existence. As such each interview was focused on the same rationale and driven by the same general questions. The response from each participant will however be unique and individual and this is both a strength and weakness of the semi-structured approach (Wengraf, 2001; Richie and Lewis, 2003). Strength in that it recognises the subjectivity of the participant however a limitation is the ability to make direct comparisons between participants, as their experiences are necessarily unique and contextualised (Leung, 2015). To mitigate this issue, a careful inductive approach to draw themes and meaning from the data was employed (Snape and Spence, 2003) with a systematic system of coding and collating related themes and perspectives.

3.06 Sample, participants and selection strategy

As a piece of interpretative research I wanted to be afforded data that would allow me to engage with these aspects of lived experience implicit within the concept of the Outsider. In relation to sample size, Ary et al make the following claim.

A larger sample is more likely to be a good representation of the population than a smaller sample. However, the most important characteristic of a sample is its representativeness and not necessarily its size. (Ary et al 2014, p.171)

Considering this issue of representativeness, adult participants were chosen because of their ability to reflect back with hindsight on an experience that has passed, while knowing the consequence of the existential state. The motif of the Outsider allows each of these individual participants to be seen as having unique experiences but within a common context (Leung, 2015). Linked to this decision the sample size was set at ten participants. Phothongsunan (2010) makes connections between sample size and the ideographic nature of interpretative social research and the number was felt to be appropriate.

Moreover, interpretative studies are often idiographic, using small numbers of participants. This is because the purpose is not to generalise, but to explore the meanings which participants place on the social situations under investigation. (Phothongsunan, 2010 p.2)

In relation to the issue of representativeness, participants were self-selected from a variety of backgrounds but all with close connections to schools and the field of education. For this research that considers the Outsider's journey and the emotional aspects of inclusion, all participants were therefore either student teachers or newly qualified. This was a conscious decision as it allowed participants to reflect upon their inclusion into school as children from the perspective of their second experience into the same milieu as adults but also as future teachers. To my mind, this is congruent with Freirian theory that suggests that, 'learning begins with action and is then shaped by reflection which gives rise to further action.' (Rugut and Osman, 2013 p.26). As such I

hoped that the participants valued their input and to some way felt part of a wider community of practice within the field of educational research (Hammersley 2004; Jakovljevic et al. 2013).

With regard to choosing participants, the first consideration was that they should be self-selecting in order to ensure that I was not prejudiced in my choice. Prejudiced in so far as I did not want this to be a study of marginalised or *outsiders* as per an exclusionary interpretation or from a minority perspective. This would have gone against the universal and existential nature of inclusion I wish to explore. To this end, I consciously chose not to choose participants in a purposive manner outside the parameters above in terms of narrowing the field of participants. Some of the participants do make express reference to issues such as sexuality, belief and gender in their accounts. This was deeply relevant to their subjective experiences but nonetheless coincidental to their selection. Interestingly the majority of the self-selected participants in my study had returned to the education profession as mature students. I recognised that a degree of self-selection bias might be evident for each of the participants (Lavrakas, 2008) or they might be categorised as the *high involvement teachers* identified by Yee's study (Yee 1990). This might relate to individual motivation, drive and commitment of these participants but this was truer to the sentiment of the Outsider being a protagonist in their own particular story. Truer in the sense that through the self-selection the participant feels that they have a story that they wish to tell and that they expect to be heard (Rodriguez, 2002; Clandinin et al. 2007). This self-selection bias was deemed acceptable as this was not by its nature a life history study (Cary, 1999).

With regard to identifying the sample I first had to narrow the field to make the selection of participants manageable, relevant and focused (Robson 2001; Cohen et al., 2011; Ary et al 2015). Firstly this is a study of the nature of navigating the process of inclusion into the school environment and the impact this has on the individual. Such a process is interpreted as being a

universal experience for all young people. Data for the UK suggests that the number of children who do not attend formal education in schools and settings is between 0.09% and 0.42% depending on the Local Authority (Hopwood et al., 2007; DfE, 2015). It can be assumed therefore that for the vast majority of individuals, school experience has been an integral part of their upbringing, development and formation. This fact unites all of the participants and indeed this is the existential condition that is at the heart of my piece of work (Malik and Akhter, 2013; Sæverot 2011; Peters and Sæverot 2013). Recognising that school experience will be experienced by the majority, the second criterion was to focus upon adults with current and contemporary experience of the school context or environment from a professional perspective. Namely adults who had made the conscious decision to work as teachers and professionals within the field. This is a wide range of some 450.000 professionals in England, (DfE, 2015) so the next criterion relates to the role and perspective of future teachers. This group of individuals have an interesting point of view vis-à-vis their initial school experience. They have made the conscious and recent decision to return to the same educational context, not as a pupil but as an adult professional. This is an interesting consideration that identifies the evolving end evolutionary nature of inclusion alongside the fact that one can be an Outsider in the same context but with different rules of engagement and expectation (Griffiths, 1998). I feel that this tension adds an interesting dimension and helps to focus the participant's reflection upon their initial experiences as children (Eagleman, 2011).

3.07 Finding participants

By narrowing the sample I had a clear rationale for the shared characteristics of the participants. As figure 3.1 below demonstrates, those adults who had gone to school as a child, had chosen to return to school to work and were currently on a teacher-training programme or newly qualified participants as teachers in their own right (Griffiths, 1998).

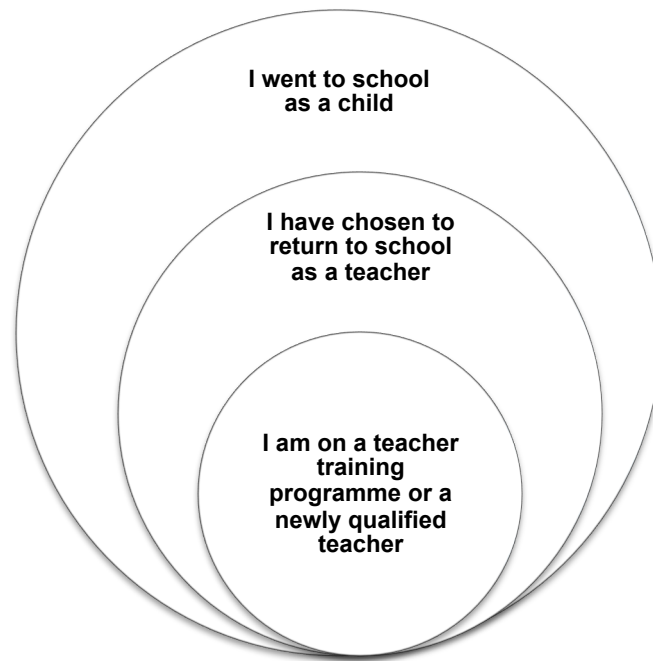


Figure 3.02 Narrowing the sample

This gave focus and direction to the identification of groups of individuals who would be asked to participate. In order to further facilitate selection I was able to rely on my links with schools of Education in English universities. To this end selection was made from two distinct cohorts – students on teacher training programmes or Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) that had links with two East Midlands Universities. Tutors from both universities were asked to forward an email to current or recent students with a Word file as an attachment (*see appendix 1*). The attachment contained contact details and an informed consent form to be completed at a later date. The attachment also contained a hyperlink where I address the potential participant in a video recording. An understanding of the narrative process suggests that the participant who is storying their experience values an audience that is respectful and open to the telling and articulation of their perspective (Opie, 2004; Denscome, 2007) and goes some way to avoid some of the weaknesses of the interview method as articulate above. The mimetic position (Riessman, 2008) also needs to be understood and valued. To this end I was conscious that potential participants had to be aware that I was an active

participant in the exchange. As Mischler articulates in connection with Brenner's analogy, '...the equivalence of interviews in terms of interviewer-respondent interaction' (Mishler, 1986 p.14)

'The model of a "facilitating" interviewer who asks questions, and a vessel-like respondent who gives answers is replaced by two active *participants* who jointly construct narrative and meaning.' (Riessman, 2008 p.23)

With this in mind, I felt that the short clip was necessary to introduce myself to potential participants. At the very least to gain an understanding of what I look like, how I speak and also factors such as my age or gender. (My name is gender neutral and this has often caused confusion in the past). This was specifically to avoid participants being surprised by some of these attributes and to gauge whether they indeed would want to share their accounts with me (Jordan et al., 1994; Denscome, 2007). The clip also enabled me to reinforce ethical considerations linked to the University of Leicester Research Ethics Code of Practice that I agreed to uphold in my application for ethical approval. The recipients were asked by the sender of the email to contact me directly if they felt that after reading the attachment and watching the clip they felt able to participate.

It took approximately a month for ten participants to contact me and agree to participate. Each chose independently and contacted me of their own volition and whilst some knew of me peripherally from my teaching role we had no prior knowledge of each other or professional relationship. Once the ten were identified the ensuing correspondence was concerned with the logistics of the actual interview and to ensure they were conducted and managed in a way that was mindful of the participants' perspective (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007). The participants were given complete free choice to identify an appropriate venue. The only criterion was '*Somewhere you feel comfortable and will not be disturbed.*' This flexible approach to venue had been used successfully in Lasky's research on teacher identity (Lasky, 2005) and congruent with literature that relates to the 'micro-geographies of interview

sites' (Elwood and Martin, 2000; Edwards and Holland, 2013 p. 44). The chosen venues were split between University meeting rooms, the participant's school or setting and for one participant in their home environment.

My research question was expressly chosen to avoid exclusionary or narrowing language, as this would be at odds with the tenor of the research and epistemological beliefs. Equally as articulated above the sampling was not purposive to avoid the perception that it might be focused on certain groups or minorities. Aligned to feminist methodology there was also a conscious decision to avoid the '*othering*' of the participants (Fine, 1994; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996; Rayaprol 2016).

One should also avoid '*othering*' participants in the research process by, for example, requesting that participants in the research process share much information about themselves while the researcher shares little or no information about her or himself' (Given, 2008, p. 334)

In the context of this study therefore it was not necessary to have an in-depth background into each participant, as it was the individual and subjective response to a common experience that was sought. However data was gathered in relation to key indicators of gender, age, type of school and whether the participant was a newly qualified teacher (NQT) or in initial teacher training (ITT). Information about each participant is given here and for the purposes of this research I have given each participant a pseudonym. Coincidentally there was an equal mix of males to females in the cohort, with a majority from primary settings. All lived in the East Midlands and all were working or training in schools in Leicester City, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. The majority of participants had returned to the teaching profession as mature students whilst two had been in continuous education since schooling. Where other personal attributes, qualities or characteristics are important, these are seen in terms of the responses in the data not as characteristics of sampling.

Name	Gender		NQT / ITT
Adrian	M	Secondary	ITT
Clare	F	Primary	NQT
David	M	Primary	ITT
Eloise	F	Secondary	NQT
Geoff	M	Primary	ITT
Kay	F	Primary	NQT
Liam	M	Primary	ITT
Michael	M	Primary	ITT
Sarah	F	Primary	ITT
Susan	F	Primary	NQT

Figure 3.03 Participants

3.08 The interview questions

The interview questions needed to be clearly focused on the dimensions of the conceptual framework in order to elucidate relevant data and make links to the literature (Wengraf, 2012). It was recognised that the three key dimensions of the conceptual framework, (The Outsider, Inclusion and Enculturation) might equally be seen as imprecise to the participant or in a way *loaded*, narrowly applied or with multiple interpretations (Polat 2011; Cobigo et al 2012; Sharma et al., 2012; Hodkinson 2015). To recognise this issue the terminology of *fitting-in* was used as a way to appertain to each of the dimensions in a semantically more holistic and more easily understood way. The same rationale was used for the use of *being outside* rather than Outsider and to *feel included* rather than Inclusion. Patten's *Checklist of possible questions* (Patten, 2003) presented as a modified version in figure 3.03 suggests a number of variables related to question identification for qualitative research. From the ideographic perspective of the participants,

these variables are important considerations when framing appropriate questions (Wengraf, 2012). Patten does not suggest that all of the domains of the model should be present in all of the questions, but rather the researcher is mindful of which domain they appertain.

Behaviours / Experiences
Opinions / Values
Feelings / Emotions
Knowledge
Sensory
Background

Figure 3.04 Checklist of possible questions adapted from (Patten, 2003)

Following piloting of their research Holloway and Jefferson suggested a more open format to questions in social research with the subtext that questions are phrased to be '*open but in a narrow way*' (2000, p 34). This sentiment was considered in the phrasing of my questions for the semi-structured interview. For the purposes of basic initial differentiation the questions were classified in relation to the themes of the conceptual framework. It was accepted that there would be interplay between the three concepts and that for most questions there would be an alignment with more than one component. An initial set of questions was designed for a pilot interview. Such alignment mapped against the variables of Pattern's checklist and shown in *Appendix 1*. In a crossover to a typical unstructured narrative interview, there was also leeway for questions to encourage, maintain conversational balance and probe for more depth where appropriate (Robson, 2001; Wengraf 2001; Flick, 2011).

3.09 The Pilot interview

Conducting a pilot interview was an integral part of the research process (Peat et al., 2000; Correia and Aguiar, 2016; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). The participant for the trial was a PGCE student who had agreed to be interviewed. During this pilot I was concerned with the quality of the data produced and also to explore the logistics of the interview process (Hermanns, 1995; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000) There were three express aims that I wanted to follow and consider throughout the pilot which were to underpin the exchange;

1. *Not to be 'leading'*. In other words to enable the participant to present their own narrative with the minimum of prompting. To this end the questions were consciously designed to be short, few and open but narrow (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000, p.34).
2. *To create opportunity for a story to develop*. (Fontana and Frey 2000; Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Gale 2006; Moen, 2006; Luchsinger, 2009) I consciously did not want to rush the exchange. This was primarily met by not having a set end time for the interview and the decision not to write anything down throughout the exchange. This allowed for increased eye contact, openness and a more natural experience avoiding over formality (Jordan et al.1994). The questions were memorised to avoid a more scripted interplay (Opie, 2004; Denscome, 2007), although I did have a copy of the questions to hand as an aide memoire. A small voice recorder was employed and placed on the table to record the exchange.
3. *To allow the narrator to direct the discussion*. I was prepared for the discussion to develop tangentially and be directed by the storyteller. To recognise the mutuality of the exchange it was felt that I should reply conversationally with a more natural give and take of language where appropriate (Opie, 2004; Denscome, 2007). In brief not to cut off the participant and ask an unrelated or different question as you might find in a questionnaire or structured interview (Flick, 2009).

Unlike the subsequent interviews, I held a 'debrief' with the participant to discuss the process of the interview and the effectiveness of the questions (Harrell and Bradley 2009). This was to elucidate both practical and emotional factors. I also listened to the recording subsequently and noted my own

feedback in relation to the dimensions presented in figure 3.03 above. The participant's responses were not transcribed in full on this occasion. The rationale for this was recognition that I could gauge the efficacy of the questions both from the first exchange and also aurally without the need for a full and meticulous transcription. In retrospect, the textual artefacts were such an important factor for the research that I would always do this in future.

Initial feedback of the three factors was positive although it struck me how nervous the participant was from the outset. In the debrief it was stated that these nerves were in some part because of an initial difficulty to speak openly about himself. *'It feels big-headed!'* In future interviews therefore I would reinforce the fact that this would be a personal account prior to the exchange and encourage the participant not to be self-conscious hopefully mitigating some of the artificial nature of such interactions (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Also as an addition I decided to add a further dimension to the interview. The ten subsequent participants would be asked to consider something that reflects or embodies their time at school before the actual meeting.

You were asked to bring or think about something to share that reflects your time at school. What did you bring and why?

This could be a specific artefact or anecdote that they would be asked to bring to the exchange or share. Such artefact elicitation is an increasing feature of some Interpretative research (Elliot et al, 2015). I felt that this drew the focus towards the participant in a subjective sense and prepared them for the more personal and individual experiences and reflections that I was asking them to elucidate. This aligned with the epistemological underpinning of interpretative research that sees value in the meaning individuals ascribe to their world (Lincoln and Guba, 2005). The artefacts were also a way to stimulate latent memory and familiarity and help with recollection (Elliot et al., 2015). This was the only addition to the narrative prompts used in the actual data collection. Evidence from the literature (Collins et al., 2002; Brubacher et al., 2016) confirmed my own perception that non-verbal prompts such as eye-contact,

small often-imperceptible gestures such as head nodding or changes in facial expression also had a profound impact in sustaining a narrative account. The short questions were effective in developing a relevant narrative, as I had worried that they might be too abrupt. In many regards some of the concepts such as *'fitting-in'*, *'school culture'*, *'peers'*, were familiar to the participant from their current context as a student teacher and this gave the richness and depth to the narrative that I sought. This awareness also allowed for the subsequent storying of the participant's prior experience without needing to be too prescriptive in my cueing and prompting.

3.10 Research process and data analysis

Over the course of two terms, narratives were generated with all ten of the participants in the sample. After the interviews with participants, the recorded narratives were transcribed and typed-up in full to provide a written verbatim account of the event. This would allow for a degree of triangulation (Cohen et al., 2011) whereby the recording of the oral narrative provided the researcher with a different insight and reflection to that of the textual artefact and where distinct comparisons and patterns could be evidenced. (Fairclough, 1999; Malturud, 2001). In this way I felt that there would be an overlap between a narrative form of enquiry and one with some of the features of an interpretative hermeneutic approach whereby data is presented and analysed from a textual format (Bauman, 1978; Ricoeur, 1981; Habermas, 1990; Mitchell and Egido, 2003; Gadamer et al., 2004; Gardner, 2011). These viewpoints were seen as complimentary as they would allow for the data to be interpreted and reflected upon through these two distinct filters and perspectives (Malturud, 2001).

The nature of the research question and epistemological considerations suggest clearly an inductive approach whereby patterns and associations are derived from the narratives and stories. (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Richie and Lewis, 2003; Flick, 2009). Such an approach was also utilised successfully by Nicolaidou and Ainscow to generate meaning from data produced from semi-

structured interviews with school staff (Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005). In order to filter and to begin to analyse the data I therefore adopted a systematic inductive and iterative coding technique (Edwards and Holland 2013). It is this point in interpretative research the researcher is presented with ideographic insight and has to begin to interpret and draw meaning from it (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Aligned to this was the need to ensure that each narrative was interpreted and analysed in a way that was consistent and measured for each participant. I would eventually import the narratives into a qualitative data analysis software programme (NVivo) but I needed to identify relevant themes or *nodes* in NVivo terminology in order for this to be appropriate. To facilitate this process an analytic hierarchy adapted from Richie and Lewis (2003) was used as a way to consider analysing the raw data from both the textual transcripts and aural recordings and to inform the subsequent discussion.

Seeking applications to wider theory / policy strategies	Explanatory Accounts <i>(Providing meaning)</i>
Developing explanations (how and why questions)	
Detecting patterns	
Establishing typologies	Descriptive Accounts <i>(The nature of the phenomena as detected)</i>
Identifying elements and dimensions, refining categories	
Summarising or synthesising data	
Linking to conceptual framework <i>(Outsider, Inclusion, Enculturation)</i>	Data Management <i>(Identifying patterns and familiarising)</i>
Sorting data by theme or concept <i>(Perspective of the individual, Perspective of the school, The telling of the story)</i>	
Raw data <i>(Transcripts and audio recordings)</i>	

Figure 3.05 Analytic hierarchy. (Adapted from Richie and Lewis, 2003)

Whilst presented as a hierarchical model, Richie and Lewis acknowledge there will be movement up and down the hierarchy as appropriate. Such reasoning echoed by Miles and Huberman who stress the need for the researcher to adopt such an *abstraction ladder* as a process of managing qualitative data. Starting with the raw data then moving to identifying more descriptive accounts or the data (themes), then moving to providing accounts that aim to give meaning to the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The initial stage of data management was to deal with the 'unwieldy, tangled data, (Richie and Lewis, 2003, p.214) that narrative interviews can produce and begin heuristic processing (Crotty, 1998; Bryant, 2017). The nature of a ladder suggests a one-way process but I prefer to interpret this as a climbing frame that allows for a range of connections and relationships to be seen (Bryant, 2017). The conceptual framework was used as the template for subsequent analytical processes (Maxwell, 1996; Jabareen, 2009; Bernard, 2011; Punch, 2012)

The iterative process (Edwards and Holland 2013) began with a simple, reflective listening to the recording of the interview. This was done as close to the actual interview as possible. I used headphones to be able to listen closely without being disturbed. During this initial listening, no notes were made and I had no set expectations other than to revisit the exchange. Evidently in the live exchange I was a very active participant albeit with a different role to the research participant sharing their experience (Mishler, 1986). In this first listening however, my role had changed and I was no longer a participant *per se* but had adopted the role of listener and audience of the performance. This 'first-step' away was very useful as it allowed me to begin to reclassify myself as a researcher and interpreter rather than participant in a mutual exchange. After the first listening a second was undertaken some days later. In this stage of the iterative process I took a more active role by annotating and jotting down relevant points as I listened to the recording (Flick, 2011; Edwards and Holland, 2013). During this process, unlike the first listening I would often stop and replay sections. As per the second tranche of the analytical hierarchy, these were made under three broad headings or

themes with the aim of identifying sub-themes congruent with the conceptual framework. The purpose of such initial hierarchical coding a way to signal themes within the data. Bryant (2017) suggests that the qualitative researcher should use simple and precise short codes that explicitly avoid using verbatim extracts of the data and avoid initial 'conceptual leaps' in the first instance (Bryant 2017, p.176). As such three such primary themes were identified namely,

- The perspective of the individual.
- The perspective of the school and
- The telling of the story.

The '*Perspective of the Individual*' related to those aspects unique and personal to the participant's story. Features that related to their own personal journey and process of inclusion. The '*Perspective of the School*' related to institutional factors including relationships with peers, staff, adults and the environment. Whereas the '*The telling of the story*' considered the process of storytelling in the interviews including factors such as the actual storying, articulation and other mimetic features of the exchange. The third process was to read the completed transcriptions. As per the initial listening this was done without making notes or annotations in the first instance. Again I sat quietly and engaged with the text as a reader as I would a play or piece of literature. I noted that as I was reading the text I was still playing the actual voices in my head. The textual representation was undeniably rich in content but the medium was not as human or live as the actual recording. This is not surprising, particularly as many of the written words were my own taken from an exchange in which I was a participant. Alongside this is the point that the '*...words in transcripts are not necessarily as solid as they were in the social setting of the interview*' (Cohen et al., 2011 p.426). I decided to add another iterative step therefore and after the first reading I read the text while simultaneously listening to the recording. To finish the process I read the text one final time and this is when I annotated, adding to the comments under the three primary themes presented above.

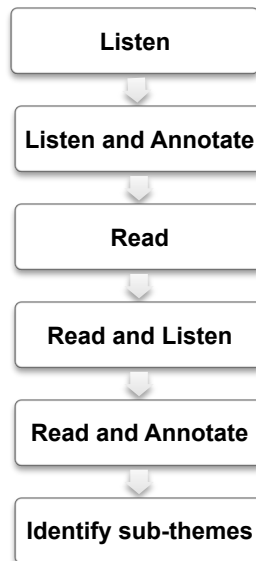


Figure 3.06: The iterative identification of sub-themes

What this had generated was a hierarchy of primary and sub-themes from the raw data (Pahl, 2003). These were designed to provide a systematic, structured way of engaging with the narratives allowing for interpretation and categorisation of the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003; Bryant, 2017). It was accepted that some of the *usefulness and usability* of such coding might only be evident in later stages of the process (Bryant, 2017). These themes or nodes were inputted into NVivo forming a hierarchy of tree and child nodes within the software (See Appendix 3). The narratives in textual form could now be imported into NVivo as word-processed documents, allowing for a more forensic engagement with the data aligned to broad hermeneutic principles (Bauman, 1978; Ricoeur, 1981; Habermas, 1990; Mitchell and Egido, 2003; Gadamer et al., 2004; Gardner, 2011). Also because of the tabbed nature of fields in the software it was possible to cross-reference and collate excerpts from different participants simultaneously. There was also a facility to keep a journal of research within the software to record specific thoughts or actions during the process and this too could be tabbed alongside other windows and fields and was a very useful feature (See Appendix 4).

Whilst this software is understood to be appropriate for qualitative data analysis (Cohen et al., 2011; Fischer, 2012; Bryant, 2017), it was never my intention to generate reports, queries or models. Rather it was used to identify relevant sections, segments and excerpts from the textual narratives relevant to certain themes or sub-themes (Edhlund, 2011). In other words to use the programme as a means to create a thematic repository of data to allow for subsequent discussion and analysis (Edhlund, 2011; Muylaert et al., 2014). The limitations of such software for certain types of qualitative study was recognised by Bryant who cautions the researcher not to use features that are not suitable (Bryant, 2017). To this end much of the potential of the software was not useful to me in this instance, but it did allow for coding by using a simple drag and drop procedure as I engaged with the data. (Edhlund 2011). The coding hierarchies allowed for the text to be interpreted and reflected upon carefully, ascribing a particular perspective or meaning to sections or excerpts of the text (Richie and Lewis, 2003; Cohen et al., 2011). It was also important to view this meaning in the wider context. At times when coding using this method I would return to the audio file to help confirm my interpretation. Through a close reading of the text therefore with additional aural confirmation from the taped interview where appropriate the rationale was to interpret both what the narrative was communicating together with the emotional resonance on the part of the listener (Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). For example, *What is this telling me? What do I make of this story? How does it make me feel?* This links to the reciprocal nature of the narrative exchange discussed in a discussion of epistemology and the subjectivity of the interpretative researcher. As Bazeley asserts, this process of interpretation can be a nuanced task and care must be taken.

In practical terms, capturing the detail of the text does not mean that you should segment it into tiny, meaningless chunks, Rather the goal is to capture the finer nuances of meaning that lie within the text, coding enough in each instance to provide sufficient context, without clouding the integrity of the coded passage by inclusion of text with a different meaning. (Bazeley, 2013 p.69)

3.11 The Perspective of the individual – sub themes

This first theme generated the largest number of sub-themes. Five were identified that related to the specific perspective of the participant who was telling their accounts in the interview. These were the most subjective and individual aspects of the data generated. It should be stated that the sub-themes are not in themselves hierarchical and are seen as equal in respect of the main theme as is the case with the relationship between the primary themes.

- **Emotional inclusion.** This related to the deep felt emotional aspects of inclusion and included aspects such as belonging, acceptance and wellbeing. (Or indeed the opposite in a negative sense)
- **Family and Community.** This related to the immediate familial or community context of the participants' that were significant during their school experiences. These family members or community aspects might not have an actual role within the school but have an impact in some way.
- **Legacy Factors.** There are also material or 'legacy' issues. In other words what did the participant bring with them during the process of their inclusion? For example *'what have you got to offer? What makes you attractive? Why would people want to include you?'*
- **Outsider Status.** This relates to the theme of the Outsider as protagonist. The existential state highlighted in the literature and congruent with Scheutz's (1944) interpretation of the term. The Outsider in this sense is both an emotional and a locational state of being.

- **Process of Enculturation.** This aspect relates to the journey from outside to inside and resonates with the notion of fitting-in to the institutional milieu. This theme also recognises the journey or process the outsider experiences and the fact that this is a dynamic and changing state.

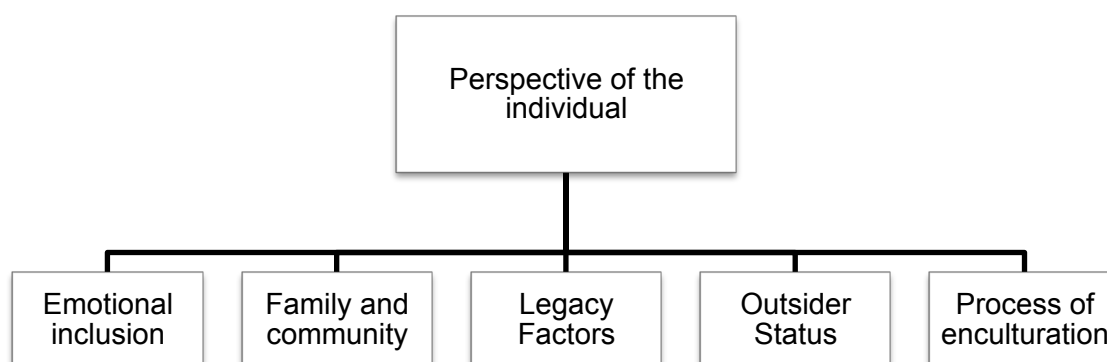


Figure 3.07: The perspective of the individual

3.12: The Perspective of the School – sub themes

The second theme related to the institution of the school. In this regard it appertains to the pressures, impact and influences the school and its respective component parts assert upon the individual. This theme was split into three sub-themes and akin to the first theme whilst these are distinct, there will be an overlap or dovetailing in some aspects. With this in mind it was anticipated that for the purposes of coding, distinct excerpts from the narratives might be legitimately allocated to more than one theme. This aspect of triangulation and overlap is important to recognise. Whilst the rationale for such hierarchies or repositories suggests such an approach is useful even essential to provide a thematic structure to the study it should equally be recognised that human social behaviour cannot easily be *siloed* or pigeonholed into non-overlapping units or segments (Frost, 2011). The three sub-themes were as follows.

- **Perspective of Peers.** This related specifically to the role, impact and interaction with peers, other pupils and children. These might be those who shared the experience in the same institutional context or were part of wider communities or groups that still impacted upon the school experience.
- **Perspective of Staff.** Staff in this context included all adults who had an impact upon the participant either as teachers or other professionals or practitioners. As with the perspective of peers, this relates to those who had a role or impact within the school environment.
- **Systems and Environment.** This theme appertained to the institutional behaviours, processes and mores that are specific to the school alongside environmental and geographical factors.

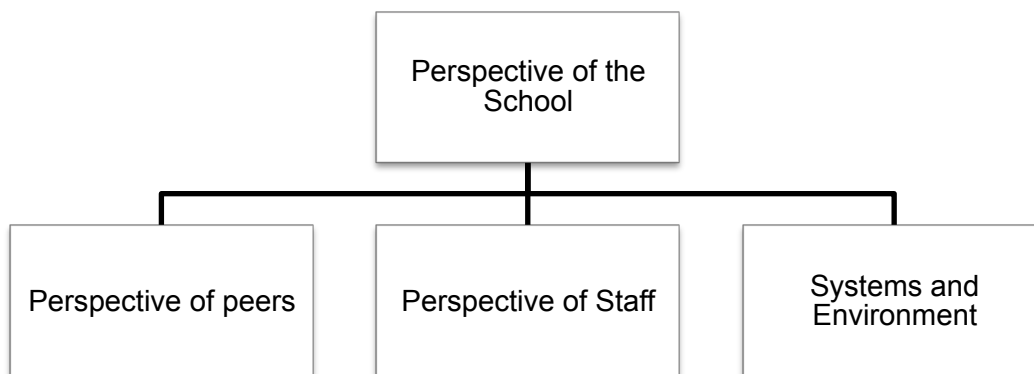


Figure 3.08: The perspective of the school

3.13: The telling of the Story – sub themes

This wider theme relates to the mutual exchange characterised by the nature of narrative. Whilst narrative and storytelling is not implicit within the conceptual framework appertaining to the Outsider's experience of inclusion and enculturation it is nonetheless an important theme of this research. The theme recognises the three mimetic components that relate to the *Performer*,

the *Audience* and the *Story* itself (Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 2008). In this regard the data allocated to this node relates to both the act of telling the story or communicating aspects of the participant's experience through their own words. This recognition of Narrative as both method and theme is an important consideration (Atkinson, 1998; Niles, 1999; Clandinin, 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). To this end it is recognised that how the narrative is interpreted when viewed as research data is seen in the context of the human act of telling. A human act that is intertwined and linked to far wider considerations than just the specific focus of the interview or topic at hand. As Gubrium and Holstein recognise, a limitation of narrative can be thus,

‘...the transcribed texts of stories tends to strip narratives of their social organisation and interactional dynamics. Narrative is framed as a social product not as social action.’ (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009 p.xv)

Three sub-themes were identified within this area and aim to capture not only the pragmatic act of telling and listening to a story but also some of the emotional considerations. These considerations linked to aspect such as memory, recall or the act of sharing or making transparent deeply held views, perspectives or experiences.

- **The Audience.** In the first instance this related to my role as the facilitator of the exchange, the impact I had on the participant and how their story was constructed. This is the most subjective theme from my perspective as it appertains to my own role as participant (Fyfe, 2013). In all storytelling however the story has to make sense to the teller, so in some respects the participant is also the audience as the story is framed within the boundaries of their own knowledge and experience and has to be meaningful to them. Another dimension is the fact that once told and heard, a story can't be taken back and is thus a narrative reality (Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007).
- **The Performer.** This relates to the participant's specific perspective. This includes not only the act of telling but also ancillary attributes such

as demeanor, personality and levels of engagement. There is a degree of self awareness that is also related to this theme insofar as the participant is aware of what they are saying, why they are saying it, but also crucially how it makes them appear or viewed by an external listener or audience. Wider issues therefore might relate to issues such as honesty, recall and mythologizing aspects of storytelling and reflection (Thompson, 1997; King, 2000, Gottschall, 2012).

- **The Story.** This final sub-theme relates to the actual narrative that was produced. It will overlap by its nature with the themes of audience and performer and again resonates with my own subjective reading or listening to the story told. In some regards this story is a stand-alone entity that was spoken and subsequently written and produced, an artifact to some extent. However it is the location of this story in the wider existential human context that is important to consider.

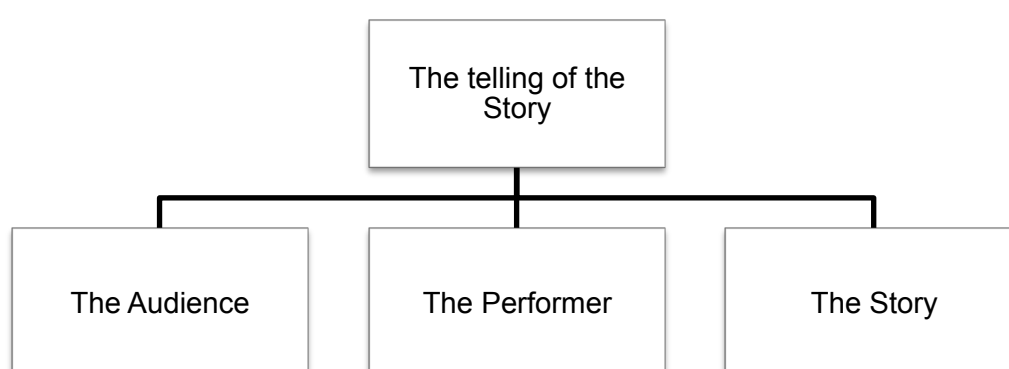


Figure 3.09: The telling of a story

Each of the narrative excerpts were analysed and coded to the nodes outlined in this chapter. This generated a rich repository of data from each participant within each theme or node. As stated at the above, it was my aim to create through the nodes not only a means to categorise the data but also to facilitate how it is discussed and critiqued.

3.14 Validity and reliability

This is a piece of research that is aligned to an interpretative paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). As such, positivist or quantitative notions of reliability are not clearly attributable to research focused on narrative principles (Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In part this is due to the concept of the Outsider as a subjective and existential agent. The questions used as a basis to each interview were in common, with additional questions and prompts as necessary. Whilst there are clearly closely related features due to the shared social phenomenon being studied, each participant will use their stories and narratives as they appertain to their own reality and sense of meaning (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991; Scott, 2000; Wearmouth, 2003). Through the choice of semi-structured interviews, the methodology allows for such subjective variation whilst maintaining a focus on the conceptual framework (Wengraf, 2001; Robson, 2002; Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Flick, 2009). Each participant was given the option of having a copy of their transcript and none took issue with the data as presented. A voice recorder was used to record each interview and a data file produced and backed-up so that no recordings were left on portable devices. I have indicated throughout this study issues that relate to my own positioning and acknowledge that in such interpretative research bias cannot be completely removed (Merriam et al. 2001; Takacs, 2003; Bourke 2014). This however is in recognition of such Freireian notions of emancipation and problematisation that are a thread throughout this study (Freire, 1997; Crotty, 1998).

3.15 Research Ethics

Clear ethical considerations underpinned this research (Punch, 2009). To Cohen et al. an ethical dilemma is one that requires researchers to, *'strike a balance between the demands placed upon them as professional scientists in pursuit of truth, and their subjects' rights and values potentially threatened by the research'* (Cohen et al., 2011). Within the field of education Strike (2006 p.57) stresses three central obligations of the educational researcher,

- To direct their efforts to individual and social betterment.
- To protect vulnerable populations.
- To maintain the integrity of research and the research community.

Connelly and Clandinin (2006) also assert that while ethical review is mandatory for all research with human participants narrative enquiry needs special consideration. (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 483). Inquirer-participant relationships must be acknowledged beginning with clarification about the motivation and perspective of the researcher, making explicit the social significance of their work (Clandinin, 2006a) and their particular perspective. Rowan (2006) recognises these particular issues,

‘Researchers recognize that all research carries with it the ideological assumptions of the researcher, reflective of his or her time in history and position of power within a culture or subcultures.’ (Rowan, 2006 p.114).

From the perspective of the participant Strike (2006) paraphrased below sees three themes, namely;

Respect for Persons: individuals should be seen as autonomous agents able to give voluntary informed consent. (or have it given by a responsible and competent third party)

Beneficence: an obligation to do no harm. Researchers should assess and balance risks and benefits and make a case for the potential benefits of their work.

Justice: the selection of subjects must be just. Benefits and burdens should be equitably shared across lines of race, gender, class and culture. Vulnerable populations employed as subjects in research that primarily benefits others should be avoided.

In relation to the above issues of anonymity, informed consent and protection of personal data were insured (Cohen et al., 2011, BERA, 2011). This is particularly pertinent as ‘*all social research intrudes to some extent into peoples lives...*’ (Punch, 2009 p.50). Care was taken to follow the British Educational Research Association’s Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011) and as such the research adopts a communitarian

approach (Strike, 2006) respecting the educational research community's ethical norms. At an institutional level the research will take heed of the particular requirements of the University of Leicester's Research Ethics Code of Practice and the Protocol for Ethical Approval of Student Work. Prior to any commencement of the research process including the selection of participants, ethical approval was sought. This followed the University of Leicester system for submission of research projects for ethical approval using an on-line application portal. Assurances were given during the application that I had read and would follow the 'University of Leicester Code of Research Ethics'. Central to this code was the need to respect the perspective of the participants in relation to consent and confidentiality alongside my own assurances of academic independence. The application for ethical approval was approved and the practical elements of the research process sanctioned.

3.16 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the intellectual and epistemological processes that have informed the research design. In relation to philosophy, the research is underpinned by an interpretative paradigm and I have recognised my own position as researcher and Outsider. I have been clear that I see narrative as an important aspect of human experience and a way to afford the researcher data and insight. To this end I have argued for the use of semi-structured interviews with ten adults as a way to harness such data and have considered the selection of an appropriate sample of self-selected participants. I have outlined how thorough an inductive process I will engage with the data considering themes and concepts. Clear ethical considerations have underpinned this research and have been communicated to the participants. Ultimately my motivation and drive for this study has been to explore the nature of what it means to be included into school from the distinct perspective of the Outsider at the heart of this piece of work.

PART B, CHAPTER FOUR: Findings and Discussion

4.01 Introduction

Part A provided the intellectual, theoretical and methodological framing together with the key design features of this study. As outlined in the previous chapter, ten participants formed the sample and subsequently participated in the semi-structured interviews. The raw data produced was rich and interesting and allowed for careful analysis through the means of an analytical hierarchy (Richie and Lewis, 2003; Bryant 2017). This approach recognised the epistemological weight given to narratives outlined in the methodology (Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). Such analysis was initially textually and aurally mediated (Clandinin, 2006; Moen, 2006). In this section I detail the findings that provide some insight into the nature of inclusion from the perspective of the Outsider. Such findings presented following an inductive and iterative process of developing emerging themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richie and Lewis; 2003; Bryant 2017).

The findings discussed in this chapter are all drawn from interviews that each lasted for approximately one hour or more as is usual for similar qualitative studies (Gill et al 2008; Alshenqeeti 2014) and generated a large amount of data (Neuman, 2007). By using a systematic and iterative engagement with the data I was able to apply both critical and creative thinking (Fairclough 1999; Malturud, 2001). These are the underpinnings of interpretative research whereby analysis is seen as a dynamic interplay between the researcher and the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990 p.13). Whilst data was produced in textual and aural formats, for the purposes of presenting data to the reader, I will use sections of text and verbatim excerpts from the interviews. Using excerpts to present findings is an established phenomenon in the area of qualitative study (Beck 1993; Corden and Sainsbury, 2005) and this was felt to be an appropriate means to support the interpretative nature of the research. Such an approach also clearly acknowledges its ideographic nature (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Phothongsunan, 2010).

Corden and Sainsbury (2005 and 2006) suggest that the qualitative researcher be mindful of the following criteria when using verbatim quotes so that they are employed and presented with meaning.

- *Presenting quotations as evidence*
- *Presenting spoken words for explanation*
- *Using quotations as illustration*
- *Using quotations to deepen understanding*
- *Using spoken words to enable voice*
- *Using quotations to enhance readability*

(Corden and Sainsbury, 2006)

Such criteria were useful in relation to the identification and cross-referencing of excerpts to relevant theme(s) in the initial software coding and identifying and also to illustrate key aspects of the findings (Edhlund, 2011; Bryant, 2017). Throughout the presentation of findings each of the criteria above were applicable at some point and although it was not necessary to code each excerpt with a relevant criterion where appropriate this is highlighted in the discussion. As per the analytical hierarchy or ladder identified in the previous chapter (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richie and Lewis 2003) the findings in this chapter are presented using the same thematic elements. The hierarchy suggests a move towards identifying patterns that relate more closely to the components of the conceptual framework and to begin synthesising and summarising data (Richie and Lewis, 2003). Hierarchical coding is a useful tool in which to make sense of large amounts of raw data (Flick, 2011). However there is a subtle positivist undertone that needs to be recognised for each theme is not atomised but drawn from a holistic perspective (Bryant, 2017). This is what Egbu (2004) suggested might lead to a mechanistic view of knowledge that runs counter to interpretative principles (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). To mitigate this a holistic overview should be recognised allowing for the interconnectedness of themes to be clear and provide context.

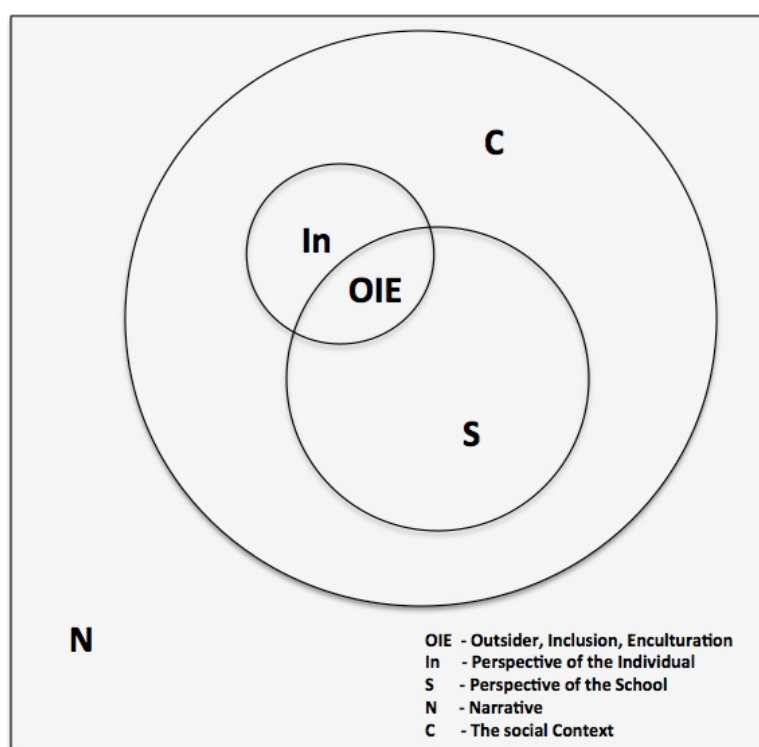


Fig 4.01: The Conceptual Framework & *holistic milieu* (Jabareen, 2009)

To aid this process the holistic milieu is incorporated into the conceptual framework to show the interconnectedness of the themes. In such a conceptualisation, narrative covers every aspect of experience within which the other themes are positioned (Wittgenstein, 1953). As an analytical *climbing frame* or hierarchy has been employed in this study, a discussion of each theme will naturally take account of other themes or concepts as the data is summarised and synthesised and key elements are identified (Miles and Huberman 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003). The approach gives structure to the analytical process but should not suggest some themes or aspects are more important than others (Richie and Lewis, 2003). As discussed in the methodology the questions in the narrative interview were designed to be 'open but narrow' (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000. P.34) to generate data to be presented here textually. As Bazeley cautions, such excerpts of narrative in research findings need to provide context and the finer nuances therein (Bazeley, 2013). In order to avoid presenting *meaningless chunks* (Bazeley, 2013 p.69) I have presented both small and more substantial excerpts to allow the reader to follow some of the process of the analytical engagement

and have made clear my own interpretation linked to literature as I discuss them. For this reason a selection of excerpts have been identified as representative of the wider data. I had considered providing the reader with full transcripts of the interviews but have decided against this. In part due to the usefulness of providing 'unwieldy tangled data' (Richie and Lewis, 2003, p.214) and in recognition of the iterative process that was both aurally and textually mediated (Fairclough, 1999; Clandinin, 2006). Such a view has been taken in other doctoral studies with a focus on narrative interpretation. In regard to my own voice within the findings, Coulter considers in the area of interpretative narrative research the researcher is also constructing a narrative *alongside* the participants and this should be evident in how the findings are presented (Coulter 2008 and 2009). Clandinin and Murphy concur and caution that a voice that is too remote from the narratives might '*distance the researcher from an ethical relationship with both the participants and the field texts*' (2009 p.601). Elements of my own thinking and ontological commitments (Clandinin and Murphy 2009) will therefore be made clear through the findings. To guide the reader, I have used key words to scaffold the text drawn from the stories (Clandinin and Murphy 2009; Bazeley 2013). These are not thematic pointers *per se*, but help to focus the reader.

4.02 The participants

In the previous chapter I discussed the chosen sample and selection of participants. To provide some context to the subsequent findings and associated excerpts of their stories I include here a brief overview. For a study that focused on the nature of inclusion as a universal concept, this is essentially a phenomenon that is positioned in a *familiar culture* for both participant and researcher (Mann and Stewart, 2000). Mann and Stewart suggest that because qualitative research is conducted in this familiar domain then the researcher's own cultural knowledge contributes to the processes of interpretation (Mann and Stewart, 2000 p. 201) and research begins from a position of shared understanding. Because of the inclusion characteristics of the sample as newly qualified or student teachers such commonality was

clear and there were no issues with terminology or context (Salkind, 2010). Before presenting the findings, I remind the reader of the participants and reiterate that each individual was given a pseudonym and this has been used consistently throughout the research. Participants were self-selected and key indices and participant profiles are presented below.

Gender	<i>F = 50%</i>	<i>M = 50%</i>
School type	<i>Primary = 70%</i>	<i>Secondary = 30%</i>
Stage in career	<i>NQT = 40%</i>	<i>ITT = 60%</i>
Entry into profession	<i>Mature = 80%</i>	<i>Direct = 20%</i>

Figure 4.02: key indices

Name	Gender		NQT / ITT
Adrian	M	Secondary	ITT
Clare	F	Primary	NQT
David	M	Primary	ITT
Eloise	F	Secondary	NQT
Geoff	M	Primary	ITT
Kay	F	Primary	NQT
Liam	M	Primary	ITT
Michael	M	Primary	ITT
Sarah	F	Primary	ITT
Susan	F	Primary	NQT

Figure 4.03 Participant profiles

CHAPTER 4 – PART ONE

4.03 The perspective of the individual

The concept of the Outsider is integral to this study. The motif has been used to allow for a discussion of what is both shared and subjective and this tension is implicit in the concept. (Sheutz, 1944 Biesta, 2009). The research question acknowledges this centrality of the Outsider as conceptualised.

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

As such the concept resonates with the notion of a shared cultural phenomenon (Mann and Stewart, 2000) but also to the deeply subjective and existential (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot 2011). The sample of ten adults were chosen to afford an insight into this individual dimension and the data reflects this perspective. Because this is a study that seeks to better understand the nature of inclusion, demythicise the concept and expand the definition in an existential sense (Freire, 1976; Crotty, 1998; Giroux, 2011) this theme is the appropriate starting point to present this data. For this study it was also important to engage with professionals at early stages of their career and to give acknowledgment to their own individual stories within the collective construct of the teaching profession (Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Sagor, 2011). The perspective of the individual is therefore also congruent with aspects of action research (Reason and Bradbury, 2006) that seek ways to engage the individual and the communities in which they practice and upon which they might reflect (Olson and Craig, 2002; Hammersley 2004). It is important to make clear how the individual is to be defined to provide context to the findings and relationship to the participants. In this way avoiding overly mechanistic interpretations of the concept (Egbu, 2004).

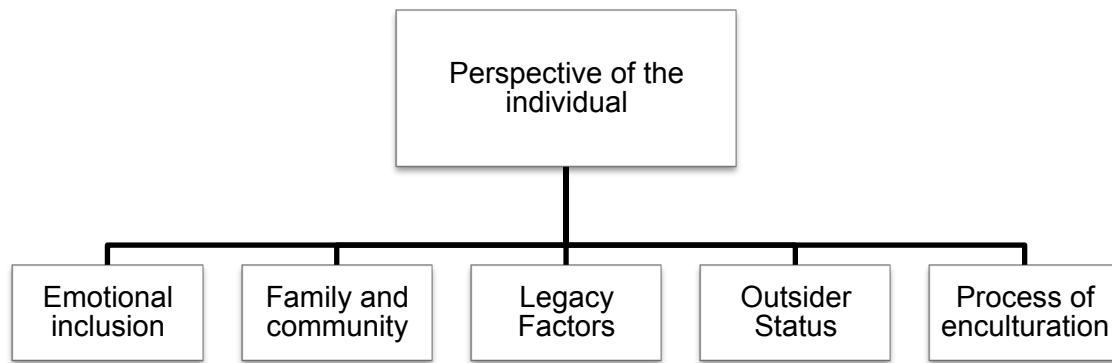


Figure 4.04: The perspective of the individual

For this study the human individual is seen as composed of infinite possibilities and variables within a multidimensional state of being (Hoebel, 1958; Kottak 2015; Kelly 2002). Such a position also chimes with the epistemological beliefs of the interpretative paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This notion of the individual as this intricate, complex and multifaceted being, whilst easy to recognise and affirm might seem on one level paradoxical (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008). This is particularly when one considers that the very definition of an *individual* is often interpreted as appertaining to a unique and holistic entity and is thus an indivisible construct. Such is the concept of ontological monism as critiqued by Habermas (2007). In other words an individual entity is characterised by both the distinct nature of its unitary separateness and the complexity of its construction and components (Erikson, 1965; Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2006; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015). Within this individual existential construct, there are also infinite attributes, behaviours, physical and emotional characteristics, preferences and tastes that illustrate the vastness of human variability (Hoebel 1958; DeLamater and Hyde, 2011). This makes a study into human social behaviour interesting, particularly in relation to the institution of the school as a shared experience. On the one hand a common endeavour and experience shared by all children and young people (with a few caveats) whilst the other a unique, subjective, and clearly individual act or experience (Caiman and Lundegård, 2012; Waytz and Epley, 2012). The data from the participants is therefore interpreted from this perspective.

In order to make sense of such a perspective, the Outsider as protagonist has been chosen to illustrate these individual characteristics and processes (Scheutz, 1944; Camus and Gilbert, 1961; Lester, 1981; Habermas, 1990). It should be very clearly stated again before discussing the narratives, that the concept of the *Outsider* is not necessarily interchangeable with *Individual*. The status of Outsider is for the purposes of this study an illustration of the natural default human situation or existential state in the context of being included (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; McCulloch, 2012). In this regard it is a feature of lived experience or a status that is felt by all humans but at some times (Suleiman, 1998). It is therefore better seen as a component part of an individual's wider holistic identity (Hoebel, 1958; Kottak, 2015). It is for this reason that Outsider status was identified as a sub-theme within the domain of the individual. (Edhlund, 2011; Muylaert et al. 2014; Bryant, 2017) The data from this theme is discussed first recognising as it does the implicit links with emotional inclusion and their symbiotic nature.

4.04 Outsider Status and Emotional Inclusion

The interview questions gave the participants the opportunity to share and talk about issues related to the Outsider as it has been conceptualised for this study. A definition of such a concept was not given to the participants however as to suggest that this 'label' should define them might prove to be either confusing or presumptuous (Patten, 2003). There was one specific question however that refers to the state of being 'outside'.

'The idea of fitting 'into' something, suggests that the process starts by being 'outside'. Do you recognise this process?'

This question was designed to encourage the participant to consider the act of fitting-in or enculturation as a general process with a distinct starting place external to the new context (Scheutz, 1944; Giddens, 1976; Hoebel, 1958;

Kottak, 2015). In regards to posing questions that might be seen as leading ‘*fitting-in*’ and ‘*outside*’ are lexical antonyms (Cruse, 1986 and 2004) and as such the notion of the Outsider is implied but not directly assumed. The context of school was not alluded to necessarily, but it was incumbent on the participants to make these connections (Salkind, 2010). This resonates with the notion of the Outsider discussed in relation to the literature and specifically Scheutz’s assertion that,

‘... the cultural pattern of a social group which he approaches and to orient himself within it. For our present purposes the term “stranger” shall mean an adult individual of our times and civilization who tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches.’ (Scheutz, 1944 p.499)

In their stories, many of the participants interpreted this question as referring to a negative, difficult or undesirable state of being in the first instance. Such negative connotations confirm those aspects of human nature that seek to be inside or included (Maslow 1943, Kenrick et al., 2010) and that to feel outside might have associated tensions or anxieties. For Maslow, such a sentiment was aligned to the concept of *belongingness* (Maslow 1954). In Tay and Diener’s more contemporary research revisiting Maslow’s theory, their study confirmed the need for social acceptance as linked to positive feelings and fulfilment (Tay and Diener, 2011). Related to the concept of inclusion into school, links can be made between inclusion and emotional processes. (Tay and Diener, 2011; Hill and Buss, 2007). Such essential elements of human psychology might have sub-conscious elements or primordial perspectives (Matcas 2015). This concept has to be considered light of the findings as participants are being asked to draw upon aspects of their subconscious a factor highlighted here by Adrian.

‘But definitely, I’d say that whilst you’re at school, there is a sub-conscious element of trying to fit in, with whoever you’re with I suppose’ (Adrian)

Adrian's response was interesting as the question was worded in a way as to be ambiguous and made no specific reference to the positives or negatives of the process or the school context. It was clear also however that by alluding to the notion of being outside, this drew him to recognise a dynamic action. In the words of Adrian, '*trying to fit-in*'. This phrase constructed in a continuous tense, recognises tacitly that it is not specifically '*in*' or '*out*' but rather the process that spans the two states (Cruse, 2004). In other words the dynamic act of *trying*. Relating this act to the phenomenon of enculturation it could be at this point where the human individual is acting upon those dynamic features of behaviour (Hoebel, 1958; Nussbaum, 2011; Bandura, 2015).

...a hole that you don't fit...

Geoff echoed these sentiments, but goes further with language that suggests an external rather than intrinsic force impacting behaviour and this was a recurring sentiment within Geoff's story.

'So, to me, that's what I'm thinking of at the moment when you're saying fitting in, it's being forced into a hole that you don't fit'. (Geoff)

Such sentiments recognised by Lawrence (2008) as those external factors that can impact and direct an individual's *thought and action*, particularly from an institutional provenance (Lawrence, 2008 p.175). Aligned to this concept is the fact that when viewed as being outside, reflection is directed towards what exactly it is that one is *outside of* or indeed what one is expected or being made to *fit into*. In other words, *the hole* that Geoff feels he is being forced into. Such compulsion and pressure recognised in García-Sánchez's research on insider/outsider tensions (García-Sánchez, 2014). Geoff's perception differs to Adrian's whereby for one fitting-in is a means to a goal but for the other a situation about which the individual has no control but which might *limit, shape or direct the developing individual* (Grusec and Hastings, 2006 p.547). The literature recognises that such external pressures are an essential part of human existence (Allport, 1927; Scheutz, 1944; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011) but for Geoff there is the potential for more negative factors

to be considered congruent with a loss of autonomy (Erikson, 1965; Lawrence, 2006; Crosnoe, 2011; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015) as evidenced by the following excerpt,

‘...it’s not necessarily a good thing, because it might mean that you’re being asked to fit into a shape that you can’t fit into.’ (Geoff)

Kay too echoed this incongruence between what the Outsider is fitting into in terms of negative and positive connotations. She makes the interesting claim that humans are actually also content to be outside certain groups, affiliations, or factions.

‘...there has been situations, sort of social situations, when you think, ‘well there’s no way I want to fit-in here’, (Kay)

Kay’s decisive view is echoed in the research related to group socialisation and the perceptions of extant groupings by external players (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Ryan and Bogart, 1997; Ellis et al., 2012). The cliché that we are often defined rather by what we *are not* rather than what we *are* holds true in this context. Aligned to this is the simple correlation that being inside one group might serve to bar membership of another, almost in the same way as a political or religious affiliation (Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008). In this regard links can be made to those processes of enculturation that engender a sense of belonging in the Outsider but which originates from their own context and social environment (Freud, 1922; Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). Liam too recognised this phenomenon that correlates with some of the exclusionary processes that are implicit with group membership (Waytz and Epley, 2012).

‘I think the groups [in school] are so different, and they stand for such different things that you can only really be part of one group. If you were to make the transition to another group, then you’d have to leave your old group behind, like a stepping stone kind of thing.’ (Liam)

The motif here of the ‘*stepping stone*’ is interesting, suggesting as it does a precarious state of being and one with quite defined boundaries between different groupings. Such groupings which might be peer mediated and directed (Juvonen and Bear, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008).

Participation or locational proximity alone seems not necessarily synonymous with fitting in or feeling part of whichever group an individual choses to join however and the following except from Geoff illustrates this. He recognises that the act of playing football is not enough to necessarily equal membership of the group, there are other interpersonal dynamics at play (Frost, 2011; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012).

‘...if you were in a football team, you don’t fit into the football team, you play in the team. So you first have to fit before you can play. So you’re on the outside.’ (Geoff)

...it’s a weird one...

What was developing as a theme from the narratives (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003) was the fact that Outsider status was often seen in a social sense specifically in relation to peers. In some respects the physical and environmental nature of the school or classroom secondary to the more profound relationships with other children and young people. Another pattern from the data was that of the need for the individual to change or adapt. David expands this view and in this excerpt similarities might be drawn between the encompassing tendencies of the institution (Stoda 2007; Loreman 2010; Tomlinson, 2015) and those of peers (Crosnoe 2011).

‘I definitely think so. I think growing up, you almost have that one friend that you want to be like, and so you try your hardest to do things that they like, do things that they do, almost like, dress like them, just so you’re acknowledged by that person or that group, so that you fit in...and you can even see it in the classroom as well. Children that kind of, really do try and fit in with others, with their peers, and it’s a weird one. It is weird.’ (David)

David's assertion that *it's weird* suggests some indication of the human existential tension that is characterised by human social endeavour and is at the heart of the concept of Outsider status (Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012). Linked to such existential tension is the notion of choice and decision within dynamic processes that align with aspects of agency and motivation (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Nussbaum, 2011; Bandura, 2015). This was very clear in Adrian's story clearly characterised by his choices and decisions.

'I think there can be two kind of processes, personally. I think that you can either choose to fit in, so you can be on the outside of something and want to be on the inside of something, so a social group at school, or the cool kids, or the kind of bad children. Or I suppose you can choose not to fit in, so it's the opposite, you can choose that you don't want to fit in, so you have the children, you know, the guys that will do anything to rebel against any form of interaction with anybody, any social groups, so I think there's always kind of the two choices of it. The two choices of fitting in I think. I think the concept of it is probably a difficult thing to grasp at times.' (Adrian)

I was interested to view whether the participants in some way identified with the concept of the Outsider, recognising the fact that Outsider status as conceptualised is an interweaving of physical and emotional constructs (Scheutz, 1944; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini 2012). Suleiman's assertion in relation to the human condition that, '...all travellers are outsiders somewhere' (Suleiman, 1998 p.3) was also a pertinent issue to consider in this context. For some participants, the status of Outsider was indeed synonymous with the emotion of acceptance and security and related to the notion of fitting-in (Brown et al., 2011; Crosnoe, 2011). As Clare asserts,

'I think you've already 'fitted' in if you don't have that feeling of being an outsider anymore.' (Clare)

In this interpretation it might be seen that there is a simple polarised relationship between the 'Outsider' and the 'Insider'

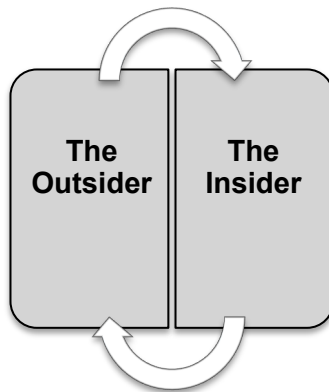


Figure 4.05: Outsider / Insider (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016)

This interpretation provides a model that might seem convincing; however it takes no account of the evolving, compartmentalised and dynamic nature of inclusion within the new context and the more nuanced nature of moving from without to within (Grusec and Hastings, 2006). From the stories such processing seemed to rely on some element of control and compromise associated with membership or an extant social context (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008, Crosnoe, 2011). This phenomenon of *adaptation* suggesting links might be made to those interrelated forces of agency and structure that impact the individual (Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Bandura, 2015). This sentiment was clear from Eloise's assertion that,

'...it just blew me away, and it took ages for me to really work out the nuances of the environment and be able to fit in, because it was just so different to what I was used to.' (Eloise)

Once the outsider is confronted with the new reality it cannot be a simple case of being either one state or another as if *insider status* once gained is the final end point or happens at the moment the threshold is crossed in a physical sense as per border psychology (Brown 2009). This sentiment of Eloise's can be seen to also resonate therefore with those historical and locational

considerations appertaining to the field of special education that relate to emplacement and environment rather than emotional considerations. (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Tomlinson, 2012; Rieser, 2014; Hodkinson, 2015).

...a no-man's area...

In Clare's story, she expands this notion of the border by speaking of an emotional *no-man's area* which I found an interesting concept.

'If you're not part of that group, you're sort of in a no-man's area if you like' (Clare)

We can take such an analogy as a metaphor for the boundary or 'psychic landscape' (Brown 2010) between one state of being and another that the Outsider has to cross in a physical and emotional sense (Scheutz, 1944; Rutheiser, 1993; Brown, 2010; Sherwin, 2010) and apply the concept to group dynamics (Juvonen and Bear, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008). In this way Claire's *no-man's land* resonates with Liam's stepping stone analogy of group transference (Juvonen and Bear, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008). From the data excerpts such as Clare's no-mans land suggest an underlying sentiment of lack of *familiarity* that is being developed in an uncertain context (Scheutz, 1944; Brown, 2010).

The border between groups and those of the walls of the school institution are not equal constructs however. In the case of the school the institution exists as a unitary entity, an island within the participant's experience and consciousness (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005) and here I remind the reader of the conceptual framework and implicit holistic milieu in *figure 4.01*. With this in mind one can be categorical about being outside but to be or feel included by peers is perhaps a much more nuanced even fragile state (Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012; Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012; Vanden-Abeelee, 2016). For Clare her *no-mans land* metaphor suggests this interplay and

tension and I am minded of Le Bon's concept of the institution as a living body characterised by myriad undercurrents and the interaction of unique elements (Le Bon, 1896). To illustrate Claire's metaphor further and the developing dimension of *familiarity*, we can draw on Foucault's critique of another institution, the prison as an example. (Foucault, 1977) It is easy to be categorical about being outside this particular institutional context, but less easy to be assured of being 'insiders' as soon as the threshold is crossed. Such crossing between states was a feature of Garcia-Sánchez's research with Moroccan immigrant children that recognised the plight of the *outsider inside* (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016) and the resultant tensions and insecurities while such familiarity was being engendered.

...a stable base...

For Liam, this insecurity and lack of familiarity was clear from his story and he speaks of *foundations* and the *stable base* that is needed in order to make sense of the social environment a feature of Hofstede's interpretation (Hofstede, 1991).

'I think it's important for you to have a stable base, before you can move on and develop yourself.' (Liam)

'You need to establish yourself I think a foundation where you can grow and develop. Because if you can't fit in then really you're an outsider' (Liam)

Liam's language suggests that once a foothold is afforded in the new context, then the primary drive is to lay down roots in order to provide some notion of stability to the new context. In this way what is strange becomes familiar for the individual (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010). I am reminded here of Davey's assertion that the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1989) can be seen as those layers of knowledge that once developed afford the individual the tools for understanding (Davey, p.277). In this way Liam is speaking of the need for the

individual to be cognisant of this dimension and there is an existential element to such an interpretation (Levinas, 1978).

...an inner circle...

Unlike the 'completeness' of being outside therefore (Foucault, 1977), being inside suggests that there are many more interacting and dynamic factors at play and as Liam asserted, these develop and grow within the new culture (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Waytz and Epley, 2012). Here the patterns related to the confluence of adaptation and familiarity are seen to be developing (Hoebel, 1958; Grusec and Hastings, 2006). Michael too makes this point clearly in his story and it is notable that he alludes to the culture of expectations of the institution on the one hand together with those of peers and social connections. Michael seems to be recognising the nature of interaction within institutions and the dynamism of the internal interplay between members (Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008; Crosnoe, 2011). As such, the pattern of adaption is clear in Michael's story,

'...there is an established culture of expectations within the school - rules, boundaries. But then the students themselves or pupils, they make like an inner circle to fit into, which is more the social side of things, who they play with, what games they play. So I guess if a child's going into a school, they've got to fit in to the ideas from the school, but then also with social groups of their peers.' (Michael)

The importance of the relationship with peers was very clear from all of the narratives and this was felt to be notable and echoed some of the findings of Sáez-Martí and Sjögren's (2008) research. For certain participants the role of teachers or the school environment was barely alluded to or discussed, such was the importance of peer association, affiliation and rapport a factor suggested in Crosnoe's research with adolescents (Crosnoe 2011). From a Freirian perspective this was interesting as the forces of oppression in the institutional domain might be as likely to come from peers as from the supposed hegemony of the institution (Foucault, 1961; Goffman, 1961; Freire,

1997; Crotty, 1998; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). Brown recognises this phenomenon and recognises that the '*sites and sources of domination.*' (Brown 1995, p.7) in an institutional context can come from without and within. Peers in this way are developing as an important feature within the interrelated components of the conceptual framework and a resonance with inclusion and enculturation alongside Outsider status. Drawing from the developing themes of familiarity and adaptation the impact of peers therefore often implicit in this process (Crosnoe 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012). In Kalymon and Hanley-Maxwell's research of school support mechanisms, peers were identified as a key factor in positive ways as agents to facilitate processes of inclusion (Kalymon and Hanley-Maxwell, 2010)

...I wasn't that great...!

For the participants, academic achievement, work and attainment appeared secondary to social constructs. This phenomenon was recognised by Fall and Roberts in their research on school engagement (Fall and Roberts, 2012). One of the features of their research was '*identification with school*' and links between social context and school engagement factors (Fall and Roberts, 2012 p.788). As Kay suggests, her experience at school was seen in a positive light because she felt that she fitted-in, hiding the fact that she was not necessarily academically strong and her identification with school reflected this perspective.

'It's quite funny actually, because my perception of school is that I got on with people really well, and recently I've read my reports and thought, 'actually, I wasn't that great!' but I never had that perception, I always felt that I was part of it' (Kay)

Kay's *identification of school* (Fall and Roberts, 2012) seemed to resonate with notions of identity and self-awareness, whereby the child locates themselves in relation to the behaviours, culture or mores of the peer groups within which they find themselves (Freud, 1922; Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). For Liam he categorises

these groupings and again references a recurring theme in his story notably that to choose one group is to not choose another, echoing the exclusionary sentiment ascribed by Waytz and Epley, (2012).

'I think because of the way the school culture is and the vast difference between the boffin and the trouble-maker, or class clown, I don't think you can be in between. You have to go where the sub groups go.'
(Liam)

It is interesting that Liam identifies 'boffin' as a distinct sub-group or culture within the school. As the following excerpt demonstrates however, academic achievement and endeavour is not necessarily synonymous with 'coolness' or attraction in the school context and there are some allusions to Crosnoe's discussion of the social challenges and stratification of school membership (Crosnoe 2011).

'I'd say there's probably, there's always three kind of structures at school. You kind of have the cool kids who are, reflecting back are not actually that cool, because they don't do particularly well, the middling kids, which I probably put myself in, and then the kids who really didn't, who were probably the straight A students and what you'd kind of class as the geeks, which would not be the politest way of putting it, but the guys who were very academic, and really didn't go out of their way, I think they're the ones who did their best not to fit in, who never were that social, it's probably a stereotype a little bit, but didn't have that kind of social awareness, whereas the 'middlers' kind of normally did, always wanted to be with the coolers, but they also had that academic strand that they wanted to do well as well, so they had the both of them. But yes, I would say that I did fit in, but probably just as the one in the middle.' (Adrian)

...you're not part of anything...

From the narratives generated it was interesting to see how the participants identified with the notion of being outside as a distinct starting point for subsequent enculturation. Outside being a relative and contextual phenomenon (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel 1958; Grusec and Hastings, 2006). As Geoff and Kay articulate,

...fitting in suggests that you're not within that group... (Geoff)

'...at that point, you're not part of anything,' (Kay)

Their words seem to recognise the *existential apartness* of the Outsider's condition (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Kangas, 2007; Magrini, 2012). For some of the participants however, the notion of being outside was seen in terms of demonstrating more measured behaviour, not giving too much of themselves and avoiding a certain amount of transparency. Here again the nature of the phenomena as detected (Richie and Lewis, 2003) suggest a desire for familiarity though more measured adaptive behaviours (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001; Nussbaum 2011). As Clare articulates the notion of *holding-back* and then *revealing* which seem perceptive observations of her character.

'...in some situations you perhaps have to hold back maybe your sense of humour, maybe in a new situation, definitely, and you have to feel your way before you can actually reveal your full personality.' (Clare)

A few participants spoke of their reluctance to *stand out* and actively sought to avoid raising their profile. As such processes of adaptation were both overt and internalised in an existential sense (Malik and Akhter, 2013; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). For Geoff and Eloise such sentiments underpinned a lot of their story and both attributed this drive to a desire to hide and avoid acknowledgment of their sexuality. Commentators such as Talburt (2000) are cognisant of this phenomenon that was corroborated by Crosnoe's research with lesbian and gay students (Crosnoe, 2011). These sentiments can be attributable to features of social stigma within the institutional context (Goffman, 1963; Crocker and Major, 1989; Link and Phelan, 2001) and for Geoff and Eloise an important factor underpinning their experiences. In relation to the nature of familiarity, 'familiar' in this context seen as mainstream or '*normal*' with a fear of revealing difference (Crosnoe, 2011; Lingardi et al., 2012; Ryan and Blascovich, 2015). Clare's story mirrored

some of these sentiments and she talked about the need to *hold back*, in certain social situations.

‘...the sort of humour that some people have, whether it would match yours, whether you’d have to hold back or things like that’ (Clare)

For Clare the *true self* is being held-back in a strategic way in order to facilitate acceptance and subsequent inclusion which would seem to corroborate the nuanced nature of the Outsider moving from without to within (Scheutz, 1944; Grusec and Hastings, 2006). This concept resonates with those attributes related to the act of membership as they affect the human individual (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008, Crosnoe, 2011). For Clare such aspects seen as negative and emotionally challenging.

‘I’m incredibly anxious when I come into a new environment, and it takes me quite a while to feel comfortable before I can feel like I can be myself.’ (Clare)

It might appear that Clare’s notion of *holding-back* and resultant acclimatisation is not only a feature of self-preservation and a development of confidence (Gabhart, 1999, Robert and Pringle, 1993), but also a distinct process that relates to an auditing of the new environment prior to the *‘profound alteration’* or adaption deemed necessary for membership to be assumed (Vella, 1999).

...an alien way of life...

This might suggest that the status of the Outsider is characterised by a constant process of assessment and appraisal, whereby physical, emotional and environmental factors are examined. According to Brown such a concept highlighted by the antimony between the individual and institutional domains (Brown, 1995). In such an interpretation the forces of agency and enculturation seem congruent for the individual at this point (Tomasello et al.,

1993). This examination and appraisal is key, because the onus is on the Outsider to adapt to the new situation and to be aware of its features and expectations (Scheutz, 1944; Goffman 1961; Kottak, 2015). Liam makes this point in his story and here makes an allusion to the alien nature of the extant social context.

‘And that was a massive confidence knock, because obviously I was in that alien community with alien people, and an alien way of life almost. So I had to adapt quickly. And the way I adapted was just to change, and withdraw into myself a little bit.’ (Liam)

In Liam’s account, underpinned by the notions of *alien* and *adaption* I am minded of the discussions that related to the concept of normalisation and expectation that have characterised some aspects of the inclusion debate (Sainsbury, 2009; Rieser, 2014). Also related to the developing pattern of *familiarity*, Liam’s choice of *alien* is antipathetic, suggesting some degree of disconnect. In some of the stories this phenomena was recognised from the teller’s perspective but also in other individuals, Outsiders who were joining the existing group or environment. Here Susan recalls a peer new to her classroom context.

‘...he was a bit more of an observer as well actually, he’d sort of sit and watch’. (Susan)

In Susan’s example there is an allusion to the calculating nature of the phenomenon. This behavioural trope recognised by García-Sánchez in research that suggested pupils could negotiate the institutional and social boundaries in a measured and perceptive way (García-Sánchez, 2016). This relies on the individual developing a sense of reflection, reflexivity and meta-perception about the interpersonal space. Such a notion sits with the nature of acculturative stress as the individual encounters a social situation (Roche and Kuperminc, 2012). On the one hand this is dependent on skills of self-awareness or phenomenal consciousness (Bandura, 2001) and on the other those of projection or assumptions about how others see us (Baron-Cohen,

1997; Ryder et al., 2000; Stoda, 2007). Clare expands this point making the connection between fitting-in and *standing out*.

‘...there’s still parameters with that standing out isn’t there, there’s the socially acceptable standing out, you know, a little bit unique, slightly eccentric, or there’s the kind of undesirable standing out, like, ‘oh, they’re a bit weird, don’t want to be with them’, sort of thing. So it’s just finding that sort of happy medium really.’ (Clare)

With Clare’s perception that there are both socially acceptable and undesirable features of *standing-out*, there might be links here to issues of conformity, insofar as the Outsider is engaged in a dynamic process of auditing social, environmental and cultural factors in order to steer a path through the institutional context and to conform to its expectations (Geertz, 1973; Sainsbury, 2010). Such an interpretation supports the developing theme of adaptation as an integral component. Clear links to the nature of enculturation can be made here with a recognition of the symbiotic nature of the individual and collective perspectives and the subjective nature of the inclusion journey (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Kottak, 2015). In Sarah’s story, she speaks of this phenomenon in terms of *adaption* and *conforming*.

‘Adapting to how people think you should behave in school, so conforming if you like. So get into that line and follow everybody wherever they’re going, conforming to whatever the culture of the school is, the ethos of the school. So I’ve been in schools before where it’s no hands up, you do a thinking thumb instead. Or you might, you know, talk in class, or if you’re in a line it’s frowned upon. So you’d fit in with that, you wouldn’t talk, because you know you’d get told off. Whereas I’ve been in another school where talk is encouraged, so long as you pay attention when the signal is given for you to pay attention. So I think it’s adapting to what you see as the culture of the school.’ (Sarah)

...you make a conscious effort to withhold...

Sarah’s phenomenal consciousness has an impact therefore not only on understanding those situational and contextual behaviours that are deemed necessary to the given social situation but also those that are consciously left

hidden or opaque (Bandura, 2011). For Sarah this concept articulated as *paying attention* to the accepted mores and expectations and acting upon them (Lawrence, 2008). Geoff relates to this tension and behaviour in a more nuanced way speaking of *withholding*,

'I don't think, you don't make a conscious effort to fit in, but you make a conscious effort to withhold, so you would only exhibit the bits that do fit in.' (Geoff)

This notion of withholding behaviours included issues of visibility in a physical sense, a reluctance to be seen or to stand-out to avoid negative attention due to perceived vulnerabilities (Gabhart, 1999, Robert and Pringle, 1993). *Standing-out* having a relationship here with the notion of *fitting-in* in this context as a way to avoid negative pressures and sentiments (Miller, 2010; Crosnoe, 2011; Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012). In other words to stand out is not just a physical or visible factor but also one characterised by being or *feeling* different. To stand out or to be visible might be associated with vulnerability or exposure and is therefore to be avoided and this was clear from Geoff and Susan's stories.

'...yes, avoid and hide in shadows really, is what you would do.' (Geoff)

'...if you're less involved, you're less exposed to anything that might go on.' (Susan)

...like a comfortable old slipper...

This notion of avoidance has parallels with the nature of participation (Morgan et al, 2007), avoiding not only being visible, but also activities that might enhance or promote this visibility (Miller, 2010; Crosnoe, 2011). This desire might be seen an act of self-preservation in the first instance (Gabhart, 1999, Robert and Pringle, 1993; Youpa, 2003). Emerging from these interpretations is a suggestion of a friction between a reluctance to be visible or vulnerable on the one hand, alongside a fear of isolation and exclusion on the other (Frost, 2011; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012). With this in mind some stories alluded to the notion of *comfort* linked to interpersonal considerations.

'Because if you can't fit in then really you're an outsider, kind of isolated from society, from the school. So it's all about making friends, making stable relationships, somewhere you feel comfortable.' (Liam)

Liam's notion of feeling *comfortable* is interesting and resonates both with other comments that the participants made and the themes of adaptation and familiarity emerging from the stories (Richie and Lewis, 2003). Parallels can be made to Erikson's thoughts concerning the nature of the human child's propensity to adapt and seek familiarity (Erikson, 1965; Doherty and Hughes, 2009). In the following excerpt Clare talks about how she came to view her secondary school environment over time using the metaphor of the *old slipper*.

'I felt it was like a comfortable old slipper, I just fitted in really well, in fact I felt like part of the furniture ... so you do get to a point where you have fitted in or you're comfortable where you are' (Clare)

Interestingly, Clare's subsequent renewal of Outsider status as a student teacher began anew the journey from an extant state of being to a new albeit familiar context (Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Sagor, 2011),

'I'm still anxious and worried, and I'm still in that process of fitting in, I've not arrived there yet.' (Clare)

It can be inferred therefore that the process of enculturation is evolving for Clare in her new context despite familiar parameters and capabilities and the themes of adaption and familiarity are being renewed (Giddens, 1976; Nussbaum, 2011; Kottak, 2015). This relationship between the Outsider and the institutional context might therefore be characterised by a degree of fluidity and interconnectedness (Lahelma and Gordon, 1997; Barrow and Woods, 2006; Grusec and Hastings, 2006). In this regard fitting-in is not the final destination but a state that is characterised by shifting levels of tension and emotion and have an existential nature for the individual (Magrini, 2012;

Sæverot 2011; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). Eloise makes this point clearly in her story,

‘...when I look at my own experience, and even my experience now [as an NQT], I’m twenty seven and yet I still don’t feel sometimes like I fit in. You know, and I’ve got friends, I’ve got a family that love me, but even now, in new circumstances, and even circumstances I’m used to, I feel like there’s this, I don’t know, people are conscious that I’m not quite fitting in.’ (Eloise)

...you do need a lot of scaffolding around you...

Geoff echoed some of Eloise’s sentiments and suggested a pluralistic and varied phenomenon characterised by interplay between the individual and emotional processes (Tay and Diener, 2011; Hill and Buss, 2007). This idea of gaining skills and abilities in a developmental sense (Giddens, 1984; Nussbaum, 2011; Bandura, 2015) was recognised by Geoff who interestingly talks of the need for *scaffolding*.

‘...at that age as well, you don’t have sufficient emotional maturity and development to know what it is that is good for you or bad for you. You know what feels nice and what doesn’t feel nice, and you learn therefore, what is good and what is bad, but you do need a lot of scaffolding around you. And you need more if you’re a minority, I think. (Geoff)

Some of the developing themes in relation to institutional – individual connections seem to resonate with issues of autonomy linked to inclusion and enculturation (LaFollette, 1998; Baumrind, 2005; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). Such autonomy analogous with a capacity for substantive expression in children and young people whereby the nature of autonomy is seen as a *nuanced and complex phenomenon* (Benwell 2013, p.28). Research by Vopat, 2010, suggested that for the child,

‘The capacity for substantive expression develops gradually as a child is allowed to express themselves in various ways.’ (Vopat, 2011. P211)

...burgundy loafers...

Vopat considered the issue of autonomy and children's expressive rights in relation to mandatory school uniform as this was seen to be a particular issue in certain contexts (Baumrind, 2005; Vopat, 2011). For the participants also there were some allusions to clothing and fashion in their stories some with links to such notions of freedom and autonomy (Baumrind, 2005). Carney and Sinclair note that Freedom of Expression is covered under article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and in relation to schools, '*case law shows that Strasbourg takes a very unsympathetic approach to claims based on dress codes.*' (Carney and Sinclair, 2006 p.135). In the English context such mandatory requirements resonate with wider notions of institutional tradition and expectation (Goffman, 1968; Tomasello et al., 1993; Pfeffer, 1998) that can direct the forces of enculturation and perception (Vandekerckhove et al., 2009). Two of the participants specifically mentioned school uniform and Kay's story is illustrative of such connections to autonomy and expression (LaFollette, 1998; Baumrind, 2005; Wray-Lake et al., 2010; Vopat, 2011).

'I suppose I'd choose my burgundy loafers I suppose!'

[Explain that!]

'Because, the school uniform was black shoes, and obviously my Mum was very much, 'well this is what the uniform is and this is what you wear', so I suppose that I wanted to show that I was a bit more out there than just the black shoes, so I used to sneak my burgundy loafers into school and wear them in school. And I suppose that was part of fitting in, thinking 'oh, Kay can wear burgundy loafers! So I suppose yes, that sticks in my mind quite a lot!' (Kay)

Interesting that the sub-context of this example is that for Kay, fitting-in is not associated with the material expectations of the school establishment but through the non-conforming behaviour (Tierney and Rubin, 1975; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008; Garcia-Sánchez, 2016). Such a concept again aligns with considerations of childhood self-perception and expression (Schaffer, 1996) and adaption to peer mediated considerations (Rubin et al., 1998; Ryan

2001). Research conducted by Ryan suggested that for adolescents, there is a differentiated relationship between aspects of school life that have *intrinsic* or *utility* value and links to motivation and engagement (Ryan, 2001). For Kay there is no utility or usefulness in school mandated clothing choices that run counter to her autonomy (Baumrind, 2005; Vopat, 2011). Susan complements Kay's story with her account that touches not only on self-expression and autonomy (LaFollette 1998; Baumrind 2005) but also to negative social aspects in relation to being *picked-on* because of her clothing. This negative peer attention or *moral disengagement* (Bandura, 1990; Bandura, 2002) seen as a distinctive feature of the institutional context (Bandura, 2002; Bernard and Milne, 2008; Cerf et al., 2010; Oberman, 2010; Crosnoe, 2011)

'It's very clumpy, almost boyish shoes because I went through them so quickly. And we weren't loaded, so mum didn't want to keep buying me shoes every few weeks. So that was one thing. And I've a blazer that I suddenly grew out of, I remember that, having to wear a blazer that I'd suddenly grown over the summer, put it back on again, it was like up here, 'hang on a minute!' (groans and shakes head)

I went through shoes quite heavily, really horrible shoes, and I remember being picked on for really horrible shoes at one point, so I think consciously I've always been quite into quite nice shoes since then! So that sort of sticks in my head from secondary school.

I think, because again it's the, eleven, twelve year old girls are very, even back in the eighties, very much focussed on what you look like, and it was all very appearance based, very very, what sort of bag are you carrying and that sort of thing, it was a time when fluorescent gloves and leg warmers were in as well!' (Susan)

...gonna get me a scarf...

Sarah also discussed clothing in her story, but unlike the previous excerpts, she illustrated the collective and shared aspects of artefacts and their role in the enculturation process (Hoebel, 1958). Again at this point in terms of emerging themes, there would appear to be a confluence of the phenomena of familiarity and adaptation, (Erikson, 1965; Doherty and Hughes, 2009). This human value ascribed to artefacts or the symbolic is seen as a marked characteristic of *material culture behaviour* which is acquired by the individual

often through cultural mimicry as a component of social conditioning (Boesch and Tomasello, 1998; Tostvein, 2007)

'A school scarf. Because I remember, and this is a school scarf from when I was doing my A levels, I remember your symbol of acceptance was the fact that you were actually allowed to go and stand and watch the rugby team with the school scarf on. And I still remember that, and it's funny because my eldest son, when he moved to Aberdeen University recently, said, 'Mum, gonna get me a scarf, and it's in Aberdeen's colours', and I thought, hum, that hasn't changed then in twenty odd years! It's still the symbol, of, 'I belong here, if I wear that scarf.' I suppose it's the same reason why people have scarves at football matches and stuff isn't it, but it was the school scarf, that was the thing.' (Sarah)

Underpinning these stories are aspects of individual expression that seem to be used intrinsically in a creative sense but also as a tool to ensure collective acceptance (Erikson, 1965). Subsequently at this micro-level, individuals might identify with or be ascribed a certain role or attribute within these groupings (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). As Michael articulates, the stratification evident in the social groupings and the relationships therein. Such phenomena resonant of Foucault's notion of the institutional interplay between *social stratifications and individual unities* (Foucault 1978, p.96) that Michael seems to be acknowledging.

'Yes, I guess because there's leaders and followers. I'd say the leaders are the ones who are confident to do their own thing but they will always seem to get the followers. And so they are the ones who are, I guess they're not fitting in, they're getting people to fit in, but the followers are the ones who perhaps don't have the confidence to go off on their own, because they want to fit in, so they will play what the sort of status quo are doing I guess.' (Michael)

This notion of leaders and followers articulated in Michael's story might be seen to resonate with the notion of the 'dominating circles' (Stoda, 2007) and the impact of such interpersonal dynamics within an established culture or social group (Erikson, 1965; Lawrence, 2006; Stoda, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015).

...that would be quite stressful...

Whilst participants were able to present their own personal experiences, they also recognised the apartness or tensions associated with this dynamic existential state in their peers (Levinas, 1978, Biesta, 2009. Sæverot, 2011; Peters and Sæverot, 2013). They were suggesting in their stories recognition of others who were perceived as outside established groups or found the act of fitting-in or conforming troubled or difficult. These observations were made in a reflective sense however, not necessarily indicative of how they saw the child at the time (Lewis, 2010).

‘Um, I guess it tended to be the children who would be by themselves at playtime, or perhaps those that were different and didn’t conform to the sort of standards of what an eight year old would be, they had their own interests. But yes, I guess defining it would definitely be the ones who are on their own.’ (Michael)

‘...there was always children who didn’t seem to fit in, and I would imagine emotionally that was quite stressful for them I would imagine’ (Michael)

The concept of the Outsider was chosen to recognise that from an autobiographical standpoint, we are the sole protagonist or central character in our own stories. (King, 2000, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004) In this regard it was useful to see if the participants adopted the role of narrator, recognising their distinctly unique and individual perspectives as they reflected upon the nature of their inclusion (Freud, 1922; Giroux, 2011; Vimont, 2012). For some of the participants they did indeed view themselves as a protagonist or character – as an actor in the true sense of the word, adopting a distinct role and acting it out (Wearmouth, 2003). In other words they recognised that they were playing a distinct game or role.

‘... it was very difficult for me to go to somewhere new, where everyone else knew each other and I was just there...my first day it was a daunting experience, because you don’t really know who you are, kind

of, so you're trying to be this person who everyone else will like, so they accept you, and so they let you in. So yes, it was quite a difficult period...For me, I changed myself into someone who I thought other people would like.' (Liam)

'And I suppose, this sounds awful doesn't it! But I suppose in my walk of life, I can play the game, I understand the rules and I can play the game depending on what the rules are, and I think that's part of fitting in, because then you can be accepted.' (Kay)

This notion of *playing the game* suggests that fitting-in might require an individual to adopt a role or to follow a script or that other individual factors have to be hidden or subsumed (Wearmouth, 2003). In other words the act of enculturation and subsequent inclusion perhaps relies on an ability to forego, forfeit or surrender key aspects of an individual's personality, traits and behaviours (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012 Kottak, 2015). The developing theme of adaptation again implicit within the narratives. As Michael here acknowledges, the successful child, the one who can fit into an established group is indeed,

'...the child who is willing to bend and perhaps sacrifice personality traits.' (Michael)

...I changed myself...

This suggestion of Michael's that fitting-in might be a trade-off or negotiated state, whereby one gives up something in order to gain something else was echoed by other participants.

'For me, I changed myself into someone who I thought other people would like.' (Liam)

'You have to almost become part of the moulded culture of the school, what they want you to look like.' (Sarah)

'I don't think you realised that what you're doing is that wrong, because you're copying what everybody else is doing, and you're fitting in. Yes. Interesting!' (Geoff)

Within the nature of such negotiation some things are given up in order for others to be gained and for Geoff the trade off was *protection* an allusion here to his sexuality (Talbert, 2004).

'I mean, in terms of the positives of fitting in, I suppose, you are not putting yourself out there to be bullied or discriminated against. So you gain some protection.' (Geoff)

From these stories it might be interpreted that for the Outsider there is a trade-off whereby a loss of autonomy and freedom is desirable in order to achieve satisfaction by taking the path of least resistance. Adapting one's true nature in order to gain social acceptance and conformity (Green & Cillessen, 2008; Kottak, 2015) a point raised by Kay.

'I think life is a bit of a game really, and I think if you can make your life as happy as possible by adapting, then I feel that that's the way forward, personally.' (Kay)

This desire to change or conform is not guaranteed to be successful however and perhaps in many ways striving to fit-in is a balancing act between authenticity and over-eagerness. In this regard it is a finely tuned display that demands a sense of self-awareness (Church, 2009) a notion that is recognised in here in David's story,

'I think sometimes people try a bit too hard to fit in. And often, you can see some drastic changes in children especially, when they do try and fit in. And also the reverse of when people think someone is an outsider, and how they treat that person as well, I think can be sometimes quite horrible!' (David)

...a very fierce sense of who I am...

This act of conformity and characterisation is interesting and perhaps some implications for the 'inclusive setting' are developing (Bandura, 2001; Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Rieser, 2014; Kottak, 2015). What it suggests perhaps is that what is seen is not necessarily what is felt at an emotional or internalised sense highlighting a degree of existential tension (Magrini 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot 2011). Some of the stories suggest that children and young people are adept at playing the game and adopting and performing a specific outward personality, when they are aware of these external expectations, behaviours and social *mechanisms* (Geertz, 1973).

'So fitting in maybe on the surface, but still keeping a very fierce sense of who I am, underneath it.' (Sarah)

In Sarah's desire not to diminish her true nature, links can be made to features of identity formation and development (Crocetti et al., 2008; Berman et al., 2010). Berman et al. recognise the tensions underpinning adolescent identity and see three key constructs, '*identity exploration, identity commitment and identity distress*', (Berman et al., 2011 p. 3). Such a construct recognises the dynamic and sometimes fragile nature of identity formation, maintenance and adaptation alluded to in the excerpt. Sarah is Jamaican by nationality and white by racial characteristic and her story of inclusion was often connected to such issues of identity and psychological adjustment (Crocetti et al., 2008; Crocetti et al., 2011; Gummadam et al., 2015). She reveals a disconnect with how she was *supposed or expected to be* (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010) when viewed by the wider community on her arrival into the United Kingdom.

'The problem arrived here. I didn't know what it was to be prejudiced until I came to England. And then people started to say things like, 'but you can't be Jamaican, you're not black'. And I thought, well since when was black Jamaican? And then I started to think, hang on a minute...', (Sarah)

Sarah's story suggestive that the social construction of ethnic groups is in some way perpetuated through stereotyping and social typecasting and can be underpinned by assumptions and expectations (Wong et al., 2003; Roche and Kuperminc, 2012). To paraphrase this sentiment as articulated by Sarah, *'Jamaicans are supposed to be black and that's what we expect...!'*

'The biggest problem I had when I first moved here was my accent. Because I had a Jamaican accent. I've lost some of it, deliberately, and that was because people were saying, 'oh you're a Jamaican ganja grower', and I can hear it now. And this was just because they weren't used to me being my colour and speaking with a Jamaican accent, it just didn't go. So immediately I was picked on for that. And I made the decision, I was going to lose my accent. I haven't succeeded a hundred per cent, but! (Sarah)

For Sarah, the visibility of her perceived difference was acute and it was by this criterion that she was judged (Wong et al., 2003). Her skin colour was taken as an indicator of other perceived characteristics and expectations, in this case national heritage and identity. In relation to the theme of familiarity, there was an external disconnect here as the familiar or expected was not manifested in Sarah's presentation. Youdell (2006) stresses the importance of such issues of race and identity as they relate to the level of childhood subjectivities that are a feature of Sarah's story. For as Youdell asserts, the *'take up of and investment in race as a feature of the self that, while perhaps not wholly biological, is actual and immutable'* (Youdell, 2006, p. 21).

Subsequently Sarah married a man who had immigrated to the United Kingdom from Pakistan and she converted to Islam. This added another layer of social mores, expectations and competencies that had to be encountered and navigated (Grusec, 2006; Kottak, 2015). As such the provenance of these factors developed in the domain of the *wider context* within the conceptual framework. Interestingly, despite her own recognition that she was being judged in a stereotypical and simplistic way vis-à-vis her national identity and citizenship, in part these same assumptions and generalisations were made towards her new family and cultural background. Whilst this aspect of Sarah's story do not link directly to her school experience, Wodak et al. recognised

this tension in light of their discussions of the nature of identity that can be seen to resonate with Sarah's story. For Garcia-Sánchez, such issues of identity also seen as important in the context of her research.

'...different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic and substantive content. National identities are therefore malleable, fragile and frequently ambivalent and diffuse.'

(Wodak et al., 2009 p.4)

...why aren't you wearing make-up..!?

In the following excerpt Sarah provides more depth to her story and interpersonal considerations (Habermas, 1984).

'I've had to fit in from probably another angle, because I married a Muslim, and I didn't wear a headscarf when I married him. I was a Christian when I married him, and I didn't actually convert until ten years after we'd been married. And going to meet his parents for the first time, we were already married, which, for me was, hang on a minute, is he allowed to do that? That was a big question for me, how come he's been allowed to marry somebody who was divorced, no kids but I was divorced. Well in my culture, that wouldn't have been acceptable, I was getting grief from my mother for getting married a second time, and you know, that was coming from a Christian point of view. And I thought, how come these extremists, as they're portrayed, were accepting me? And when I first met my mother in law, I'd gone out and got myself long sleeved shirts and I'd bought a head scarf to throw on, and she met me, she wasn't wearing a head scarf, and she was wearing the brightest colours possible. And she said to me, 'I've got to ask you a question', and I said, 'what's that?' She goes, 'why aren't you wearing make up?!' (Sarah)

Escobar alludes to these human and social elements of enculturation that Sarah's story seems to suggest.

'From an anthropological perspective, it is important to highlight the emplacement of all cultural practices, which stems from the fact that culture is carried into places by bodies –bodies are encultured and conversely, enact cultural practices.' (Escobar, 2001 p143)

Related to this notion, Sarah recounted an anecdote from her own daughter that illustrates other aspects of these complex and multi-layered features of individual identity and interplay between the components of the conceptual framework (Shaffer, 2012, Doherty and Hughes, 2009, Berk, 2013).

'I'm not Pakistani, therefore I'm not accepted by the Pakistani girls, but I'm Muslim, but I'm not the right colour to be Muslim for them, so I'm neither a white British girl skipping down the road, and I'm not a Muslim girl, because I'm in between' Sarah

Sarah here could be seen to be illustrating a common phenomenon, namely the conflating of a person's racial characteristic with religious identity (Bauman, 1999) and an over simplification at the level of individual subjectivities (Youdell, 2006).

...no one's seen a difference...

For other participants aspects of identity were not necessarily related to overt, external or visible characteristics however (Gummadam et al. 2016). This was particularly acute of those who felt that their sexual orientation or identity had a meaningful or profound impact upon their internalised sense of self (Foucault, 1990; Talburt, 2000; Youdell, 2006). Such stories spoke to the nature of intersectional identity (Crenshaw, 1991; Dill et al., 2007). For these participants during their childhood, the key defining characteristic or response to their sexuality was one of total internalised repression and a desire to hide their true nature from an external regard and in particular from family and peers (Barrett et al., 2005; O'Brian, 2015). Perhaps suggestive of emotional insecurity and repressed homophobia (Barrett et al., 2005). In other words the Outsider's performance in this context was one of adopting and playing a clearly defined role, one that ensured fitting-in for reasons of *self-preservation* (Habermas, 1984, p.398). The sentiment here being perhaps, *I am different, I am unsure how others will view this difference so will therefore chose to hide it*. David recognises this phenomenon and the disguising and adapting features of childhood (Erikson 1995).

'Because no one's asked what's wrong, no one's seen a difference, if that makes sense. Because that's important as well, especially with children, who I think are quite good at disguising feelings.' (David)

For Eloise and Geoff they echo this view in their narratives. They confirmed this reflexive belief and reflected upon the invisibility or hidden nature of their sexuality within the frame of family life (Barrett et al., 2005; O'Brian, 2015). For Geoff this was characterised by an expectation that this was not something that could or should be exposed or discussed within family life.

'... at fifteen, sixteen, you're not prepared, because you don't have the grounding, you haven't got the, kind of in the same way as attachment works for the majority of people, when you have a sexual minority who is invisible to their family, so you're not talking about like a mixed race child that's been adopted by a white family that you can clearly see has needs, you have an invisible child and an invisible family that just gets buried under their own lack of confidence and self-esteem, and therefore doesn't say anything and just ends up in a circle'. (Geoff)

The narratives did not suggest that family members were necessarily overtly discriminatory or prejudiced towards the participants however. In many ways this is unsurprising for they were not actually aware of this deeply held feature within their family members at this time due to it being repressed and internalised (Ryan and Blascovich, 2015; Fraïssé and Barrientos, 2016). For the participants however, a role was adopted that was driven instead by an *expected response*, a fear of the unknown, and an assumption about how things might be. What is emerging is that whilst the components of the conceptual framework have a hidden dimension that speaks to the subjective, there is also a field that relates to perception. Put simply, how I am perceived is not who I am. The discussions that relate to the ideological nature of the inclusion debate are relevant to consider in this regard (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; Polat, 2010; Cobigo et al., 2012). Aligned to this interpretation is the hegemony of the institution to provide intervention based on such perception (Allan, 2010; Slee, 2011; Tomlinson, 2012).

...there's a perfectly good bedroom...

In Geoff's story, fear or insecurity about how others will respond or direct their interactions is matched by more subtle feelings of perceived 'normality' around behaviours and interactions (Ryan and Blascovich, 2015).

'...I lived with my mum and dad and grandma was a hundred, so it was a very different, sexuality, sex and relationships weren't discussed for children. And I can remember when my sister was, I must have been fifteen, sixteen, this looking back, was a terrible experience now, but my sister lived in Preston, and she lived with a chap, who's her husband now, they've been married for twenty years, and they owned a house together, and my mum, dad and me went to my sister's house, and my sister and her husband, they were not even engaged then I don't think, slept in separate rooms at that point, for mum and dad's benefit, which meant I slept on the floor downstairs, and I remember being very annoyed, thinking, 'well, I'm on the floor, there's a perfectly good bedroom', and it was a crucial thing, for one of the things it was a nail in the coffin for me, it was like, my own sister can't manage to put her heterosexual sexuality in front of my parents, so how are you going to manage this, and it was one of the things that made it a lot harder.'
(Geoff)

In the following excerpt Eloise too reveals how during her time at school, she used her diary as the only place where she articulated her thoughts and feelings about identity and acceptance honestly and poignantly. Goodstein recognises the power and poignancy of such acts on behalf of the individual, particularly the insecure or bullied (Goodstein, 2013 p.33).

'I wrote my deepest thoughts in there about how much I really wanted a boyfriend, and I don't know, there was always this niggle in the back of my mind, especially about fourteen onwards, and I remember writing things like, 'I just wish I was like everyone else, everyone else has got a boyfriend, all the boys fancy everyone else, why do they not fancy me?' because I was just known as Eloise the funny one...' (Eloise)

In Eloise's story, these emotional feelings about fitting-in and normality were closely related to a gradual understanding of her sexual orientation and identity (Weinstein et al., 2012).

'And I got my first crush on a woman when I was at school as well. It was my French teacher, and I was absolutely besotted. Really, really, it was such a strong emotion, I remember, just being around her, I was almost breathless, and, I got an A in French, put it that way! Because I wanted to please her so desperately! I didn't speak to anybody about it, I didn't mention it, I barely even acknowledged it to myself, but the only place I did was in my diary.' (Eloise)

...I barely even could acknowledge myself how I felt...

What is interesting in Eloise's story is that she too felt the need to hide this aspect of her sexuality from her parents and peers. Unlike Geoff who was fearful of impact this knowledge would mean in terms of his social and family interactions, Eloise had a very different home background.

'I was brought up by lesbians, and you know, everything was ok, nothing was out of the ordinary, everything, any route you choose in life, any path we take, is absolutely fine. And yet, I did my utmost to keep my sexuality hidden for a long long time actually'. (Eloise)

For Eloise, the issue was not one of visibility but perhaps related to aspects of self-identity and acceptance linked to aspects of internalised stigma and identity distress (Berman et al., 2011; Lingardi et al., 2012; Ryan and Blascovich, 2015).

'I barely even could acknowledge myself how I felt, I was nowhere near close to coming out.' (Eloise)

These features of self-identity (Berman et al., 2011) also had a resultant impact upon Eloise and Geoff's social experiences both within and without the school environment and on into future careers in school. To relate back to the conceptual framework, many of the obstacles to inclusion might be self-inflicted or internally created and as such might impact forces of 'exclusion,

rejection, denial, obstruction...' (Foucault 1980 p.183). Driven as they are by factors such as fear, insecurity or refutation.

4.05 Family and Community

Some of the data above allude to the role and impact family life had on the child. Providing the backdrop both emotionally and physically for the individuals (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). Many of the participants drew upon this familial and community hinterland and cultural phenomenon within their narratives as would be expected (Vandekerckhove et al., 2009). For some participants like Geoff, these family interactions were at times underpinned by a certain degree of tension even fear (Lingiardi et al., 2012; Ryan and Blascovich, 2015).

'I had a huge amount of internalised homophobia, my dad was in the special forces, and my mum had messed my sister up, as I explained - how much she'd messed up the heterosexual member of the family! So yes, my sister was afraid and she was heterosexual, so me as a homosexual, I was petrified!' (Geoff)

For some however this family environment was seen as a space of refuge or security and where expectations and conventions in terms of behaviours and values were fomented (Bowlby, 1973; Ainsworth, 1974; Erikson, 1995; Fonagy, 2001). In the words of Kay, providing a *secure grounding* for subsequent experiences,

'I had a secure place, and I got on with my brother, and I think that possibly helps. I think if you've got a secure grounding and you know certain rules that you live by, I think it's a lot easier, it is a lot easier.' (Kay)

...crikey, this is scary...

Some of this grounding was concerned with behaviours that needed to be presented or adapted in order for the child to fit-in (Erikson, 1995) In this regard, the family was instrumental with providing a behavioural template of

sorts in order to prepare the child for their subsequent enculturation (Hoebel; 1958; Giddens, 1976; Kelly, 2002; Kottak, 2015). This behavioural template being so established as to be the driver for subsequent interactions in a generational sense (Escobar, 2001; Kelly 2002).

'I think you always have these kind of traits from your childhood and the way you have been brought up, which will go on to impact. Even the way I was brought up as a child, I say things now that sound like my dad! And I just think, 'crikey, this is scary!' but I can see it happening more and more. And I'll go home on the odd occasion and I'll say something, 'oh that's just like your dad!' I'll be like, 'oh no!'"
(David)

This suggests the commonality of the Outsider's experience and the desire for parents to imbue within their offspring skills and tools that have been rooted in their own experience (Escobar, 2001) and again can be linked to the notion of familiarity. For commentators such as Hart and Risley (1995) and Mattis and Bierman (2015) such familiar contexts seen as important for school preparedness and esteem. Such interpretations also support the defensive desire for children to fit in and not to stand out from a parental perspective (Tomasello et al., 1993; Gauvain, 2001; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Berk 2012). This factor in some ways underlines the tensions articulated by Geoff and Eloise above but from a different provenance and perspective. Susan too recognises this protective urge and links it with the notion of conformity and exposure (Green & Cillessen, 2008).

'I think they [my parents] were trying to make me seem, for my own protection as it were, less out by myself, because that in its own right can sometimes leave you a bit exposed as a child and a bit more open to being picked on really.' (Susan)

Parental advice also centred on interactions with peers, underpinning the correlation between acceptance and 'friendship' at least in the more superficial rather than emotional interpretation of this concept (Mullin, 2007). The sentiment here perhaps being one of, *'Better to be seen to have friends even if they are not meaningful rather than have no friends at all.'* As such,

stories such as Susan's reference the sentiment of Tomasello et al., whereby parents are driven by a strong *protective urge*, (Tomasello et al., 1993).

'I think my parents' advice... I remember moving to one school... was just find somebody to talk to, you don't have to be the life and soul of the party, but just find somebody to talk to for a while, and even if you find out you don't get on with them, at least you've got somebody to talk to, so you don't look completely alone.' (Susan)

This understanding of a need to skill and prepare children for their school experience and to try to ameliorate some of the tensions or difficulties associated with the Outsider's journey can be linked to the concept of expectation and worth (Margetts, 2007; Gummadam, 2015). This is a positive aspect and for Eloise the *adult realm* comprised of teachers as well as parents and was an important factor in terms of individual development.

'Um, yes, I think most teachers had fairly high expectations of me, as did my mum. And so those two combined, definitely led me to think, I can do something positive in my life.' (Eloise)

...they were from perhaps the poor area of the village...

One issue that was referred to, not directly but obliquely in the narratives was the specific aspect of social class. This was associated with not only economic status, but related to geographical and behavioural aspects (Youdell, 2006). Interestingly this was a measure by which children divided themselves up in relation to other peers (Shantz and Hartup, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008; García-Sánchez, 2014) and articulated here in Michael's story,

'I can sort of think of the certain children and as I've got older I've realised it was actually perhaps as much a social class thing, what social economic background they were from, because certainly, sort of two or three children who didn't fit in, at the time I wasn't aware, but I now know they were from perhaps the poor area of the village and the council houses, on the outskirts, which, yes, I sort of reflected on that as I got older and learned more about the different barriers.' (Michael)

The legacy of this sense of identity rooted in aspects of community, status and indeed 'class' seems to be in some ways self-perpetuating (Jenkins, 2004; Moore, 2013). This relates to the notion of provenance discussed above. One can be far clearer and assured about our roots, beginnings and origin than what our future holds in an existential sense (Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012). This phenomenon suggests that despite whatever hopes, expectations or motivations the participant might embrace, experience lived, is more tangible than the promise of what might yet be. Enculturation might be seen to have associated risks therefore as it is a conservative notion in essence (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; McCulloch, 2012). This experience or sense of social familiarity or tradition can therefore act to provide security and reassurance (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010). Adam echoed this sentiment in his story and alluded to links between belonging and opening up as a person (Coralis et al., 2015).

'I don't think it's something that will ever go away, you just go, 'oh yes, I fit in there', it's just a sub conscious thing, you just kind of relax a little bit more I think and you open up a bit more as a person.' (Adrian)

The developing theme here is that perhaps the Outsider's journey is in some way coloured by their own expectations for themselves that might have a limiting effect on potential. Self-imposed barriers that might curb or constrain the process. As David suggests,

'Obviously I don't know where I'm going to end up, where I'll be, but it will definitely be from the area that I'm from.' (David)

This aspect of the importance of provenance in terms of self-identity and familiarity links also to aspects of wider societal labelling and stereotyping in a reputational sense (Berman et al., 2011). In this way the Outsider's starting point in an environmental or contextual sense has an impact on the process of enculturation in respect of peers and social identification (Marques et al. 2008).

'Because where I'm from, everyone kind of knows different areas, and every area's kind of, known for something. So for example, the area that I joined was a little bit more, nicer, a nicer place to live than where I was from, so people kind of saw me as a bit of a, kind of like, council estate kind of boy, even though I wasn't, but that's what that other area was known for. So that was kind of hard to kind of, clear my name, in a sense, and become a bit more, 'no, I am like you', type of thing, 'I live here now, this is where I live'. So that was quite difficult' (David)

4.06 Legacy Factors

This notion of provenance, starting point or where the individual *comes from* is an important feature of the process of enculturation and speaks to the *legacy* of the individual, what they are endowed with in a holistic sense (Hoebel 1972; Grusec and Hastings, 2007; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). It provides a frame of reference not only for the individual but the wider social context of the conceptual framework (Hoebel, 1972; Kottak, 2010). It offers a tangible hook for others to focus on in order to make judgements in both a positive or negative sense. According to Garcia-Sánchez, (2016) such social points of reference are important for the young person in the school context (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016) and the data in this section speaks to this construct. It also acts as a self-reinforcing underpinning for the individual linked to aspects of identity (Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Bandura, 2015). What was clear from the narratives was the fact that in the same way as provenance was a powerful criterion, participants also referred to these other skills, attributes or material factors as tools to help, facilitate or indeed hinder their process of enculturation (Hoebel, 1972; Kottak, 2010). Such factors identified by White as those unique often material features that surround the individual and can be drawn upon (White, 1959). These legacy factors could be interpreted as the *'luggage'* that the Outsider or traveller arrives with and is thus aligned to this notion of provenance or social background. Such a concept was explicitly recognised by Scheutz through the metaphor of the traveller (Scheutz, 1944). They provide a set of material, physical and emotional attributes that form a holistic picture of the individual (Cortazzi, 1993). In Clare's story, she understands that these attributes can

be used to secure or purchase membership of specific friendship groups or affiliations (Kottak, 2015; Kelly, 2002). Such attributes also affect how the individual is viewed or perceived in terms of a wider social regard and a filter or lens through which the individual is measured (Hoebel, 1958; Nussbaum, 2011; Bandura, 2015). Sullivan recognises these as those 'non-material resources' possessed by the individual (Sullivan, 2002, p.146). For McGeown et al. these can also be 'non-cognitive attributes' that can be employed within the context of education with associated links to resilience, confidence and self-efficacy (McGeown et al., 2015 p.96). Boggiano et al. (1988) identified clear links between childhood confidence and perceptions of competence and For Clare her skill at art was used in such a way to engender popularity.

'I was quite good at art, so I'd often use my drawing and what have you, to make myself more popular.' (Clare)

DiMaggio, in research focused on U.S high school students recognised aspects of this phenomenon which was defined as '*status culture*' (DiMaggio, 1982 p.189) A skill or *status* however well formed or proficient is not a commodity in a social sense unless it has value or worth to an external audience (DiMaggio 1982; McGeown et al., 2015) and in this sense resonates in some way with Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985). As Clare suggests, her skill was a *tool* that was used in a measured and calculating way.

'I'd just get them involved in the drawing as well, so that was my tool if you like that made me that little bit more popular and acceptable.'
(Clare)

'I think I just developed a strategy to play the game if you like, because it did feel like a game.' (Clare)

The Bourdieuan notion of cultural capital might be associated with more 'highbrow' notions of cultural competences (Lamont, 1992; Egerton and Roberts, 2014 p.195) however for Clare she would appear to be using her

capital to gain and purchase acceptance, recognition and a sense of belonging (Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). In other words adopting a *more 'strategic conception of agency'* (Egerton and Roberts, 2014 p.196) with a focus on social outcomes in the school context. Lin cautions there exists a *degree of ambiguity in Bourdieu's writings as to whether cultural capital should be seen as a structural theory or a theory which allows choice actions* (Lin, 1999 p. 30) but it is this notion of strategic choice that is important for the participants.

...I was accepted because that's what school wanted...

As Egerton and Roberts claim, the individual therefore has to on the one hand have something that somebody else values, admires or indeed wants and on the other they have to have the social nous to *choose* to apply it or market it strategically (Egerton and Roberts, 2014). This would be an important pattern to recognise, that of an agentic understanding of capital or currency and a means for application for the Outsider (Bandura, 2001; Smith, 2009). As Geoff asserted, the need to promote certain attributes in a social setting, '*so that you can appear more appealing...*'

'...at school I fitted in very well, because I was competitive and I could win things, so I had a couple of subjects that I was very good at, I had a couple of sports that I was very good at, so I could run for the town, I could do things outside. So fitting in therefore, I was accepted because that's what school wanted, and that's what everybody else in your school would be doing. (Geoff)

Interestingly such sporting prowess as currency to assure social acceptance was recognised by all of the male participants. Perhaps a factor here is the perceived social requirement for boys to be good at sport or at least seen to be interested in it. Bowley identified this phenomenon as the pressure to display '*sporty masculinities*' (Bowley, 2013, p. 2) a notion echoed in McGeown's research that examined the domain of sport as one distinct feature linked to aspects of character or toughness (McGeown et al., 2015).

‘...there’s stuff that certainly as a young lad, there’s stuff that you, it’s almost like you have to do, like you play football..., (Michael)

*‘...I’m not that into football. So when you go into different social contexts and there’s a lot of males, there tends to be a bit of a bond between them, so I can’t kind of fit into that culture if you like...’
(Michael)*

[Do you ever wonder what kind of school life you would have had if you were terrible at sport?]

*‘Um, probably a very horrible one, because I’m terrible at arts as well!
So I wouldn’t really have anything to my name!’ (David)*

...everyone automatically assumed that I was rubbish...

For some of the participants there was a fractious relationship between these skills or legacy factors and they competed and clashed with each other in a number of contexts. Such experiences recognised by Sam and Berry as a consequence of sociocultural competence (Sam and Berry, 2010 p.472). Here the currency analogy becomes more complex, akin to having cash from different countries in a shared wallet (Lamont, 1992; Egerton and Roberts, 2014). This phenomenon identified by Khrebtan-Hörhager and Gordiyenko as a *clash of cultural capital* (Khrebtan-Hörhager and Gordiyenko, 2015). Rather than cashing in a particular skill or legacy in a general sense it is only valuable to distinct and competing groups or individuals a concept recognised by Sullivan (2002). The following excerpts illustrate this analogy from David’s perspective who had gained a reputation because of his sporting abilities.

‘Because I had to go along to a trial, and everyone automatically assumed that I was rubbish, and then they kind of saw that I wasn’t, and then the teachers saw that I wasn’t, and from that kind of moment it was, ‘ok, he’s going to play for the team’, and from that moment it’s kind of like, you’ve got somewhere to belong. People started liking me, because of my football ability. So that made it a lot easier, yes, definitely. Obviously if it was the reverse, I think it would have been a

different story. I would probably would have got picked on if I was rubbish. And probably cast out, sort of 'why did you bother turning up', kind of thing. But because I could play football and we were quite a successful school team, it kind of, especially then when I became captain, it was like everyone looked up to me. So it made it a lot easier, definitely, to fit in, and have people wanting to be my friend, if that makes sense.' (David)

However the skill of being able to play football in a successful team allowed little room for other skills and attributes to be developed or promoted and this caused a degree of social tension and difficulty for David. Such tension stemming from the expectations of different cultural groups and recognised by Matsumoto and Hwang in terms of cross-cultural psychology with connections at the subjective level between culture and emotion (Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012). Such tensions also seen to correlate with aspects of motivation and confidence (McGeown et al., 2015). These pressures associated with an individual's position relative to others in a choreographed interaction associated with more agency-focused concepts of identity (Coffey, 2001; Davey, 2009). In such an interpretation, rather than those positions being fixed forever, they vary at different times and in different places and between attributes (Davey, 2009). This sentiment is alluded to here by David,

'I was playing football six times a week, and kind of left no room for school work. So I tried my hardest when I was in secondary school, to sort myself out, and I got in with a group of kids, they were really good, wouldn't be the type of kids that would do anything bad on the streets etcetera, and they kind of helped me, to kind of push my grades up a bit I guess. And in sense that kind of was stepping out from football, or from sport. Because I then kind of, even didn't play for the school team any more. I kind of, did give it all up, and just kept my other team outside of school going. Because I mean, school football was taking over as well, because we were in this cup, that cup, this cup, and we were playing outside of school times and it was coming right to exams and stuff like that. So I kind of, just said no. So I don't know, I think I was hated then.' (David)

In the following excerpt, Geoff is also reflecting upon the fact that in an intellectual sense being academically able and drawing upon this academic prowess was a factor that mitigated more negative experiences. For Falci there is a clear correlation between the nature of such mastery and self-esteem for the adolescent school pupil (Falci, 2010). Such links between academic success and self-esteem identified by Whitesell et al. in their longitudinal study with American Indian high school students that highlighted the role of perceptions of competence as a feature (Whitesell et al., 2009 p.38)

‘God, yes! Well this is what we were talking a little while ago, I was starting to think how it would have been for somebody in a comprehensive who was failing from the beginning, I was able to take chances to move on, because of those things that I had, and if I hadn’t been able to take those chances or been in the situation, I imagine it would have been harder, because I would have been potentially bullied more. (Geoff)

Some of the participants talked in terms of confidence, which can be seen alongside self-esteem and self-efficacy as associated attributes (Rogers, 1959; McGeown et al., 2015). For some commentators such as Martinez and Dukes, a sense of self-confidence seen as a conduit between self-esteem and academic ability (Martinez and Dukes, 1997 p.504). For Michael, such feeling of confidence stem from feeling that he is fitting-in and there is a correlation between the constructs.

‘...fitting in, which then gives you confidence.’ (Michael)

...I see the flip side...

These are concepts linked to the more emotional structures of inclusion and about which only the individual themselves can be assured in a subjective or existential sense (Bee, 1992; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot 2011). Michael also identifies a *flip side* to such a notion whereby the confidence is placed into a different context more associated with resilience and self-concept (Baumeister, 1999; Kamel, 2012)

'But then perhaps, I see the flip side, that it could be a lack of confidence that you want to fit in, because I know myself with social situations, there's always the people who are just confident, they can go into a room and they're quite happy to just be themselves and kind of not care what other people think, so that's a higher level of confidence...' (Michael)

In Michael's story he refers to the confident individual who is able to draw upon intrinsic skills to engineer successful social situations. Such a concept recognised by Watson et al in their research linking social interaction skills and theory of mind in young children (Watson et al., 1999). The other point of view however is that this *perceived confidence* is a role or act that the Outsider plays, understanding that the skill of portraying a degree of outward confidence is one to draw upon to facilitate acceptance into a new or novel social group (Hofstede, 1991; Garcia-Sánchez, 2016). The nature of confidence also has links to personality as David articulates.

'I do have a personality where I can make friends, or try to make friends...' (David)

...trying to mould people to my way of thinking...

In a related excerpt, David's notion of confidence is linked to his own 'way of thinking' (McGeown et al., 2015). He would prefer others felt the same, but is prepared to bend or compromise in order to gain acceptance. Mashford-Scott and Church recognised this and associated traits in children whereby strategies include, *assertiveness, negotiation, compromise and perspective-taking* (Mashford-Scott and Church, 2001 p.19)

'I think it does come down to trying to mould people around my way of thinking. But also recognising that that might not be the case, and then by then, I might have to mould to their thinking, and do things other in people's ways. To fit-in, in that respect' (David)

Developing from this discussion of provenance, legacy and perceived attributes is the issue of stereotyping and categorising (Wong et al., 2003;

Crosnoe, 2011; Roche and Kuperminc, 2012). This can be characterised by certain factors being assumed or expected because of other features of the individual's personality, character or temperament. This phenomenon was discussed by Geoff in relation to his sexual orientation. The issue here being the socially acceptable perception of sexuality (Talburt 2000; Poteat 2007) with links to homosexual stereotyping (Brennan, 2016). For Cadinu et al. this concept identified as a *chameleonic social identity* that can characterise aspects of homosexual social identity and self-categorisation in the wider social context (Cadinu et al. 2013).

'So you see your, in terms of sexuality, you will see your Will and Grace white male and that's the acceptable gay face. So that can fit in, but of course, you've got the rest of the minority that doesn't necessarily form this stereotypical image.' (Geoff)

A phenomenon related to confidence is the assuredness or ability to gauge whether it is indeed worth the effort to fit-in as Susan makes clear.

'I think once you're more sure of yourself and find yourself, then actually, yes, you do still want to fit in, but you're sort of slightly less bothered about what people think back of you, it's like, 'well actually I've tried to fit in, if I don't get on with you, that's your problem', and I'll try and be nice, I don't want to be having rows all the time, but actually, that's your problem.' (Susan)

...it really depends on your personality...

To a certain degree Susan's sentiment of antipathy resonates with Wayt and Epley's research on the motivators and consequences of social connection.

'Being part of a football team, a political party, a church, or a married couple identifies who is in one's social circle as well as who is out of one's circle, namely people within other teams, parties, churches, or marriages. Connecting with others brings individuals closer to each other, but moves them further from people from whom they are disconnected. People consider themselves to be exemplars of humanity, and as others become less similar to the self, they are evaluated as less humanlike as well' (Wayt and Epley, 2012, p. 71)

For Wayt and Epley, social identity is a subjective phenomenon vis-à-vis other groups or social constructs and Michael alludes to the subjective and individual attributes,

'I'd say probably it's kind of a subjective fitting in, because like I said, there's certain people and their personalities will mean that perhaps they always feel like they fit in, even though they're very confident to be individual. So I guess it really depends on your personality as to how you feel you fit in. (Michael)

Interestingly Michael is alluding to the perception of fitting in which is an emotional characteristic recognised in young people as having both positive and negative manifestations (Crosnoe, 2011). For commentators such as Dockett and Perry (1999) such perception of fitting in differing considerably between children and teachers in the same context.

'What teachers interpret as social adjustment in terms of children fitting into the large class group, children interpret as rules. The aim is still the same, that is fitting in. Whereas teachers believe they are achieving this by establishing cooperative, interactive environments, focussing on social rights and obligations. Children believe that they are being taught the rules.' (Dockett and Perry, 1999, p.116)

4.07 Process of enculturation

Central to the concept of the Outsider's is the journey of enculturation undertaken by the individual (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1974; McCulloch, 2012). For many participants their enculturation clearly resulted in some degree of wellbeing or happiness a concept commentators such as Eckersley see as a deeply subjective phenomenon and congruent with the Outsider motif (Eckersley, 2014, p243). As Kay articulates, the process whilst not a final end point *per se*, suggests a benign and pleasurable state of being.

'I suppose it means to be accepted by the people that you're with. So to say for instance, even in a friendship group, if you're fitting in, it means that you're able to talk to other people and you're able to be on the same wavelength, and you don't feel anxious, you feel quite happy in a situation, so that's my interpretation of fitting in. And you've probably got the same thought patterns and possibly the same interests and then you feel, quite happy...' (Kay)

Happiness in this context is an indicator of an emotional state of mind and one that aligned to wellbeing is clearly individual and subjective (Pollard and Lee, 2003; Eckersley, 2014; Helliwell et al. 2015)

'For me, yes, it's an emotional thing, yes. It doesn't matter how I look, for me fitting in is more in my head and whether I get on with people or not. (Kay)

...you give up who you are...!

The process of enculturation is seen to be underpinned by both social emotional factors (Hoebel, 1972; Lahelma and Gordon, 1997; Barrow and Woods, 2006; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). For Geoff there are also associated emotional links made to self esteem in a way redolent of Such and Walkers claim that children have to give up autonomy and their right to defend moral integrity in some social situations. (Such and Walker, 2005, p. 51)

[Do you have to give anything up or lose something in order to fit in?]

Yes, you give up who you are! Your self-esteem! Yes!' (Geoff)

The disconnect between perceptions of teachers and pupils identified by Dockett and Perry above also seems to resonate with Geoff's comments about how children see and interpret their social environments at an emotional level (Dockett and Perry, 1999).

I think at that age as well, you don't have sufficient emotional maturity and development to know what it is that is good for you or bad for you. You just know what feels nice and what doesn't feel nice. (Geoff)

Geoff seems to be recognising that what might be seen as 'bad' in the school context does not necessarily equate to what 'doesn't feel nice'. Related to this concept of things that 'feel nice' is the notion of happiness as an indicator of wellbeing, a concept classically defined by Bradburn as the state whereby

...an individual will be high in psychological wellbeing in the degree to which he has an excess of positive over negative affect and will be low in wellbeing in the degree to which negative affect predominates over positive. (Bradburn, 1969, p. 9)

In the quantitative methodology of the World Happiness Report, happiness as a concept is seen by the authors as being synonymous with 'subjective wellbeing' (Helliwell et al., 2012). Pollard and Lee (2002) also recognise the subjective construction of wellbeing and the notion of a *positive state* from the perspective of the child. They caution however that '*well-being is a term that is commonly used but inconsistently defined in the study of child development*' Pollard and Lee (2002, p.62). A more internalised and subjective interpretation does provide a useful indicator and resonates with the tenets of academic approaches to human behaviour such as those of positive psychology (Hefferon and Bonniwell, 2011). Such positive aspects were identified by the participants and in David's an acknowledgment of future trajectory (Scott, 2000),

I gained confidence through happiness, I think. So if you have low self-esteem, then you generally have low confidence. (Liam)

'I think it's all down to happiness. You have to be happy I think, because looking back on my school years, I wasn't happy in the first couple of months at school. And as a result, I think my social skills kind of like, declined. Because I didn't have anyone really to relate to or be close with, I just went to school and I was alone. I'd go to a classroom and sit at a table, and I'd dread if anybody else sat next to me.' (Liam)

'How your childhood is and the way that you were as a child, how you tried to fit in or were included I think impacts you through the rest of your life. I came up here, had a part time job, knew no one, was living with three strangers, that I'd never met before in my life, but now, again I think I've got kind of friendships that will last a lot longer. Purely for that reason.' (David)

...because you hide for so long...

This was an interesting concept, namely that the participants were aware of their future trajectories after their individual school experience in this way giving such *social actors accounts of their agency* (Scott, 2000 p.99). In regard to such retrospective acknowledgement, for Geoff career choices were distinctly related to their experiences of fitting-in at school, experiences that coloured and directed their future decision-making. The following exchange identifies this and interestingly Geoff highlights the notion that 'success' can be seen as 'fitting-in' albeit it at a superficial level (Crosnoe, 2011; Garcia-Sánchez, 2016).

'If I was at the stage at twenty that I am now at forty and confident and everything, I would imagine I would have gone out and succeeded in the career that I wanted to, rather than the career that I hid in, and had the relationship that I wanted to, possibly had the kids and all the rest of the other things, but because it never, because you hide for so long.'

[So you think you hid in a career that meant that you could fit in more easily?]

'Yes, I was a solicitor for fourteen years.'

[And why that field, why did it afford you that sort of anonymity?]

'Competition. It's the same as grammar school; it's a load of boys and girls from Oxford and Cambridge competing with each other for how

good they can be. In which case you don't get to know their personalities and you don't have to show who you are.' (Geoff)

In this section, I have discussed themes from the perspective of the individual. As such the narratives have provided an insight into the nature of inclusion, fitting in and enculturation as experienced by the participants. Due to the holistic underpinning of the conceptual framework each dimension will interlink and synthesise (Richie and Lewis, 2003) and the interpretive nature of the study allows for such an approach (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). In part two, the focus of the data turns to the perspective of the school.

CHAPTER FOUR – PART TWO

4.08 Perspective of the School

For most of the participants, their stories focused upon their inclusion or fitting into the school as a distinct social institution (Tomasello et al., 1993) and I give a brief overview of how the construct is interpreted to provide context to the data. For the Outsider this is the shared institutional context (Barth, 2002; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005). Elements of this context will be ubiquitous and common (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013) but in essence the Outsider motif speaks to the the subjective and internalised (Ryder et al., 2000) and as Dockett and Perry (1999) claim such subjective factors in children might be markedly different to how teachers assume them to be. Foucault recognised this notion of the individual within the whole (Foucault, 1976) whereby, despite external characteristics suggesting conformity, the inner hidden truth might suggest a different picture. Linked to aspects of inclusive practice the criticisms of vague and upbeat notions that are interpreted by the school and make assumptions of the pupil (Armstrong et al., 2010 Polat, 2010, Slee, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2012). Brown draws from this concept and asserts that individuality within institutions can be '*deployed as an instrument of regulation.*' (Brown, 2008 p.41). This human propensity to homogenise, standardise and regulate human

experience recognised by Fiumara who also acknowledged the tandem phenomenon of *conversion*, whereby ‘we often try to homogenise others to our views (Fiumara, 2001, p.126) from an individual or institutional perspective. The same is true of the school which is as much an emotional as a social or physical construct (Foucault, 1980; Gatto, 1992; Pfeffer, 1998; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005; Stoda, 2007) and this is what makes the Outsider’s journey into this context interesting from the point of view of the inclusion debate. What the Outsider believes she or he is being included into is therefore subjective, individual and perhaps not easily interpreted from an external regard (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; Loreman et al., 2010; Polat, 2010; Cobigo et al., 2012). This has implications for schools who assert they are ‘*inclusive organisations*’ or staff who profess ‘*inclusive teaching styles*’ (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Tomlinson, 2012; Rieser, 2014; Hodkinson, 2015). These sentiments are valid and appropriate, but not as authentic as the perception or emotional interpretation of inclusivity from the individual’s perspective (Dockett and Perry, 1999). Research by Koster et al., 2009 highlighted the discrepancies between social self-concept and the ‘perception’ of the pupil. (In their research it was focused on pupils with SEN, but this can be interpreted with a wider reach). It would appear therefore that it is difficult to homogenise individual social experience or to be absolute about exactly what it is that a person ‘*feels*’ in this context. In other words to make assumptions or to ascribe meaning to an individual’s behaviour, demeanour or character and to draw firm conclusions from it. As Carney and Sinclair caution however,

“Meaning’, however relevant, is a dangerous area and may be as impossible to fathom as the genuineness of an individual’s belief. Clearly schools cannot be required to test such matters.’
(Carney and Sinclair, 2006, p144).

The perspective of the school is therefore characterised akin to the Outsider as an interplay between the individual and the collective with its own internal processes and mores (Scheutz, 1944; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005) and

characterised by both *plural* and *discreet* elements (Allport, 1927). The data from the participants is seen in this context within the holistic structure of the conceptual framework. As per the analytic process (Miles and Huberman 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003) this theme was sub-divided into three sub-themes namely those that relate to *Peers*, *Staff* and also the school's *Systems and Environment* and the data from the participants is presented in this way.

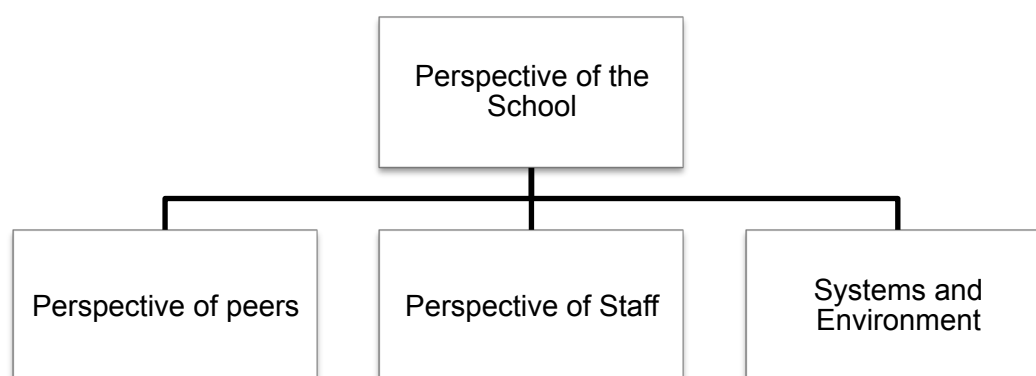


Figure 4.06: The perspective of the school

4.09 Peers

As has been mentioned previously, the role and impact of peers was by far the strongest identified by all of the participants, whereby fitting-in is seen in terms of peer acceptance, recognition and relationships (Frost, 2011; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012). As Liam illustrates,

'You need to establish yourself I think a foundation where you can grow and develop. Because if you can't fit in then really you're an Outsider, kind of isolated from society, from the school. So it's all about making friends, making stable relationships, somewhere you feel comfortable being.' (Liam)

Also in regard to specific terms of reference, participants were consciously auditing themselves in relation to specific individuals or groups of individuals with links to Vella's concept of the *alterations* an individual will countenance to

gain group membership (Vella, 1999). For the Outsider, fitting-in was achieved in strongest terms therefore in relation to the perceived value ascribed to them from and by other children in the first instance not adults or teachers (Shantz and Hartup, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008; García-Sánchez, 2014). As Clare articulates in her story,

‘Really, it was more about my peers I think for me, and fitting in socially with them. I think the teacher, you’d automatically assumed they’d accepted you, that being their job, but as a child you don’t think of it like that. You just automatically feel that that teacher’s on your side really, unless of course, you’ve done something to think otherwise, if they got annoyed with you, I think it’s definitely more fitting in with your peers, well it certainly was for me.’

[So actually, when you say, ‘I fitted in at school’, you’re not thinking of the building or the teachers, you’re thinking of your peers?]

‘Yes, definitely!’ (Clare)

... I became quiet and withdrawn because I didn’t fit in...

The idea and act of being accepted by peers was an important consideration therefore and seemed to have a profound effect upon the nature of an individual’s school experience and subsequent enculturation into the institutional context (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). This notion was suggested in Frostad and Pijl’s research that identified links between social skill competency and positive peer relationships (Frostad and Pijl, 2007). As Clare and Liam attest,

‘Certainly if you were going through a patch where you didn’t feel as accepted, you wouldn’t want to be as involved in school. Because I really enjoyed school as a child and I was keen to go there, but certainly, if you felt there was a bit of friction, it would definitely put you off going and you’d be a lot more reluctant to attend.’ (Clare)

‘I think, throughout the beginning of high school I was bullied a little bit. And it dents your self-esteem for years. I mean, I became quiet and

withdrawn because I didn't fit in. People knew that I didn't fit in, so they targeted me because of that.' (Liam)

This is a key point to stress in the context of the school as an *inclusive* organisation. Despite the best efforts of adults, it might seem that peers hold the key to the more emotional components of acceptance and wellbeing (Frostad and Pijl, 2007; Koster et al., 2009). Adrian stressed this clearly in his story with associated links to *coolness* a feature of childhood experience seen as a driver to aspects of social identity (Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim and Koh, 2003)

'I was desperate to be best mates with the lad who was probably seen to be the coolest. And my one big kind of residing memory from it was that I didn't go on a school trip because he wouldn't, because I wanted to fit in with him. And I remember getting quite a telling off from the head teacher, who told me I was just wasting myself for it, and in truth I would have been if I'd ended up being friends with him for life I suppose. But yes, definitely, that's probably from primary school, I can remember that as a conscious point, I wanted to be a cool kid.' (Adrian)

In the above quote, Adrian talks about the draw of certain personalities, attractive because of their sought after attributes or persona with links to those legacy factors previously identified (Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Bandura, 2015). Aligned to this, the wishes or expectations of school staff valued below those of identity or '*coolness*' suggesting they are viewed within a hierarchy characterised by layers of social stratification (Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim and Koh, 2003; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008).

'There's a top layer if you like, and that's the group that everyone would want to fit in with...' (Clare)

'...they'd be considered popular amongst I think generally across the classroom, maybe they were more funny, that sort of thing, I think definitely a sense of humour puts you in the top sort of tier of socially wanting to be with.' (Clare)

...you seek the commonality...

Clare's story would seem to relate to the dynamic process of pupils needing to acquire those values and behaviours '*deemed necessary*' to fit in to a particular group or culture articulated by Grusec and Hastings, (2006 p.547) In the following excerpt the Sarah coins this concept as 'commonality' with peers recognising the substantive role of peers in the enculturation process (Hoebel, 1972; Miller, 2010; Tieu and Konnert, 2015).

'You seek the commonality first. And I think that's what you do when you go into school, if all the children are talking about Pokémon, then that's what you will develop an interest in. Even, like I said, I've seen it with my own children. My daughter can talk Pokémon now, because that's what her brothers were into, and that's what she made herself like.' (Sarah)

In the same way the opposite phenomena is observed, where individuals hide features, interests or motivators because they realise that these are not felt to be conforming to established norms of what is fashionable or acceptable (Torrington and Weightman, 1989; Sainsbury, 2010; Crosnoe, 2011). Self-selecting in other words what is displayed and promoted externally to peers and what is consciously hidden. This suggests a dynamic, conscious and perhaps premeditated process on behalf of the Outsider in this context (Waytz and Epley, 2012; Kottak, 2015). As Sarah admits in her story,

'So yes, I suppose you just don't talk about things like that, or things that you're interested in that aren't all the rage, you might keep quiet about, until you discover years down the line that everybody liked Abba! But it wasn't hip to admit it.' (Sarah)

Linked to the concept of commonality is also the aspect of conformity (Green & Cillessen, 2008; Kottak, 2015). This is clearly an important and powerful consideration and there is an indication of the strength of this in Clare's statement '*she made herself like*'. This illustrates that the locus of the desire is not the Pokémon game but the fact that it confers on the individual the ability

to draw upon a shared aspect or feature in order to facilitate social connectedness with peers (Garcia-Sánchez, 2016). For Lynch et al. Such connectedness felt to exist at both a relational and a behavioural level in the school-wide context (Lynch et al., 2012 p.6)

...I developed my own strategy...

Relationships, contact and interaction with peers was seen by the participants as important. However, the regard in which peers viewed other pupils and young people was not only critical and central but also fragile and transitory (Fiumara, 2001).

'I'd feel that my behaviour was looked at, and then they'd decide whether I was behaving in a suitable way to be accepted or not. And I developed my own strategy to sort of deal with that, so if they were quite disappointed or disapproving of something that I'd done, I'd just keep quiet for a bit and wait for it to calm down, and then you'd gradually be accepted back in again.' (Clare)

This fragility alluded to by Clare is perhaps unsurprising, as peers who are passing judgement or are seen as the instruments of acceptance or even control are themselves party to the same external pressures (Kindermann, 2007). Brown and Larson (2009) recognise the increasing importance of such social interaction with peers and links with aspects of success and achievement in the school context (Brown and Larson, 2009).

For other participants however, this notion of seeking out attributes in peers was less about wishing to emulate or to be seen as having these 'cool' attributes by proxy (Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim and Koh, 2003) but to use them as a shield. In this interpretation Liam is using or relying on traits in others to mitigate his own weaknesses or failings. Liam admitted to being very shy and suggested this perspective in his story,

'So as long as I'm with her, she'll introduce me to strangers, because she can talk to them easily. Whereas I don't think I could approach

someone or even a group of people, and forge a relationship, forge a connection with them. I don't know whether it's down to confidence or just shyness, or, no' (Liam)

This example of how peers are used as an emotional tool is interesting and it would seem from this specific anecdote that Liam is aware of what it is he gains from friendship or proximity to a more gregarious and confident peer. In their research, Kalymon and Hanley-Maxwell, identified the themes of mutuality and congruence as key factors in such relationships underpinned by perceptions of similarity versus difference that support Liam's perspective (Kalymon and Hanley-Maxwell, 2010 p.310).

...how welcoming they make you feel...

Such analogous relationships were also discussed in other narratives, whereby peers were actively seeking to promote or to engender a sense of acceptance with other peers in a new context.

'I think it depends how open the people that you're moving into are, you know, how welcoming they make you feel, and that will make you sort of settle in quicker.' (Sarah)

In this excerpt from Sarah's story she alludes to the concept of peer empathy (Eisenberg et al., 2013). According to research by Allemand et al. (2014) empathy development in adolescents is a key predictor to social competence in adulthood. Allemand et al. also suggest that *'empathy can be experimentally manipulated or changed with teaching and practice...'* (Allemand et al., 2014, p. 229). From the perspective of the school this notion of peer empathy as a component of emotional inclusion and enculturation seems an important one.

4.10 Staff

You know, it's ever so funny, but if I think of the term fitting in in school...you get on with the popular people, and you're relatively bright and have a good working relationship with the teachers, and the three I think, interlink. Because often the bright kids are the popular kids, and they attract bright popular children, and then the teachers quite like the bright popular children. (Eloise)

In this quote, Eloise gives a pragmatic insight into what she sees as the elements for successful inclusion into the school context. These are namely to be *popular* and *bright* and to have a *good relationship with teachers*.

However, this good relationship is nonetheless couched in a degree of conditionality and an understanding of institutional expectations (Livingston, 2010). This suggests a symbiotic relationship between the adult's expectations and pupil attributes with one feeding off the other in a tightly choreographed interplay characterised by notions of what is appropriate or expected (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Kottak, 2015). For Barrow and Woods, those behaviours that are taken for granted and enculturated into the individual (Barrow and Woods, 2006 p.15). Such a concept links with research by Alvidrez and Weinstein, that considered the accuracy of such teacher / pupil appraisal and judgement that references Eloise's depiction of the *bright popular children*.

'In naturalistic studies of teacher expectancy effects, the dispersion between teacher expectations and student prior achievement has become, by definition, evidence of the false beliefs necessary for self-fulfilling rather than self-maintaining prophecies.' (Alvidrez and Weinstein, 1999 p. 732)

Hanson expands on such a notion in her research focused on the correlation between teacher perception and academic ability and pupil attractiveness. (Hanson, 2016). Hanson's research confirmed that teacher perceptions impact interaction and appraisal whereby the *social presentation* of the pupil was a key determinant of such perception (Hanson, 2016 p.379) Such a view qualified by Paredes (2014), in her research on teacher bias.

...I only know the Beatles...!

David alludes to this pupil-teacher relationship in a more equal interpretation although it is interesting that in this excerpt teachers are still identified as 'colleagues' and not 'friends',

*'We had quite a lot of newly qualified teachers, which I think was good for the school, because especially when you start getting older, they become more like just another kind of colleague as opposed to your teacher, and I think definitely for me that helped, because I kind of had better relationships with the teachers that were into the same things as me. You know, even ones that you could talk about music with, that knew who you were talking about, as opposed to the ones that were like, 'who are they? I only know the Beatles!' or something like that'.
(David)*

For Clare, relationships with teachers were assumed by virtue of the teacher's role. For Ruddock and Flutter such pupil perspectives recognised as putting pupils in a passive or marginal role whereby they expect certain interactions but don't feel empowered or able to contribute to the school context (Ruddock and Flutter, 2000)

'Really, it was more about my peers I think for me, and fitting in socially with them. I think the teacher, you'd automatically assumed they'd accepted you, that being their job, but as a child you don't think of it like that.' (Clare)

As Michael asserts however the teachers' professional attributes can aid the process of enculturation (Tomasello et al., 1993; Pfeffer, 1998; Woolfolk et al. 2008; Kottak, 2010) and as such the teacher is a representative of the designated *mainstream* (Ryder et al., 2000).

'...the teachers sort of made it easy for you to fit in.' (Michael)

In the following excerpt Geoff reflects upon the fleeting contact with a teacher. Harbeck recognises some of these phenomena related to identity and

empowerment that seem implicit in Geoff's story and the impact of role models in an educational context (Harbeck, 2012, p.6).

'I can remember a teacher, a new teacher in my last year in the sixth form, joining, and he became head of English very quickly, I think he joined and became head of English. And he was very openly and obviously homosexual. He was incredibly well dressed, quite good looking I think, well certainly from my point of view he was, very articulate and very much 'I'm out, proud, and here I am', and I think if it had been three years earlier or if I'd have been in his class, things might have been very different for me, but sadly he only came in and I only saw him around, he was in a different area to me...' (Geoff)

The opposite is also true however, that because pupils expect to be included, by teachers and adults and perhaps take it for granted, (Ruddock and Flutter, 2000) the quality of this inclusion is diminished (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodgkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Tomlinson 2012; Rieser 2014; Hodgkinson, 2015). Indeed as Liam asserts adults might however well intentioned put limits upon or occlude the process.

'I think, from my experiences, there's a risk of becoming too close to a teacher. Because, again, if you're too close to a teacher, then that might exclude you. Because you'll be seen as this teacher's pet kind of thing, and that's automatically a limitation I believe, because people, children will then look at you and think, 'oh, we can't say anything bad to him because he might go and tell the teacher, because they're so close.' (Liam)

...actually it might be a good idea if he stays with his friends...

Aligned to this notion that teachers have a distinct role to play due to their role and position are parental considerations. For Geoff this professional assignation given to teachers had an intimidating effect on his parents.

'My parents were working class East End London, so they certainly would never have challenged and never have said, 'actually it might be a good idea if he stays with his friends', things like that, they never, my parents didn't have any of the skills in order to be able to cope with external things like that.' (Geoff)

Boethel (2003) noted considerable amounts of variation in levels of contact and involvement between parents and teachers with some cultural and socio-economic factors deemed important. Such sentiments echoed by Vincent et al., (2010) in research that considered teachers perceptions of working class-values (2010, p.127) which in someway underpin Geoff's perspective. Akin to the experience of pupils and young people, teachers and staff were not necessarily seen as equal amongst themselves and there is a level of social stratification identified by Clare.

'Certainly the teachers seem to, - I don't know how much of this is true! – they seem to appreciate other teaching members of staff as opposed to support staff.' (Clare)

Such hierarchical stratification can be seen as a feature of enculturation with links to a sense of cultural maintenance with norms and expectations ascribed to different individuals within the group (Kim et al., 2009).

...just get along with the status quo...

The participants were all being re-enculturated into the school context as staff themselves. In this regard their narrative imagining (Lewis, 2010) was also linked to contemporary experience as professionals in the school context (Scott, 2000). Here Eloise articulates aspects of her experience as a member of staff and confirms both the nature of her emotional inclusion and Outsider status.

'Well, one of the main things is, I have to completely deny my sexuality. No, deny is the wrong word. Omit is for me, just as damaging. That's hard actually. I can talk to my close colleagues in the room about it. But no one really asks. And you know, they'll talk about their boyfriend, and another one will talk about their husband, and blah blah blah, but I think they feel because I don't readily talk about it, that there's almost like a barrier, and they never ask about my personal life, or about my partner, who I've actually just split up with and no one really knows. Because they don't ask. It's really hard and I feel that if I was as open as they are about their sexuality, as often, I wouldn't fit in, because they don't have much experience of anyone of any, well it doesn't seem like

they've got much experience apart from their gay friend, you know, their one token gay male friend. And yes, that's a big part of fitting in, having to just get along with the status quo I suppose.' (Eloise)

Whilst this is an anecdote from her current experience, in fact it is a legacy of teacher behaviour from her own school experience that has an enduring impact. Eagleman (2011) suggests that such retrospective and reflective storytelling is a way of making sense of emotions from an autobiographical standpoint (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). There are implications here for new members of the teaching profession to consider the interplay between current and previous experience in regard to inclusion (Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Sagor, 2011) and the community that they have regained membership of (Wenger, 1988; Olson and Craig, 2002; Hammersley 2004). As such we see the interplay between Eloise's past and current experience and the resultant impact of this.

'I think it was because; homophobia at school wasn't dealt with at all. I mean, there was quite overt homophobic bullying going on in some of my lessons, you know, the usual taunts. I remember teachers just brushing it under the carpet, or pretending they hadn't heard it.'

[Not directed towards you?]

'No. No, not at all!! I wasn't, I mean I barely even could acknowledge myself how I felt, I was nowhere near close to coming out. But one of the lads was incredibly flamboyant...and he was, oh God. He had such abuse hurled at him, on a daily basis, he'd walk down the corridor, but it almost amplified his behaviour, and the teachers did nothing. Nothing, nothing at all. And then one of my best friends, I was with him and he was attacked when we were in the park, and I was with him, and we'd tell the teachers and nothing was done about it. And it was just incidents that happened over the course of many years, from probably the age of twelve to eighteen, where nothing was done about anything. And so there is no way I was entering into that arena. No way.' (Eloise)

The fact that teachers' responses to certain situations can have a long-lasting impact on a pupil's future trajectory is an important one but it is too simplistic to suggest that negative sentiments from teachers will necessarily have negative outcomes as the previous excerpt suggests (Paredes, 2014; Hanson, 2016). In David's story, one of the key drivers to his success and achievement was the opposite sentiment of defiance and a reluctance to live up to low expectations.

'I think definitely, being told I can't do something, makes me work harder. And I think it definitely has an impact on success. Whether it works for everyone, I'm not too sure, I think there's quite a lot of people, if they're told they're rubbish at something, fine, they give up, don't care, type of thing. But for me it kind of works the other way. I always have, I dunno, I always want to be the best. I remember I had one teacher, I did both languages for GCSE. And one of them turned around to me and just basically said that I'm going to fail regardless, there's no point me turning up to the module. So I kind of thought, 'I'm going to prove her wrong'. And I ended up getting an A Plus. Just because I thought, 'no one's going to tell me I'm failing, like, ok, so I'm not the quickest learner of Spanish, but I'm going to prove you wrong'. And I did. And I got an A+. And I remember her coming over to me on results day, and just like, 'you definitely proved me wrong!' and I was like, 'yes, no one tells me I'm a failure. No one.' (David)

Through reflecting upon their school experiences from the vantage point of their current role within schools and settings, some of the participants not only recognised the impact teachers had had on their lives and behaviours but upon those professional attributes that underpin their own practice (Eagleman, 2011). In this regard their own teachers in both a negative or positive sense helped them to form a *template* (Anyon, 2009) for the kind of teacher they wished (or did not wish) to be. This would seem a natural development, as current teachers would naturally reflect back on their own experience as a point of reference as per the nature of enculturation (Hoebel 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). Equally for the trainee teacher or NQT, developing a sense of professional identity and aspiration is a crucial element of self-development, motivation and professional self-efficacy (Troman, 1999; Wilson, 2012)

‘Because from your childhood, I think especially in a school...children can go way off the rails if they don’t have that one person to look up to, and I kind of want to be that person.’ (David)

4.11 Systems and Environment

From the perspective of school systems and environment, when dividing the pupil body, the simplest criterion is perhaps the grouping by year or age (Brock, 2016; Corner, 2016). This construct might pose its own challenges and dilemmas to the Outsider as each class, phase and stage is itself a unique construct that solicits a separate response (Hanushek, 2001; Woessmann, 2016).

The participants recognised these structural issues implicit within the conceptual framework and the fact that there is not a universal system across all establishments (Hanushek, 2001; Brock 2016).

‘I kind of joined it in year three, and I found it quite difficult, because I’d come from a different school and everything was completely different to what I knew. And I felt like the outsider. I do have a personality where I can make friends, or try to make friends, so I didn’t find that part difficult. It was just the whole school philosophy of how to do things. I think routine as well, I used to have PE on a Wednesday and now it was a Thursday, and I found things like that difficult’ (David)

‘Very isolated. I mean, looking back, I started at my secondary school a year after everyone else did, because I came from a three tier system and moved to a two tier secondary system. So in a way, I was a year behind everyone else, so I had like a year to make up and have relationships, lost relationships, kind of thing. So it was very difficult for me to go to somewhere new, where everyone else knew each other and I was just there. It’s kind of, my first day it was a daunting experience, because you don’t really know who you are, kind of, so you’re trying to be this person who everyone else will like, so they accept you, and so they let you in. So yes, it was quite a difficult period.’ (Liam)

...it's something that you just feel...

These structural differences are on the one hand tangible and visible but the stories alluded to the more ethereal and nebulous concept of school culture (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013). The opaqueness of the concept recognised by Beare et al. (1989) who also suggested that there will be both a contextual uniqueness underpinned by degrees of inertia (Scheutz, 1944; Barth, 2002).

'Yes, well I think it varies from school to school. I mean, even now, as an adult, working in schools, you can feel the different cultures as you move around schools. I don't know, it's something you pick up from the other children, from the other adults when you're an adult. It's just the ethos of the school, it's almost indefinable, it's something that you just feel, you get to know as you're in the school.' (Sarah)

This concept of a school culture is congruent with Tomasello's assertion that cultures are distinguished clearly and distinctly from other tangible forms of social organisation and specifically characterised by, *'the nature of their products...material artefacts, social institutions, behavioural traditions and languages...'* (Tomasello et al., 1993 p.495). Such notions a driver to subsequent institutional enculturation and behaviour (Hoebel, 1958; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Boylu, 2003; Magrini, 2012). Such factors experienced at a unique and subjective level from the perspective of each participant. Torrington and Weightman illustrate this through the metaphor of culture as an 'individual cloak' (1989, p.20). Such individual and subjective features recognised by Donnelly who suggests that the parallel notions of school culture and ethos are *'resistant to satisfactory definition and thus, effective empirical exploration.'* (2000, p.134). From the perspective of institutional enculturation, this concept of ethos as a *'formal expression of the authorities' aims and objectives for an organisation.'* (Donnelly, 2000, p. 135) underpin the enculturation processes linked as they are to expectation, tradition and shared principles (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1972; Kottak, 2010). Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). To relate this to the participants' stories, Donnelly suggests that such culture and ethos is driven by those in authority, not by the

majority of participants within the institutional sphere of influence (Donnelly, 2000; Urpelainen, 2011). This view supported by Torrington and Weightman (1989) who through researching aspects of school management recognised the link between ethos and the expressed wishes and desires or those in authority in a given setting. This perspective is clearly articulated by David who through reflecting upon his own school experiences is forming an opinion of the nature of his own authority and direction in a future management role alongside a personal rationale and philosophy (Wenger, 1988; Olson and Craig, 2002; Hammersley, 2004; Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Sagor, 2011). Implicit in David's story are those elements of negotiation and provenance that underpin aspects of enculturation suggested through *listening* and *moulding*, (Lawrence, 2008; Miller, 2010; Urpelainen, 2011; Matsumoto and Hwang 2012).

'I've always said that I want to be a head teacher within ten years of becoming a teacher, because I can really see myself managing a school, and having it how I want it! I don't know, it's strange, but I would like people to follow, ...I wouldn't be selfish or stubborn, or 'no, we're doing it this way', I'd definitely listen, I like to listen to people's opinions, but I think it would come down to the fact that I do see myself as wanting the responsibility...So I think it does come down to, trying to mould people around my way of thinking. But also recognising that that might not be the case, and then by then, might have to mould to their thinking, and do things other people's ways. To fit in, in that respect.'
(David)

If the first type of culture relates to this institutional context, individually accessed but nonetheless adult driven (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013), the second is more clearly related to the specific context and experiences of children and young people and the impact of such culture, (Dewit et al., 2000; Barr and Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2007; Crosnoe, 2011; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008).

'We find, however, a need to emphasise that each school has at least two: one for adults and one for children. The school is an integrated community, but cultural norms for children are different from those of adults, and perhaps the greatest misjudgement of the cultural match is to develop procedures, practices and behavioural expectations for

adults that are only suitable for children' (Torrington and Weightman 1989, p.27)

... the ones that we used to call Grungers...

Culture within the school systems and environment has a dual nature therefore and while parental and adult ambitions for children are important as Sáez-Martí and Sjögren recognise '*...young individuals are not passive receivers of culture.*' (2008 p.88) They are instead active drivers and fomenters of their own cultural environment that is distinct often from adult control or influence. Aligned to the legacy factors discussed above, aspects of culture from the child's perspective might relate to a number of attributes, behaviours or motivators. These factors allow for loose groupings to exist within the umbrella of the pupil body as a whole.

'And you can always recognise the different cultures in a school. Not just by the way people look, but by the way people think, the way people dress. So you often had a kind of traditional kind of sporty people used to play in the playground together, and you'd have the kind of nerds in one playground, and you know, you could just distinguish the differences. And then you'd have the ones that we used to call Grungers, that would have long greasy hair, and you know, things like that. So straight away, by appearance and the way people kind of came across, you could notice differences and different kinds of cultures as a guess, kind of that way really' (David)

This need to group or herd with others who share common attributes is common to human social experience. As Sarah recognises, the enduring nature of this social *clumping*.

'Although you might find that there are clumps, the clique culture is still alive and well everywhere, so you might find, even here at university, there's thirty of us on the course, there are clumps of six or five, and you just find that you have something in common, therefore you tend to stick with the people that you have things in common with.' (Sarah)

With regard to systems and environment, David highlights specific issues related to a pupil from the Gypsy-Traveller community (Derrington and Kendall, 2008). As Casey's research recognised this community engages different cultural domains in a distinct and systemic manner and there is not an easy dovetailing or segue between them (Casey, 2013).

And he then came in the next Monday morning, telling us he'd been at the Appleby Fair, and that he'd had his first grab, and then decided that he was going to carry on doing that in school. So, he got to the point where we had to call the parents in, but the parents are quite daunting, and they didn't really take a shine to me, because I didn't know what I was talking about, which made it very difficult. But I mean, that to me was just cultures. And him trying to fit in with his home life, and not really knowing the boundaries to a different culture, because home and school are again different cultures to what you're used to. (David)

In this section I have presented data related to the perspective of the school. Such data seen in terms of relationships with peers, staff and school systems and environment. In this way reflective also of the social context of the conceptual framework. Through the data the key role and impact of peers vis-à-vis the social and individual perspectives was clear. In the next section in recognition of the encompassing nature of narrative in the conceptual framework, data will be presented in relation to the telling of the story.

CHAPTER FOUR PART THREE

4.12 The telling of the story

In the conceptual framework the theme of narrative is seen to cover every aspect of experience as a universal phenomenon, and a rationale was given for such an interpretation in the methodology chapter (Wittgenstein, 1953; Fyfe, 2013). The participants have given an insight into their own subjective experiences through the data (Clandinin, 2006a) which have been presented in this chapter in light of the literature and holistic nature of the conceptual framework. As Herman suggests,

‘Stories are accounts of what happened to particular people – and of what it was like for them to experience what happened – in particular circumstances and with specific consequences.’ (Herman, 2007 p.3)

In this section, in recognition of the theme of narrative as both method and phenomenon (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006) data related to the storying of experience from the perspective of the participants is given (Niles, 1999; Elliott, 2005; Clandinin, 2006a). Through initial engagement with the data as part of the analytical process (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003) the following elements were identified.

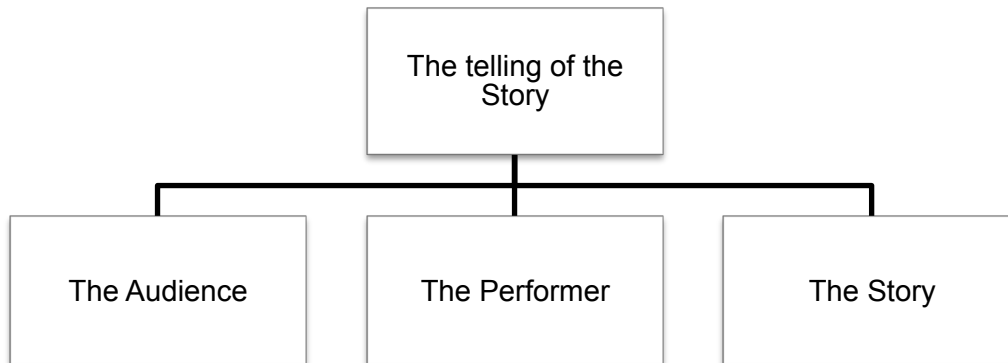


Figure 4.07: The telling of a story

Three broad domains underpin the features of narrative ‘the Audience’, ‘the Performer’ and also ‘the Story’ that was presented and evaluated (Bulmer, 1984; Clough, 2002; Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Bell, 2006; Luchsinger, 2009). Some of the participants recognised the distinct nature of this *storying* behaviour (Clandinin, 2006a p.477) and the selective nature of recall and presentation.

‘I think you only remember the good bits, don’t you? As human beings, we just blank out the bad bits. And you do it even in adult life. If you were to ask me to reminisce about my ten years at the school I’ve just left, I’d probably only remember most of the good things. And you deliberately blank out the bad bits’ (Sarah)

As Liam also shares, this hindsight and retrospection allows him to reflect upon his experiences and transpose himself into a previous emotional iteration embedded in time (Scott, 2000; Eagleman, 2011).

‘Looking back, I kind of wish I could go back, because the person I am now, I know I would succeed greatly if I was back at school. Because I am far more easy going, far more relaxed, far more outgoing now, and I am a completely different person to who I was two, three years ago. I think it’s, however I do think, because of the experience I had in school and the trouble I faced, it has made me who I am today. Because I was able to understand that, I don’t need these people. The bullies are just, it’s almost character building, I think. It made me stronger. And now I know for a fact that I can combat that. If anyone comes up to me and picks on me because I’m alone, then I can deal with a lot better because I’m not alone. I know I have people, they might not be here with me at the moment, but I know I have a strong friendship base’
(Liam)

For others, distance and perspective was recognised as an important criterion (Rocoeur, 1976; King, 2000). In this respect the performer is more able or willing to reflect, discuss and present aspects of their past experiences after a certain passage of time or experience (Rosenthal, 1993; King 2000). As Geoff articulates,

‘Oh, I like talking about myself! I think everybody likes talking about themselves. I found it ok because I’m happy with all of the things that I’m talking about now, but I wouldn’t have been able to talk about them a couple of years ago, and possibly if you’d have asked me between a couple of years ago and now, you might have ended up with a bucket and me on the floor, me in the bucket. But I can now appreciate and deal with things with the knowledge that I’ve got now.’ (Geoff)

In another excerpt from Geoff, there are references to an underpinning emancipatory element linked to recognising the autobiographical standpoint of the individual in the stories they frame (Freud, 1922; Giroux, 2011; Vimont, 2012; King, 2000, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). The narrative nature of the data positions this autobiographical stance as key, and is a key factor for data that appertains to lived experience (Clandinin, 2006a).

'Talking about it isn't painful I think, it's one that I've come to terms with I think. And I'm able, I find it useful to talk about and it's important to talk about because if you don't talk about it then other people aren't going to know about it, so then, how do you expect them to learn, how do you expect them, you've just said that you want them to be able to do stuff, if you're not prepared to tell them why, then why would they do it. But it is not a, it's not an unpleasant experience, but I wouldn't describe it as a pleasant.' (Geoff)

... I want other people to know that I've been there...

This emancipatory sentiment, characterised by a desire to discuss and share stories and experiences with the express aim of enlightening others (Always, 1995; Anyon 2009) was also evident in Liam's story.

'At the point I am now, in my life, I'm a lot more comfortable looking back on my past experiences and talking about them. Because I've been through a lot, talking about my past is easy and it's kind of, I want to do that in order to enlighten other people. I want other people to know that I've been there, and if they're going through that, I can help them. Like other people have helped me. I don't think I could be where I am now without a certain few people in my life who have helped me get here.' (Liam)

What the stories illustrated for the participants was the nature of the current perspective in relation to the construction of the story as told. Remembering the past with a contemporary regard (King 2000) and recognising temporal considerations (Cortazzi, 1993). As the following excerpts reiterate, the nature of hindsight (King 2000) and the impact this has on our reflections of lived experience.

'Actually, at the time, I didn't know any better, and I thought it felt good, but with hindsight it wasn't a positive experience, no, it was actually negative.' (Geoff)

'No, now when I look back I know the things that if you knew then what you know now kind of thing!' Geoff)

Through their narratives, the participants were performing to some degree (Fontana and Frey, 2000; Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Gale 2006; Moen, 2006; Luchsinger, 2009). In Clare's story, she recognises that personality will have a distinct impact upon the storying process (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012; Kottak, 2015).

'I think it's difficult to tell really, looking back ... I suppose it depends whether you're a positive or a negative person really when you look back, but certainly, I know there were some times when I found it incredibly difficult as a child' (Clare)

There are other forces and factors at play that drive and shape narrative as memory is held in story form (Wearmouth, 2003, p.257). These relate to factors such as the mythologizing of experience and factors related directly to the ability to remember or recall and the fallibility of this process (King, 2000). Important to recognise firstly are the limits to human memory and the conflating of that which we tangibly remember with that which we believe to be true (Thompson, 1997; King, 2000, Gottschall, 2012).

'I played for the team, so I guess I was fairly good. But yes, as far as I can remember, every boy did that, now I'm sure they didn't, but that's my memory of it' (Michael)

These errors of recall can also be intertwined with romanticised notions of past behaviour or experience (King, 2000).

'I don't know really, I guess you always look back with a certain element of rose-tinted glasses, at primary especially, I'm sure it wasn't quite as I remember, and there were moments where you didn't quite feel part of the group, but on the whole I guess generally I look back and perhaps it's not so clear, because obviously time can distort things, and it's very hard to know.' (Michael)

As Sarah recognises, some of this retrospective recall can also be unsettling and implicit in a mythologizing sentiment (King, 2000, Gottschall, 2012). Fear that our beliefs and memories will not live up to contemporary scrutiny or that

the hard truth might somehow extinguish strongly held views and memories.

'I've never been back. And I'm not sure I want to, because I'm scared that if I go back, this memory that I have of this ideal world that I grew up in as a child isn't there anymore. Because we've had the political upheaval that we did have out there, we've had hurricanes that have destroyed the actual physical things that were out there. But I have occasionally, for example, my old school is on line, and I've gone on line and thought, hang on a minute, the swimming pool's still there, but it now has an eight-foot fence around it. Why does it have an eight-foot fence around it? Oh, maybe it's not as idyllic anymore as it was then. It's just little things that may have changed.' (Sarah)

In this section some indication of the storying process has been identified in the data (Clandinin, 2006a). For a study that seeks to better understand the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual, such storying is important to recognise as it is through the story that the data is sought (Bell, 2006; Clandinin, 2006a Luchsinger, 2009). In the following chapter I provide a summary discussion linked to the data and consider contributions, implications and conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE: Summary, Implications and Conclusions

5.01 Introduction

This study sought to better understand the subjective nature of inclusion as an existential phenomenon. The literary motif of the Outsider was employed to illustrate and conceptualise in an original way its universal and individual nature and to provide a coherent thread for the study (Sartre, 1948; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Magrini, 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot 2011). Aligned to such a concept was a desire to widen an interpretation of inclusion that despite contemporary notions of social justice has in some ways remained narrow or is viewed through an exclusionary regard (Booth and Ainscow, 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000; Wolfendale, 2000; O'Brien, 2001; Ainscow et al, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012; Hodkinson, 2015). There has been an emancipatory sentiment underpinning the research that suggests inclusion should be seen as unrestrained by narrower interpretations and desires a return to a more elemental and human interpretation. As such data from individuals that on the surface might not be seen as marginalised or excluded was sought. Emancipatory for this study is interpreted as being a dual-natured concept. Firstly it recognises that there exist multiple interpretations of common phenomena and an acknowledgment of this is beneficial to the field of education (Alway, 1995; Cohen et al., 2011). Secondly, that the researcher is freed from a *set-way* and seeks different or nuanced interpretations (Freire, 1997; Crotty, 1998; Anyon, 2009; Giroux, 2011). To facilitate such problematisation the concept of enculturation as a distinct and shared feature of human experience has been threaded throughout the study (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). This has helped to turn the focus from the institution to the individual, the Outsider as protagonist (Scheutz, 1944, Camus and Laredo, 1981) and to gather appropriate data that can be reflected upon as per an interpretative paradigm. In terms of contributing to the field of knowledge, this has been both a strength and a limitation of this piece of work. A strength insofar as I have been able to consider inclusion through a regard opposed to a narrow interpretation, but a limitation as such philosophical perspectives are not

easily quantifiable in an interpretative sense (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Roszak, 1970; Alway, 1995; Anyon, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011; Bhattacharjee, 2012). To this end the data from the sample helps to illuminate aspects of the shared but unique phenomenon of inclusion. Again this has distinct strengths and implicit limitations. The strength I perceive as elevating those universal elements of school experience which at some level might be seen as mundane or normal but are nonetheless deeply existential experiences for young people. A limitation recognises that there exists an extant literature that speaks to these notions in many ways so the concept of Outsider has been employed to give a degree of originality and to further the debate. In this chapter I provide a summary of the findings presented in the previous section in relation to the original research question. I also provide some reflections on the rationale for the research and justifications for the research design and choice of narrative as theme and method (Atkinson, 1998; Niles, 1999; Fontana and Frey 2000; Elliott, 2005; Gale, 2006; Moen, 2006; Clandinin, 2006a; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). I will conclude with some implications for both future study and practice.

5.02 Justifications and limitations of research design

The key ontological foundation of this research was a recognition of the subjective and universal nature of the phenomenon of inclusion (Crotty, 2003). As such a qualitative approach was undertaken driven by an interpretative paradigm to reflect the importance of the subjective context of social experience (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Such experiences and perceptions are unique, but rooted within a common environmental milieu and wider collective understanding (O'Donoghue, 2010). For this study, the specific context being the school and educational establishment. In order to better understand those ideographic aspects of such contextualised and subjective experience, narrative was used as a means to gather meaningful and useful data (Widdershoven, 1993) and its importance was highlighted in the construction of the conceptual framework. Aligned to the emancipatory nature of the study was a commitment to see research as both a democratic process

and an enabling activity. To this end participants were invited to tell their stories in a safe space and from an autobiographical and reflective regard recognising that '*much of past experience in schools is held in memory in story form*' (Wearmouth, 2003, p.257). An important feature of the research design was the focus on newly qualified teachers or those who were undergoing initial teacher training. The research design recognised implicitly the role of the researcher who through an interpretative approach is the interface between the subjective and collective domains and thus have their own subjective position (Merriam et al., 2001; Takacs, 2003; Bourke, 2014). The research recognised such notions of a *shared space* but through a clear inductive and iterative analytic process ensured that subjectivity was recognised and mitigated where appropriate. A limitation of such an approach however recognises the fallability of what we do in real world research which by its nature adopts anti-positivist principles (Gomme 2009; Cohen et al., 2011; Scott, 2000; Gray, 2014). A semi-structured research interview was chosen as a relevant method to gather meaningful data, specifically as it is a social construct with links to the conceptualisation of narrative underpinning this study (Hyvärinen, 2010, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). The ten adult participants were self-selected and a purposive approach was eschewed to avoid a narrow self-fulfilling sample. Ten participants was felt to be an appropriate number for such an interpretative study (Ary et al 2014). In reflection, data from a larger sample might have generated additional interesting data but due to the textual and aural mediation of the data might have been unwieldy. The manageable data produced allowed for a tightly focused inductive and iterative engagement that enabled clear themes and patterns to be developed. The participants were interviewed only once. This suggests a limitation, as a follow-up interview might have been useful. However, the richness of the initial story might not necessarily have been enhanced or there might have been a degree of repetition (Flick, 2009). To further this area of study a follow-up interview some years after the participants have completed their entry into the teaching profession could be seen to be useful as a distinct piece of research.

5.03 Summary of findings

The Outsider's Story. What is the subjective nature of the inclusion journey for the individual?

The research question at the heart of this study was concise but congruent with the construction of the conceptual framework (Maxwell, 1996; Bernard, 2011). It suggested a focus on the subjective, experiential and existential. A literary motif was employed to give weight to both the universal nature of inclusion and the choice of narrative and story as a rich source of data (Clandinin 2006a; Elliott, 2005; Herman, 2007; Fyfe, 2013). An analytical hierarchy was employed to allow engagement with the data and to help provide meaning, detect patterns and seek explanations (Miles and Huberman 1994; Richie and Lewis, 2003).

By interpreting inclusion as a universal and emotional phenomenon it was clear that there would be overlaps with different perspectives in an interdisciplinary sense and draw from a range of theories and perspectives (Rhoten and Parker, 2004; Repko, 2008). This factor recognised by Albrecht and Surprenant who suggested that the nature of narrative suggests this perception and interpretation and should be seen as a strength. (Albrecht and Surprenant, 2006). Such perspectives were presented in the findings.

5.04 An individual journey

From the data there were clear themes that were elicited and identified. A key factor related to the *nature of the inclusion journey* implicit within the research question. All of the participants recognised this phenomenon in their stories from their own subjective perspective as applying to themselves (Sheutz, 1944; Lester, 1981; Habermas, 1990; Biesta, 2009). This is important for a study that seeks to re-interpret inclusion away from narrow interpretations and outside a traditional association with disability and the marginalised or

excluded (Soresi and Nota, 2000). Those that did talk about minority status such as sexuality, did so from a perspective that was hidden at the time of their experiences so this was not an external factor in the environmental milieu (Cadinu et al., 2013). In this way the data spoke to their own stories as Outsiders and the complexities of existential and individual experience in the school context (Erikson, 1965; Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2006; Urpelainen, 2011; Luhmann, 2015). Linked to this recognition of the phenomenon of inclusion from their own perspective, the data suggested it was also seen as a process with a dynamic nature (Salkind 2010). There were semantic issues to recognise here as the concept of *fitting-in* has a continuous construction as opposed to *included* seen from a past tense perspective (Cruse, 2004). In this way the data alluded to an on-going event from the perspective of the participants rather than a *fait accompli*. For those critics of inclusion as something that is *done* to an individual, this is an important inference to draw (Shakespeare, 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Sainsbury, 2010; Tomlinson 2012; Rieser 2014; Hodkinson, 2015).

5.05 Crossing a border

Aligned to this dynamic nature, the data spoke often of differences between groups, contexts and both emotional and physical boundaries (Juvonen and Bear, 1992; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008; Brown, 2010). This notion of *border psychology* (Brown 2010) important for a study of inclusion into not only the school as a whole but in relation to the range of different social groups that the data identified. In this regard the data consistently acknowledged that the role and impact of peers as both a driver and shaper of inclusion in an emotional sense was key and congruent with the wider literature concerning the nature of peer interaction (Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012; Matsumoto and Hwang, 2012; Vanden-Abeelee, 2016). To link this to contemporary understanding of the conceptualising of inclusion research by Koster et al. (2009) noted the social dimension of inclusion in education and the role of group membership. This was through the narrower filter of the *acceptance by classmates* of the pupil with SEN however (Koster

et al. 2009, p.117). Bossaert et al. also undertook a literature study with a focus on this social dimension of inclusion but again conceptualised their study through the *relationships, interactions, perceptions and acceptance by classmates* specifically for the SEN pupil (Bossaert et al. 2013 p.72). Therein lies an issue with the conceptualising of *inclusion* at some level of the debate at the institutional level (Allan, 2010; Slee, 2011; Tomlinson, 2012). The data confirmed those aspects of inclusion identified by Bossaert, but through a wider regard as appertaining to all of the participants.

5.06 Familiarity

Another distinct pattern from the data was the notion of the *stable base* or *foundation* necessary before the social space can be navigated in an optimum sense and making the unfamiliar *familiar* for the individual (Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010). Linked to this interpretation, the data seemed to suggest that fitting-in might be a risky endeavor characterised by complex social processes (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990). In this regard a stable foundation identified as a key success factor with clear links to the nature of enculturation in an anthropological sense (Hoebel, 1972; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Waytz and Epley, 2012). Aligned to such interpretations of the *familiar* in the data was the concept of the *inner circle*, those social groupings that link together issues of both identity and familiarity (Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008; Crosnoe, 2011). From the perspective of inclusion these twin concepts of *stability* and *familiarity* being key. In regard to such themes, the data also highlighted the social stratification that can impact the nature of inclusion (Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008; Waytz and Epley, 2012). Such a notion recognises the phenomenon of the *best-fit* for the individual and the subjective interpretation of existing groups by the Outsider (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Ryan and Bogart 1997; Ellis et al. 2012). In the data, such interpretations seen as being dynamic and evolving whereby the individual adopts a choreographed *stepping stone* approach as the social space is navigated (Frost 2011; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012). In this regard the data signposted

those heuristic principles identified by Tversky and Kahneman (1974) whereby the individual has a loose, not necessarily quantifiable emotional response to a stimulus, environment or other individual. Aligned to the nature of familiarity is the impact of the domain of family and community located in the wider context of the conceptual framework. Data identified the varying nature of such a context ranging from an identification of security and grounding (Bowlby, 1973; Ainsworth 1974; Erikson, 1995; Fonagy, 2001) to more nuanced and difficult manifestations with links to expectation and self-worth (Margetts 2007; Gummadam, 2015). The nature of such a context as a driver of enculturation also evidenced (Hoebel, 1958; Giddens, 1976; Erikson, 1995; Kelly, 2002; Kottak, 2015).

5.07 Adaptation

The data recognised the dynamic nature of individual agency and motivation as key elements undepinning the nature of inclusion (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Nussbaum 2011; Bandura, 2015). Importantly such intrinsic skills were closely linked to existential considerations as the Outsider makes sense of the social environment (Levinas, 1978; Camus and Laredo, 1981; Kangas, 2007; Magrini, 2012). The data demonstrated this through the examples of control and compromise presented in the stories (Freud, 1922; Allport, 1927; Goffman, 1968; Hammersley, 1990; Brown, 1995; Tomita, 2008, Crosnoe, 2011). The theme of adaptation threaded throughout the data with different elements linked to the nature of human enculturation (Kottak, 2015). On the one hand the sentiment of *bending and forgoing* the individual's true nature and on the other *seeking change* to become something else (Hoebel, 1958; Bandura, 2001; Crosnoe, 2011; Waytz and Epley, 2012; Kottak, 2015). The data therefore confirmed the *adaptive nature* of children and young people suggested by Erikson, (Erikson, 1965b p.229). Linked to such social conceptions the data suggested that inclusion might require an implicit negotiation or trade-off underpinned by more measured or calculating behaviours threaded into concepts of social acceptance and conformity

(Talburt, 2004; Green & Cillessen, 2008; Church, 2009). The data equally demonstrated that the individual can retain a *fierce sense* of who they are and recognise the game that is being played as they collude with external expectations and mechanisms (Geertz, 1973; Foucault, 1990; Talburt, 2000; Youdell, 2006). In relation to such processes, the data suggested the considerable existential tension that such collusion might engender (Barrett et al., 2005; O'Brian, 2015) particularly as the Outsider as social actor feels compelled to act in accordance with norms (Bronckart, 1995, p.78). This was particularly in relation to data related to aspects of sexuality with links to both self-preservation, repression and social stigma (Habermas, 1984; Barrett et al., 2005; Berman et al., 2011; Lingardi et al., 2012; Ryan and Blascovich, 2015; O'Brian, 2015). Issues of perception were therefore evident in the data in the sense that *who I am is not necessarily how I am thought to be* (Ryan and Blascovich, 2015; Fraïssé and Barrientos, 2016). There are implications here for those aspects of practice that make assumptions about individuals particularly in relation to how they are seen to be included from an institutional perspective (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; Allan, 2010; Polat, 2010; Slee, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2012).

5.08 Application

The data identified a range of *holistic attributes* (Cortazzi, 1993) that the participants utilised in their stories of inclusion. These endowments seen as tools to be applied to the social context in order to facilitate aspects of both inclusion and enculturation (Hoebel, 1972; Grusec and Hastings, 2007; Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). Some resonated with social points of reference for the individual and had links to identity (Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Bandura, 2015) whilst other data spoke to more material aspects or were related to skills or attributes (White, 1959; Sullivan 2000; McGeown et al., 2015). Aligned to these notions, the data alluded to how such holistic attributes can have an impact upon how an individual is viewed or perceived (Hoebel, 1958; Nussbaum 2011; Bandura 2015). Such an external regard also shown through the data to have links with

confidence and perceptions of competence at the individual level (DiMaggio, 1982). Underpinning the theme of adaptation was the idea that the individual is endowed with such capital (Bourdieu, 1985) as a way to engender the interlinked phenomena of acceptance, recognition and a sense of belonging (Woolfolk et al., 2008; Kottak, 2010; Berk, 2012). Data provided evidence of such strategic manifestation of individual agency from the perspective of the participants (Bandura, 2001; Smith, 2009; Egerton and Roberts, 2014). Linked to the nature of application were associated gender issues whereby certain attributes were seen to be key aspects of behaviour for certain groups. The data highlighted this issue from the perspective of masculine behaviour connected to sporting ability and prowess (Bowley, 2013; McGeown et al., 2015). For some of the participants the data highlighted some of the tensions associated with different expectations and competing influences as the individual applies such capital in a complex social milieu (Lamont, 1992; Egerton and Roberts, 2014; Khrebtan-Hörhager and Gordiyenko, 2015). In other words a more complex interplay between individual agency and social facilitation (Coffey, 2001; Davey, 2009). Aligned to this was evidence from the data that the individual can act both in an assertive manner to influence but equally demonstrate compromise or more measured perspective-taking behaviour (Mashford-Scott and Church, 2011). In regards to the nature of inclusion the data illustrated that for some participants such attributes and behaviours aligned to notions of resilience and self-concept as drivers of the process (Baumeister, 1999; Kamel, 2012).

5.09 The school

For this study, these features seen as appertaining to the inclusion of the Outsider within the reach of the *encompassing tendencies* of the institution (Stoda 2007; Loreman 2010; Tomlinson, 2015). The data highlighted the social nature of this social institution (Tomasello et al., 1993). Narrative was chosen as it explicitly acknowledges the uniqueness of the teller's perspective (Ryder et al., 2000) and the data highlighted a variety of experience within the common social context (Barth, 2002; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005;

Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005). As has been identified above, the role of peers was key and much of the data suggested the importance other pupils in the inclusion journey of the participants. There was a suggestion in the data of links between perceived competency and positive relationships that is supported by the literature (Sim and Koh, 2003; Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Frostad and Pijl, 2007; Koster et al., 2009). Such links also seem to have a relationship with the associated emotional concepts of acceptance, wellbeing and *coolness* and as such speak to notions of social identity. (Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim and Koh, 2003). The data confirmed the aspects of social stratification identified in Sáez-Martí and Sjögren's research and for many participants this was a key driver to behavioural considerations (Perrine and Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim and Koh, 2003; Sáez-Martí and Sjögren, 2008). Linked to the discussion of adaptation above was the notion of *seeking the commonality* with peers a phenomenon that speaks to enculturation and identity as well as inclusion (Hoebel, 1972; Grusec and Hastings, 2006; Miller, 2010; Tieu and Konnert, 2015). Underpinning all of the data in regard to peers was the concept that such peer relationships had the potential to be fragile and transitory a trend that speaks to the dynamic nature of inclusion (Fiumara, 2001).

The data illustrated that for the participants, school staff were not necessarily as important in their inclusion journey as might have been expected. In part due to the institutional expectations and perceptions of teacher roles (Ruddock and Flutter, 2000). Some of the data also suggested that how pupils present is a determinant of how they will be perceived by adults and there might be underlying issues of bias or false belief (Alvidrez and Weinstein, 1999; Paredes 2014; Hanson, 2016). For certain participants the data highlighted the more negative undertones related to bullying particularly in relation to homophobia whereby school staff were not seen to respond meaningfully (Paredes, 2014; Hanson, 2016). Crucially for participants who are entering the profession, some of the data confirmed the positive aspects of pupil-teacher interaction linked to self-development, motivation and self-efficacy (Troman, 1999; Wilson 2012). With regard to school systems, the

data suggested the nebulous nature of school culture as a feature of an institutional construct (Beare et al., 1989; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013). There were clear links with the concepts of enculturation and inclusion associated with such a cultural perspective (Scheutz, 1944; Hoebel, 1972; Kottak, 2010). Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011). The data highlighted that this was the area where the individual was seen to have least control over the nature of their inclusion as such systems seen as primarily adult driven (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Nicolaidou and Ainscow, 2005; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2013).

5.10 The Story

As was made clear in the methodology chapter, narrative was seen as both method and phenomenon (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006, Clandinin, 2006b, Moen, 2006). The data illustrated that for some of the participants they were aware of their role as performers and that they were storying their experiences in the interviews (Bulmer, 1984; Clough, 2002; Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004; Bell, 2006; Luchsinger, 2009). The skill of hindsight, retrospection and transposition also identified (Scott, 2000; Eagleman 2011) and it was clear from the data that the participants were able to effectively remember the past (King 2000). To relate this back to the concept of the Outsider the data suggested an authentic autobiographical stance (Giroux, 2011; Vimont, 2012; King, 2000, Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004) and whilst veracity can not be assured it was implied in the data and the manner of the telling (Given, 2008; Edwards and Holland, 2013)

5.11 Reflections on the research question and theoretical contribution

The specific intention of this piece of research was twofold, firstly to return to a more human and universal interpretation of inclusion and secondly to address the research question focused on the nature of the phenomenon for the individual. In the summary discussion above I have sought to draw

together the themes and perspectives suggested in the data to provide such an interpretation. A limitation of such an approach however acknowledges the difficulty of quantifying what is subjective and adopting a philosophical regard (Roszak, 1970). With this in mind, the data and associated literature suggests features that are true and common to the nature of the inclusion journey. It is fair to say that this study draws together a number of theoretical perspectives and existing interpretations of the complexity of human behaviour and social processes (Giddens, 1984; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Nussbaum 2011; Bandura, 2015). In order to provide a degree of originality and emancipatory sentiment (Freire, 1976; Crotty, 1998; Giroux, 2011) the literary motif of the Outsider was employed to rebalance the hegemony of the institution in the debate (Sheutz, 1944; Foucault, 1961; Goffman, 1961; Freire, 1997; Crotty, 1998; Lawrence, 2008). It would seem from the literature that this is timely, for as the discussions related to inclusive practice develop and evolve, the filter of *the other*, the marginalised or the excluded still persist (Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Koster et al., 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2012; Bossaert et al. 2013; Hodkinson 2015). Aligned to this are those accusations of inertia that return the concept to that which appertains to special education or disability (Allan, 2010; Slee, 2011; Tomlinson, 2012). Ainscow (2005) suggested such narrow perspectives in relation to how inclusion is seen to be both interpreted and measured. As such, *inclusive education* has come to be considered by many as a means to provide schooling for children with disabilities in the context of general education (Ainscow et al., 2006; Hodkinson and Vickerman, 2009; Warnock and Norwich, 2010; Polat, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012; Hodkinson 2015). The consequence of such an interpretation has engendered the prevalence of a *deficit discourse* in many western countries, including the English context (Runswick-Cole and Hodge, 2009; Polat, 2011; Cobigo et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012.). The concept of inclusion is developing however, particularly in the international context as a contemporary phenomenon. As such, it is increasingly viewed in tandem with a holistic reform of education whereby diversity amongst all learners is acknowledged and welcomed (UNESCO, 2001, 2007). To this end, a defining of inclusive practices as

pertaining to schools seen in terms of those efforts that seek to overcome barriers to participation and learning, (UNESCO, 2001, p.111). For the researcher, Ainscow proposes the reach of their work be extended to examine those factors that may lead to individual children feeling in some sense alienated from the school context (Ainscow, 2005). Such a view supported by other commentators who suggest inclusion is being addressed through a simplistic filter or interpretation (Rose, 2012; Terzi, 2014). In such a criticism, inclusion is still seen as being concerned with seeking to fit individuals to *medico-deficit* models from an institutional provenance (Runswick-Cole and Hodge, 2009; Tomlinson, 2012). This creates inequality, as it can give inadequate attention to understanding how *all* pupils navigate how they fit-in or perceive their own needs in an existential sense (Magrini 2012; Weyemburgh, 2008; Sæverot 2011). This might include any young person who finds the journey of their inclusion difficult or conflicted but is not recognised. Such an interpretation accords with that of Nussbaum who stressed the need to clearly acknowledge individuality in the educational context (Nussbaum, 2001; 2006; 2011). In this sense, individuality seen as giving due regard to those unique characteristics and subjective features of human experience (Giddens, 1984; Suleiman, 1998; Bandura, 2001, Bandura, 2005). Nussbaum's sentiment seeks to challenge the prevalence of vague notions of human rights as a simplistic blanket term, a view supported by Cobigo et al. in respect of notions of social justice (Cobigo et al., 2012). Such an interpretation seen as espousing those philosophical tenets of Rawls which view human rights as both immutable and necessary for the creation of a just society (Rawls 1971; Sen 2009). As Nussbaum suggests, the ways in which we view and respect those who are have different perspectives, specific needs and inhabit different emotional landscapes. Respect for individuality and a recognition of the subjective and universal therefore seen as the origin of inclusion (Nussbaum 2001; 2006). By applying the existential and universal construct of the Outsider to this study therefore, I am able to contribute to knowledge by helping to recalibrate how the concept might be interpreted from the perspective of the school. Paradoxically moving the debate forward by returning back to this elemental definition. My research began with the belief that inclusion as a term has been defined in the simplistic terms outlined

above. In this thesis therefore I have endeavoured to address the issues surrounding a narrow interpretation of inclusion and to seek to better understand the nature of the universal human phenomenon. I have attempted to do so by listening to individuals whose stories might not necessarily be sought under the usual frames of reference or perspectives of the inclusion debate. Indeed those individuals who told me their stories might not have been identified through standard school assessment procedures or be seen as a reason for concern (Ainscow, 2005). Through this research I have therefore raised awareness of the existential nature of inclusion faced by a sample whose experiences while unique have shared features that are important to recognise. In so doing I have tested my own theoretical position by questioning accepted interpretations of inclusion and identified complexities that could inform further research in this area. With regard to the nature of the inclusion journey at the heart of the research question, a clear thread throughout the data were the interrelated concepts of *familiarity*, *application* and *adaptation* implicit in the stories. These elements can be brought together therefore as key features of the phenomenon seen in tandem with the features of the institutional domain and the important role of peers in the concept. This conceptualising of the subjective nature of inclusion affords and allows a bespoke and unique application and is true to the Outsider motif.

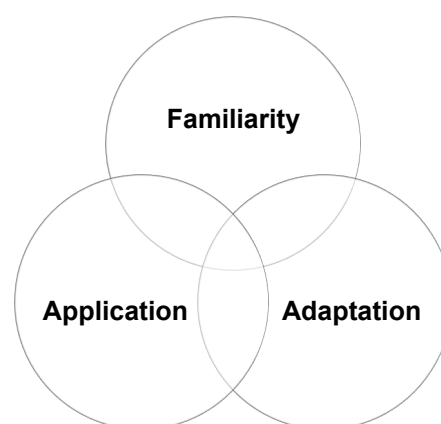


Figure 5.01: a model of the subjective nature of inclusion

5.12 Implications, recommendations and the future

Griffiths (1998) suggests that in the field of educational research, there is a danger that there might be a tendency for a *blinkered and parochial* point of view (Griffiths, 1998, p. 9). A key implication for my research is therefore to encourage that such points of view are eschewed particularly from the institutional perspective in regard to the nature of inclusion. In this way to avoid perpetuating some of the criticisms that have been discussed in this study. Crucial to such a sentiment is the recognition of inclusion as a central feature of human existence and it is here that the data has provided an interesting insight into the phenomenon. The implication of this for practice is the acknowledgement that inclusion does not just apply to those children who stand out, are labelled in some way, not an obvious minority or indeed marginalised. The centrality of schools in everyday life for most young people (Collins and Coleman, 2008) highlights the importance of such a view. The data therefore suggests that the practitioner be more attuned to the notion that those who seem to fit in well might have given up the most in a subjective sense. Put simply, to be *ordinary*, might have an associated tension and pressure. In this way the ordinariness of the stories were a strength of the research. In a contemporary sense it is true that the sentiments of personalisation and individualisation are indeed seen as key features of educational policy albeit with a residual nod to special education (Rix, 2011, Daniels et al., 2012; Meo, 2014). The danger however is that these are not seen through such an existential regard but through the filter of normalisation in an institution still somehow driven by a desire to homogenise (Foucault, 1980; Goffman, 1968; Fiumara, 2001). Such sentiments were a clear thread through the data in an acknowledgement of the interactive forces of agency and structure at play (Bandura, 2005; Lawrence, 2008; Urpelainen, 2011; Bandura, 2015). The above model therefore has the potential to be interpreted and applied in a pragmatic sense to each individual pupil whilst recognising the subjective and existential *business of being human* that underpins the nature of inclusion (Peck 2015 p.3). The model can be seen as both a template and a toolkit for the practitioner. In this regard there are parallels with Money and Thurman's model of communication (Money and

Thurman, 1994) that too speaks to a universal phenomenon but with infinite manifestations and presentation. Money and Thurman's model affords the practitioner with a more nuanced understanding of an individual's unique perspective and avoids a homogenising action. (See *Appendix 4*)

In my model the practitioner is also able to deconstruct and *demythicise* the phenomenon of inclusion and gain a more empathetic understanding of the existential situation of the pupil (Crotty, 1998). Firstly by recognising that it speaks to general principals and secondly a model that allows a bespoke interpretation for each pupil avoiding the *deficit-discourse* as identified in the literature. As such more measured, targeted and meaningful interventions, support or simply understanding and recognition can be given to all pupils. From an opposite perspective, the model also has the potential to help the individual pupil gain an insight into their own perspectives and as such can be aligned to a strengths-based educational approach with pupils and young people and support interactions with both peers and the wider school environment (Benson et al., 1998; Barton, 2005). In such an approach the individual nature of the pupil's capabilities, strengths and social interactions are recognised and encouraged with a clear link to the nature of inclusion as evidenced in the data and the uniqueness of the individual stories and accounts (Rhodes, 2002; McCashen, 2005; O'Connell, 2006; Rapp and Goscha, 2006). Such views seen as important to those both teaching and mentoring pupils and young people (Rhodes, 2002).

The concept of the Outsider was employed to demonstrate the subjective tension of the individual within the social collective. Such existential positioning also has a place in the field of education with a focus on the skills of self-awareness, empowerment and motivation that were evidenced in the data. Such a view aligns with the philosophy of constructivist and existentialist education approaches rationalised thus, '*Students who apply deep personal meanings with what they are doing and learning will do so more effectively.*' (Malik and Akhter, 2013). There is scope here for the practitioner to consider

elements of self-awareness and associated skills of reflection and empathy as a way to engender a holistic sense of inclusion in their classrooms avoiding labelling and marginalisation. Such a notion centres on an intellectual shift aligned in someway to the sociological debates focused on the narrative-turn in social studies (Berger and Quinney, 2004; Goodson and Gill, 2011). As a way to facilitate this debate at the level of future professionals, a discussion of the model drawn from the data and associated implications has been embedded into an undergraduate module on *emancipatory approaches with children and young people*.

The language of narrative and storytelling have threaded through every aspect of this thesis. It has been recognised in the literary motif of the Outsider, embedded within the conceptual framework and was the principal research method. All of the data used to inform the discussion, the interpretation and the model of inclusion came from stories as analysed and interpreted. Narratives afford both the researcher and the practitioner with numerous opportunities. For me as a researcher, the stories were a rich source of inspiration and reflection and I see a role for such narratives in the area of developing the teaching profession, particularly with new entries into the field. Such a concept has been employed by researchers such as Burns and Bell specifically in relation to the identity of teachers with dyslexia (Burns and Bell, 2011) and recognised by Wearmouth as an aspect of teacher professional development (Wearmouth, 2003). Akkerman and Meijer also recognised the link between teacher identity and the processes of storytelling as a way to conceptualise the self (Palmer, 1998; Akkerman and Meijer). Such aspects of autobiographical experiences therefore have a clear potential in the area of action research and developing a sense of community and reflection within the profession (Olson and Craig, 2002; Hammersley 2004; Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Vescio et al., 2008; Sagor, 2011). Aligned to this is an increasing understanding of the importance of narratives and the development of narrative competence in pupils and young people (McCabe and Bliss, 2003; Engel 1995, 2005). An implication raised in this study is the development of such approaches and their application in the field of

educational research (Engel, 1995). Moving forward this will form the basis of subsequent research in this area through the narratives of children and young people who are currently in the school. This will afford me with the means to support and triangulate some of the interpretations and conclusions I have made.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Interview questions.....	p247
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Appendix 3. Analysis examples with theme identification.....	p249
Appendix 4. Copy of consent form.....	p250
Appendix 5. Model of communication (Money and Thurman, 1994).....	p253

<i>This is a study about 'fitting-in' at school. When you hear this phrase, what does this mean to you? (E, I)</i>
Opinions / Values
<i>The idea of fitting 'into' something, suggests that the process starts by being 'outside'. Do you recognise this process? (O, I, E)</i>
Feelings / Emotions
<i>To fit-in you have to become familiar with the existing culture of the organisation you are joining. What can you tell me about this? (O,E)</i>
Behaviours / Experiences
<i>Did you have to give up anything in order to fit in? (E, I)</i>
Behaviours / Experiences
<i>What did you gain by fitting-in? (E,I)</i>
Knowledge
<i>What were the emotional considerations related to your fitting-in at school? Did you feel included or accepted? (O, I)</i>
Feelings / Emotions
<i>What impact has the process had on other aspects of your life? (O)</i>
Background
<i>Are there any stories or anecdotes you would like to share about fitting-in at school? (O, I, E)</i>
Sensory?

Appendix one: Interview questions

Nodes

Name	Sources	References
Fitting-in	0	0
Perspective of individual	0	0
Emotional inclusion	6	46
Family and community	5	13
Legacy and material factors	4	56
Outsider status	7	47
Process of enculturation	7	113
Perspective of school	0	0
Perspective of Peers	6	82
Perspective of Staff	6	24
Systems and Environment	4	31
Narrative	0	0
The Audience	2	2
The Performer	3	5
The Story	3	4

Nodes compared by number of items coded

Category	Item	Count
Perspective of individual	Perspective of individual	0
	Emotional inclusion	6
	Family and community	5
	Legacy and material factors	4
Process of enculturation	Process of enculturation	7
	Outsider status	7
Perspective of Peers	Perspective of Peers	6
	Perspective of Staff	6
Systems and Environment	Systems and Environment	4
	The Audience	2
The Performer	The Performer	3
	The Story	3

with the sentiment of Bourdieu in the 'white working class' video. A theme?

26/02/2013 12:34

The impact of the 'retrospective' regard. People are more insightful now, but felt things were either wrong or sub-conscious looking back.

only connected with teachers through the medium of sport. Interesting that skills are defining characteristics of how person fits in. (AH)

fitting in comes before true personally. Links to inclusion. If you don't fit in (and here the most important thing is peers) then you won't be yourself. Does inclusion take enough account of the social context of fitting in (as nobody really talks about staff, only peers)?

Only close people can really tell. Implications for teachers. Do we know if our students are fitting in? and if not how can we know if they are included?

14/06/2013 13:07

13-05-20 (Nivvo11).mp - Nivvo Pro

FILE HOME CREATE DATA ANALYZE QUERY EXPLORE LAYOUT VIEW

Workspace Refresh Open Properties Edit Paste Copy Merge * B I U A | L | C | Format Paragraph Styles Select Text Region Editing Find Replace Spelling Proofing

Nodes

Look for Search in Nodes Find New Clear Advanced Find

Nodes

Name	Sources	References
Fitting-in	0	0
Perspective of individual	0	0
Emotional inclusion	6	46
Family and community	5	13
Legacy and material factors	4	56
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Perspective of Pairs	6	82
Perspective of Staff	6	24
System and Environment	4	31
Narrative	0	0
The Audience	2	2
The Performer	3	5
The Story	3	4

Nodes

Code At Enter node name (Ctrl+Q)

So I'm sensing that part of your fitting in is about you being seen as successful. And if you weren't successful the fitting in was more difficult?

I think so, definitely. I think being a sports man it is all about success. And I don't

Yes, definitely. And kind of people then turned and if we say, if we were playing rubbish, they would turn to me and be like, right, how are you going to change this? types of thing. So it came with a bit of responsibility as well, but it definitely was worth while, because if back I have gone to the trial or anything, I probably wouldn't have played sports, and then I don't know what would have happened.

Do you ever wonder what kind of school life you would have had if you were terrible at sport?

Um, probably a very horrible one, because I'm terrible at arts as well! So I wouldn't really have anything to my name! I don't know, because I tried very hard, when I joined secondary school, to kind of become more academic. Because definitely in primary school it was more about the sport, and sport was taking over! I was playing football six times a week, and kind of left no room for school work. So I tried my hardest when I was in secondary school, to sort myself out, and I got in with a group of kids, they were really good, wouldn't be the type of kids that would do anything bad on the streets etcetera, and they kind of helped me to kind of push my grades up a little bit. And in sense that kind of was stepping out from football, or from sport a little bit. Because I then kind of, even didn't play for the school team any more, I kind of, did give it all up, and just kept my other team outside of school going. Because I mean, school, football was taking over as well, because we were in this cup, that cup, this cup, and we were playing outside of school times and it was coming right to exams and stuff like that. So I kind of, just said no. So I don't know, I think I was a little bit hated then, but then I think it gave someone else a chance really.

Hated? In what way?

I don't know, because, well I used to play as a striker, and I used to be quite good as a striker, but then I decided that I wanted to play in defence. So I don't know, I've always from that moment played in defence, but it kind of seemed that if you took me out of the equation, something wasn't right. And then they started losing a few games and then I had people asking me to come back, "we need you", type thing. And I just kept saying no. So I think, I kind of broke that friendship from them a little bit because of what I didn't play.

So I'm sensing that part of your fitting in is about you being seen as successful. And if you weren't successful the fitting in was more difficult?

I think so, definitely. I think being a sports man it is all about success. And I don't

1232 09/03/2017

Appendix three: Analysis examples with theme identification



INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This informed consent form is for adults who are either training to become teachers or are newly qualified and are invited to participate in a PhD research project titled,

Stories of enculturation and inclusion. A narrative study of the outsider's experience.

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:

- Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)
- Certificate of Consent (To sign if you choose to participate)

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form

Part I: Information Sheet

Introduction and purpose of the research

My name is Kyffin Jones and I am a lecturer in education working in the field of special and inclusive education. I am conducting PhD research relating to the process of fitting-in at school. This process is also known as enculturation, suggesting that to fit-in pupils have to acquire values and behaviours necessary to become part of a particular group or culture and these will be unique and individual. I see this process as closely linked to the notion of inclusion and the research will help me to understand inclusion as an emotional experience affecting all pupils.

I want to hear the individual stories of people describing their experience of fitting-in at school. Importantly all of these participants will have chosen to return to school as adults to work as teachers. To help you decide if you wish to participate I have recorded a short YouTube video where I explain my research in more depth

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJt04OsajSM>

Type of Research Intervention

This research will take the form of a semi-structured interview that should take approximately one hour. This might be followed up by further interviews if you agree. It is anticipated that these will be face to face in person, but can be conducted electronically via software such as Skype if you prefer.

Appendix 4: Copy of consent form

Participant Selection

You have been selected as you are an adult who has chosen to return to school to work as a teacher. You are either in training currently or are newly qualified.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and it is your choice whether to participate or not. If you agree and subsequently change your mind this is perfectly acceptable and you will not be contacted again.

Confidentiality

I understand that you will be asked to reflect upon and speak about your own personal experiences. Confidentiality and anonymity will be ensured at all times, including in the final piece of work. This includes the protection of data collected in written, recorded or electronic form. (To be kept in a locked secure place or password protected.) You are free to see this data or remove it if you so wish. Should transcripts of the interviews be typed by a third party, these will be anonymised and not traceable to you.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

This is to reconfirm that your participation is voluntary and includes the right to withdraw. You may stop participating in the interview at any time you wish. At the end of the interview I will give you an opportunity to modify or remove anything that you have said.

This proposal has been reviewed and approved following the University of Leicester's research ethics procedures.

Who to Contact

My contact details are

Kyffin Jones

Email: kyffin.jones@northampton.ac.uk

Phone: 01604 89 2809

Please contact me if you have any more questions about the research process.

Part II: Certificate of Consent

I have been invited to participate in research about fitting-in at school.

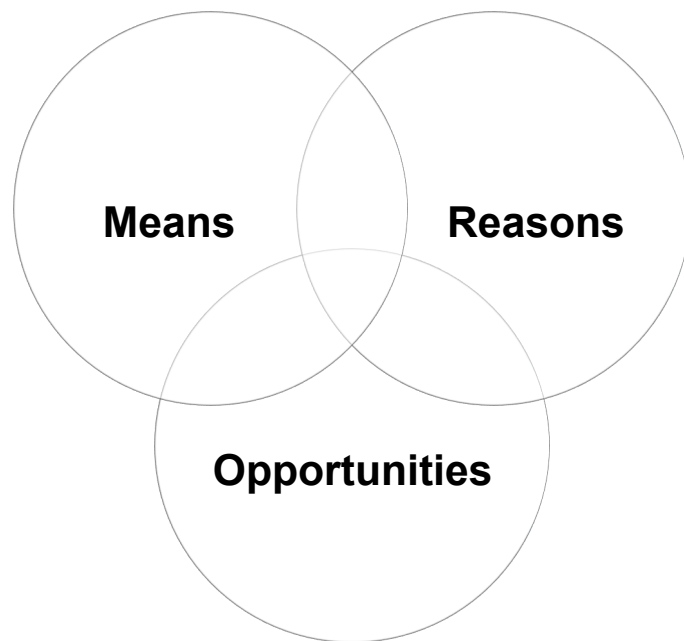
I have read part one of this consent form. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Print Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Money and Thurman, (1994) A model of Communication



Appendix 5 : A model of communication

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